

Total number of subscribers for week ending May 8 391,398
Number of new subs for week ending May 14 14,582
Number of expiring subs for week ending May 14 14,517
Gain for week 65

Total Number of Subs for Week Ending May 14 - 391,460

Total Edition Printed Last Week - 612,000

Established Aug. 31, 1895

FIFTY CENTS A YEAR
Six Months 25 Cents
Clubs of Four or More (40 Weeks) 25 Cents

This Is Number 756

Appeal to Reason

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second-class mail matter

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., May 28, 1910

J. A. WAYLAND
FRED D. WARREN
Managing Editor

DEBS' DATES

Cambridge, Ohio, Colonial Theater, 8 p. m., Saturday, May 28.
Harrisburg, Pa., Board of Trade Auditorium, 8 p. m., Monday, May 30.
Scranton, Pa., Columbia Theater, 8 p. m., Tuesday, May 31.
Waterbury, Conn., Buckingham Hall, 8 p. m., Thursday, June 2.
Hartford, Conn., West Guild Hall, 8 p. m., Friday, June 3.
Passaic, N. J., Passaic Theater, 8 p. m., Saturday, June 4.
Bridgeport, Conn., Pelis Theater, 8 p. m., Sunday, June 5.

THE ST. PAUL DECISION.

Fourteen days have elapsed since the Warren case was heard in the court of appeals in St. Paul. District Attorney Bone, in a published interview some months ago, announced that the case was settled and that the higher court would confirm Judge Pollock's sentence of six months in jail and fifteen hundred dollars fine imposed on the editor of this paper. This being true we are at a loss to understand this delay. Perhaps the judges who compose the court of appeals are loathe to uphold Pollock's outrageous and unjust action. If this is not done it will be a staggering blow to Pollock. On the other hand if the court of appeals decides that it is a crime to suggest the kidnaping of a fugitive capitalist politician under an indictment for murder in the face of the declaration of the United States supreme court that it is not a crime to kidnap working men, the manifest unfairness and class character of the courts will be plainly apparent. And our cause helped rather than retarded.

THE SCENE CHANGES.

We print in this issue of the Appeal the first of a series of remarkable stories by John Kenneth Turner, author of "Barbarous Mexico." These articles are a continuation of Mr. Turner's Mexican articles printed in the American Magazine. For reasons which Mr. Turner fully explains, the American Magazine discontinued their publication. The Appeal has always admired the fearlessness of the American Magazine and when that publication made its first announcement of the Turner series I wrote to Editor Phillips and commended him for his bold stand in defense of an oppressed people. I warned him at the same time that powerful influences would be brought to bear on the publishers to suppress the articles. The expected has happened. While the articles brought thousands of new subscribers to the American Magazine, the "Big Interest" back of the exploitation of the unhappy country to the south of us, informed the American Magazine that unless the articles were discontinued its advertising patronage would suffer. As a result of this pressure, the fight so bravely started was allowed to drag and flicker out. The general public would be none the wiser but for the Appeal. Feeling certain that this would be the outcome I wrote Mr. Turner six months ago and offered him the use of the Appeal columns to finish his story if it were suppressed. No periodical that depends for its support upon capitalists can be depended upon to defend working class interests. The Appeal has for years felt this pressure and has smarted and writhed under the power. This was one of the reasons why we decided to inaugurate the unheard of policy of eliminating all advertising from our columns. It looked like a rash step. The Appeal was criticised even by its best friends. But I knew we would be face to face sooner or later with the problem of either losing our advertising patronage or putting the spotlight on our fight against the capitalist class. One has only to run over his mind the long lists of magazines that have at some time in their career espoused the cause of the poor and oppressed, that are now safe and sane and avowed supporters of the very interests which they so vigorously attacked. These attacks brought them subscribers by the millions and with this prestige they were able to secure lucrative advertising. Then came the parting of the ways. Not one of the so-called radical magazines has been able to withstand the pressure of predatory wealth through the channel of the advertising agent.

If the working class is to have a mouthpiece that is brave and fearless it must support a paper by subscriptions alone. The Appeal is making a desperate fight to give you a publication of this kind. Depending solely on the subscriptions of the workers it remains true to those on whose support they depend. This is the law of economic determinism and it works in the case of a Socialist paper just the same as it does in the case of a capitalist magazine. The Appeal's friends have allied to its support in a way that shows they endorse this policy of no advertising. With an increasing list we can keep ahead of the hounds. If the list falters or goes backward we will be forced to accept advertising in order to meet our expenses.

A MATTER OF WASTE.

A certain magazine estimates that the American people last year spent two billion, three hundred and ninety-five million dollars for luxuries that were unnecessary. But among these expenditures is listed expense of travel and for theaters, for pianos and other musical instruments. These are legitimate expenses. There ought to be very much more spent for these things. The only fault that can be legitimately found with such expenses is that under this system only the rich can afford them. Every family might afford them if the workers were not robbed by a wicked system of industry. But suppose the rich, under this system, were to economize and cut out these expenses; suppose they would even quit drinking and whoring; suppose they were to cease smoking and giving extravagant and wasteful parties, what would become of "business"? Under this system it is

extravagance, the waste of wealth that keeps things going. So long as a few absorb what the many make, the many cannot enjoy life and the few must squander the wealth that pours in on them that capitalism may continue. It is another evidence of the craziness of the system.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE is seeing the specter of Socialism, not only in actual work as a party, but as invading the two old parties with its leaves. After arguing the matter in a half lucid manner, it says: "The reconstruction will probably be accomplished by an alliance of that class of republicans which has any sense with the southern democracy, which has always retained its sense." This is remarkable, as showing what a leading republican paper places as an alignment which will be necessary in order to defeat Socialism. And the Socialists just laugh.

CHARACTER OF EMPLOYMENT

"The rich give the poor employment." Possibly. But takes away the income of the workers. Can't see it? There are many things you and your ancestors could not see, and hence the brutalities and horrors which smear the pages of history. Let's look into this thing. Let us suppose a society composed of no matter how many or how few people, all of them working and getting the product of their own industry. Then let us suppose that some cunning mind seduces the people into thinking that private ownership is the best method, and the cunning man begins to trade between the producers of different sections and makes a profit, with which he begins to buy up the land and the machinery. That is the way the present system began. For every one who quits producing and begins to live by interest, rent or profit (all the same element), the rest have to work harder, if they live as well as they did before this one non-producing person left off productive work and began to live on the others. Then he makes more and takes other workers and makes them his personal servants, has others build him palaces and fine clothing and each one thus given work makes it harder on all the balance, for they produce all things that go to keep him in luxury and his personal servants in comfort. The more the non-productive element increases the more the workers have to give up to sustain them. You see by this that while he gives work, the workers pay the bills and therefore have less than they would have if they did not have to give this up. They not only have to give up the cost of what these non-producers consume, but they also have to give up what the non-producers are paying to acquire more property. For instance, the keeping up of Rockefeller or Morgan and their personal servants would not be such a burden, but the workers have to furnish the hundreds of millions with which these men are buying all the property of the nation. To give one-fifth of the population a living, even in luxury, would not be so bad, if the land, machinery and industries were owned by the whole people, for then every man and woman could find employment under the best conditions for producing things, but as it is, there are millions who have to produce with crude methods and other millions who are not able to find a place to produce at all. You can see that if all the people were employed as personal servants of the rich that there would be no food, clothing, shelter or other products made and the whole population would perish. So that whatever of employment the rich give is so much taken from the workers instead of so much given to them. It is because it is covered up by the forms of employment and wages and ownership that the people do not see the real nature of the beast that is reducing them to dependence. The people are as ignorant of the real facts of the matter as they were ignorant of the real causes of their misery during the Dark Ages of the world. A system that would make an opening for every worker and would give him or her the full social equivalent of their products, would fill the earth with plenty and pleasure. But the rich do not want this. They consider themselves as made of different clay than the common herd.

"FOOLISH QUESTION"

The St. Louis Post Dispatch is very much concerned over what will happen to the middle man if the labor unions and farmers should co-operate in the exchange of their products. "Eliminate the middle man," says the Post Dispatch, "and who will tell the consumers in St. Louis that strawberries are on the market, that new styles of cotton goods are for sale, or that there are places where new potatoes and new hats can be had at a bargain. Who will induce the consumer to consume?"

Just as though a man would stand around and stare unless somebody told him that across the street he could buy strawberries and eggs and potatoes! The absurdity of this position is apparent to every one except those who profit by our bringing some system of exchanging one laborer's products for another laborer's products. When a man wants a postage stamp it is not necessary for some one to harrange him on the advantages of using Skinkum's stamps in preference to Soakum's stamps. A postage stamp is sold at pretty near the labor cost of the service rendered and men buy stamps because they want that service. If postage stamps were sold like calico and strawberries and potatoes with a half a dozen middle men in between the user and the government, two-cent postage stamps would sell for six cents.

SOCIALISM IN THE SOUTH.

There is not a better field for the propagation of Socialism in the United States than the south.

The south has never been favorable to the capitalist regime. For eight years after the civil war had overthrown the institution of chattel slavery, capitalism made desperate efforts to gain a foothold in the south, even going so far as to maintain a military dictatorship there, yet was completely thwarted in its work. The development in the west did not really begin until after capitalism failed to make conquest of the south. The antagonism of the south to the capitalist regime has left her almost undeveloped, according to capitalist ideals. She has simply had no part or parcel in capitalism, as a whole.

There are individuals in the south who have developed the capitalist instinct and have become moderately wealthy, though few millionaires hail from that section. Some twenty years ago the nation was led to believe that the south had been captured by capitalism, because there had been a yielding to the establishment of vast iron industries in the south. Eastern capitalists, backed by some southerners, established the Tennessee Coal and Iron company, and secured tremendous holdings of valuable coal and iron lands. Cotton manufacturers from the east also secured an opening for numerous cotton mills in the south. This was hailed as the beginning of capitalist development in Dixie. But these proved disastrous to the south that the children are practically enslaved. The United States soldiery set free the blacks, but eastern capitalists enslaved the children of the whites. Not only this, but after the steel trust was organized the Tennessee Coal and Iron company was pressed to the wall by speculators who threatened a panic if Roosevelt, then president, did not permit a merging of this company with the United States Steel. The capitalists investing in the Tennessee company were so opposed to the new move that they refused to sell, although ruin seemed to be staring them in the face. However, they did sell their properties to Rockefeller, who, they supposed, would maintain them as an independent institution, for \$40,000,000. He turned them over to the steel trust for \$80,000,000. It is now estimated that the ore on these lands, together with other property belonging to the old southern companies, is worth not less than \$1,000,000,000.

Nor is this the only sad example that capitalism has given the south of its baleful influence. Nowhere in the United States has tenant farming become so great as in the south. This was due to the breaking up of the great plantations that had been operated by slaves. It is no longer paid to farm these lands by hired help, but so tenantry took its place. The south is present almost as badly oppressed by landlords as Ireland was in the days of its greatest sorrow. There are not many capitalists in the south. There is not a spirit of capitalism in the south. While there are some wealthy people there and a great many landlords, the bulk of the population of the south consists of disinherited white people and propertyless negroes. They have nothing to lose but their chains; they have a world to gain. It is for this reason that the south presents an inviting field for the propagation of Socialism.

Dissatisfaction prevails throughout Dixie. It was in Arkansas and Texas that the old wheel and alliance were organized. It was in the south that populism secured its greatest strength. It was in the south where the protest of the night riders astonished the nation. It is in the south today that the National Society of Equity and the farmers' union are the strongest. The south is already at the point of rebellion.

That the message of Socialism will be received in Dixie is evident, not only from these facts, but also from experience. Socialist meetings there are attended better than in almost any section of the United States. People have been known to travel by wagon from 150 to 200 miles to hear a Socialist speech. Of course, the propagation of Socialism will be violently opposed by those who profit from the maintenance of the present system, by those who have established peonage and landlordism in the land of cotton. It will be misrepresented and vilified, but this will count but little among those who are entirely disinherited by present conditions.

The solid south, solid because of capitalism, can be broken only by Socialism—and it will be broken by Socialism.

IN PRISON WALLS.

The Atlanta Georgian, the leading newspaper of Atlanta, Ga., recently gave prominence to an article which contained a vivid description of some of the most horrible atrocities ever perpetrated under the guise of civilization, illustrating them with a picture on the front page—a picture so startling and so terrible that it struck horror into many of the people. Death whose eyes it fell, as well it might, for it was the picture of a torture unsurpassed since the days of the inquisition. Two white women, not one whit less human because they were forced to endure a convict's garb, were chained to a post by the fiendish man-handlers who had them in charge, and were compelled to endure upon their naked backs the merciless prison lash, wielded by the keepers' brawny arms, until the tortured nerves could bear the awful agony no longer, and the sobs and

screams of the helpless victims hushed into unconsciousness—for nature is pitiful.

One wonders whether humanity pulses in the veins of those who would thus heartlessly inflict mutilating torture upon helpless human creatures, and then again and again bring back to suffering brain the consciousness of all that it endures until the fiber of endurance is at last exhausted and the brain refuses to accept again the knowledge of its agony.

Is it not time that these things should cease? Time for society to stop torturing its victims? Time to put an end to the society which is at war with its own members, and establish an order in which no tyranny shall be?

DEPARTMENT OF INJUSTICE.

A short time ago the Appeal was in receipt of a letter sent out by the South Bend Woolen company, in which it enclosed a list of forty-nine names of employees, with the evident purpose that they be blacklisted by employer to which list was sent. The matter was called to the attention of the department of justice (so-called) at Washington, with the suggestion that blacklisting was illegal, providing the boycott was illegal, or else there was one law for the rich and another for the poor.

In reply to this suggestion the department of justice (?) wrote:

"I beg to advise you that it is only in spheres of industry, in cases, defamatory or threatening character, or calculated by the terms or manner or style of display and obviously intended to reflect unfavorably upon the character or conduct of another is written or printed upon the outside cover or wrapper of mail matter that it is deemed advisable to imprison the sender, unless liable to imprisonment. Your letter indicates that the alleged offensive communication was sent under the cover of an envelope, and if this be true no liability on the part of the sender has been incurred under the laws of the United States."

This is not only begging the question but is a direct insult to labor. It is begging the question because the proposition was not one of sending unavailably matter but of blacklisting. It was insulting because it was a copy word for word from the indictment in the Warren case. In other words, it was saying officially that the worker may be boycotted, that he may be vilified, and nothing will be done. But if a Socialist editor criticizes work of this kind he is to be punished.

The question of whether kidnaping is legal remains open to this day, and in addition to that the question as to whether the blacklist is legal is open. The department of justice at Washington absolutely refuses to take any action in defense of labor. Mark that down.

CHANGED HIS MIND.

The Detroit Journal of April 23rd printed a Washington dispatch from which we take the following paragraph:

"Senator Burrows will introduce Monday the petition of the Detroit Federation of Labor asking for an eight-hour bill and for an investigation of the Appeal to Reason and its attacks against Judge Grosscup and Pollock."

This action on the part of a senator is interesting in view of his letter written to Mr. E. J. Peck, Suttons Bay, Mich., dated March 12th, which is as follows:

"Dear Sir—I have read your letter of the 7th inst., with a great deal of interest, and in reply would say that I know nothing with regard to the statements made in the publication you name, as I never read them and indeed have no use for any publication, but I am sure that your article, which devotes its columns to muck-raking, is not acquainted with either Judge Grosscup or Judge Pollock and did not know until I read your article that the Appeal to Reason made the subject of attack, and therefore, can not speak for them, but I assume that they passed by whatever may have been the subject of your article. I am a free man, as wholly unworthy of the slightest attention. Yours very truly, J. C. Burrows, chairman committee on Privileges and Elections, senate, from Michigan."

Senator Burrows is a politician with his ear to the ground. When he hears the murmur of the multitude he changes his opinion as the weather vanes changes with the wind. Burrows introduced this resolution to carry favor with the trade union men of his state. It was a pre-emptory act on his part and forgotten within the hour. Perhaps nothing could so strikingly illustrate the contempt in which the average senator and congressman holds his constituents. But when Senator Burrows gets back of a corporation measure he camps on its trail through legislative blizzard and political cyclone until it is signed by the president. Like the good servant, he lays it at his master's feet, and walks off with his part of the swag.

SOCIALISM'S GROWING POWER

Rev. Dr. John R. Davies of Philadelphia told the members of the National Dealers Association at Atlantic City last week that the capitalists of the entire country must face the problem of the growing power of the Socialist movement in the United States. A dispatch from Atlantic City quotes the reverend gentleman as saying:

"The time has come when the capitalists and employers of labor must reckon with the growing movement of working men, who realize that they are unable to obtain the necessities of life while their employees are toiling in wealth; declared the speaker. 'The modern Socialist is no longer a man with long hair and a bomb in each hand, but has become an economic power, through his vote and his power of organization.'"

Following his statement of belief that the modern working man is the victim of an unjust business, consumer, Davies warned his hearers that they would be included in the punishment which the Socialist movement might inflict with its growing power, and advised his auditors to start the movement for a better and closer relationship with their workers. In the effort to stem the tide, the reverend speaker said that the Socialist movement in the United States has grown from 5,000 to 550,000 in the last eight years.

HOW THE AMERICAN PRESS IS THROTTLED

By JOHN KENNETH TURNER, Author of "Barbarous Mexico."

YOU who have been following the course of "Barbarous Mexico" in The American Magazine doubtless have been asking yourselves why the promises to reveal the underlying causes of slavery in that country have not been carried out. Quite likely you have felt impelled, even, to ask the editors that question, since your interest in the articles, your purchase of magazines, even your subscription paid in advance, for one, two and sometimes three years, have come as a direct result not of a mere statement of slave conditions of Diaz-land, but of promises repeated over and over again that Mexico as a republic would be dealt with fearlessly and in detail.

Possibly you have arrived at the conclusion that, since you have paid your money for goods that have not been delivered, you have been victimized by the editors of The American Magazine.

You to whom I am addressing myself number many tens of thousands. You have been counted in the counting room of The American Magazine. You have paid your money. The American Magazine has received it, and the publishers are even now gloating over the "good thing" that you have proved to them. Hugely have they profited by your interest in Mexico, but I here state positively that they will not deliver the promised goods. It is up to you to determine whether or not the publishers of The American Magazine will profit by the transaction in the end.

What I am writing here I am not writing wildly or at random. Every essential statement that I make in this article I prove, and nearly all of them I prove by the pages of The American Magazine itself.

Suppressing the Turner Articles.

I charge The American Magazine with a virtual suppression of "Barbarous Mexico." I charge it with following the suppression with a complete change of front in which it has endeavored to whitewash the Mexican government of all blame for the slavery and political oppression in Mexico. I charge it with going even farther—with planning to end its articles upon Mexico with a fulsome eulogy of President Diaz, a eulogy bearing the same earmarks as the flood of eulogies that have gone before, eulogies placarded periodically upon American newspapers, magazines and books, bought and paid for with the cold cash of a far-seeing despot.

Such is my charge. Now to the proof. What did The American Magazine promise for "Barbarous Mexico" and what did it give? Turn to the September number, page 501, to the initial announcement of the articles. After asserting that slavery exists in Mexico and that I will tell all about it the editors continue:

"Early in the series the author will begin to gratify the reader's curiosity about other points. Mexico is called a republic. Read now what Mr. Turner says: 'Mexico is a republic in reality much like our own, inhabited by a people a little different in temperament, a little poorer, and a little less advanced in the enjoyment of the protection of republican laws—a free people in the sense that we are free. Mexico is a country without political freedom, without freedom of speech, without a free press, without a free ballot, without a jury system, without political parties, without any of our cherished guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is a land where there has been no contest for the office of president for more than a generation, where the executive rules all things by means of a standing army, where political officers are sold for a fixed price, where they have no rights, where peonage is the rule for the great mass and where actual chattel slavery obtains for hundreds of thousands of its people.'"

All these points in Mr. Turner's statements will be illustrated and proved by many true and graphic stories in the course of the series. Facts—and nothing but facts—will be presented."

Such were the original plans of the editors. How were they carried out? Was I permitted to deal with any of these facts in detail? Not one. I was permitted merely to present some facts of slavery. After that my articles were cut off and other articles less damaging to the powers that be in Mexico were published under my title. Except for a single cautious article under the caption of "Moving Pictures of Mexico" in Ferment, written by the editors of the magazine and published unsigned, nothing has appeared up to this writing except stories of slavery and peonage. These articles are merely in the nature of corroboration of my statements, but I have reason to believe that even they would not have been published had not a tremendous demand on the part of the public for more of "Barbarous Mexico" rendered the publication of something of the sort imperative. But even they contained hints of apology for the Mexican government, as I shall presently show.

Reason For Suppressing Them.

No, the real "Barbarous Mexico" was suppressed by the editors of The American Magazine. Why?

The excuse cannot be offered that the material which I presented did not prove to be as interesting as anticipated. It cannot be said that the editors did not know what the real "Barbarous Mexico" would be, that the editors were basing their bold promises to the public upon promises made to them by me. For when their announcements were written the editors had all my articles and had gone over them carefully—twelve damning articles only three of which were ever published. The editors knew their material. They cannot plead that they were not making their announcements with their eyes open.

But let us be quite sure of "Barbarous Mexico" as originally promised by the editors of The American. Let us go over some more of their announcements. Here are two from the October American:

"These articles on Mexico, which Mr. Turner begins this month, are going to run like hot oil. . . . This is going to be the year in which the general public in this country is going to be educated in the subject of Mexico. . . . Curiosity is abroad in the land. Mr. Turner and The American Magazine have something to say worth hearing."

And again:

"A great Diaz-Mexico myth has been built up through skillfully applied influence upon journalism. It is the most astounding case of the suppression of truth and the dissemination of untruth and half-truth that recent history affords. But Mr. Turner has long and often hazarded guesses as to the truth which he has now got. You read the articles one after another, follow the author in his adventures, and see the truth as it reveals itself. You will be forced to admit that Mexico, the 'republic' is a pretense and a sham."

Thus again we have a most specific statement that I am to reveal the political secrets of Mexico.

In justice to the editors of The American I wish to disclaim all belief that they intended to cheat their readers at the start. All the evidence goes to show that they intended to print what they promised to print. But why did they do it? Skillfully applied influence upon journalism! The very words of the editors themselves! Doubtless the reader is already asking himself the question: "Through what skillfully applied influence upon journalism was The American Magazine induced to retreat from the field upon which it had so dogmatically placed it."

It is a question which the reader has a right to ask. Can there have been any legitimate reasons for the cutting off of my series of articles? As the answer to this question carries with it a considerable significance in view of the part The Appeal to Reason will take in giving to the public some of the suppressed information, I may be pardoned for going into the thing more deeply.

No Question as to Facts.

What reasons could The American Magazine have had for suppressing the real "Barbarous Mexico" after having made such promises and published such announcements?

All possible reasons resolve themselves in the mind of the writer to three:

1. That the public did not display as great an interest in the subject as expected.
2. That the editors afterward discovered that I had completely fooled them as to the facts.
3. That what the editors term, "skillfully applied influence upon journalism," came upon the scene.

Let us examine these three causes and determine which of them obtained in the present instance.

If the public did not take to the subject, then the editors, in spite of their promise, may be considered as justified in discontinuing the publication of the material at any time. But there is every reason to believe that the initial articles not only attracted more widespread attention but called forth greater commendation than any of the editors anticipated. Read this from the November American, page 9:

"We have cut this announcement short. Now we can pass quickly to interesting facts and letters in relation to the lives of some of the men running in The American Magazine. We refer, of course, to the series by Mr. Turner, entitled 'Barbarous Mexico.'"

"We have just been having a most remarkable experience unparalleled in our fifteen years of magazine publishing. In the September number we had a large announcement of Mr. Turner's articles, under the heading 'Barbarous Mexico.' The magazine had scarcely out before a straggling band of letters had begun to come."

The italics are not mine. They are the magazine's. The editors go on with an account of the vast numbers of commendatory letters and press comments that they have received, remarking that: "Most of the letters approve of the publication of the articles." Several pages of commendatory letters and press comments are printed therewith.

Again, in the December American, when these pages were prepared for the printer, just before November 1, the stream of commendatory letters and the office of Mr. Turner's Mexican articles was larger than ever. . . .

And more pages of letters and press comments follow. On page 283, of the same issue the editors say:

"We have in our possession a multitude of letters from persons reading in the United States who insist to know Mexico thoroughly, and likewise from residents of Mexico, and most of them have congratulated us upon our attitude, begging us to continue our labor, which they judge to be humanitarian in its scope. . . ."

And still more pages of letters and press comments corroborating and commending my assertions in those first three articles. In the January American, page 292, we find:

"It will be difficult to give any idea of the sensation caused in Mexico by the pub-

lication of our previous articles. The words 'Mexico Barbarous' flare out of a hundred newspapers. . . . An overwhelming mass of letters, newspapers and reports has come in from all parts of Mexico. They furnish fresh corroboration of contract slavery and disclose a widespread state of political crime. The material would easily fill this entire magazine. . . ."

Again the italics are the magazine's. Even as late as February, the editors, page 11, refer to "Barbarous Mexico" as: "This series of articles, which has made a tremendous impression in all parts of America, and even in Europe," etc.

So out of the mouths of the editors themselves the fact is completely proven that they could not have suppressed "Barbarous Mexico" because the public did not exhibit sufficient interest in the subject. And I know that the editors were not over-stating the case, for I have in my possession literally thousands of letters and press comments upon "Barbarous Mexico."

Did the publication of my articles stop because the editors discovered that I had fooled them as to the facts?

Quite as positively do the pages of the magazine itself prove the negative of this proposition. While I was not allowed to present in detail my charges against the Mexican government, yet my preliminary announcement was sufficient to bring forth scores of letters going more or less into detail to corroborate my assertions. All of the letters published in the November American were written as a result of reading the announcement in the September number, and before the writers had begun to read my detailed stories of slavery. Such corroboratory letters would fill many columns of The Appeal to Reason and it will be impossible here to quote them. It will be sufficient, I think to point out the fact that the editors everywhere speak of corroboration—as in the quotations above—and to add here two more of their published statements. In the November American, page 10, the editors say:

"Most of these letters approved the publication of the articles; many of them corroborated the materials suggested in our preliminary announcement. Even the letters which were published on various grounds frequently contain references to personal knowledge of the material contents of the articles. The very first letter we had begun to use to publish the articles because they would affect business admitted that in Mexico there was 'something like slavery' and that 'Diaz has ruled with an iron hand and has often erred toward the side of severity.' It refers to 'the evil of the soldier, causing our country to do evil, but always that good might come.'"

Note carefully that all of this corroboration published in the early numbers of The American was corroborated not so much of slave conditions as of statements contained in my announcement of coming political exposures which exposures were never given to the world. In the December American, page 283, the editors, in replying to the letter of protest of "The American Colony" in Mexico, say:

"We have endeavored to proceed impartially in presenting these articles, unadvised to competent persons, so as to be quite sure that all the data and assumptions presented are correct. It is true that we have also received several letters which were most convincing and convincing, but it is a curious fact that not only do the letters bring mostly fresh corroboration of our conclusions, but since do not only bring convincing presentation of the opposing views, or else incidentally admit the truth of the allegations, some of our quotations of this sort could be continued at great length, but these, together with those preceding them, are surely sufficient to prove that the editors of The American Magazine believed that they had fully investigated my statements, not only as to slavery, but as to political conditions, and that they were convinced that those statements were true. After going as far as they have it would not look well, to be putting it most mildly, for the editors to say now that, after all, I did fool them. Rather than confess to perpetrating a deliberate fraud upon their readers, the editors might be willing to admit that they were veridant simpletons, but even that they cannot do successfully, for in calling me a liar they would find themselves shouting liar at hundreds of dissatisfied private parties, writers paid by no one, men who have spent considerable fractions of their lives in Mexico, and of whom the editors of The American itself has published, men whose letters I possess and who aver over their own signatures that what I have written of slavery, as well as my statements in announcements of articles afterward suppressed, were not only not overdrawn, but in many instances were short of the whole truth."

Of course if the editors of The American should fly in the face of such evidence and endeavor to play the part of journalistic dupes, they will be able to find letters and magazine articles to support them. For among the thousands of letters and published comments upon my part of "Barbarous Mexico" about one-tenth of the number contradict my statements. But here is a fact to bear in mind, that in every case where I have traced the source of such contradictions back to his antecedents, I have discovered that he was in some way intrusted in special privileges or emoluments conferred by the Mexican government."

Thus it will hardly behoove The American Magazine to assume such a position, for in doing so it would in one place itself publicly in the class of the subsidized.

"Influence Upon Journalism."

So by a process of elimination we

have arrived at the question as to whether or not my articles were suppressed because of "skillfully applied influence upon journalism." I am not going to declare that such was the case. I shall leave the reader to his own conclusions. Possibly the reader has already felt forced to the conclusion that it was either because of "Skillfully applied influence upon journalism" or because of no reason at all, and magazines are not in the habit of suddenly breaking off a tremendously successful series of articles for no reason at all.

For to say that my articles, as far as published, were tremendously successful is putting it mildly. That they made tens of thousands of dollars for the publishers is indicated by their statements of circulation. Despite the fact that on the month in which the articles started the price of the magazine was advanced from ten to fifteen cents a copy, and from one dollar to one dollar and a half per year, claims of jumping circulation have been made monthly by the magazine, one month it being stated that in the preceding two months the circulation had sprung up 25,000 copies. That this jumping circulation was due to my articles there is no doubt. The editors so considered it and told me so. "It has been a great success for us," is a statement contained in a letter from the editors received just at this writing.

How much of this "success" was due to readers of the Appeal to Reason? I do not know. Probably very much of it was due to readers of the Appeal to Reason. As I suggested before, whether or not The American Magazine will be permitted to bear away a final success based upon false promises to its readers depends upon the action those readers will take in the matter.

Now, while I am refraining from charges of "skillfully applied influence upon journalism" exerted upon The American Magazine by the Mexican government or its allies, I wish to state a few more facts which go to show the sudden and astonishing change of front on the part of the editors.

My acquaintance with the editors of The American began about two years ago, when I submitted to them two articles dealing with what appeared to be a conspiracy between our government and the Mexican government for the suppression of the political liberty of Mexicans. Upon these two articles the editors gave me great encouragement, suggesting that, while the material was such as they would be glad to handle, they would be more acceptable were they preceded by other articles dealing with personal stories of oppression upon Mexican soil.

It was upon this encouragement that I embarked upon my first journey to Mexico, in which, in the guise of a land buyer, I visited Yucatan and Valle Nacional, as well as numerous other parts of the country, gathering at first hand the facts of slavery and oppression, witnessing with my own eyes the beatings, the imprisonments, the starvation, the degradation, the awful poverty, learning from many sources the details of political graft and brutality.

With this information I returned to the United States with the result that the two articles became seven. Three of these articles dealt with Yucatan and Valle Nacional, the other four, principally with the political conditions. The articles on slavery were accepted with the others, but the articles on slavery were looked upon by the editors as merely introductory—introductory to a story of brutal despotism such as has not been equalled in modern times.

At that time, indeed, such was the interest of the editors in the political secrets of Mexico that they insisted on my returning to the land of Diaz for a second trip, there to secure additional material so that they might publish a complete expose of the corruption of the Mexican government and the story of its sale of the land and the people to foreign capitalists.

Accordingly, I made the second trip, gathering the material wanted, and the seven articles became twelve. The twelve were turned over to the editors, commented on favorably by them, and preparations were made to publish the serial. How many of the articles were printed in type I do not know, but the editors reported to me that at least six of them had been finally gone over for the last time preparatory to publication, and I was told that proofs of the second three would never come.

But the proofs never came. My three slave articles were published and no more. In January was published the more or less heavy article by the editors entitled "Moving Pictures of Mexico in Ferment"; in February came Mr. Whitaker's article; in March an unsigned story of peonage, and in April a thin, insignificant installment, consisting of extracts from a book!

Had the articles which came after mine carried the subject into deeper ground these lines would never have been written. Had the editors shown any inclination to carry-out their promises through another writer than myself these lines would never have been written. But to one who has followed "Barbarous Mexico" from the first the conclusion seems inevitable that the later articles have been published chiefly as a "stall" to the public, a tapering off of the serial, an attempt to hold the voracious reader at bay while handing him weaker and weaker doses so that his interest would wane rapidly and permit the publishers safely to cease dealing with the subject as early as possible. Combined with this purpose, as I previously suggested and as I shall show more definitely a little later, is the more reprehensible one of attempting to excuse President Diaz and his government for their part in the slavery of the Mexican people.

lowed to creep into the columns of the magazine.

My belief that the later articles published under my title were put out merely as a stall is confirmed by the fact that except for the Whitaker article, each one was decided on only at the eleventh hour. The editors wanted to quit the serial, but the demand of the public that the magazine live up to its promises was so great that they did not dare. After confessing that they did not intend to print any more of my material the editors wrote me that they did not know what they would put in the March number. Later they led me to believe that they would not have anything at all in the April number. For April at the last moment they decided to quote from a book on Yucatan and at this writing they inform me that they have no plans for the May number, although they are still planning to end the serial with an article whitewashing President Diaz.

And this brings me down to the story of how the editors of The American, after preparing for publication an article by myself proving that Diaz, far more than any other individual or group of individuals, is responsible for the continuation of slavery in Mexico, turned squarely about and purchased and prepared to publish an article not only absolving the president of Mexico of blame for the galling burdens of his people, but even praising the Mexican system without stint.

That this egotistic article has not appeared in the pages of The American Magazine is not the fault of the editors of The American, but of the author, who, considering that the check which the editors sent him was too small, promptly found a dearer market and returned the check, thus depriving The American Magazine of the right to use the material.

Protecting American Capitalists.
The author of this bit of Diaz praise is Herman Whitaker and if you wish to observe its exact character, turn from these lines to the May number of Sunset Magazine, where the article will be found, unless the editors have changed their plans as to printing it in the May number.

The title of the article in question is a very suggestive one, "Diaz, the Master of Mexico." I am not guessing when I say that the editors of The American thought it, paid for it and were preparing to print it. As proof I have the word of the author himself, coming to me by two routes, one route being the Daily Tribune of Oakland, Cal., Whitaker's home town, and the other route being a mutual acquaintance. Final proof of the intent of the editors of The American Magazine to print the article which they thought they had purchased, is a proof announcement of the article which they inadvertently sent me and which is now in my possession.

Sunset was willing to pay \$300 for "Diaz, the Master of Mexico," while The American thought it had bought it for \$150. Therefore Sunset publishes the article and The American does not. The American's apology for Diaz is postponed, therefore, but it is yet to come—that is, if the plans of the editors as gathered from letters to me are not changed.

Meanwhile, we find the editors of The American paving the way for the whitewashing—preparing its readers to be inducted through a chorus of peacocks to come later. You may find evidence of this in Mr. Whitaker's February article, in which it is hinted in several places and in several ways that the Mexican government is not responsible.

Then, in the March article we find, page 877: "The real trouble down there is not the government, but the vast difference between the ruling class, the Castilians, and the ruled class," etc., etc.

Quite a change from the announcements of, September, October and November—eh?

In the above instances responsibility may be laid to the writers, instead of upon the magazine. Do not be deceived. If the editors had not wished, specially to convey just the impressions conveyed they would have used the blue pencil. Certainly they never hesitated to mutilate my statements whenever it suited their purpose to do so. Why, in one case, without any authority whatsoever they went so far as to publish a long footnote, over my initials, although I had never written a line of the footnote, nor seen it, nor even would I agree with the statements contained therein.

Such is my evidence. Draw your own conclusions. "Skillfully applied influence upon journalism" would seem to be under strong suspicion. Whether in this case "skillfully applied influence upon journalism" is to be translated as cold cash handed out behind locked and guarded doors or merely as that diversionary Big Business which is in partnership with the Mexican government in its ruthless exploitation of the land and the people, you will have to judge for yourselves.

The Uplifted Club.
If indirect bribery is less reprehensible than direct, then, of course, it will be more charitable to assume that the transaction came about through the Uplifted Club of Big Business—the influence of Big Business exerted upon the advertisers of The American Magazine, who in turn exerted the influence upon the editors thereof. The editors themselves have sedulously spread the report that "strong influence" was brought to bear to cause them to discontinue my articles. I have it from a most noted citizen of Los Angeles, Cal., that they even made the flat statement to him that "pressure" had been brought to bear upon them. Little did they know that evidence that they had yielded to the pressure would ever be wielded to the public. Evidently they felt secure. They never thought at the time that they would be caught and exposed.

Appal readers who take so charitable a view of the situation as to assume that the pressure was nothing more than the club of Big Business will doubtless need in this whole story a lesson in reform journalism, the moral being that a publication fed

largely by its advertisers will bend the knee to its advertisers when the interests of its subscribers come into conflict with the interests of its subscribers, which always means the interests of the people. Therefore, that it is only a publication like the Appeal to Reason, which refuses to accept advertisements, that can be depended upon never knowingly to betray its readers into the hands of their enemy, Big Business.

This conclusion, it must be admitted, is borne out most convincingly by the fact that the Appeal to Reason stands ready and willing to print the suppressed information contained in the real "Barbarous Mexico."

The Appeal to Reason was the first publication, as far as I know, to call attention to the atrocities of Mexico. The Appeal was fearless enough to start the campaign and the Appeal is the only publication of wide circulation that I know of which is fearless enough to carry the story to its logical end.

For "Barbarous Mexico" has an end, a purpose, and has had all along. Many fair-minded persons, reading my stories of Mexican slavery, have asked: "Of what import is it? What can we do to stop this? What is the purpose of reciting these terrible facts? Are there not conditions at home that demand our attention first?"

These questions are well put. They demand an answer and here I shall answer them—as well as I can in a few words. The answer is that the story of Mexico leads back to a story on our side of the Rio Grande. The answer is that the slavery and political oppression of Mexico could not be maintained, no, not for a single month were it not supported by very definite and tangible forces which are to be found in our own country. The answer is that the absence of freedom of the people of Mexico involves in more ways than one a threat upon such liberties as are possessed by the people of the United States. Thus are all Americans, excepting alone the minions of Big Business, The American partners of Diaz, personally interested in the revolutions that are to follow.

This answer in detail The American Magazine planned to publish, but for some reason it changed its mind. The Appeal to Reason has promised to publish it. For the Appeal to Reason I shall go to the bottom of the barbarism of Diaz and the American conspiracy which supports it. For the Appeal to Reason I shall lay bare the threat to the American people involved in the barbarism and the conspiracy and shall point out the immediate, if not the ultimate, remedy.

The Liberated Man

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

It does not matter that the Creator has sown with stars the fields of ether, and decked the earth with countless beauties for man's enjoyment. It does not matter that air and ocean teem with the wonders of innumerable forms of life, to challenge man's admiration and investigation. It does not matter that nature spreads forth all her scenes of beauty and gladness, and pours forth the melodies of her myriad-tongued voices for man's delectation. If liberty is ostracized and exiled, man is a slave, and the world rolls in space and whirls around the sun a gilded prison, a domed dungeon; and though painted in all the enchanting hues that infinite art could command; it must stand forth a blotch amidst the shining spheres of the sidereal heavens, and those who call from the vocabularies of nations, living or dead, their flashing phrases with which to apostrophize Liberty are engaged in perpetuating the most stupendous delusion the ages have known. Strike down liberty, no matter by what subtle and infernal art the deed is done, the spinal cord of humanity is sundered and the world paralyzed by the indescribable crime.

Strike the fetters from the slave, give him liberty, and he becomes an inhabitant of a new world. He looks abroad and beholds life and joy in all things around him. His soul expands beyond all boundaries. Emancipated by the Genius of Liberty, he aspires to communion with all that is noble and beautiful, and feels himself allied to all the higher order of intelligences, and walks forth redeemed from animism, ignorance and superstition a new being, throbbing with glorious life.

A Vision

BY ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.
I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces, harnessed by science, have enslaved lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret subterranean powers of earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.
I see a world at peace adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth—a world in which no exile signs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward; where work and worth go hand in hand; where the poor girl in trying to win bread with the needle—the needle, that has been called "the asp for the breast of the poor"—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death; of suicide or shame.

I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the pitiless wail of want the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.
I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair the married harmony of form and function—and, as I look life lengths, joy deepens, love claspeth the eak; and over all in the great dome, shines the eternal star of human hope.

Capitalism's Position.
From Chicago Tribune.
Milwaukee's adventure in Socialism is being watched by all parts of the country, and the hope is general that the experiment will fail. Otherwise the thing might spread.

A Study of Competition

THAT competition in industry results inevitably in monopoly is so self-evident that the only proof necessary is to look about us on every hand and see the monopolies that have arisen from the competitive age of our own life time.

Everybody sees and feels this, but everybody does not know the reasons that make such results logical to the ending of the competitive state. To understand this one must examine the competitive conditions that prevailed a few years ago and study its character and factors.

During the feudal ages there was no individual competition. Each feudal lord, who owned the land and the workers, had his serfs supply all his needs. They raised the sheep, spun and wove the cloth and made them into clothing; they raised the grain and vegetables and flesh that fed the lord and himself, and their world was his demesne; there they lived and worked and died, generation after generation in the same manner of life. Society was nearly lifeless, it was stagnant. There were exchanges of products by the masters with other masters in other parts of that or foreign countries for articles different from what their own serfs could make. Each lord was the head of his own army and lived in a castle or fort, punishing or rewarding as suited his whim.

This condition continued for thousands of years, and the earth was a shamble and slave pen for the millions and a hey-day of lascivious and bloody existence for the rulers.

Then came the era of gunpowder and inventions of the cruder sort, with printing that made knowledge more general, which ushered in the dawn of producing goods for the market and gave birth to what is known as the competitive system. This was of slow growth and hedged in by many absurd restrictions regarding apprenticeship, prices and special privileges, and the upbuilding of the so-called free cities of Europe. The rest of the earth remained in the same dark conditions as before. The feudal system began to crumble and the subdivision of labor slowly prepared the way for the era of machine production, where the machine, not the worker, had the skill.

Europe could not have evolved into its present state, while all the lands were held by the few; for while there was a form of freedom, the dependence of the many on the few for the right to use the natural resources made them little better than serfs. But the discovery of America, with its free lands, gave the emigrants who came here much less tribute to pay. They began to acquire better conditions of material life, and the mind, unbound by its age-long fetters, soon bloomed into invention, giving promise of what we are today.

This development too, was slow. Fifty years ago production was carried on almost wholly by the village tanner, shoemaker, blacksmith and wagon-maker, while the housewives spun and wove the clothing, made the butter and cheese, cured the meats and dried fruits for winter.

The freed mental condition quickened the minds, and skilled workmen attained a perfection and ingenuity superior to anything in the past; they found they could make one article and trade it for others and thus get more of what they needed than by trying to make all they needed. The most skillful built up a wider trade and employed "hands" to aid them, and by keeping one man on one kind of work he became skilled, and thus the man who tried to make all of a shoe found he could not produce shoes so quickly as where each man specialized on one part of the work. Machines were slowly thought out and their application soon made impossible the one-shop workman to make goods that he could sell as cheaply as the big shop; so he became a "jour" and hired himself out to the boss of the larger shop. Then steam was applied to machines and this further widened the gap between the individual workman and his work.

Society was rapidly dividing, making a gulf between the worker and the tools he had to use. Commodities became the work of many different workmen instead of one, as before. More and more the goods were produced in towns, and as they drew workmen from the max of population, around their workshops grew larger and larger towns and cities. Where all things had formerly been produced on the farm or near-by village, they began to be produced in the cities. Hence the rapid growth of city population. The growth of the cities increased the land values there, and men became very rich from real estate. This increase, coming from the workers by charging them more and more for the rent of lots and houses, gave increased capital to still further the facilities for machine production. Wealth piled up rapidly, and the millionaire made his appearance. While the products of an average day's labor increased, the workmen did not get the benefit; it went to the employer and the landlord.

Watching this process carefully you will see the principle involved fifty years ago was just the same principle that runs through the production of things today, that is: making a few the masters of all the industries of the earth.

The employer with the most capital could own the most machinery and employ the finest specialization of labor and he could sell his goods cheaper than could the small and more poorly equipped master. The small proprietors, one by one, had to leave the race and accept employment, selling their skill to former competitors to make them still richer and more powerful.

You see that under the private ownership of industries the most skilled will be able to undersell and build up so extensively that none can compete with him, and when he has the market he can then raise the price and fear no appeal. This is illustrated in the steel trust, the sugar trust, the oil trust and many others. All these have evolved out of the competitive state and

into the monopoly list by the same law that was operative among the little shops of a hundred years ago. It took time to develop, but it is now here. No new principle is involved, no change in law has been necessary; only the developing genius of men in production has been responsible for this apparent change.

The trusts and monopolies of today are the natural development of industry, and they are going to continue this development until the pressure becomes so severe that a change will be made necessary. Unless intelligence, understanding, is used, that something will be very terrible, for in this age of schools and traditions of liberty, the many are not going to quietly sink into a modern serfdom as galling as was that of a thousand years ago. The danger lies not in the natural law of evolution, but in not understanding how to get the benefit of that law for all.

We still have a little individual competition, but it is mostly among the ignorant workers for a place to apply their labor to get a living. Even the small merchants no longer compete with prices—they sell the same goods at the same price, and depend upon a more pleasing set of clerks or more tastily displayed goods to gather in trade. They have among them agreements not to cut prices, just as have railroads, law or no law. Lawyers, doctors, dentists, carpenters, builders, plumbers—all have their secret agreements while the many who work for a living have their wages and lives dictated to them as assuredly as had their serf forfeiters of long ago.

We are now at the threshold of a new order. Individual competition having run its course, has now become monopoly, whether men wish it or no. The evidences of the new order are coming to light in every paper and magazine and book. The efforts to control the trusts and monopolies are the dim vision of the many that something is wrong and must be changed. This vision will become clearer and clearer, just as was the grasp of the individual competitive idea as the world emerged out of feudalism. The demand for municipal ownership of public utilities, the complaints and protests against court decisions favorable to the masters of industries, the many and increasing fraternal organizations and political demands; the insurgency of a few republicans, the efforts to get radical laws as relates to the owners of monopolies—all these are straws that presage the coming storm, or popular disapproval of the conditions that have grown out of the old system.

If the industries were forced back to the old conditions of fifty years ago, the era of monopoly would return in ten years and be about as it is now. But the day of small industries is gone, never to return. The great industries have proven their fitness to survive and no laws that can be enacted would drive the people back to the small shop and hand tools of yesterday.

We are to have greater industries; they are developing every day. Only feeble minded persons believe that we can control the trusts while permitting a few to own them. The rich and cunning owners of the industries, to maintain their power and prestige, can and will bribe and control your law makers and your judges and prevent your having them operated for the benefit of the whole people. It is absurd to expect anything else.

There is only one road out of the morass into which every nation of the earth finds itself, that is, that all industries shall be owned by the people, so that no part of the people will have any interest greater than their neighbors in manipulating the laws and the courts for private gain. With that collective or as you understand it public ownership, there could be no great private fortunes built up, but the industries would be greater and greater, benefiting all who worked in them or used their products. The common wealth would then be common wealth—not private wealth. Being produced by the workers (as it always has been) it would belong to and serve the workers, and the drones would either have to go to work or starve. Now the drones often draw millions a year income while the workers are rotting in poverty and degradation, after producing inconceivable quantities of the very things for which they are suffering.

We are to have greater and greater industries. Monopoly is certain and sure. It is merely a question of whether we will be collectively owned monopolies, for the good of the race, or whether they will be privately owned for the power, pleasure and glory of the Morgans, Rockefeller, Guggenheims and Carnegies. You have a choice between these two ways, but you have no other choice. One or the other it is certain to be.

One way is Socialism, for the good of all. The other is the belief in private capital, for the benefit of a few and the degradation and poverty of the many.

When the development reaches a state that makes this plain to the majority, there seems to be to but one course for them to pursue—that is for all the capital to become the serving function of all the people. The danger lies in the people not seeing this until oppression shall force them into a revolution the worst that the world ever knew.

Stealing as a Fine Art.

If you are going to steal, steal enough. Don't steal private property, for there's always somebody around looking after it; but steal public property. Don't steal it in violation of the laws of the state; steal the legislature, and pass the law that makes it legal. Take some respectable way of stealing, and if you can, take some way which even you yourself are unconscious of. That is stealing as a fine art.

Rev. HERBERT BIGELOW, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Hello, Central!
This reprinting over the phone followed by a request for a friend's number and a short conversation with him, result in one more copy of the Appeal to Reason. Get your subscription by phone and take their subscriptions over the wire. You can get lots of news that way.

Socialists at Work.

Mayor Seidel, of Milwaukee, has taken steps to ferret out and correct the many abuses in connection with the paving of the city streets. He severely criticizes the method of the street railway company of paving its portion of the street with different material than that used by the city, which tends to force vehicle traffic to utilize only the city's paving and saves to the company the wear and tear on and the expense of repairing and replacing its own paving.

Seidel is said to be strongly in favor of taking advantage of a law which was passed in 1907, making it possible to substitute a single "commissioner of public works" for the existing "board of public works," and a number of firms, which have formerly done work for the city have retained an attorney planning to test the constitutionality of this law, alleging that the creation of a "one man board" would do away with the making of such improvements as require special assessments.

It has been announced that Dr. Geo. W. Goler, of Rochester, N. Y., has expressed his willingness to accept the position of health officer, which was tendered him by Mayor Seidel. Dr. Goler is famous for the fight which he has made against impure milk and water, and against tuberculosis.

The mayor also is planning that an agreement may be reached between the city and the county for the employment of a physician for the district court, to prevent the insane or mentally deficient from going to jail.

Mayor Seidel is also planning some radical improvements in the plating of further additions to the city. He wants homes and factory sites to have plenty of air and sunlight, expressing himself as being disgusted with the conditions which exist.

Heretofore banks in Milwaukee have paid no real estate taxes, the claim having been made that as the stocks were taxed, the building should be exempt. But the new Socialist city attorney has found a legal basis upon which the bankers will be compelled to pay taxes, just like human beings.

What is the Answer?

There are in the city of Lowell, Mass., thirteen large textile concerns, consisting of two hosiery mills, one woollen mill, one carpet mill and one bleaching and eight large cotton manufacturing plants. These concerns are capitalized for \$18,420,000. In 1908 these mills paid in dividends \$860,000. In 1909 they paid \$874,350. This is an increase for the past year of \$14,150.

When this statement was made public our local papers came out with headlines an inch proclaiming that prosperity was right here! Is it? Not for years have the operatives of Lowell been so poorly paid as a whole. In the year just passed there has been paid out in the mills above named over \$600,000 less in wages than were paid last year! And in the face of that condition the parasitic papers of this city proclaim that this condition is an evidence of prosperity. It is not the wealth that is created in a town which determines its prosperity altogether. The main point is: How much of the wealth created in a town sticks to its ribs?

During my experience here in Lowell I can recall the time when the mill agents sent out scouts to all parts of New England to sing the song of profit to the country girls and induce them to herd into the factory towns, where the ratio of male to female in our population was as one to five in favor of the females. They paid as high as five dollars a head for girls who were induced by their agents to come here. This was head money. They paid transportation besides that. These girls were the flower of New England. It took on an average two years for these girls to become expert weavers. When that time had expired they would on average work be able to operate eight looms and get paid about ten dollars per week. At this time we have with us the Draper loom, twenty-four of which can be operated by one woman, and it does not require that the operator shall serve an apprenticeship of several years. As a matter of fact we can take a farm hand or wood chopper and in a month teach him to become a fair operative, or a human cog in the cloth weaving machine. There is a machine on trial here in Lowell that bids fair to enable the same weaver who is now operating twenty or more looms to attend to fifty with as little effort and with far less intelligence. The machine does the work!

Eight hundred thousand dollars less paid out in wages in 1909 than in 1908, and fourteen thousand dollars more in dividends! What is the answer? CHARLES A. LITTLEFIELD, Lowell, Mass.

A Slave in Fractions.

The free laborer sells himself, and that by fractions. From day to day he sells by auction eight, ten, twelve fifteen hours of his life to the highest bidder—to the owner of the raw material, the instruments of work and the means of life, that is to the employer.

The laborer himself belongs to neither the owner nor to the soil; but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belong to the man who buys them.

The laborer leaves the employer to whom he has hired himself whenever he pleases, and the employer discharges him whenever he thinks fit; either as soon as he ceases to make a profit out of him or fails to get as high a profit as he requires.

But the laborer whose only source of earning is the sale of his labor power cannot leave "the whole class of his purchasers," that is the capitalist class, without renouncing his existence. He does not belong to this or that particular employer, but he does belong to the "capitalist class," and more than that; it is his business to find an employer; that is, among this capitalist class it is his business to discover "his own particular purchaser."

KARL MARX.

This paper is 50 cents per year, single subscriptions in clubs of four or more the rate is 25 cents for forty weeks.

Collective Initiative

They tell us, now, that the public cannot initiate great enterprises, and would have us believe that the railroads were built through individual initiative, for profit's sake. But in the early days of America they had not learned combination, and no one man was rich enough to build a railroad, so that the early railroads, for which the growing commercialism made demand, were practically all initiated by the state. Besides, they will still tell you that capital is timid. Before "capitalism," so-called, arose to full dominance, that is, until the middle of the nineteenth century, it was much more timid than now. The few who had large fortunes in that period would not invest in railroads. If they were to be built, the public had to build them.

In the Empire State alone the railroads received from cities, towns, villages and the state, in donations and public investment, prior to 1850, sums that aggregated over \$40,000,000. Vermont had invested \$5,000,000 in railroads. In Massachusetts, \$100,000,000 of public money, given by either state, county or municipality, was put in railroads. Pennsylvania incurred an indebtedness of \$24,000,000 for internal improvements, owning 600 miles of canals and 120 miles of railroads. New York owned eleven railroads, aggregating 233 miles, and a canal system that was bringing in \$1,600,000 a year. Even on the frontier there was a demand for railroads (which individuals would not meet and which the public did meet with the utmost daring. Indiana, anxious for development, provided for building 1,200 miles of railroad, issuing state bonds to the amount of \$10,000,000, when the per capita indebtedness for these improvements reached the enormous sum of twenty dollars. Illinois planned nine railroads at the time when Lincoln and Douglass were legislators at the old capitol at Vandalla, involving the state to the amount of \$12,000,000, or \$35 per capita. Michigan planned for three railroads and several short canals in the early days, issuing \$5,000,000 in bonds to forward the work, which amounted to \$20 for each inhabitant. All this was public, not private, initiative.

There was private initiative. Towns were projected along the routes of the proposed roads, and lots were sold, and cities, at fancy prices, and in many cases the towns were never built. Besides, in the early days of the railroad, while the road itself was public, individuals and companies built rolling stock and all used the same public road. This led to complications which, in this day, appear romantic and ludicrous in the extreme. Often rival trains, running on the same public railroad, would meet between stations where there was no switch, and then the rival crews would quarrel over the right of way, sometimes even coming to blows, until one train would back to the last station and take siding there while the other train passed it.

How new and undeveloped the country was in the days of early railroad building! When the road from New York to Baltimore was under construction . . . black backed terrapins were so plentiful that it was written in the contract that the settler was not to serve the men constructing the road terrapin more than once a day. There was also a contract limit to the oysters and wild turkeys to be served.

The Courts at Work.

From Cleveland Citizen.
The first check to the new Socialist regime of Milwaukee has been given by the supreme court. The judges of the supreme court have upheld the injunction restraining the city of Milwaukee from establishing a municipal electric lighting plant. This decision of the supreme court is based on a silly technicality. It is now five years since the people of Milwaukee voted to start a municipal light plant. Former administrations dilly-dallied with the proposition. But as soon as the Socialists got into power the supreme court feared that the long-thwarted will of the people might be obeyed. Hence this injunction. Thus on a petty technical point the supreme court overrides the people.

The Arsenal of Facts comes free for a club of 12 subscribers SENT IN AT OUR TIME.
The noon hour agitation is making converts. Talk Socialism to your fellow-workers at the noon hour.

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD
who knows about prisons himself, tells how and why Stirton, McCarty and the other editors of **Solidarity** and the **Free Press** are imprisoned at Newcastle, Pa.

Theodore Roosevelt is described more scathingly than he has ever been described before, and **George D. Heron** prophesies what he will do for the capitalists.

Economic Determinism and the Sacred Cows, a study by Mary E. Marcly, combines science and humor in a delightful fashion.

No Beans and Rice for Columbus is a concise story of recent happenings at the capital city of Ohio, with snap-shots taken when things were doing.

Why is a Comet? The question is answered in a style you will understand.

The Immigrant, by Elliot White, is a word-picture from life accompanied by photographs.

Accidents in the Steel Mills, illustrated by Bertha Wilkins Starkweather.

A Socialist Reply to the attacks of the Roman Catholic Church. By Dr. Thomas C. Hall.

News of the Socialist Party Congress.
All these in the June INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, with many other good things that you can't afford to miss. A hundred large pages, 10c a copy; \$1.00 a year. The Review a year, The Chicago Daily Socialist a year, and the Appeal Fifty Weeks, all for \$2.00.
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY,
11



Have facts at the factory. Use the little card every opportunity. During the moon hour it should be in evidence continually. Thousands of Socialist converts are made in spare moments and during work hours. Keep the Arsenal close by. It's always ready for instant action.

The Appeal's Arsenal of Facts is a 96 page, vest pocket sized, morocco bound, fully indexed booklet especially designed for knocking capitalists, failed states and big business for busting 12 subs, ordering 12 sub cards or joining the Bundie Brigade for 12 copies weekly for a year at \$4. It's not for sale.

More Loot.

The "Loot" edition, No. 743, is growing by leaps and bounds. Already it has found attention from congressmen. If the distribution is kept up I predict that other officials will come forward with "explanations" to clear themselves when finally an accounting is demanded.

Does your old party friend realize that there has been no investigation of the Treasury department since 1890, and that the investigation of that time showed thefts of billions of dollars? He does not. The "Loot" edition will put this phase of each month before him in such a way he'll be obliged to get his eyes.

"Just as safe as a government bond" loses some of its weight when it's known that millions of dollars worth of government bonds have been stolen from the United States Treasury. And there has never been an outcry from the guardians of the public funds. Neither republicans nor democrats have sought to find the guilty parties or attempted to stop the steals.

The Appeal Calendar.

It takes just five subs, a few minutes devoted to hustling, to bring to your door the most unique calendar ever printed. The Appeal calendar is unlike others in every particular. It's a Socialist cartoonist, and is distinctively socialist. But even the calendar pad, the sheets counting the days of each month, from March 1, the great international labor day and continuation right through the new year up to April 30, 1911. The 747 three-color illustration is by Savoy. The calendar is class-conscious in every respect.

You can pick up five subs easily. Or you order them for \$2.50 per year. You make a \$1.25 contribution to the Appeal League which is putting all the municipal fire fighters on the Appeal list. Any one of these plans gets the calendar for you.

TWO FREAKS.

Roosevelt met the kaiser a few days ago. Says the dispatch:

Wearing the white and gold uniform of the Grade-du Corps, with brazen helmet surmounted by a silver eagle with outstretched wings, the emperor, on the entrance of the new palace on the arrival of the carriages which brought the colored and white uniforms, Miss Ethel and Kermit to the palace gates.

Here we have as fine a brace of mountebanks as ever strutted the world's stage to the applause of idolaters and fools. Imagine Kaiser Billie, the "War Lord," whose fighting has all been done with his mouth, "with brazen helmet surmounted by a silver eagle with outspread wings, embracing Bwana Tumbo, the hero of Kettle Hill, whose battles have also been fought with the same deadly weapon! Imagine those two freaks entwined in each other's arms! Just look upon the picture a moment and then—let us roar!

Neither of these strutting Caesars and helmeted heroes ever was in a real fight in his life, or ever went up against anything that would test the courage of a man, but both pose as great military chieftains and conquering heroes, and both owe their prowess and all their glory to the lamentable fact that the people love to be humbugged and that the greater the freak who imposes upon them the greater the adulation and applause of the multitude.

That the people deify and worship such cheap and brazen freaks is indeed pathetic—pathetic beyond words.

THEN AND NOW.

The Journal and Messenger, the national Baptist paper printed at Cincinnati, in its issue of April 28th, makes the following observations: "The attacks on Judge Grosscup of the federal court in Chicago, by a little socialistic sheet in Kansas, which some decent papers have foolishly copied, ought to be taken as the highest tribute to him. Praise from such a source would be suspicious."

The Journal and Messenger was established in 1831. During the days when the republican party was struggling for an existence against the aristocracy the Journal and Messenger was a strong pro-slavery publication. It denounced Horace Greeley and Wendell Phillips, and William Lloyd Garrison in one breath and praised the slave masters in the other. It upheld the Dred Scott decision and lauded every petty federal judge who used his power to oppress and rob the poor. It will come therefore as no surprise to thinking people to know that the Journal and Messenger endorses Grosscup's career as a seducer of women and a violator of the laws he has sworn to uphold. The Journal and Messenger dare not make an attempt to disprove the Appeal's assertions. The "decent" papers it refers to have investigated the Appeal's assertions and they have found them to be true—otherwise they would not have published them. There are many good, loyal Baptists who read the Appeal to Reason and I am quite sure they will present the Journal and Messenger with a more unfavorable attitude. I surmise that many of these good Baptist brothers who have been following the Appeal and who know that this paper never prints a statement unless we have proof to back it up, will take a fall out of the editors of this national organ of the Baptists of the United States.

Warren's St. Paul Speech.

The American Press Association, Park Place, New York city, put Warren's Fort Scott speech in plate form. Two hundred newspapers printed the speech entire. The Appeal is now getting requests for Warren's St. Paul speech in this form for publication in local newspapers. We have not yet made arrangements with the American Press Association but will take the matter up at once and make an announcement in the Appeal. In the meantime take up with your local newspaper the question of publication of the speech. The speech ready for printing can be had for \$1.25. It will make about two columns—the balance of the six columns being made up of miscellaneous matter dealing with federal courts.

Extra copies of No. 755, containing Warren's speech, \$5.00 per 1,000.

"ODDS AND ENDS."

Wickersham, Taft's attorney general, recently made a speech in New York City in which he referred to the Socialist party as the "odds and ends of politics." This is literally true. The Socialist party is made up almost wholly of men who at one time belonged to one or the other of the two old parties. There are a few members who were born rebels and who never voted any old party ticket, but they are the exception. Going back into history we find that the safe, sane and conservative politicians in the fifties referred to the republican party as being made up of the odds and ends, and they sometimes added ruff-raff and other pet names. Perhaps the Socialist party will get big enough in the not very distant future to refer to new parties in exactly the same way. When that time comes I will probably belong to the "odds and ends." The Socialist party is merely a means, not an end, and before society reaches its ultimate goal there will no doubt be many new political organizations, each one destined to push society up another round in the ladder of progress. The only logical reason a Socialist has for opposing the republican party today is that the republican party has outlived its usefulness. From 1860 to 1900 the republican party rendered a service to the country which entitles it to a place in history. But it has now lost all claim for the support of honest men who are desirous of preserving the national welfare. During the period of republican ascendancy the great captains of industry have perfected the machinery of production. These great machines are now a menace to society, if we permit the ownership to remain in private hands. The only other thing to do is to dispossess them of this means of exploitation and so arrange the ownership that every man, woman and child will have an inherent right to the good which can be made to flow from modern machinery. It is not a question of compensation or of confiscation. The only question to be considered is the preservation of society. Men in the past have paid scant regard to vested rights when those rights interfered with their lives and liberty. The history of our own country furnishes us precedents on which to base our action. We did not hesitate to confiscate King George's right to tax the colonists, although the resolution of 1776 worked an injustice to that monarch. It must be admitted that it was his capital and his enterprise which had made the new continent what it was. But there came a time when his vested rights interfered seriously with the further progress of the new world. Lincoln did not hesitate to confiscate the property of that class which had for more than a half century governed this nation and who were entitled to the credit for whatever progress the United States had made from the American Revolution to the War of 1860. So if you must have precedents here they are.

THE TEXAS BANKERS' ASSOCIATION, in convention at El Paso, held a banquet of which a Salome dance was one of the principal features. During the progress of the dance, the patrol wagon appeared on the scene and several of the bankers were given a ride to the police station, where they each deposited \$5 appearance bonds. It was later announced that those who were "arrested" might have their money back by calling at the police station. There were no prosecutions. Yet capitalist apologists declare that Socialism is immoral.

A RESOLUTION introduced in the house of representatives in Washington, recently, contains charges that at least three commissioned officers of the United States army, stationed in Cuba, have been for months serving in the Cuban army, in violation of the law of this country, and receiving pay from the Cuban government for that service, in addition to their pay as officers in the United States army. Treasonable actions cannot be blamed under a system which makes treason profitable, and a soldier who will serve his country for gain will serve another country for greater gain. Many a jobless man today is accepting bargain rates in patriotism in order that he may live.

CONNECTING UP WITH TAFT.

A resolution has been introduced into the house calling for an investigation of the sale of the friar lands in the Philippines to the sugar trust. It may never materialize into a sensation, but a sensation is behind it.

These friar lands, after being conquered and paid for to Spain, and again to the hierarchy of Rome, and costing the government something like \$18 an acre, besides the expenses of maintaining an army in the Orient for half a score of years, have been sold in a body of 55,000 acres to the sugar trust for \$6.50 per acre. The deal was arranged by Attorney General Wickersham, who is a law partner of Henry P. Taft, brother of the president. This is the same Taft who was connected in the scandal concerning Panama, and although a great show of prosecution was made in the courts, the prosecution failed and the truth of the charges has never been disproven.

There was a scandal in connection with the obtaining of these lands which connected with the president himself and with his election. Taken all through, it is about the crookedest piece of business that has ever been perpetrated by those high in authority in the United States. The sugar trust may get away with the goods and the Tafts may be able to feather their nests, but the future will rate these people, so recreant to their official duty, as not only incompetents but also grafters.

CITY, RULE AND END.

The reason why people leave the farm and go to the city lies deeper than a mere whim. It cannot be overcome with a "movement," until that reason is removed. In a word it is machinery. Not until machinery began to develop did the age of cities come. The machines were located in towns because towns afforded better means of exchange, and the towns were built to facilitate exchange. Manufacture has developed abnormally, until it exceeds in importance farming by more than double and as manufacturing has increased the cities have grown. Manufacturing is now a matter of monopoly, and as an inevitable result the cities rule the country. But the cities have the machinery of entertainment, of convenience, of instruction, developed more perfectly than the country, consequently they draw from the country. In that the machinery is well developed there they are civilized. In that mastery has come through the private ownership of the machines, they are barbaric and corrupting. The conquest of the country will not come because someone plans it but because machinery must develop to the point where it will organize and run the farm. When that comes there will be no rural seigniors properly speaking; and if corrupting influence of private control is ended in co-operation the multitudinous interests which make possible vast aggregations of men will pass away and there will no longer be cities as we know them today.

You realize only on what you have. When you have no representative of your class in congress, when you do not own the lands or the machinery of production and distribution, how do you expect to have anything else? Well; if you do expect it, you will get—left, just as you have always done.

OSCAR LAWLER.

Readers of the Appeal will remember the name of the degenerate official lickspittle whose name is at the head of this article. It is the same Oscar Lawler who shamelessly and brutally persecuted Magon, Villareal and Rivera, the Mexican patriots and liberators, while serving as district attorney in California, holding these fugitives from the tyranny of Diaz incommunicado and subjecting them to the most atrocious barbarities to the delight and approval of the Wall street pirates who are looting Mexico and exploiting its horde of peon slaves.

It was at this time that the Appeal threw the searchlight full upon this contemptible official mercenary, exposed him in his infamous role, and revealed his sordid motive, whereupon Oscar flew into a rage, turned as red in the face as the bloody hands of Diaz, his master, and denounced the Appeal as an organ of anarchy and lawlessness.

Such creatures as Lawler naturally hold such a paper as the Appeal in abhorrence. They have dark and malign motives and like the professional cracksmen at midnight, it shocks their nerves to be disturbed, especially when they are caught in the act with the goods upon them, as was Oscar Lawler by the Appeal to Reason, when it laid bare his foul infamy in torturing honest men, immeasurably his superior in every way to currying favor with his criminal masters.

Well, Lawler got his in due time. He had utterly prostituted his office, outraged justice, and trampled upon all the humanities with as little conscience as a cobra to serve his master, and what is more natural than that he should be called "higher up" (?) in the administration of Taft the trusty of the trusts and corporations that are looting the land?

And so it came to pass that Oscar was made assistant attorney general at Washington, and now again he comes into the limelight as the degenerate tool he is and the insufferable lickspittle who for a consideration would betray the most sacred trust.

When Taft wanted his dirtiest tool to do his dirtiest job he called upon Lawler and Lawler, true to his low instinct, obeyed with alacrity. Baling, the Guggenheim rat, had been caught in a trap and must be "vindicated." Lawler did this dirty job of writing the letter for Taft that "vindicated" the scoundrel Baling and smirched the reputations of his honest accusers.

Called before the congressional investigating committee and put upon the rack and exposed, Lawler again flew into a rage and denounced Kerby, the honest stenographer, whose conscience revolted at his part in the infamy, as would that of Lawler if degenerates were not talked without conscience.

Lawler treated about honor. Honor forsooth! This moral assassin, who knows not what honor is and owes his position and the salary he is drawing to the basest and most heartless service ever inspired in the darkened brain of a malefactor who for a bribe consigns innocent men to dungeons and doom their wives to the street and their children to starvation.

Had Oscar Lawler, the assistant attorney general, by the grace of Diaz, and at the price of noble lives being gloomily tortured out of patriots in the dimly lit cell—had this official jacked this legal lackey but a glimmer of the conscience of Kerby, the honest stenographer, he would disappear from the haunts of human beings and take himself to where no honest man could ever again look into his malign and sinister face.

The Appeal made no mistake when it diagnosed the case of Oscar Lawler in California before he obtained his "reward" at Washington, although there were many of our readers who protested against the severity of the Appeal's indictment. One by one the miscreants placed in the pillory by the Appeal are revealed to the people and in every instance the Appeal is triumphantly vindicated.

Oscar Lawler is the latest addition to the Appeal's gallery of knaves and impostors. But he is not the last.

The Appeal is after the scoundrels of high and low degree who are exploiting the poverty and misery of the working class and it will not cease in its crusade until the last of them has been lashed naked through the world.

AMERICAN SLAVE DRIVERS.

Americans are familiar with the brutal Cossacks who terrorize Russia in behalf of the czar. They know about the rurales of Mexico, who were once highwaymen and who now, as the dictator's slave drivers, exploit ten fold as much as they did when they were highway robbers. The United States is organizing her slave drivers, similar to the Cossacks and rurales. In Pennsylvania the constabulary is such an organization. It is in reality a private army whose business it is to prey on the workers.

A local newspaper says of them: "Troop A, state police force at Greensburg, will have the assistance of blood hounds in running down criminals hereafter. The dogs' ancestry dates back to slavery times in the south. They are the property of Privates Feely and Jeretson, and are trained thoroughly." The whole organization is criminal in nature, being of the same nature as the slave drivers of olden days. It shows how much the robber barons fear the revolt of their crushed slaves!

A BILL throwing open to public settlement over one and one-half million acres of government land, in South Dakota, recently passed the senate and house, the house amending it so as to make it possible to register without leaving one's home. Railroad lobbyists in Washington are making great efforts to have the amendment killed, as then it would be necessary for thousands of prospective homesteaders to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in going into South Dakota for registration. And the railroads need the money.

The workers make and the masters take.

Extra copies of No. 755, containing Warren's speech, \$5.00 per 1,000.

ABOUT, FACE!

With this report the sub list goes an about face.

We start up the hill.

Now let's shove the figures to 400,000 in a hurry. The Army had the list to 414,000 when Kansas "fits" hit us amid-ships and sent the list down temporarily.

Bear in mind that it takes from two to three weeks to put a name on the Appeal list and start paper to subscribers. No sub is counted on this "off and on" report until paper goes into the mails. While this report is dated May 14th, it does not show the thousands of new subs received during the week May 9th to May 14th; it shows new subs which went into the mails during the week noted; these were received at the Appeal office two weeks to three weeks before May 14th.

Next report ought to show some of the sums received during Protest Week, May 1st to May 9th. Then you boys and girls will see the result of your work at that time.

The foreman of the composing room has just handed me a report of new names set up this week. These names will now be counted by states and the figures will appear in next week's report. Here's the foreman's report:

Number new subs set in type . . . 26,318
Number lines set . . . 50,330
Number hours required . . . 185,339

This is equal to all the type in fifty-two pages of a six-column paper. To set these new subs took enough paper to fill an eight-page daily paper for an entire week. My! my! how Socialism is going backward. And what a feeble (!) organization is the Appeal Army!

Comrades! you've turned the tide! The Army, working as a unit, has already stopped the decrease. You're proving yourselves. Forty weeks ago you put on 75,099 subs. Then, three weeks ago, when they commenced to go off, you took a strangle hold on the list and in just twenty-one days—in spite of 65,829 "offs"—you turn up this report with list headed in the right direction.

Now keep them coming. Go after new ones with hammer and tongs. Camp on their trail and the old Appeal will bear down on the camp of the plutes with a full head of steam and decks cleared for action.

There'll be things doing if you continue to take care of the sub list.

The subscription report follows.

More Than 20,000.

State On Total
1. Kansas . . . 6,180 724 40,017
2. Penn. . . . 725 917 32,741
3. Ohio 573 825 32,626
4. Texas 533 910 22,508

More Than 15,000.

x 5. Calif. . . . 475 588 18,971
x 6. Okla. . . . 486 614 18,865
x 7. Missouri . . 393 752 17,032
x 8. New York . . 389 520 16,569
x 9. Illinois . . . 419 557 15,493

More Than 10,000.

10. Wash. . . . 326 319 12,777
11. Indiana . . . 235 460 17,513
12. Iowa 494 574 15,475
13. Mich. . . . 287 447 11,428
14. Arkansas . . . 182 487 10,643
15. Florida 215 429 10,132

More Than 5,000.

x16. Oregon 220 7,682
x17. New Jersey . 114 6,877 7,091
x18. W. Virginia . 133 250 6,702
x19. Wisconsin . . 228 468 6,628
x20. Nebraska . . . 125 205 6,434
x21. Colorado . . . 168 261 6,331
x22. Mass. 133 158 5,009

More Than 3,000.

x23. Kentucky . . . 102 208 4,819
x24. N. Dakota . . . 91 102 4,023
x25. Louisiana . . . 85 130 3,805
x26. S. Dakota . . 59 123 3,695
x27. Montana . . . 205 118 3,653
x28. Florida 121 372 3,560

More Than 2,000.

x29. Tenn. 65 158 2,840
x30. New Mex. . . . 67 75 2,800
x31. Maryland . . . 27 59 2,664
x32. Canada 63 56 2,611
x33. Miss. 63 92 2,463
x34. Utah 44 78 2,291
x35. Idaho 92 129 2,119
x36. Conn. 42 94 2,107

On the Sick List.

x37. Alaska 5 48 781
x38. N. Carolina . . 25 92 1,947
39. Foreign 13 7 1,885
x40. Maine 49 63 1,828
x41. Ohio 27 30 1,820
x42. Arizona 18 14 1,714
x43. Wyoming 12 18 1,281
x44. Nevada 12 26 1,275
x45. Idaho 48 105 1,240
x46. Dist. of Col. . . 37 34 1,183
x47. Delaware 3 220 1,119
48. N. Hampshire . 34 24 1,106

In the Hospital.

52. Vermont 16 4 524
35. Rhode Island 1 2 197
Like a good Vermont patient, cannot be discharged as well still it has a circulation of 1,000 Appeals. If you're friends in Rhode Island, get them on the list; if you know no one there, get a sub card or remittance to the Appeal and names will go on from this end of the line.

"Sub" Lets.

Delaware has but three "offs" which is the record this week.
Vermont has fewer "ons" than any other state in the column.
Minnesota goes from thirteenth to twelfth place.
Iowa jumps into the "more than 10,000" brigade. Congratulations, Iowa comrades.—New Jersey drops from eighteenth to seventeenth position.
Wisconsin leaves number twenty and advances to number nineteen.
Louisiana comes up one notch, taking her place at number twenty-five.
South Dakota leaves twenty-seventh place and goes to twenty-sixth position.
Maryland goes from thirty-third to thirty-first place, preceding Canada.
Mississippi jacks her increase from number forty-six to fifty-five.
Delaware, my Delaware, races out the door of the hospital and jumps into forty-seventh place with a circulation of 1,119.
Rhode Island acts a move on and leaves fifty-first place for number fifty.
I've just got my old Arsenal and now I've got to have another. Write Comrade A. J. Foster, Ga. Suppose you're your old Arsenal gives it away to some one not so energetic as yourself. You need it. Get it. Write to me and get a list of the necessary twelve subs and get a list editor.

And don't forget that you're not doing your full duty to yourself nor to your class unless you're taking subs for the Appeal and for the other Socialist papers. The organized movement, the party, needs you and you need the organization. Join the sub list in your own state. If you have no local write your state secretary and he'll gladly help you form one.

THE MEXICAN PATRIOTS.

Magon, Villareal and Rivera, the Mexican patriots who are serving a term in the federal prison in Arizona, will complete their sentence on Aug. 3, next. Most of our readers are familiar with the struggles of these brave men to better the condition of the Mexican working classes. Exiled from their own country because of their opposition to the despotism of Diaz, they fled to America, "the home of the oppressed." They began the publication of their paper, and were making headway in their propaganda of enlightenment, when Diaz through the instrument of the federal courts of the United States, succeeded in sending them to a federal prison.

In renewing this fight the Appeal is merely continuing its contest with the federal courts. The United States federal courts were used as the instrument to throttle Mexican independence just as the courts are being used in this country to oppress the working class. It is the same fight with different scenery and new actors.

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WARREN'S ST. PAUL SPEECH.

The American Press Association, Park Place, New York city, put Warren's Fort Scott speech in plate form. Two hundred newspapers printed the speech entire. The Appeal is now getting requests for Warren's St. Paul speech in this form for publication in local newspapers. We have not yet made arrangements with the American Press Association but will take the matter up at once and make an announcement in the Appeal. In the meantime take up with your local newspaper the question of publication of the speech. The speech ready for printing can be had for \$1.25. It will make about two columns—the balance of the six columns being made up of miscellaneous matter dealing with federal courts.

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