

Turner to Relate Facts of Gov. Hatfield's Record During Strike

The Appeal correspondent, John Kenneth Turner, who has written the notable series on the West Virginia strike, will contribute to the next week's issue a powerful criticism of Hatfield's conduct towards the strikers since he became governor. The findings of the investigating committee seem to favor Hatfield and rather put the blame on Governor Glasscock, Hatfield's predecessor. Turner takes the opposite position. His article is a scorcher. It will be worth reading. Watch for next week's issue.

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Fred D. Warren

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Appeal to Reason.

WEST VIRGINIA FOR SOCIALISM!

The National office of the Socialist party has determined upon an aggressive campaign of organization in West Virginia to follow up and clinch the recent splendid victory in that state. This shows commendable enterprise on the part of the national organization, and the Appeal urges the comrades everywhere to back the plan outlined by National Secretary Lanfersiek to the fullest extent.

That the Socialists of the country are alive to the possibilities in West Virginia is proved by the fact that immediately following the announcement, made two months ago, that the Appeal would send its staff representative into the coal regions, readers of this paper volunteered financial help for the purpose of flooding West Virginia with literature. That literature is needed in that field is evident by the sums contributed by the West Virginia comrades themselves to the fund for this purpose. One local contributed \$500.00. This was in the early stages of the fight. One hundred thousand copies of the Appeal were sent broadcast over the state and distributed from house to house by the West Virginia division of the Appeal army. Another contribution of \$250.00 was received last week from another comrade in West Virginia. Altogether more than \$2,000 has been sent to the Appeal by the Socialists of that state alone. These comrades are thoroughly aroused to the situation. They realize fully the need of literature, and they recognize that the Appeal with its splendid printing plant and corps of special writers and investigators is equipped to do this work.

The Appeal is the silent messenger of Socialism that can go into the remote and isolated districts where the organizer cannot yet go. The Appeal paves the way, making the path of the organizer easier. It is not necessary for me to tell you the value of the Appeal as a pioneer agitator. It converted YOU, and what it did for you it will do for others. If every Socialist who traces his conversion to Socialism through the Appeal will contribute \$1.00 to the "Carry West Virginia Fund," it will enable the Appeal to cover every hamlet, village, town and city in that state from now until the 1914 election. Would it be worth \$1.00 to you to capture that state for Socialism to the end that the political machinery of West Virginia might be used in the interest of the struggling miners as it has been used in the past for the selfish interest of the coal barons? If so let the Appeal have the dollar and the aggressive work will be continued along the lines already laid down.

Committee Report on West Virginia

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

THE committee of three appointed by the national committee of the Socialist party to investigate conditions in West Virginia has concluded its labors and submitted its report. The mission of the committee was an unqualified success and had it only been sent two months earlier no Socialist paper would have been suppressed and some other history would have been differently written.

It is with no exaggerated idea of the importance of the committee that I now undertake to review its work and set down its net results for the information of the readers of the APPEAL who were such an important factor in securing the appointment of the committee and forcing the senatorial investigation. The essential facts have of course already been set forth in the committee's report to the party which has with singular fulness and accuracy been given by the Associated Press to the reading public. But there are matters of detail and comment which could not be embodied in this report without making it too voluminous to serve its purpose and these I think will aid materially in clearing up the situation and paving the way for better condition in West Virginia.

Conditions Not Exaggerated.
Let me say in the first place that as far as conditions in West Virginia are concerned there has been no particle of exaggeration in the APPEAL or any other Socialist paper I have seen, and consequently there is not a single word to take back.

I make this statement thus explicit and emphatic in denial of the false statement ascribed to our committee and spread broadcast through the capitalist press, that our committee had been deceived as to conditions and that reports in regard thereto had been greatly exaggerated.

As a matter of fact it is beyond the power of language to even describe, saying nothing of over-drawing, the tyranny, oppression and brutality of the feudal regime of the mine owners of West Virginia during the past twenty years. If all the cruel assaults and cold-blooded outrages that have been perpetrated on the miners of West Virginia and their wives and children—to pass over the shameful manner in which they have been robbed and the degrading servility to which they have been subjected—could be condensed in a single volume it would constitute the blackest book in American history.

Let the fact not be overlooked at this time when the whole country is aroused, that during all these years nearly the whole of the capitalist press was mute as the lips of the dead under this robber regime, while men, women and children without number were the victims of these insufferable crimes.

No thanks are due to the capitalist press, except in rare instances, for the investigation which is soon to lay bare the horrors perpetrated upon the working class under the despotic rule of the mine barons, irrespective of republican, democratic or bullmoose administration.

Appeal Led in Fight.
It was the Socialist press that espoused the cause of the oppressed miners in West Virginia more than a year ago and has been fighting their battles ever since, and at the head of the Socialist press in this warfare stood the APPEAL TO REASON, backed by its continental army of unflinching veterans.

The climax came when martial law was declared, when an armored train shot up the tracks of the miners, and when Mother Jones, John Brown, C. H. Boswell and other loyal comrades and supporters of the strikers were kidnapped, taken into the military zone, and by a drumhead court martial sentenced to prison. It was then that the APPEAL and its Army came to the rescue as they always do in such a crisis. John Kenneth Turner was dispatched to the scene and his burning disclosures, spread broadcast by the APPEAL, aroused a nation from its lethargy and from a million throats went up the cry for investigation.

It was the APPEAL that first raised this cry and first demanded that the national party send a committee to the scene of conflict, and immediately afterward a flood of letters poured upon the

Ringed Message from John Brown

John W. Brown, the sturdy Socialist organizer of West Virginia who has just been released from a military bullpen in the town of Charleston, W. Va., June 5.—The Socialists of West Virginia are soon to face with a great opportunity.

The corruption of our state legislators by great financial interests, the usurpation of our courts and their subservience to the interests of the oppressor class, the bridled way of that class over every right and guarantee of the oppressed by the complete overthrow of constitutional government and the substitution of an irresponsible military despotism with its military court martial, which acknowledges no law nor rule nor state save the autocratic will of the commander in chief, has done more to arouse the people of West Virginia to a sense of their own moral and political worth to society as a whole than anything that has happened in the past fifty years.

The average man has awakened to a realization that the "Invisible Power" controls not only the governor of the state but the county officials as well and that irrespective of whether they are democrats or republicans.

This is the Socialist party's opportunity to get before the honest citizen the Socialist philosophy, its literature and its political program. If the Socialists are cognizant and will lend what influence they can to perfect a working organization in this state, a great political victory may be ours in the very near future.

Much depends now upon the Appeal to Reason and nothing can do us so much good in West Virginia as the continuation of the Turner articles, nor would anything so retard the political future as the discontinuance of these articles at this time. By all means keep this state flooded with the Appeal and the future will take care of itself.

Appeal to Reason's Greatest Victory

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

When the APPEAL has occasion to rejoice over a victory achieved it is always with the Army in mind, the Army of Socialist volunteers which has been recruiting all these years and which now constitutes the most powerful volunteer peace army in the world.

When the APPEAL turned its batteries on the federal prison at Leavenworth because of its being a whited sepulcher filled with uncleanness and corruption and misery, it was well aware that it was going up against one of the most powerful machines of the capitalist system. Nevertheless it launched its attack because it had faith in the Army behind it, and for three long years it had to defend itself against the attacks of an unscrupulous gang as ever lined their pockets with the proceeds of their dishonor and shame. But never for an hour during all that time did the APPEAL or the Army behind it waver, and only a few days ago the final chapter was written in the APPEAL's cleansing out of the Leavenworth prison, in the announced retirement of the warden of that institution.

In its conflict with the federal court which followed, the APPEAL again scored a complete and decisive victory. There was no compromise and no hauling down of the APPEAL flag. On the contrary, the APPEAL boldly challenged the enemy from start to finish and wound up by literally driving the prosecution out of court covered with humiliation and shame.

This was another notable victory for which the Army again deserved the credit.

Were we to go back into the past we might recall the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone trial and how the APPEAL led in that fight against the western mine owners until the whole country was aroused and the kidnaped comrades who were threatened with death walked forth free men.

But the greatest of all its victories, greatest in its immediate results and in its far-reaching possibilities, is the victory over the feudal barons of West Virginia who for the last two decades have made a slave-pen and a shambles of that state.

When the miners struck in West Virginia more than a year ago the APPEAL at once championed their cause and has been fighting for them ever since. The APPEAL was first to recognize the fact that West Virginia was destined to be historic battle ground and to prepare the workers of the nation for the conflict.

Left to themselves, or to their own union, the miners of West Virginia would have been crushed into submission as they have been over and over again these many years. It was nec-

essary to arouse the working class of the whole nation to the vital issue which was at stake and when the APPEAL began its work, almost single-handed and alone, there was soon a change apparent and out of the lethargy and indifference of the masses there sprang the cry of revolt which forced the senate of the United States to investigate conditions in West Virginia and report them to the country.

Millions of copies of the APPEAL containing the dark, bloody story of West Virginia have been spread over the nation. Every village, every town and every cross-road in West Virginia; every nook and cranny in the state was covered with the APPEAL's story and call to action.

The APPEAL instinctively finds its way into dark quarters, into hidden places where iniquity prevails and there turns on the light and puts to flight the evildoers who fasten their tentacles into the bodies of the workers and drink their life-blood.

Mother Jones in prison said: "I would have been doomed but for the APPEAL and its brave Army, the Army that never fails in a crisis."

John Brown, imprisoned with Mother Jones, exclaimed, "By the gods, when the little old APPEAL began to pour its broadsides into the enemy they took for the tall timber and the prison doors began to loosen on their hinges."

Paul Paulsen, another victim of the bullpen, said, "When the APPEAL and its Army got on the job there was a sudden awakening among the workers of the nation to the great importance of the West Virginia struggle, and from that hour the victory was assured."

It is not the purpose of the APPEAL to make undue boast in these matters, but only to record the fact of its power for good when the interests of the working and producing masses are in peril, and to encourage the Army in steadily increasing that power until it shall be so great that all the deception, falsehood and chicanery of the capitalist press shall not prevail against it.

The power of the APPEAL is the power of the masses in their struggle against their oppressors and despoilers. It is the power of a mighty cause making for independence, the power that expresses the solidarity of the millions, the power that will finally prevail as all the hosts of darkness and usher in the kingdom of freedom and the commonwealth of humanity.

The Michigan trial seems to have settled the question that to accuse a man possessing "a regular gentleman's cellar" with getting drunk is an offense punishable by a six-cent fine.

Do you vote with capitalist parties because you would rather your labor should buy food and clothing and automobiles for the family of your employer than for your own?

SOCIALISM depends on truth and right which hurt none but the wrong and the false.

A MAN can vote as he pleases and attend any church he pleases, but he can only work when the boss pleases.

WHEN property rights interfere with human rights they cease to be property rights and become property wrongs.

Do you believe it is wrong to kill your neighbor after a quarrel with him, and yet right to kill him without a quarrel merely because you have a flag flying over you when you do it?

THERE must be a reason why some without work have become so rich and others who have worked hard all their lives have nothing. Have you ever thought what the reason might be?

Coming Nation Suspended

We have found it necessary to suspend the *Coming Nation*. The reason is contained in the following figures, giving the receipts and expenditures of the magazine since its establishment in Girard in September, 1910:

1910.	Receipts.	Expenses.
January	\$1,474.81	\$1,960.43
February	1,250.02	1,971.77
March	2,532.02	2,482.56
April	4,726.92	3,064.82
Totals	\$10,183.77	\$9,459.54
1911.		
January	3,353.39	2,719.94
February	2,284.28	2,980.30
March	2,408.32	2,736.79
April	1,961.71	3,317.64
May	2,096.59	2,709.50
June	1,851.23	2,506.50
July	1,756.98	3,046.97
August	2,840.06	2,845.71
September	3,029.85	3,717.71
October	3,797.34	3,502.11
November	2,738.93	4,068.77
December	3,519.79	3,304.77
Totals	\$31,813.72	\$37,942.42
1912.		
January	3,502.80	3,266.26
February	3,167.08	3,273.21
March	3,192.99	4,330.83
April	2,041.77	3,797.74
May	2,407.11	3,990.93
June	2,467.71	4,910.04
July	1,851.23	4,029.12
August	4,622.86	4,223.21
September	3,626.49	3,718.39
October	3,029.85	3,717.71
November	2,786.71	3,855.02
December	7,162.50	4,866.94
Totals	\$42,932.04	\$48,201.23
1910, 4 months, gain		\$725.33
1911, loss	\$6,128.70	
1912, 5 months, loss	4,127.64	
Total loss	\$10,256.34	

Those who subscribed and received a copy of the "Call of the Carpenter" I hope will consider that they have their money's worth. These also will get the APPEAL until the end of their time on the *Coming Nation*.

I will undertake to refund the cash in all cases where readers paid directly to the paper the full subscription price of \$1. You may have your subscription extended for the amount due you on the *Coming Nation* on subscription to the APPEAL at the rate of 25 cents for forty weeks. Thus if you have 50 cents coming to you on the unfiled subscription, you may order us to extend your subscription to the APPEAL for 80 weeks. Right here let me state that the best features of the *Coming Nation* will be continued in the APPEAL.

It will be necessary for all classes of subscribers to the *Coming Nation* to cut out the coupon below and return it to the APPEAL. Please be specific in giving the information asked for on the coupon printed below.

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas:
You are hereby authorized to credit me on the APPEAL subscription what is yet due me on the unexpired *Coming Nation* subscription.

I subscribed through the lyceum bureau.....

I subscribed to the "Call of the Carpenter" offer.....

I subscribed and paid cash.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... STATE.....

If you desire the cash returned so state here and I will do my best to get it to you within sixty days.

Report on West Virginia

(Continued from page one, Col. 1st.) against martial law he said it had practically been ended and only remained...

Hatfield Promises Protection.

I confess that no one could have been more greatly surprised at these results than myself. I went to West Virginia strongly prejudiced against Governor Hatfield...

Suppression Was Outrageous.

The assault upon the Star was especially brutal and outrageous. The office was entered by a squad of soldiers, at midnight, the forms, ready for press, destroyed, the property confiscated...

Conduct Unbecoming a Governor.

The hasty, ill-advised and ill-mannered resort to a disrespectful communication from the Wheeling Trades and Labor assembly was another grievous error and utterly unbecoming the governor of a state.

Still another charge against the governor.

Still another charge against the governor was that he threatened to drive out of the state all the miners who refused the terms of the settlement, so-called, proposed by the governor and agreed to by the operators.

These briefly are the principal charges against the present governor.

I have no desire to excuse him and he has no desire to excuse himself. He is perfectly willing to answer for his official conduct and in our interviews with him he showed no desire of evading any just responsibility for his acts.

Political Faith of Debs

Debs' answer to the K-nawba (W. Va. Citizens' question, What is your political faith?)

The emancipation of labor is essential to the freedom of humanity. The struggle for freedom is the history of the race; the fruit of the struggle the development of man.

Committee Harmonious.

It is satisfying in submitting this report to be able to say that Comrades Berger, Germer and myself, as the committee representing the Socialist party, worked in perfect harmony with the representatives and the rank and file of the United Mine Workers...

Mission Was Successful.

We went there to protest against martial law and the suppression of Socialist papers, and martial law was promptly put an end to except where it was requested by the miners to protect their organizers against corporation thugs...

Asking About Socialism

Under Socialism, how would our farms be run? Would we manage our farms as individuals, raise and sell our cotton, corn and other products the same as now?

Socialism Not "Founded."

When and where, and by whom was Socialism founded? Socialism was not "founded" by anyone, at any time, or in any place.

Rewarding the Inventor.

The invention should become the property of the whole people and the inventor be given a reward in accordance with the value of his idea to the people. The invention alone, without application of work, is valueless.

Have You the Facts?

Honestly, can you always back up what you say? For instance, you say in an argument with some neighbor or friend over Socialism and you remark that mortgaged farms are on the increase.

Preparing for "Baby"

[The following from the San Francisco Examiner is considered so important it was sent by leased wire, the longest in the world. It will be very comforting to the thousands of human mothers who have to bring into the world their children under very inhuman conditions.]

Owning and Reading Books

There is nothing of greater importance to the average man than to buy and read books, provided only that the books he buys and reads are the right books.

Private Land Monopoly in Great Britain

Private land monopoly in Great Britain is more extensive than in any section of the world. The total area of the united kingdom is approximately 77,000,000 acres, and 40,000,000 of these are owned by 2,500 people.

The Committee's Report.

The committee of the Socialist party investigating conditions in West Virginia, has brought in its report. It declares that stories of conditions as given in the Socialist and labor press have been in no way exaggerated.

Nationalization of Forests.

Tremendous forest areas are yet publicly owned and there is a general move all over the world to preserve these, not only in order to see that the timber supply is not exhausted, but also to protect the water sheds and avoid the cessation of rains which, it is declared, comes from destroying the forests.

Statistics for Soapboxers

Table with columns: National Debt, Public Debt, Annual Int. etc. for various countries like France, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, British India, Japan, Australia, United States, Portugal, Brazil, Belgium, China, Turkey, Argentina, Belgium, public.

Sub Rates.

Table with columns: One year, Six months, Four years, Foreign subscription, per year.

Appeal's Representative

Dr. Bailey Kay Leech, in Justice, Brandon Ore. If there is anyone on earth that has the ability and courage to ferret out the facts about West Virginia's military tyranny, that person is John Kenneth Turner.

Socialized Land

A GREAT many suppose that all the land of the earth is owned individually. This is far from the truth. The greater portion, and probably that which contains the finest minerals of the earth's surface, is still in the possession of nations, states and communities.

His Retiring Message

[In retiring from the office of national secretary of the Socialist party, John M. Work not only issues a touching message of thanks to his assistants, but he also sends out the following ringing words to the Socialist membership and to the worthy of such a Socialist as John M. Work is.]

Yours very truly,

Yours very truly, T. L. Frazier

A Letter Showing Spies' Methods

Mr. W. A. Burnell, Beckley, W. Va.: Dear Sir—I want you to see each of the men referred to in our conversation at Thurmond and explain to them the reasons for having been placed on the pay-roll of the coal company and say to them that this is only a temporary arrangement and they will be under the observation of the agency and under supervision of Mr. Phipps, but for the present they will have no official connection with the agency.

Thurmond, W. Va., May 21, 1913.

Let the impression be made on the public generally and information go out that they are simply working as deputy sheriffs in the interest of the coal companies and have no connection with the Baldwin-Felts agency. As far as supervision is concerned, instructions, co-operating with them, etc., there will be no change in that.

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Wayland Biography

"Leaves of Life," according to the preface to this most interesting book, has been prepared, not for the general public, but for that wide circle of friends that J. A. Wayland has made in the course of his remarkable career.

Nationalization of Railroads.

The three most important countries in the world that have not collectively owned railroads are Great Britain, the United States and Spain, yet the United States has a publicly owned railroad in Panama, while fourteen British colonies have such roads.

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