

of who should be the richest and happiest portions of the state.

Murdering the Innocents. Mand Ester, widow of the miner who was murdered the night the armored train in charge of the operators and the local authorities shot up Holly Grove, in her testimony given to the senate committee investigating conditions in West Virginia, said:

"It was on the night of February 7th, between ten and eleven o'clock, we lived on Paint Creek near the sleeping mine. We heard the armored train coming. There were no lights in the train, but the gatling gun carried sent out sheets of fire. Mine guards under a man named Lantz worked those guns. Frank (her husband) called us all to get into the cellar. I carried my year-old baby and another-unborn. My husband stood at the bulkhead, warning me not to fall. A shot from the train killed him."

The poor woman, utterly heartbroken, excited the pity of every one in the chamber. Her husband had been shot dead in cold blood while endeavoring to protect his family against the murderous fire from the armored train of the mine owners.

The only crime of this murdered husband was that he was a miner in the Paint Creek district. This was enough to justify his killing without the least provocation. According to the testimony of his neighbors he was one of the best of men, and one of the most inoffensive. He had harmed no one and when danger came his first thought was of his wife and babe, and in doing his best to save them he himself fell victim to the mine guard assassins.

The blood of this murdered miner is on the head of the mine owners of West Virginia, Quinn Morton, one of the leaders among them, being the moving spirit on the armored train which belched death and destruction into the mining camps where women and children were exposed to the murderous fusillade.

If there were no other crimes chargeable to the mine owners of West Virginia this one alone of the armored train making its night attack and turning its machine guns loose on the unprotected shacks of the coal diggers and their half-starved families, would be sufficient to forever damn them in the eyes of the civilized world.

Only the fiends of hell, degenerate, cowardly and heartless beyond words, could have been guilty of this monstrous crime. Savages would not have committed it. The head-hunters of the Congo regions would not have been guilty of it. Ordinary murderers and assassins could not have been hired to turn machine guns on innocent women and children.

From his grave Frank Ester cries to the miners of West Virginia to rise as one man, organize every mining camp in the state, and wipe out the conditions which have subjected them so long to the unbridled tyranny of the mine owners.

Senator Martine. The capitalist press has been sharply criticizing Senator James E. Martine of New Jersey of the senate committee investigating the strike conditions in West Virginia because of his daring to put pointed and direct questions to the brutal mine owners and insisting upon his questions being answered.

The manner and conduct of Senator Martine, so offensive to his capitalist critics, were entirely to his credit. He refused to be bluffed by the notorious Quinn Morton who ran the "Death Special" through the sleeping mining camps of Paint Creek and poured a murderous machine and rifle fire into the shacks and tents of women and children.

When Morton refused to answer his questions and displayed the air of an insolent braggart as well as a heartless monster, the New Jersey senator's wrath was aroused, just as the wrath of The Carpenter was aroused when he lashed the Quinn Mortons of his day from the Temple, and he bluntly told Morton what he thought of him then and there.

This may have been in violation of the conventional and polite usages, but it revealed a rugged sense of justice, a fearless manhood, and a profound sympathy with the struggle, sorrowing poor which are to the everlasting credit of Senator Martine, the New Jersey farmer, regardless of what the corporation-owned press may have to say about him.

It is a pity that there are not more James Martines in public office to deal with the lawless and unfeeling Quinn Mortons who have so long outraged every claim to humanity and common justice that they have come to look upon themselves as the ruling autocrats of the universe, whom to question is to insult and whose authority to dispute merits proscription and death.

Senator Martine may have offended the refined sensibilities of the parasites and leeches by his bluff, honest and fearless manner of questioning the mine owners of West Virginia and baring their crimes, but he has won the gratitude of the coal-diggers and their families and the respect of all justice-loving people.

"It Was Born Dead." Gianiana Seville, wife of Tony Seville, a miner in the Paint Creek district, was a witness before the senate committee investigating West Virginia. This noble woman told a story of outrage so shocking as to seem utterly unbelievable. No brute in all creation would be guilty of the utterly heartless outrage perpetrated upon this defenseless woman by the inhuman guards in the employ of the mine owners.

lacked me. Tony (her husband) cried out what shape I was in, but a mine guard hit Tony with the butt of his gun. There were twenty-nine guards. Only two hit me. I do not know why. We had done nothing. After that I was sick all the time until August. When my baby was born it—it was born dead."

And these fiends of hell who knock down and kick pregnant women are employed by the mine owners as "mine guards" as a pretext to terrorize the miners and their families, slug union organizers, and keep the slaves of the pits and their offspring at the mercy of their masters.

Mine guards and black guards are synonyms terms in West Virginia. The mine owners have an army of these ruffianly mercenaries to execute their bidding and it has been conclusively shown that one of the chief objects for which they are recruited from the slum districts of nearby cities is to keep the miners from organizing.

It is only in an unorganized state that the miners are helpless and that such infamous outrages could be perpetrated upon them and their families.

The shocking story of Gianiana Seville pleads trumpet-tongued for the organization of the West Virginia miners and all the power there is in the labor movement should be brought into action until that work is accomplished.

Guilty, West Virginia. The million words of testimony taken by the senate committee in its investigation of West Virginia contains overwhelming proof that the federal government has been contemptuously set aside by the coal barons of that state; that civil authority has been overridden by the military power; that peonage in its worst form has existed in the mining regions; that citizens have been prevented by the private army of the mine owners from going to the postoffice and that various other crimes have been perpetrated upon the citizens, all in violation of the constitution of the United States and all tending to show beyond any question of doubt that the republican form of government guaranteed to every state under the national constitution has been reduced by the mine owners to an arbitrary, irresponsible military despotism.

Gilson Gardner, the well known Washington correspondent, in a late dispatch from Washington thus epitomizes West Virginia's guilt and the duty of the national administration in dealing with that recalcitrant state:

West Virginia has been found guilty. The senate committee investigating industrial peonage has found it and found also that citizens of West Virginia have been deprived of life, liberty and property and the process of law. The fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution says: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

When a state violated this provision of the federal constitution by arbitrarily substituting military courts for civil courts, military trials for jury trials, execution by firing, the lessening and granting military warrants for indictments by grand juries and court warrants, then it is the duty of the federal government to introduce the strong arm of the federal authority and to reconstruct that state. A recommendation that steps be taken to this end will be made by the committee which is now ready to formulate its report.

We have here a perfectly plain statement of the case of West Virginia. It has violated the national constitution and must pay the penalty. For this the lawless mine owners are responsible. They criminally set themselves up above the laws of the state and nation and now it becomes necessary for the strong arm of the national power to take them by the scruff of the neck and pitch them bodily out of the despotic seats which they usurped and restore to supremacy the laws of the state and nation.

Reconstruct West Virginia. Reconstruction is again the order of the day. West Virginia will be the first state to feel the heavy hand of the federal government. Other states would do well to profit by the example, especially those in the soft south where the lumber and turpentine camps of the trust magnates have been converted into peonage preserves, and where the right of workmen to organize is shot full of holes by the hired assassins in the service of these same magnates.

It is high time indeed that we entered upon another period of reconstruction for the southern states have set about deliberately to disfranchise negro voters, abrogate the right of free assembly, and otherwise violate the guarantee of a republican form of government made to every state by the federal constitution.

The positive statement has been made in official circles, as reported in the press dispatches from Washington, that the senate committee which investigated West Virginia will recommend that the federal administration proceed to reconstruct that state.

The guilt of West Virginia under the criminal regime of the mine owners and their conspiracy to convert the state into a military despotism, has been established beyond any question of doubt and when the senate committee submits its report and recommendation it will be up to the president and congress to proceed to reconstruct West Virginia, restore constitutional government, and compel the mine owners to respect the lawful rights of the miners.

There can be no question as to the authority not only, but the duty of congress in respect to West Virginia. If the violations of the national constitution there are condoned or similar violations will be encouraged in other states, and if a republican form of government is not enforced in West Virginia, in spite of the tyrannical mine barons, then the federal constitution is null and void, has no binding effect upon any of the states, and the United States of America as a nation has ceased to exist!

The "Murder Special." The truth came out in regard to the armored murder train sent up Paint Creek valley one night by the mine owners of West Virginia to turn a machine gun and a torrent of deadly bullets into the shacks and tents of the sleeping women and children.

This was the horror of horrors and the infancy of infants connected with the West Virginia mine strike.

Lee Calvin, a sturdy Irishman who had once served the mine owners, was on that terrible train. He told the sen-

ate committee all about it. Here are some of the facts he put upon record:

"Five of the thugs who were aboard had done time for murder, burglary, or worse. Five were ex-police-men who had been discharged for drunkenness."

"George A. Lantz, chief detective of the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad detective force, worked the machine gun. It was near eleven at night. The mine's almost to a man were in the hills. But the moans and shrieks of women and children were heart-rending."

"Esco Estop, a miner, was shot dead while pushing his wife and babies into the cellar for safety."

"Mrs. Hall was shot through both feet while endeavoring to protect her children, the leader slug mutilated and crippled her for life."

"Two women gave premature birth to dead babies."

"Almost at once the shacks and tents took fire."

"Quinn Morton, the millionaire mine owner, was the moving spirit on the train and kept his rifle hot while the action lasted, and when the train had passed through the village he shouted, 'Let us go back and give them another round!'"

It is this terrible story, dripping with the blood of the innocent, that caused Senator Martine, the honest old New Jersey farmer, to exclaim, "God in heaven, can such things be!"

Mine Owners' Methods. When the men, women and children of the mining camps in West Virginia told their pitiful stories to the senate committee, Senator James E. Martine, one of the keenest, most honest and fearless men of that body, expressed himself as follows:

"And with all this they tell us God reigns in this glorious land. I would sweep streets rather than gain money through such methods. God help the coal owners who gain wealth by such a process."

This sentiment has aroused the tyrants of the West Virginia mines and it is said they will file a complaint with the federal government and endeavor to have Senator Martine removed from that body. If to express an honest opinion of heartless exploiters and a profound pity for their wretched victims is an offense punishable by removal from office and humiliation, then by all means should Senator Martine receive such punishment, but if such an expression is a badge of honor, as it certainly is in the estimation of every honest man, then regardless of the protest of the mine owners Senator Martine has earned the right to wear it.

Judicial Highlanders. This is what the supreme court of West Virginia, barring Judge Ira Robinson alone, is composed of. That tribunal it was, consisting of corporation lawyers, that throttled the constitution both of the state and nation and gave their legal sanction to a military court erected by the mine owners which had supreme power over the citizens of the state.

Had the supreme court done its duty, as pointed out so clearly by Judge Robinson, the military despotism that was set up by the mine owners would have been promptly declared to be in violation of the constitution, both of the state of West Virginia and the United States, and, therefore, null and void.

But instead of this these judicial highlanders legalized the infamy and gave the military court the power practically to do as it pleased, and under this license outrages were perpetrated upon the miners and their families that will cause the names of these supreme Judases to be loaded with odium until they sink into oblivion.

Judicial highlanders in West Virginia or elsewhere are an abomination in the eyes of honest men and a deadly menace to the institutions of the state.

Among these corporation tools, begowned to give them a spurious solemnity, Judge Ira E. Robinson stands forth the one expounder of the constitution and the one defender of lawful rights and civil liberty.

Thugs and Pluguglies. The whole regime of the mine owners of West Virginia is propped up by thugs and pluguglies.

The barons have their private army as well as their private mines and they are in all respects the monarchs of all they survey, including their human chattels and their trained assassins.

When in the course of the senate investigation at Charleston a high official of mine guards was placed on the stand he was asked this question by Attorney Belcher of counsel for the miners:

most reliable source the coal operators of West Virginia, backed by their Wall street allies and by their dukes and princes and other parasites abroad, who together own West Virginia, have employed a prostitute publicity agency in New York which was formerly in the service of the ship subsidy gang and other looters, to spread broadcast the report that the mine owners of West Virginia and their political tools have been grossly maligned and are in fact the victims of a conspiracy of persecution.

Let no one be deceived by such false reports when they are put in circulation. The millionaire mine owners of West Virginia are a gang of heartless plunderers who have left no crime uncommitted in their bloody regime which has covered the last twenty years. During this entire period they have ruled and robbed in the most high-handed and shameless manner and the only reason they are now preparing to take the part of injured innocence is that the senate investigation will soon place the scoundrels in the spotlight where these preying, carnivorous deformities may be seen by the people for what they really are.

There are in New York regularly established publicity agencies which are for sale in any purpose for which their purchaser sees fit to use them. The most vicious of these, because the most powerful, is to prove to the people the innocence of the operators for the senate investigation. Quite likely we shall soon hear that the men and women who were kidnaped, court martialed and jailed in defiance of their lawful rights, were plotting some dark crime while the innocent mine owners who are scarcely realizing enough out of their possessions to keep body and soul together, were devoutly trying to save the state.

We shall also very likely hear that Senator Kern is an arrant demagogue and that all who had to do with ordering the investigation were animated by ulterior personal motives which are for sale in any purpose for which their purchaser sees fit to use them.

But in spite of these vicious attempts to poison the channels of publicity the real truth will finally prevail and the Socialist press will put forth its best efforts to that end.

The investigation in what it discloses regarding the monstrous crimes of the operators of West Virginia upon the miners, must be given the widest publicity and every one interested in having the truth known that justice may prevail should help to spread the APPEAL TO REASON containing these reports into every nook and cranny of our land.

Organize the State. This is no time for factional dissension and strife in West Virginia. This is the time to close up the ranks and present a solid front. Every man who is for unity is for the working class, and every man who is arousing factional feeling is against it.

The peculiar and unprecedented situation in West Virginia demands unity at this time as absolutely essential to the miners and their cause. There is not a difference between them that amounts to enough to warrant a division of forces.

There is just one thing that can defeat the miners now and that is to be rent in factions and go down fighting one another.

There is just one thing needed to win and that is an unbroken front all along the line.

The mine owners know this but too well and their emissaries are busy sowing the seed of dissension.

The testimony given to the senate committee shows that the mine owners employed detectives to work in the mines and to join the union, and what are these detectives paid for but to stir up strife; circulate false reports, and miners cutting each other's throats?

That is what they are hired and paid for and they have been until this very day a positive factor in preventing the miners from organizing in West Virginia.

First and foremost of all the miners need to be organized. There is no time for screaming accusations and for lurid denunciation. This simply plays into the hands of the operators who are delighted with such performance. It relieves them of all fear. So long as this keeps up they are secure.

There should be absolute harmony between the unionists and Socialists. Such differences as there are between them will not be adjusted by hurling charges at each other and by crimination and recrimination. The only effect of this will be to keep the miners and other workers disorganized and at the mercy of the tyrants who have been robbing and oppressing them all these years.

Every particle of energy at our command is now needed to rally the miners, cheer and encourage them to close up the ranks and to organize industrially and politically, and do it now. Stop all the quarreling until that is done.

Talk industrial unity and political unity to the workers instead of telling them that their leaders are all crooks and traitors and trust to the organized workers themselves to get rid of those who actually are false to their trust!

Close up the ranks, ye coal diggers of West Virginia!

Join in one solid mass the union and party of your class and rise as one from peonage to power.

upon the strange aggregation of reactionaries constituting the majority of that state's highest court. Where have they received their instructions? What standards is it that they serve? What wretched province in Russia or Persia or Asiatic Turkey have they mined as a pattern for what unconscionable receipts of Alexander, Cesar or Bonaparte do they adhere to?

The issue raised by this tribunal does not exist alone upon the people of Kansas who are the people of West Virginia. It concerns every inhabitant of the United States. If a republican form of government may be wrecked in one state it may be wrecked in forty-eight states. We do not hold our liberties subject to the caprice of a governor or a court.

At the bottom of course the mine owners are the responsible criminals. It is they at whose behest a republican form of government was wrecked in West Virginia. But this could not have been accomplished without the supreme court had lent itself to the treacherous purpose of the mine owners. The corporation lawyers composing the supreme court who enthroned martial law and gave it the sanction of the state's authority, violated their oaths of office by disregarding the very constitutions they had sworn to uphold and are, therefore, guilty of wrecking a republican form of government in West Virginia and every one who had a hand in it should be impeached and removed from office in disgrace by a betrayed and outraged people.

It is to be hoped that the sound advice of the New York Herald to the senate committee will not be in vain, and that in submitting its report and recommendation, the committee will not fail to fix its full share of responsibility upon "the strange aggregation of reactionaries constituting the majority of the state's highest court."

Asking About Socialism. Not Secret.

Is it true that the Socialist party holds secret meetings and has its grips and passwords? It is not true. The only organization of the Socialist party is what is known as the local, and groups of these locals into county, district, state and national bodies. Every meeting of the local is open to all who may wish to attend.

There is nothing discussed but that may be heard by any outsider. There are no grips or secret work of any kind. It is simply a political organization seeking working class control, open and above board.

Socialism a Method. Will the present state and county governments remain as they are now under Socialism? Would the congressional and legislative representation be apportioned according to the population at present?

No one can tell about such things. You might just as well ask whether things will always remain as they are under the capitalist system. Socialism purposes merely an end of exploitation and increase of democracy. The very fact that the people would prevail that whatever they wished would prevail.

If they thought the present methods were best suited to their interests they would continue. If they felt that a change was desirable in order to accomplish results, the change would be made. Socialism is a method, not a system of laws.

Curbing the Trust. If Socialism were in control what measures would be necessary to curb the big trusts which now control the necessities of life?

The government taking possession of the markets and selling goods at cost of production and distribution would break this up in no time, simply because they could not compete with it. It would not be necessary for the government to take away from them anything which they really have. They have a monopoly of selling what they have made it.

That is what they are hired and paid for and they have been until this very day a positive factor in preventing the miners from organizing in West Virginia.

First and foremost of all the miners need to be organized. There is no time for screaming accusations and for lurid denunciation. This simply plays into the hands of the operators who are delighted with such performance. It relieves them of all fear. So long as this keeps up they are secure.

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What Senators Own. BY LUCIEN SAINE. Staff Correspondent APPEAL TO REASON. Washington, D. C.—The United States senate represents the business or exploiting interests of the country. It does not represent the working man. It cannot. It is not composed of working men or men who are on the side of business men and exploiters—those who profit by the labor of the workers.

This charge has been proved by the confessions of senators themselves. These confessions were made before the committee which investigated the tariff lobby. Here are some of the most important senators and their property connections:

Senator Bacon of Georgia, democrat, "little" suburban farm, "small" interest in a sewer pipe factory, "small" interests in street railways, electric and gas power plants.

Senator Catron of New Mexico, republican, 25,000 acres of coal lands. Lead and zinc mines averaging an income of \$2,000 a month; 6,000 or 8,000 acres of timber land.

Senator Jackson of Maryland, one-third interest in a half million dollar lumber company, 60 per cent interest in a paint factory, 1,000 shares steel trust.

Senator Chilton of West Virginia, democrat, owns coal land, oil and gas, street car stock.

Senator McLean of Connecticut, republican, interested in "small way" in several manufacturing industries. Stockholder in General Electric, Steel Trust, National Biscuit company, and American Trading company.

Senator Fall of New Mexico, republican, owns 10,000 head of sheep, about 1,800 cattle. Coal mines, lead and zinc mines, and bank stock.

Senator Lippitt of Rhode Island owns personally one-fourth interest in a \$6,280,000 cotton manufacturing corporation. Two-thirds of the corporation is owned by him and his family. Owns \$10,000 worth of a refrigerating plant.

Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, republican, owns stock in General Electric, American Agricultural and Chemical company, National Carbon company, U. S. Smelting and Refining company, U. S. Smelter Hollis of New Hampshire, democrat, owns city real estate, farm, timber lands, stock in summer hotel and bank stock.

Senator Nelson of Minnesota, republican, runs a tenant farm in his state.

Senator McCumber of North Dakota, republican, interested in wheat, oats, rye, barley and flax.

Senator Newlands of Nevada, democrat, farming interests and lands in California, Nevada, Maryland and the District of Columbia. Also soda works in Colorado.

Senator Stephenson of Wisconsin republican, sells 150,000,000 feet of lumber per year. Heavily interested in the paper business. Owns timber lands, mills, farms and railroads. Owns half million acres of land. Owns bank and gets \$12,000 a year royalty on iron ore mines.

Senator Ransdell of Louisiana, democrat, owns timber land, and plants cotton. Told committee: "I own more or less real estate, stores and office buildings and things."

Senator Saulsbury of Delaware, democrat, owns about \$100,000 in copper. Match company stock. Steel Trust stock. Has \$20,000 in coal. Owns stock in the Agricultural Chemical company, and in public utilities.

Senator Root of New York, republican, owns stock in National Lead company, Smelters' Securities company, a copper mine in Texas, and a farm in New York.

Senator Sheppard of Texas, democrat, owns 4,500 acres of farm lands.

Senator Goff of West Virginia, republican, gets \$25,000 a year income from coal mines, \$50,000 a year from oil wells, both in West Virginia. He also owns farms.

The Appeals Army is made up of regulars and volunteers. The regulars are those who never fail the Appeal. The summers are not too hot and the winters not too cold to prevent them from distributing extra copies of the Appeal among their neighbors and friends. They never rest.

The volunteers are those who now and then have the time and the inclination to do a little work for the Appeal. They have not enlisted, but volunteer assistance occasionally.

When Socialism comes both regulars and volunteers will have an equal share in it. But the honors will fall on the regulars. Future historians will record that no small amount of credit for the overthrow of capitalism had been due to the patient and persistent distribution of the little old Appeal among workers of brain and brawn.

And this will be right. To give a man a copy of the Appeal for a few weeks practically means to make a subscriber of him. And to do this means to make a Socialist out of him in a short while. This has been the experience of thousands. So then every volunteer and every reader ought to join the Bundle Brigade.

All you have to do is to order extra copies and pass them out among the heathen. These are the rates:

4 copies one year \$1.00
8 copies one year 2.00
10 copies one year 2.50
25 copies one year 5.00
100 copies one year 25.00

How many will you order? And why not do it now?

Sensations. INTO the usual prosy, cut and dried commencement exercises of Andover theological seminary at Cambridge took was injected a sensation which took the faculty, students and spectators by surprise, and reminded some of them of a similar occurrence three-quarters of a century ago.

The current agitator, Walden Emerson, came to the Harvard divinity school graduation exercises with an unexpected address. The exercises were held in the new chapel of the seminary on Francis avenue, Cambridge, and there were four candidates for degrees. Contrary to the usual custom only three of these candidates had commencement parts.

The one left out was David R. Williams, an avowed Socialist, son of Rev. D. T. Williams of the Maverick Congregational church in East Boston.

When his three fellow-graduates had given their addresses and Rev. Albert Parker Fitch, president of the seminary, was preparing to present the degrees, Mr. Williams arose from his place and stepping forward bowed to the faculty and said:

If there are no serious objections on the part of those who are here, I will address the degree of S. T. B. I do not know the reason why the fourth candidate was not allowed to speak, but I will give the reason. I shall speak at this time because I feel I have something vitally important to say to you. I will speak before you because I feel it is something more important than orthodox views about Christ, modern tendencies of Congregationalism or the imminent concept of God. I shall speak because I shall be the attitude of the church to the great question of poverty and the social problem in general.

There are a little children working in mines, mills, factories and workshops while abled-bodied men are compelled to tramp the streets in idle search for a crust. We are working and we are not getting any better. I shall speak because I shall be the attitude of the church to the great question of poverty and the social problem in general.

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Have you contributed to the Agitation League fund to send the Appeal for forty weeks to 30,000 blacksmiths in this country? The live propagandists appreciate the importance of this move. To put the blacksmiths on the mailing list means not only converting them but also establishing 30,000 points for the discussion of Socialism in about as many towns and villages in the United States. A blacksmith shop is not only for welding of steel but also for the hammering of ideas. The smithy is, usually a leader in the discussion of politics. If he is not gifted in talk, he usually permits the use of his shop for those who follow political events in city, state and nation. To have the light of Socialism illuminate the blacksmith shop is an aim worthy of the support of every staunch Socialist. Will you send a dollar or two to this fund?

PASS IT ON!
Each of the present issues of the Appeal has matter in it that is of vital interest to the American people.

When you have read your copy mark the articles that have most appealed to you and pass it on to a neighbor or friend.

The New York World has stated editorially that the present crisis in West Virginia and its outcome, concerns every inhabitant of the United States. There is not the least doubt in regard to it.

The constitution of the United States guarantees a republican form of government to every state in the union.

The republican form of government in the state of West Virginia was wrecked at the behest of a few seal barons and their treason was made legal by the judicial highlanders who compose the state supreme court.

This state of affairs is now under investigation by the United States senate and upon the outcome depends whether or not the constitution of the United States and its guarantees of life and liberty mean anything or whether it is simply a dead letter.

There are other states besides West Virginia in which privileged interests have been doing as they pleased and we are now to see if they are to continue their lawless defiance of the constitutional rights of the working class or if they are to be brought to book by the federal government and given to understand that they are not above the law of the land.

The questions involved here are of the most vital interest to every citizen. The Appeal points this out in every issue and its message should reach into workshops and every home.

Pass it on and keep it going!

LET US PULL TOGETHER!
In discussing and devising ways and means of making our propaganda effective and of organizing the workers and waking up the people, many petty differences arise and unfortunately these are not infrequently permitted to become personal and to array us against each other in bitter controversy, instead of being united and working together to advance the cause.

Let it always be remembered that tactical differences are bound to arise, but that as long as we are united on fundamentals we can work together and thrust out our differences in the Socialist spirit as we move along.

Who can compute the stupendous loss to the Socialist movement every year, nay every day and every hour, due to the bickering among ourselves, the nagging and fault-finding and the mean little personalities which are utterly out of place in the Socialist movement and result only in loading it with unnecessary burdens, arresting its progress and causing rejoicing in the ranks of its enemies.

Let us rise above these contemptible personal bickerings and measure up as men and women of full-grown stature; let us be animated by the Socialist spirit in our relations with one another and refuse to be drawn into factional rows to dissipate our energies and inflame our baser nature, while our duties to the movement are neglected.

The people all about us are ready for the message of Socialism. Let us use all our time and energy in putting literature in their hands and bringing them into the movement.

We can certainly do this far more effectively by pulling together and by helping and encouraging one another than if we spend our time making faces and calling names.

SPREADING SOCIALISM.
The man or woman who grasps the true meaning of Socialism can not help but become a propagandist.

It is the most enthralling social gospel ever preached.

There is no need of encouraging its devotees to spread it. Filled as they are with the splendid spirit of it, they go forth joyously to proclaim the glad tidings to others.

The bright young minds of every country are especially attracted to it and thousands upon thousands of them are actively engaged in spreading Socialism among the people.

To counteract this irresistible propaganda everything the ruling class and its retainers can think of and put into effect has been tried in vain. Steadily and in the face of all the opposition the power of capitalism can bring to bear, Socialism is spreading in all directions, over all the continents and the isles of the sea, earth.

The ruling masters have issued their dire threats to arrest its march; the hierarchy has launched its anathema against it, but Socialism smiles serenely and pursues the even tenor of its way.

Only a few years ago the avowal of Socialism meant certain ostracism. But now Socialism has advanced to a point where it commands respect notwithstanding all that has been falsely said to discredit it and bring it into disrepute.

Socialism has come in the order of evolution to rescue the world from outgrown capitalism. It is the first conscious attempt, made possible for the first time in this industrial and co-operative age, of the working and producing masses to free themselves from their dependence to a plane of freedom and self-respect.

Socialism is at our door and it is

vain and futile to deny its admittance. It will come whether we will or not and if we are wise we will lose no time in getting our house in order for its reception.

THE ARMY WORKERS.
Every one of our readers who believes in Socialism should be one of the Army and join the active workers.

All that the Appeal has been able to do in the past has been due to this Army of unflinching, tireless workers.

There is no other army in all the world to be compared to it. Every member is a volunteer. Not one is under pay. And yet for zeal, enthusiasm and unceasing activity their equals can be found nowhere on earth.

The Appeal Army is recruited from all sorts and conditions of people: from little children to octogenarians, and from many races and colors, and they are all animated by the same social spirit, one touch of which "makes the whole world kin."

The Appeal Army is in truth the new social order in embryonic outline. It breathes the spirit of the coming fraternal commonwealth. It recognizes the kinship of all men and all women and has infinite faith in their potentialities.

TRAVELERS are for the most part the product of poverty and the fear of poverty.

THIRTY-EIGHT women to every hundred men in the United States work for wages, say nothing of those who do housework. Think of it—nearly half as many! When will women wake up and refuse to wear themselves out at the blood-sapping machines of the plutocrats? Revolt today, for a free womanhood.

JUDGE HARRY A. HALL, of Philadelphia, recently sentenced a woman to six months for stealing three rings. Next day he allowed Walter S. Shourds, a confessed bank embezzler who stole \$1,480,000, to go free. The people raised a howl and Hall tried to hush the racket by paroling the woman. But the embezzler is free and unpunished.

Watch the Vote Grow.
Socialist vote, November, 1912..... 966,840
Voters enrolled since election..... 114,381
Total..... 1,081,221

Remember, when we have induced a man to break away from the old parties and declare for Socialism that the job is only half done; the next step is to make a Socialist worker out of him. That's why I am asking you to send me a list of all those in your locality that have come out for Socialism since last November. I want to send them literature from time to time and if possible show them the necessity of their enlisting in the Army of the Revolution. See the point?

BUTTERFLY AND TOAD.
The following quatrain is by Kipling:
The toad beneath the narrow groove,
Exactly where each tooth-point goes,
The butterfly upon the road,
Teaches contentment to that toad.

The poet here accounts in illuminating fashion for the contentment preached by the butterfly to the toad. That is to say, by the parasite to the proletarian.

It is only the latter who are beneath the harrow of industrialism and who go "exactly where each tooth-point goes." It is they and they only who are in constant dread and uncertainty, and if they are contented with their lot it is a thousand pities.

Looking down upon them with an air of patronizing sympathy the butterflies preach contentment to them and seek to persuade them that their safety lies in remaining forever contented where they are, instead of taking chances to escape from their wretched fate.

But in the very nature of things the proletariat beneath the harrow of capitalism cannot remain contented, for to them contentment would ultimately mean death.

They have so ridiculously little to lose that they are really taking no risk when they enter the lists of the discontented and begin to agitate for better conditions.

The poverty, suffering and despair of the millions who make up the working and producing class drive them inevitably to discontent and ultimately to revolution. With all the history of the past before us we know that the periodic upheaval of the masses is as certain as the movement of the planets and if we are capable of profiting by this experience we will not foolishly preach contentment to the oppressed and poverty-stricken masses, but we will encourage intelligent discontent among them and seek to direct their power of resistance into the right channels so it will revolve the wheels of the revolution in orderly fashion instead of rushing out blindly and unbridled and overwhelming society and its institutions with its destructive force, and spending its mad fury in a torrent of blood.

YOU WILL COME TO IT.
There is a right way and a wrong way. This much is conceded. Surely no one will argue that the present way is the right way. That being true, let's look for the right way to do things.

If you have a better way of making people happy than that proposed by the Socialists let us have it. That is what we are looking for. As a basis of happiness, we start with the proposition that all men should have sufficient food, clothes, shelter and entertainment. Without these very necessary elements there can be no happiness. Men are denied these essentials, not because they are not willing to work for them, not because there is not enough created in the world, but because some men insist on taking more than they can use.

Just imagine a family of squirrels permitting one of the number to hoard all the nuts of the forest. Wouldn't you laugh at the silliness of the little animals sitting around starving while Mr. Plutocrat Squirrel counted his stores of nuts by the millions. Do you see any difference in your permitting Rockefeller and Morgans to do the same thing with the houses, the shoes, the food, the clothes, etc., which you make?

So I say, to make this a happy world, we must do things right. And right in this case means giving to every man the chance to work and then giving him all he creates. You'll come to it after a while—the pinch is beginning to make you squirm.

WOMEN of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but an economic, debauching slavery; you have a world of real homes and a redeemed race to gain!

If women knew the comforts and freedom Socialism will bring them, they would not hesitate in joining the movement.

Appeal Rendered Service.
From *Newbery (Gre.) Enterprise*.
The Appeal to Reason has rendered a service to civilization by the bulldog tenacity it displayed in hanging on to that court martial business in West Virginia. For a year it has been working up public sentiment in that connection. Until very recently the United Press and the Associated Press ignored the frightful conditions prevailing in West Virginia, but now they are giving columns to it. Public sentiment forced them to it.

Cowardice, ignorance and inertia keep the workers from demanding their full social product. Be brave, be wise, be dynamic, and you will overthrow this rotten system.

Henry Dubb Helps Celebrate the Glorious Fourth By Ryan Walker

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