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# Appeal to Reason.

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second-class mail matter  
FRED D. WARREN  
Managing Editor  
Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., June 18, 1910

**The Debs tour closed with the meeting at Green Bay, Wis., June 16. There will be no meetings during July and August, the hot season. The fall campaign will be announced in due time.**

### NO DECISION.

Although thirty-five days have passed since I presented my case to the judges of the United States court of appeals no word has reached us from St. Paul. Your guess on the outcome is as good as mine and as likely to be right. The court hesitates to confirm the heavy sentence imposed by Judge Pollock—namely six months in jail and \$1,500 and the heavy costs of the prosecution, because of the political effect such action is liable to have. Pollock has since admitted that he was unduly severe, but he was urged to go the limit by the district attorney, who was being prodded by the Washington authorities, "to put Warren where he couldn't make a noise." Lawyer, the brave whitewasher of Ballinger, was an enthusiastic endorser of this policy.

On the other hand, if the court of appeals holds that I committed no offense in offering the Taylor reward, it will be a severe blow to Judge Pollock's judicial dignity and prestige.

One can get a pretty good idea of the animus which actuated Pollock and the government attorneys in prosecuting me, by a comparison of the sentences imposed on other men tried in Pollock's court in Kansas, with the sentence imposed on me.

Last week, I directed our staff correspondent, Geo. H. Shoaf, to examine the court records in the federal court of this state and make a list of the men tried and convicted by Pollock's court. Following is his report:

"To ascertain the character and extent of the punishment usually inflicted upon persons convicted of offenses similar to the one with which Warren is charged I visited the various clerks' offices in Judge Pollock's jurisdiction last week and examined all the appearance dockets of ten years' standing.

I found that persons who pleaded guilty to or who were convicted of crimes similar to that alleged against Warren were usually given a nominal fine ranging from \$1.00 to \$100.

"For sending obscene matter through the mail Judge Pollock rarely inflicted a penalty heavier than a \$25 fine and thirty days in jail. Persons convicted of mailing lottery letters were fined \$1.00 and costs. For making false returns in the matter of securing pensions the offenders were let off with fines of \$1.00 and costs. Those convicted of stealing mail were fined \$20 and costs. One man who was convicted of maliciously destroying a mail box was given thirty days in jail. Railroad companies that violated the quarantine laws, and thus jeopardized the health of whole communities were fined \$100 each. For violating the liquor laws relating to interstate traffic Judge Pollock invariably fined the offenders \$25 and costs. Counterfeiters and postoffice robbers were generally fined \$100 each and sentenced to prison from six months to two years.

"W. E. Heal, of Coffeyville, Kan., who was convicted of sending 'scurrilous and defamatory matter through the mails,' as was Warren, was fined \$100 and costs.

"Heal was indicted at Fort Scott, Kan., May 9, 1906, and was convicted November 12th, following. He was charged with sending through the mail a postal card addressed to Warren Fergus, Mathews, Ind., on which card among other things were typewritten the words 'coward' and 'thief.' The wording of the indictment returned against Heal was virtually the same as the wording of the indictment returned against Warren. The statute invoked was the same in both cases.

"While the language of the indictments in the two cases are identical and the statute invoked is the same close examination discloses that Warren's offense, if any, was not exactly similar to that committed by Heal. Heal mailed the card direct to the person scandalized and defamed. Among other things Heal called Fergus 'coward' and 'thief.' Warren was convicted of scandalizing and defaming ex-Governor Taylor by reason of having mailed to J. L. Pierson, San Pedro, Cal., an envelope on the outside cover of which was the offer of a reward to anyone who would kidnap the Kentucky authorities.

"According to the statute invoked, to constitute defamation, the envelope or card, the courts have held, must be directed to the person alleged to be defamed by the person indicted.

"Heal sent Fergus a card direct calling him 'coward' and 'thief.'

"Warren sent Pierson an envelope offering a reward for the capture of Taylor.

"The statute does not apply in the Warren case, as Pollock admitted. If Judge Pollock had consulted the law instead of 'higher authorities,' he would not have countenanced the indictment. Certainly he should not have imposed a penalty more severe than that imposed on Heal.

"Jesse Neff, who deposited a postal card in the mail at Junction City, Kan., May 27, 1905, addressed to Rube Neff, Bedford, Iowa, was fined \$100 and costs, notwithstanding that the indictment claimed that the language on the card was indecent, lewd, lascivious and so obscene as to be offensive to Judge Pollock's court and really too impudic to be set forth more fully in this indictment."

"Frank Knaupp, who was indicted April 16, 1909, for mailing a pamphlet alleged to be obscene, was fined \$25 and costs.

"Ben Puckett, of Coldwater, Kan., who was indicted for mailing to Goldie Lease, of the same town, a letter so lewd and lascivious as to be offensive to Judge Pollock, was fined \$75.

"For mailing a lewd and lascivious letter to Dolly Seahorn, of Udall, Kan., George Hann, of the same town, was fined \$25 and costs.

"Cases like the foregoing might be cited by the score, and proof adduced to disclose that every offender was dismissed by Judge Pollock with a

### NO LAW FOR THE TOILER.

Blacklisting is legal. A few weeks ago the Appeal sent to the attorney general of the United States a statement sent out by the South Bend (Ind.) Woolen Co., in which more than thirty-five persons who had been discharged were blacklisted. The attorney general replied that he could not proceed in the matter.

The evidence was then laid before James Bingham, attorney general of Indiana, and the latter replied: "That though Indiana has a statute forbidding blacklisting of employees, the statutes has a clause reading: 'This section shall not be construed to prohibit any person or agent or any company or corporation from informing in writing any other person, company or corporation, to whom such other person or discharged employee has applied for employment a truthful statement of the reasons for such discharge.'"

This effort to nullify the law was not sufficient in this case, as the parties receiving the blacklist were not contemplating the employment of the men blacklisted; so the attorney general adds:

"The attorney general has no authority to appear in civil criminal cases, except at the request of the governor, where the matters are considered of such general importance as to require the assistance of the attorney general."

The work, is therefore cut off from protection on all sides. Designedly so. The courts will protect the masters but not the slaves. And there will never be any change until the workers take matters in their own hands and through the collective ownership and democratic control of industry, become owners of their own jobs.

### THE POOR FARM HAND.

There is no man in the United States who is worse exploited than the farm worker. This is made clear by a letter from J. R. Marden, Market Tree, Ark. He says:

"Will you please advise us what points to go in Kansas to apply for work in the harvest fields? There are 50 to 200 men at this place now, wanting work, and as they are mostly from 25 to 50 years of age, they are not wanted on account of pay or sickness. We cannot pay board, and must go to jail. That is the law for vagrants here. If we work every day we may save possibly 25 to 50 cents for clothing or further periods of idleness. Will you help us to get to Kansas or somewhere else from here?"

Bad as the situation is in Arkansas, if the men come to Kansas, unless guaranteed work in advance, they may not get work, and if they do, it is for only a limited time, and when they are out, they will probably spend all they have before they find another job. Besides, vagrants here, while not put in jail, are sometimes sent marching on without money, and sometimes forced to work at such prices as the farmers may choose to pay, and other workers must come to the standard set by tramps in enforced labor.

The farmer is up against it, and naturally gets work as cheap as he can. Nevertheless, the farm hand is exploited, and must be as long as capitalism exists. Ending big capitalism will not end the robbery of the workers. The change must include the entire system of exploitation, from the big capitalist down to the little capitalist, who because of being exploited himself, is forced to be unusually hard on those under him.

AMERICAN capital has established numerous cotton mills in China, and in these mills the worst form of child labor prevails. Many children, hardly out of the cradle, work from dawn till dark for four cents per day. Simultaneous with this announcement comes a telegram from Boston saying that "cotton and woolen mills throughout New England are closing down." The business is merely being transferred to China, where labor is cheaper and where there are no child labor laws. It is impossible to deal with this matter by exclusion or by strikes. It is an international question, and so long as capitalism has control of labor, just that long will labor be enslaved. Only through the collective ownership and democratic control of industry can there come an end to the outrage.

THE PAN AMERICAN PRESS reports that "orders have been issued to the senate document room clerks to stop all public distribution of the report of the strike at the Bethlehem steel works, prepared under direction of the commission of labor." That is whenever the stretch of capitalism becomes too bad, an effort is made to cover it up. It is so with the white slave report. It is so with the strike report mentioned. The removal of the evil is impossible under capitalism, and all the masters want is to keep the people from finding out the rottenness.

A STATEMENT issued by the Great Northern Railway company, for the first ten months of the fiscal year ending June 1, 1910, shows that the net profit from the operation of the road during that period was \$21,612,524.85, while the operating expenses for the same period were \$11,686,893.17. In other words, the thousands of employees, including the high-salaried officials of the company received three-fifths of the receipts for doing the work, while the owners received but little less for merely owning the road. How nice to own the road. Let's all own it.

The issue seems to be, whether Teddy's big stick or Taft's whitewash is the official symbol of the republican party.

A CONTENTED mind means a continual feast—for the boss who enslaves the possessor of that kind of a mind.

The republican party does not do things. It does the workers.

WHAT beautiful pictures of poverty the rich can paint.

### TO CHASTISE THE APPEAL.

Editorial in New Orleans Daily Item.

Oscar Lawler, so the Washington correspondents say, "has a few rods in pickle" for some of the newspapers and magazines which have procured the exposure of the United States land office, the dubious methods of Secretary Ballinger, and the pitiable attempts of the administration to shield the culpable by suppression of facts, by the arbitrary use of power, and by the dismissal of honest men.

Whether Lawler will do any more toward securing legal vengeance than Ballinger did when he swore that he would prosecute Collier's, remains to be seen. Lawler is an unpopular official just now. His credit in public opinion is bad. He is in the wrong, and it is his own fault. The public is grateful to the press for showing it how some of its high officials attend to the public's business. The chances are that his wrath will spend itself, as Ballinger's did, in sound and fury.

At any rate, he declares that he will stop the Socialist weekly, the Appeal to Reason, from going through the mails because it is issued without wrappers. The Appeal to Reason, in its last issue, accused Lawler of cruelty in his treatment of two Mexican patriots or revolutionists when he was a district attorney in California. He was accused of serving the interests of American capitalists who were in league with Diaz and the Mexican government to exploit the unhappy peon.

Lawler is not a very important person in his own right. He has become so only because the president used him as one of his collaborators in the attempt to whitewash Ballinger.

Lawler will not be able to suppress the freedom of the press. It is doubtful whether he will even make a feint at trying. The only fact worth noting and remembering in this connection is that republican officials show too ready a disposition, these days, to attack the press for its honesty, and that the undoubted desire of the republican leaders to muzzle the press is worth heeding, for it is a sure sign of the degeneracy of free government and a contempt for free government and the will of the people on the part of the men in whose hands our system has placed the delegated power of the people.

### MAY BAR SOCIALIST PAPER.

Assistant Attorney General Lawler on Trail of Appeal to Reason.

From Washington Post, May 30th.

Because of recent attacks on government officials, including Attorney General Wickham, Secretary Ballinger, and Assistant Attorney General Oscar Lawler, of the interior department, the Appeal to Reason, chief organ of the Socialist party, may be barred from the mails. It is alleged the article which appeared on May 25th, in which Mr. Lawler is criticized, is libelous.

Mr. Lawler, yesterday placed the matter in the hands of the post office inspectors, who will make an investigation. The editor of the Appeal to Reason, Fred D. Warren, has been convicted in Kansas of violation of postal laws, sentenced to six months in jail and to pay a fine of \$1,500. His case recently was heard on appeal before the United States court of appeals in St. Paul, Minn.

Mr. Lawler's postoffice inspectors are, we presume, making an investigation. As the forms close for this edition, no intimation of the next move by the Washington officials has reached this office. We're waiting!

### BEWARE OF PEOPLE WHO TALK OF ORGANIZING SECRET WORK AMONG SOCIALISTS.

A great many, seeing the injustice that is done by money under this system, imagine the money question to be very complex. On the contrary, with a change of system, it would be simple. Whatever money we may have now, it can be used in procuring profits, in exacting rents, and in speculation. If the profit system were superceded by the co-operative commonwealth, all these would be unprofitable, and, therefore, it would make no difference whether gold, paper, or labor checks were used. Money would then be only a means of keeping account, and, whatever was used, there could be no injustice wrought by it.

BEWARE of people who talk of organizing secret work among Socialists. They are doing an unsocialistic thing. Socialism has no secrets, and it cannot be fostered by anything that partakes of the mysterious or suggests a plot. Beware of fools-of which there are now and then one—who talk of guns. The man who cannot vote straight hasn't sense enough to shoot straight. This is an open and above board movement, working for revolution among peaceful lines only—by the ballot and not by the bullet.

### THE STEEL TRUST IS ARRANGING TO DEAL DIRECT WITH THE RETAILER AND SO PUT OUT OF BUSINESS THE JOBBERS IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY.

It will be an elimination of waste and therefore in the line of progress. The only trouble is that, under private ownership of the trust, there will be no reduction of price to the consumer, but only larger returns for the trust. If the steel industry was collectively owned, such economies would benefit all the people.

CONGRESSMAN MARTIN of Colorado declares that the sale of the friar lands to the sugar trust at a third of their cash cost is "only an incident in a general scheme of Philippine exploitation." He is probably correct. What he lacks in telling is that the only incentive for exploitation comes from capitalism and the profit system.

The Kansas City Star advises its agents: "This office prefers to send all papers by express, as it's cheaper." It is cheaper merely because Uncle Sam submits to robbery by the railroads in the carrying of mail, and purposely works to turn business to the express companies.

The Atlantic Monthly has heretofore been considered an ultra conservative magazine, but the June number contains a fine article on Socialism by Prof. Vida D. Scudder, of Wellesley.

### SOCIALISM AS A RELIGION.

From Indianapolis Star.

Three judges of the United States bench—Hook, Adams and Reed—sitting en banc at St. Paul, Minn., May 9th, calmly listened to one of the most severe arraignment of the dignity and justice of their own court that has ever been spread on the records of American jurisprudence. In carefully chosen language the judges were told to their faces that they could not exercise justice toward the people, even if they were so inclined, since they owed their positions to "capitalistic influence," and that they had to serve their "masters," whose interests were often diametrically opposed to those of the masses of the people. The speaker was Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, a socialistic weekly of large circulation, published at Girard, Kan. Mr. Warren was convicted several months ago of having violated the United States postal laws by sending through the mails a flaring red-ink envelope offering a reward for the arrest and return to Kentucky of former Governor Will Taylor, charged with conspiracy in killing of Governor Goebel.

Here follows a review of the case together with extensive extracts from the speech, after which the Star concludes:

Some one has said that Socialism is not a political belief, but a "religion." There are thousands of such zealots as Mr. Warren in America, and whether right or wrong, men who are willing to undergo sacrifice and suffer for a cause, are certain to make an impression on the nation's social and political development.

### A CAPITALIST SCARE.

Many letters are coming to the Appeal inquiring if there is not danger, in case Socialists are put into power, of capitalists withdrawing their money and so ruining things. In many cases these questions are accompanied with the suggestion that there be a change in the monetary system in order to avert such a catastrophe.

The fact that so many are asking these questions indicates that there is a feeling that Socialism may come into power.

It is quite possible that capitalists might withdraw their money from the country in case of a Socialist victory. But so far from his embarrassing Socialists it would simplify the problems before them. If they did this, under the power which comes of an emergency, the same power which Lincoln exercised when he freed the slaves, the Socialists could take charge of the machinery of production and distribution and handle it immediately. And this in full accord with precedents that have gone before. The mere money which the capitalists might take away would not embarrass Socialists in the least. It would be very easy to issue more money, based on the labor power of the country, and to pay it out for the operation of the industries.

A great many, seeing the injustice that is done by money under this system, imagine the money question to be very complex. On the contrary, with a change of system, it would be simple. Whatever money we may have now, it can be used in procuring profits, in exacting rents, and in speculation. If the profit system were superceded by the co-operative commonwealth, all these would be unprofitable, and, therefore, it would make no difference whether gold, paper, or labor checks were used. Money would then be only a means of keeping account, and, whatever was used, there could be no injustice wrought by it.

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### ROOSEVELT EDITION NEXT WEEK.

Roosevelt lands in New York next week. The Appeal will go to press earlier than usual in order to have its special edition exposing his fakery on hands to meet the man who slams it into Socialism at every opportunity and who is the greatest champion of capitalist robbery in the world today. No other paper has the nerve to show him up as he is. Even the democratic papers are praising him, because they are not really democratic but capitalistic, and Roosevelt stands for capitalist robbery and subjugation of the worker. NEXT WEEK'S APPEAL SHOULD BE READ BY EVERY VOTER IN AMERICA. The Appeal furnishes you the ammunition in No. 760, next week—it is up to you to use it; 800 copies \$1.00, 1,000 copies \$5.00.

### STRIKES AND STRIKERS IN MEXICO.

BY JOHN KENNETH TURNER, AUTHOR OF "BARBAROUS MEXICO"

THIS is the story of three Mexican strikes, and in addition the personal story of the ablest and most noted labor organizer which Mexico has so far produced.

The three strikes are: first, the Cananea strike; second, the Railway strike; and, third, the strike of the mill operatives of Tizapan.

Massacre, executions and wholesale imprisonments broke the back of the first, threats of massacre and wholesale imprisonments beat the second after it had been won; grim starvation ended the third.

As to the great labor organizer, Felix Vera, who for years was to the railway workers of Mexico what 'Gene Debs' was sixteen years ago to the railway workers of the United States, it is almost as inevitable as it is melancholy to say that he is in jail with fair prospects of remaining there for the rest of his life.

Felix Vera is today a prisoner at Belen, which is without the slightest doubt the vilest and most unendurable prison hell on the American continent, not excepting even that other living tomb of Mexico, San Juan de Ulua.

### A GLANCE INTO BELEN.

During both of my trips to Mexico made during the past two years I put forth desperate efforts to secure admission as a visitor to Belen. I saw the governor of the federal district; I saw the American ambassador; I tried to enter with a prison physician. But I was never able to travel farther than the inner door. Through that door I could see into the central court, where ranged hundreds of human beings made wild beasts by the treatment they received, ragged, filthy, starving, wolfish wrecks of men—sight calculated to provoke a raucous laugh at the solemn declarations of paid chancers that Mexico has a civilized government.

But farther than that inner door I could not go. I was permitted to visit other prisons in Mexico, but not Belen. When I pressed His Excellency, the Governor, he admitted that it was not safe. "On account of the molas, condicioes, the vile conditions," he said, it would not do. "Why, he told me, 'only a short time ago the vice-president, Senor Corral, dared to make a hurried visit to Belen. He contracted typhus and nearly died. You cannot go.'"

I told him that I had heard of Americans being permitted to visit Belen. But he was unable to remember her. Doubtless those other Americans were too well known; they were too much involved in Mexican affairs—to leave any danger of their coming out and telling the truth of what they saw. My credentials were not satisfactory enough to permit me to see Belen.

But I know Belen fairly well. I think, for I have talked with persons who have been Belen as prisoners and come out of its horrors alive. Editors, many of them; and I have talked with others—officials, prison physicians—and I have read the newspapers of Mexico. I could make this article entirely about Belen, but I have too many other things to say here.

Suffice it, then, to put down at this point several bare and naked facts. Belen is the general prison for the federal district, which comprises the Mexican capital and some surrounding suburbs, approximating in all a population of 600,000 people. It is alike city jail, county jail and penitentiary; except that there is also in the district another penitentiary, which is distinguished from Belen by confining within its walls only non-political criminals who have been sentenced to more than eight years' confinement. The penitentiary—which is so designated—is a modern institution, decently built and sewered. The prisoners are few and they are fairly well fed. Visitors are always welcome at the penitentiary, for it is principally for show. When you hear a traveler extolling the prison system of Mexico put it down that he was conducted through the federal district penitentiary only—that he never heard of Belen.

Belen is a musty old convent which was turned into a prison by the simple act of herding some thousands of persons within its walls. It is not large enough decently to house five hundred inmates, but frequently it houses more than five thousand. These five thousand are given a daily ration of biscuit and beans, insufficient in quantity to keep an ordinary person alive for long. The insufficiency of this ration is so well realized by the prison officials that a regular system of feeding from the outside has grown up. Daily the friends and relatives of prisoners bring them baskets of food, in order that they may live through their term of imprisonment. Of course it is a terrible drain on the poor, but the system serves its purpose—except for those hundreds of unfortunates who have no friends on the outside. These starve to death without a finger being raised to help them.

A Hot Bed of Disease.

"Within three days after entering Belen," a Mexican prison physician informed me, "every inmate contracts a skin disease, a terrible itch which sets the body on fire. This disease is entirely the result of the filthy conditions of the place. Every year," he continued, "the prison goes through an epidemic of typhus, which kills an average of at least 10 per cent of the inmates. Within Belen there is no system of order among the prisoners. The weak are at the mercy of the strong. Immediately you enter you are set upon by a horde of half-crazed

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men who tear your clothes from your back, take away your valuables, if you have any, and usually commit nameless crimes upon your person, while officials of the prison stand grinning by. The only way to save yourself in Belen is to turn wild beast like the rest, and even then you must be strong—very strong.

Should I give the name of this physician would instantly recognize him as a man of high standing with the government. I shall not name him, because, if I did, he also would go to Belen as a prisoner. Such stories as his I heard from too many widely different sources to be able to doubt them. The stories of the Belen epidemics always get more or less into the Mexican papers. I remember that during my first visit to Mexico, in the fall of 1908, the papers reported an epidemic of typhus. For the first three days the number of new cases was daily recorded, but after that the news was suppressed. The condition threatened to become too great a scandal, for on the third day there were 176 new cases.

### THE 'GENE DEBS' OF MEXICO.

It is into such a hole that Felix Vera, the 'Gene Debs' of Mexican labor, has recently been thrust, together with scores of others who have committed no crime greater than that of expressing the desire to use their votes as guaranteed by the constitution of the 'republic' of Mexico. If Vera is held in Belen no longer than the sentence imposed upon him requires, he will stay there nearly two years more. For a man of an ordinary constitution that would mean a strong probability of death.

But Vera, though a cripple, is a man of great vitality. He may live. And then—there may be political changes that will free him. That remains to be seen.

Vera has been hounded by the Diaz police for the exact number of years that he has been endeavoring to raise the labor of his country out of its Slough of Despond. When I visited him in 1908, though he was temporarily inactive, detectives were always watching him. When I sought him again in the spring of 1909 he was in hiding from the police. I remember that I spent many hours and many nights, and also wrote him several letters, in my attempt to run him down. Several times I thought I had located him, but he did not appear. Perhaps he thought my letters decoys and, fearing a trap, slipped away each time I was about to find him. It all goes to show the hazardous life lived by those brave men who are contending for the common liberty of Mexicans.

The interview, indeed, which I had with Vera was held under circumstances that were quite dramatic. The secret police were watching Vera and they were after DeLara. While Vera, DeLara, the president of the boiler-makers' union, and myself, were closeted in an inner room, outlooks were at the windows watching the streets. Vera told us of the railway men of the various Mexican unions, and, while he was telling of the underlying cause of all the union troubles—the government—the interruption came. We were apprised that five detectives had surrounded the house and Vera insisted on terminating the interview and going out to reconnoitre. DeLara prepared for flight through a window and over housetops and then we waited for word from Vera. It came just at dusk. The organizer sent news that he had ascertained that the secret police had a warrant for DeLara and that they were waiting for him to come out. As soon as it was dark DeLara slipped out of a back window and disappeared over the house tops to the eastward.

It was with a real Mexican bearing that the labor organizer and my friend, the referee, greeted each other at the beginning of that interview, for they had been school-boys together. Vera is an educated man, a man of broad, energetic head, a fighting chin, a short, pugacious nose—the only sort fit to survive in these days of labor persecution in Diaz-land—and yet a man of expansive, thoughtful forehead. He is crippled in the legs and travels always on crutches, but this handicap has not been sufficient to prevent his making himself supremely felt. He speaks with great force and directness and withal is the only sort of man who could have built up the organization of the Mexican railway men until it was by far the strongest labor body in the country.

### A MEXICAN STRIKE.

The strike of the Grand League of Railway Workers occurred in the spring of 1908. The league consists principally of brakemen, who receive \$37.50 per month in American money, and shop mechanics, who receive twenty-five cents an hour. Early in 1908 the bosses at San Luis Potosi began discriminating against union men, both in the shops and on the trains. The union protested to General Manager Clark and the latter promised to make reparation within two months. At the end of two months nothing had been done. The union then gave the manager twenty-four hours in which to act. At the end of twenty-four hours still nothing had been done. So the entire membership on the road, three thousand men, walked out.

The strike tied up every foot of the Mexican National railway, consisting of nearly 1,000 miles of road running from Laredo, Tex., to Mexico City. For six days traffic was at a standstill. Recognition of the union, which is the necessary prerequisite for successful peace in any struggle along

union lines, seemed assured. The great corporation was beaten, but the men had not reckoned with the government.

No sooner did Manager Clark discover that he was beaten on the economic field of battle, than he called to his aid the police power of the government.

President Vera of the Grand League was waited upon by the governor of the state of San Luis Potosi and informed that if the men did not return to work forthwith they would all be rounded up and thrown in jail and prosecuted for conspiracy against the government.

Vera hurried to the national capital, where he interviewed Vice President Corral and attempted to secure an audience with Diaz. Corral confirmed the threats of the governor of San Luis Potosi. Vera pleaded that the strikers were keeping perfect order, but it was to no use.

The oppression of the government, said Vera, in his last few words to me "is terrible-terrible! There is no chance for bettering the condition of labor in Mexico until there is a change in the administration. Every free laborer in Mexico knows that."

Veria organized the Grand League of Railway Workers of Mexico six years ago and since that time he has passed many months in prison for no other reason than his union activities.

"Sedition," the charge under which hundreds of political are now confined in Mexican prisons, was not the one offered against Vera. There was a prior judgment upon which it was considered more convenient to impale him.

Four years ago in order to destroy, if possible, the magnificent organization Vera was leading among the railroad workers, a deliberate job was put up to get him out of the way.

The Cananea strike, occurring, as it did, very close to the border line of the United States, is perhaps the one Mexican strike of which Americans generally have heard. Versions of the Cananea strike are many.

Strikes in Mexico have so far usually been more the result of a spontaneous unwillingness of the workers to go on with their miserable lives than of an organization of labor behind them or an appeal by agitators.

I mention the strike of Tizapan because I happened to visit the spot while the strikers were starving. For a month the strike had been going on and though 600 cotton mill operatives were involved and Tizapan was only a score of miles from the palace of Chapultepec, not a daily newspaper in the capital, as far as I have learned, mentioned the fact that there was a strike.

I first heard of the Tizapan strike from Paulino Martinez, the editor, who is now a political refugee in the United States. Martinez cautioned me against saying that he told me, since though he had not heard of the strike himself until after it had been called in his arrest.

Except for Valle Nacional, I never saw so many people, men, women and children, with the mark of acute starvation on their faces as at Tizapan. True, there was no fever among them, their eyes were not glazing with complete exhaustion from over-work and insufficient sleep, but their cheeks were pale, they breathed feebly and they walked unsteadily from lack of food.

him a boomerang blow from which he never recovered. To put his Mexicans in a temper to strike Greene is said to have subjected them to numerous petty annoyances, ending with the announcement made through one of his underlings that the company had decided to supersede the system of contract labor. This brought the strike.

The announcement was made on the evening of May 31, 1906, and shortly afterwards every Mexican walked out of the mines. Trouble began in the morning, when the strikers, marching about the streets to call out the day workers, were sprinkled with water from a hose in the hands of a man named Metcalfe, manager of the country number yard. The strikers pelted him with stones and Metcalfe and his brother came back with rifles, the result being that both the Metcalfes and several strikers were killed.

A company of Pinkertons in the employ of Greene coming on the scene after the fight with the Metcalfes was over, fired many shots into the crowd and are said to have killed about a dozen men, three of whom were mere onlookers. The miners, wholly unarmed, fled, but they were shot as they ran. A strike leader, applying to the chief of police for arms with which the miners might protect themselves, was terribly beaten by the latter, who put his entire force at the service of Greene. The jail was filled to overflowing with miners arrested indiscriminately.

Greene and Governor Ysabal of Sonora put their heads together with the result that the United States was asked to protect the American women and children in Cananea from massacre by Mexicans. The American newspapers were full of lurid tales sent out by Greene, none of which had any foundation, for the strikers not only never assumed the aggressive in the violent acts of Cananea, but the affair was in no sense an anti-foreign demonstration. It was a labor strike pure and simple and the strikers were no sooner called than the demands for higher wages and shorter hours were formulated for the consideration of the bosses.

While Greene's tales were arousing the United States, the copper king, doubtless thinking it necessary to create the condition which he wished the world to believe existed, sent his Pinkertons about town for another shoot-up of the miners. The Americans had been warned to stay indoors, so the hired assassins felt safe in popping their guns at everything in sight, which they did. Among the victims, it is said, was a boy of six and an aged man over ninety who was tending a cow when the bullets struck him.

On the afternoon of the second day 300 Americans, rangers, cowboys and other citizens, rode in from Arizona. They were under Ranger Captain Rhyning who has since been promoted to the wardenship of the territorial penitentiary at Florence. The American invaders quickly learned that they had been duped and the following day they returned to their homes without having lent themselves to the purposes of Colonel Greene.

But with the Mexican soldiers and *suavite* forces which poured into town that same night it was different. They were under the orders of Governor Ysabal who was known to be a very good friend of Colonel Greene. Wholesale hanging and shootings are alleged of Ysabal's forces during the several days immediately succeeding the strike. A photograph of perhaps a dozen bodies hanging to a tree, even widely circulated as a picture of miners shot and hung by Governor Ysabal at Cananea. On the other hand, there are those who assert that nothing of the kind occurred whatever.

Of the truth in this matter I am in doubt. But I have no doubt at all that President Diaz wired Governor Ysabal ordering him to shoot thirty-four of the men who were arrested on that first day. President Diaz's purpose was, doubtless, that of old. He wanted to write a lesson in blood and to write it quickly.

My friend, Gutierrez De Lara, happened to be one of that doomed thirty-four and he claims the distinction of having saved the others from furnishing the blood for that writing. De Lara, who was a lawyer of the town, having addressed meetings of the miners, arrested as an investigator. The other thirty-three were the three members of the executive board of the union and thirty plain members. De Lara had influential friends in Mexico. The Cananea telegraph operator, being an admirer of De Lara, "leaked" the bloody order of Diaz, the friends were notified and got busy, with the result that Diaz wired for special information as to De Lara's connection with the affair. Ysabal, misunderstanding, freed De Lara, and learned of his mistake only after the attorney had escaped to this country. De Lara's escape held up the whole matter of shooting until the fear and anger of Diaz had time to cool, when he revoked the order of execution.

The end of the whole affair was that the strikers, demoralized by the violence of the government, the execution of many of their most intelligent and active spirits and the imprisonment of many more of them, were unable to rally their forces. The strike was broken and in time the miners went back to work on more unsatisfactory conditions than before. The imprisoned men were taken out of jail, a few at a time and a majority of them, so it is asserted, were impressed into the army. Mexico's national chain gang. It was a sad fate, but a sadder fate still was reserved for the three members of executive board of the union, Manuel M. Diez, Esteban B. Calderon and Manuel Harre. These three men were never known to leave the Cananea jail, dead or alive. More than four years have now passed since the Cananea strike, and yet the three men are still in jail or they are dead.

Such is the fate the *Czar* of Mexico metes out to workmen who dare demand a larger share of the products of their labor in his country. One thing more remains to be said. Col. Greene refused to grant the demand for his miners for more wages, and

he claimed to have a good excuse for it. "President Diaz," said Greene, "has ordered me not to raise wages, and I dare not disobey him." It is an excuse that is being offered by employers of labor all over Mexico. Doubtless President Diaz did issue some such an order, and employers of Mexican labor, Americans with the rest of them, are glad to take advantage of it. American capitalists support Diaz with a great deal more unanimity than they support Taft. American capitalists support Diaz because they are looking to Diaz to keep Mexican labor always cheap. And they are looking to Mexican cheap labor to break the back of organized labor of the United States, both by transferring a part of their capital to Mexico and by importing a part of Mexico's laborers into this country.

NEW REBELLION IN MEXICO The press announces that 20,000 Maya Indians of Yucatan have overpowered the officials of Valladolid, killing many people, and that Diaz has taken the field in person against them. Coupled with this is the statement that Yaqui Indians and Mexicans in other parts of the so-called republic are on the verge of rebellion.

An election for president is impending in Mexico. Diaz is a candidate, and is boasting Corral for vice president. After the former's former exposure Diaz announced, as a means of advertising his liberality, that he would permit opposition candidates to make public canvasses for the places. Reyes announced as candidate for vice president. An army surrounded his house and he was made to promise to withdraw. Ramirez-Bonilla announced for president. The Appeal in receipt of a translation of a letter sent by Bonilla to Diaz, complaining that he was not permitted to make the canvass in peace in accordance with the presidential promise. Part of the letter reads as follows:

In the conference that we both celebrated on the 14th of last month, we agreed that you would go to the electoral campaign, and you promised me to deliver the power over to whom the people should elect. For this reason I thought over since that you, as the supreme magistrate of the nation, would allow me to manifest my free will on the subject. This can only be done at the polls, but it is indispensable that you should not renege upon your word. This kind of work, the supporters of my nomination, have actively undertaken, following strictly the instructions of our fundamental laws and their derivatives.

But at Coahuila, the public officials, have arbitrarily forbidden demonstrations in my own name, preventing also the spread of our principles. The same has happened in the states of Nuevo Leon, Amatepec and the State of Mexico. However, these misdeeds on the part of the local authorities are considered by me of small importance, and for them I would have no reason to renege upon your word. But in the states of Sonora and Puebla the conditions are serious. In the latter, the military authorities, Mr. Cesar del Vando, was thrown into jail without legal process, that the federal court issued on his favor a writ of habeas corpus, but he has not been freed. He has been given his liberty. At Cananea the persecutions are extreme against the members of the executive board of our union. Three of which were forcibly exiled to the army.

Until now, I have exerted all my influence to convince them not to use such means of coercion, but as long as the state of affairs continues, so often repeated wrongs will blind them and will try to do themselves justice with their own hands. You will understand how serious was the consequence of such an event. Therefore, I have decided to appeal to your noble influence with the local authorities in the states of the republic, in order that their ill-considered and unjust actions be corrected, and that they be allowed to enjoy all the freedom guaranteed by our laws.

To this letter Diaz made a reply, a translation of which is sent to the Appeal. But so far from promising protection, so far from treating the complainant in good faith, Diaz prates of how liberty has been enjoyed, and threatens Bonilla that if his followers try to do anything they will be punished. Says the Diaz letter:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated yesterday in which you declare that you have been arrested and that you have been imprisoned to which every citizen has right to; but at the same time you complain that in certain localities some of your friends have been arrested and you beg me to intervene with the government. To this I must manifest to you, that I have no power to do so, and I do not intend to interfere in the affairs concerning the sovereignty of the states, and in the observance of the laws, which are the duty of the citizens, and the sure way to exercise their rights.

You report that it is possible there be some ill-considered actions, but not so, as the citizens enjoy all the guarantees that the law confers, and besides they have the right to make petitions and to petition, but if against what it must be expected and ill-considered what disturbs the peace, you may not succeed that it will be and the offenders will be punished according to the law. PORRIBO DIAZ.

This is documentary proof from official sources of the political policy which prevails in Mexico. Notice how the statements made by Bonilla are distorted.

Well, the war in Yucatan is the direct result of this political canvass. The leader of this so-called rebels is Bonilla. One must take with a large grain of salt the statement that there has been a massacre in Yucatan. It is probably a canard sent out by an inspired press for the purpose of preparing the world for a slaughter of workers as wicked and barbarous as that which Turner recorded last week, a butchery having for its purpose the notification that no man must run for president against the tyrant that American capitalists are supporting in Mexico. It may be that before you read this Diaz will be after a thousand men, the men and children, whose sole offense is that they wanted another president than he, load their bodies on freight cars, and dump them in the ocean as food for sharks.

and sane," with the whole government machinery? If the people are "safe and sane," as they really are, why not trust them to arrange and control a "safe and sound" economic system? "Safe and sound" would not be more apt to go wrong in this than in the election and recall of the public servants. One step further is logical—trust the "whole people" with the means of production and with a "safe and sane" distribution of wealth. Then the mammon god and poverty devil would both be dethroned—million-heirs and tramps would all disappear. But this government, being of the people, by the people and for the people, would be Socialism pure and simple, which we are told is an unrealizable ideal.

But Senator Owen's speech repeats the evidence of a wide spread discontent of the people with the present governmental system and of the eventual downfall of private ownership of the means of production. It also shows that plutocracy has discovered the "handwriting on the wall." A little farther along enough of the people will see, demand justice and come into possession of their own. The sun has arisen and is wheeling with tremendous speed towards his meridian. Socialism no longer has to toil in the night, it works in glorious day.

Samuel Gompers objects to Socialism on the ground that universal Socialism would mean universal slavery. He asserts that Socialism would crush individualism—that in the "universal slave-pan co-operative commonwealth" all persons would be reduced to a dead level of equality.

For the millionth time the Appeal to Reason proclaims that by Socialism is understood genuine, unadulterated democracy in its purest, completest sense—democracy social, political, industrial. To enjoy such democracy the workers must rule in all the affairs of life.

Socialism will never be possible until the majority of the workers want it. If the majority want Socialism, and inaugurate it, who will dispute the right and the power of the majority to rule?

Marx's theory of surplus value is erroneous, says Gompers. But he fails to point out the error. Until he does the Marxian principle that surplus value will be extracted from the workers so long as the tools are owned by idlers must stand unrefuted.

The non-appearance of the bonanza farm, and the decreased death rate, as shown by insurance tables, declare Gompers, disclose the weakness in the Socialist analysis of capitalism.

While bonanza farms as such have not, perhaps, replaced the small farms, the fact remains that a few men rapidly are getting possession of the land, and the tenant class is now working farms that once were owned by small farmers. We have the bonanza farm owner, with bonanza farm conditions, though the bonanza farm itself has not developed to any sensational extent.

If Mr. Gompers had consulted death statistics as a whole instead of insurance tables he would see that the death rate in general is increasing rather than decreasing. Insurance companies select their beneficiaries, insuring those only who are likely to live the longest. Mr. Gompers should have consulted the mortality reports from the mines, the railroads, sweatshops, child labor factories, southern cotton fields and the slum districts of the cities if he really wanted a fair and just comparison.

Wages are rising, says Gompers, evidently thinking that rising wages justify capitalism, and constitute argument sufficient to answer Socialism. But what about the rising cost of living? Eight years ago the writer helped to organize the Chicago car men. From seventeen cents a wage, raised to where the car men now get thirty cents an hour, and with what result? Today the car men eat less meat, wear shoddy clothes and save less from their wages than in the old days when they received only seven cents an hour. What is true of the Chicago car men is true to a greater or less extent of all other organized trades and callings in the United States.

As an advocate of international Socialism the Appeal to Reason maintains that the private ownership of the tools of production and exchange is the cause of social and economic inequality, and the political corruption that follows from this inequality, and that until the workers direct their efforts to the abolition of private ownership of these things, the substitution thereof of collective ownership, better conditions cannot and will not prevail.

Ameliorative measures have always failed and always will fail to improve the conditions of the working classes. Individual leaders here and there may be elected to office, but the election of leaders will not abolish wage slavery or destroy capitalism. The revolution must be complete, a sweeping change of base must be made in the whole industrial system, if permanent good is to be achieved.

History of American Fortunes BY FRANK BOHN

The publication of Gustavus Myers' "History of the Great American Fortunes," is one of the great events in the writing of American history. Comrade Myers' work is fundamental and instructive. Even to those Socialists who devote their time wholly to the study and teaching of American history, Comrade Myers' revelation comes as a surprise. That the great mass of the American public could be so long blinded, not only to the methods by which this wealth was gathered, but to the amazing hypocrisy of the great "captains of industry," is one of the strange features in the life of America. How did it all happen?

It happened because people did not much care to find out the truth. We have had hundreds of Socialist writers. But none of these devoted themselves to the serious study of American history and institutions. Let us be sure that we do better than this. This can be begun by a careful study of the facts which Comrade Myers lays before us. His work should become a text book of the American working class. Here we find what the capitalists have done for themselves; what the working class have not done for themselves; and what the government of the United States has done for the capitalists and to the workers. These are truths which the preachers, teachers, and newspapers have left untold.

We Socialists teach that the worker is robbed by the extraction of surplus value from his product. He sells his time to his employer. He produces wealth. The employer takes the wealth, returning to the worker just enough to keep him in condition to work tomorrow. This can be done under the cloak of "honest, honorable business," by smug, respectable capitalists. In the ideal capitalist state the employers never cheat one another, never cheat the workers, never use the government for private purposes, never take anything which is not theirs by law and moral sanction.

In the actual capitalist system as described from the documents by Comrade Myers, we see the capitalists as they are. Here they swindle and rob one another. They murder and despoil the workers. They squabble for control of the government, bribing public officials and prostituting the electorate. America is pictured as a shambles of profit-seeking, degradation and shame.

We shall select two incidents to illustrate the work. The leaders of New York society for some generations have been the Astors. Presumably they set the whole nation an example of high-minded citizenship, business honor and patriotism. Here is what Comrade Myers discovered about them.

At the outbreak of the war of 1812 John Jacob Astor had in his employ a British agent to attend to his Canadian trade. This agent had in his keeping a large amount of furs on Canadian soil. Astor obtained an order from the United States secretary of the treasury, allowing him to land furs at Mackinac from the British post at St. Joseph. Astor's agent told to the British the secret that war had been declared. This was before the American soldiers on the Island of Mackinac knew it. The British troops landed on the island, captured the American troops, but brought with them the British agent who thus saved Mr. Astor's furs. (History of the Great American Fortunes, Vol. 1, p. 113.)

The present industrial king of America is Mr. John Pierpont Morgan. Mr. Morgan stands on the very heights of respectability in American business life. His great gifts to charities and education, his "deep interest in the public welfare," his position of leadership in New York society, all these considerations make him perhaps the foremost American private citizen, as well as the foremost American capitalist.

But Comrade Myers has the facts on Morgan. At the beginning of the Civil War Mr. Morgan was a young and aspiring business man. In the hour of darkness, when Lincoln was calling for young men, hundreds of thousands of young men were leaving their homes to die for their country. Mr. Morgan was looking for profits. This is how he secured them. Through an agent he purchased 5,000 cavalry carbines which had been condemned by the government authorities. These rifles shot off the thumbs of those who pulled the triggers. They were to be sold as junk. Mr. Morgan purchased them for \$3.50 each and then through a Western agent resold them to General Fremont at St. Louis for \$25.00 each. The government protested, upon hearing of the outrage, and offered to compromise at \$17.50 each, but Mr. Morgan brought suit in the federal courts. In the very crisis of the Civil War, when the agonized Lincoln was calling out the last men and the last dollar to save the nation, Mr. Morgan won his case and collected his dollars.

Such American capitalism as is discovered by Comrade Myers in the irrefutable sources of history, and as told by him in his inimitable style.

Every Socialist collects a few choice books which he reads again and again. The list includes, of course, the Communist Manifesto; Marx's "Value, Price and Profit," and, perhaps, "Capital," Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," Kautsky's "Erfurt Program," (now available in English); and Thorold Rogers' "Work and Wages." American Socialists may now happily reflect that a work upon American capitalism has been written which may not only be added to the list enumerated.

Washington, May 31.—"It will be better for this country," said Senator Owen, of Oklahoma today, "when sections and members of congress and state legislators and municipal legislators are chosen by the direct vote of the people and when the people have the right of recall by the nomination of a successor to their public servants. The people will never abuse their power. I believe," he declared, "that the will of the people is far more nearly right in the main than the will of any individual man. It is far more honored by them with a seat in the senate; that the whole people are more apt to be safe and sane more apt to be sound and honest, than a single individual."—Associated Press Report.

This is truly democratic and sound in principle; but one cannot refrain from asking, then why not trust the "whole people," if they are "more safe

News In The Making

When President Taft, a few days ago, predicted another panic within a few years he probably considered a problem that is beginning to attract attention, not of the people in general, but of thinkers and financiers, as a surprise to them, yet a logical conclusion.

It was something less than twenty years ago when expansion led to the merging of various interests and the issuance of quantities of stock generally described by the word "water." Ryan is said to have declared under oath that 90 per cent of the stock issued during this period was water. In addition to this flood of stock, bonds were issued to almost the same amount. The result was that men to whom these watered stocks were issued became millionaires over night not in actual possessions but in the holding of papers that would entitle them to draw dividends on sums equaling the stocks. Another result was that the people, without having anything to say in the matter, were put in debt to the amount of billions. That is to say, the bonds were obligations to pay definite interest, and, of course, the interest had to come from the workers. It was the introduction of the bond-age.

Gompers and Socialism

Now, the difficulty has arisen because of this tremendous burden that came with the re-organization of industry. The organizers were more powerful, but the managers were compelled to show up with interest and dividends on ten times as much money as they had had to do before. It has been a terrible burden on them to do this. In order to do it, they have had to raise prices—this is why there has been an advance in the cost of living. In order to do it, they have had to produce as cheaply as possible—this is why they have kept agents in Europe securing cheap labor from that continent, and why Japanese and Mexicans have been imported to work in America.

Hired managers had to do these things in order to pay dividends on the watered stocks and interest on the bonds. Bad as it is, they are helpless and are to be pitied in a way. The desperate situation in which they find themselves is shown in the fact that twenty-three railroads have united to raise freight rates, and when the government secured an injunction forbidding the rate raising, they declared they would make the rate anyhow, defying the government. The fact is, unless they do it, they cannot pay dividends on the watered stocks and on the new issues of water which the masters insist on making.

That is the situation at present. The people are protesting. If the managers yield to the pressure of the people, their customers, then they will offend the owners, their masters, and their jobs are at stake. If they continue to exact the pound of flesh, that the masters demand of them, a revolution is threatened. You see they are up against it in either case. This is most significant news in the making.

This water must be squeezed out within the next few years, or Taft sees revolution. It never represented wealth, but only a burden on the people. When it is squeezed out, there is sure to follow a terrible depression. Even the threat of such action is likely to produce a panic among the masters of the bread. Taft is right in saying that a panic will come within a short time.

It must be understood that, while the plutocrats authorized the issuance of watered stocks, enough money has been paid in by small investors who imagine they were "peopleizing the trusts" to pay physical valuation on all the industries involved. The plutocrats will be able to fail, and re-organize, freezing the little fellows out, which will enable them to own the industries clear without the investment of a dollar. This is what is involved in the coming panic, the coming "failure" of the trusts. It may appear contrary to the Marxian theory of concentration, yet it is in full accord with it, if you add to the proposition the absolute steal involved in modern business methods—not profits, but wholesale robbery.

Behind all this is another possibility! You will notice that Roosevelt, Taft and many plutocrats are beginning to talk of "rational Socialism," and of a "practical party" inaugurating the "feasible measures" involved in Socialism. There is a possibility that the plutocrats may, after gaining full control of industry, turn to the government, taking government bonds in exchange for the properties that Socialism would consider by many as Socialism in reality it would be state capitalism. It would burden the people, through the government, with the need of paying dividends on property that was acquired by a swindle. If the dividend (interest) was not paid out of receipts of operating, then governmental revenues would be mortgaged to pay it. If the people rebelled, then they would be traitors, and could be shot down. Perhaps this is the "prosperity" (for a few) which Taft sees behind the coming depression. It is needless to say that this would not be Socialism. Socialism might pay for the industries, but it would not pay interest or dividends; therefore, it would not be a burden on the people or continue the steal. In paying off nearly as rapidly as paid and so get back into the hands of the people, it would enrich rather than impoverish the toilers.

THE APPEAL TEAM

Patly Hut. From Lookout, Helena, Mont. Doubtless it will be a source of innocent merriment to Mr. Eugene Debs to notice that his old friends the railway managers are not so enthusiastic in favor of injunction by government as they used to be in approval of government by injunction.

Socialist Stickers. Three new kinds now ready. "Work, Be Stal," "Why Be Workingmen Swast?" "Workingmen of the World Unite." Each three inch square, with printed or colored gummed paper, ready to stick on a freight car, a telephone pole or a lamp post. Try a bundle of one cent, postpaid. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago.



