

Total Number of subscribers for week ending June 15th..... 556,813
 Number of new subs for week ending June 15th..... 18,238
 Number of existing subs for week ending June 15th..... 543,285
 Loss for week..... 2,288
 Total number of subs for week ending June 15th..... 556,813
 Number of papers printed last week..... 614,000

Established
 Aug. 31, 1895
 J.A. WAYLAND

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

Appeal to Reason.

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second-class mail matter
 FRED D. WARREN
 Managing Editor

This is Number 866
 Expiration Number 66

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., July 6, 1912

DO NOT overlook the importance of making a list of the progressive republican and democrats in your voting precinct. We need these men and they need our literature

...A Personal Word to the Friends of This Paper...

AMID the crumbling ruins of political parties, the Socialist movement stands serene and confident pointing the way out of this industrial hell into which the country has been plunged after a century of capitalist exploitation. This is the Socialist's year of opportunity. Twenty years of ceaseless agitation have not served so well to make plain to the American people the purpose and necessity of our work as have the disclosures of the past two months. It is no longer necessary for us to waste our time in arguing that the democratic and republican parties are the twin arms of predatory wealth—Root at Chicago and Parker at Baltimore prove that. Nine-tenths of the newspapers this very day are telling their readers frankly that Wall street dominated the two conventions, named the candidates and wrote the platforms. As plain as the noon-day sun is this plutocratic control.

Our work, therefore, has been much simplified by these disclosures and our task is merely that of convincing the puzzled and perplexed voters that Socialism is the solution of all our industrial and social problems. To this work we of the Army and the APPEAL must apply all our energies and resources. It is no exaggeration to say that upon the work you and I do before the votes are counted this fall depends our own welfare and the welfare of our children and of all the future generations. Impressed as I am at this moment with the grave responsibility which rests upon our shoulders I have determined to make a statement which many of you will doubtless protest should not be made. You will reason that the wise general never discloses to the enemy his weakness; rather will he put on a bold front and bluff the battle through in the hope that luck may come to his aid. I fully realize the great joy that will come to our political opponents when they read what is to follow. It will give our enemies who have been on our trail great comfort, and encourage them to renewed activity in the hope that they can strangle the APPEAL to death before we recover our breath.

FIGURES are not always interesting, but before I can make myself clear to you, it will be necessary for you to study carefully the brief report of the APPEAL's operations since the first of the year. This table shows the number of subscriptions received during the first six months of 1912:

	Total for month	Average per day
January	37,426	1,207
February	62,904	2,250
March (banner month)	91,874	2,960
April	69,476	2,331
May	56,774	1,828
June (22 days)	27,769	1,260

It requires the receipts from 2,400 subscriptions (\$600) each and every day to meet the enormous expense necessary to maintain this giant with its circulation of close to 700,000 copies per week. The daily expense for each day of 1911, counting seven days to the week, was \$619.15. The average daily expense for 1912 will be larger because today we are printing a greater number of papers than the average per week last year. Our estimates place the expense for this year at a little over \$700 per day. The difference between the income from 2,400 subscriptions per day (\$600) and the expense of running the office is made up from the receipts from advertising and the sale of extra papers. By referring to the table printed above you will see that during one month only did the income exceed the expenditures. February and April nearly balanced accounts. The other three months show a loss that is becoming serious. And this is what I want to talk to you about. At the very beginning of the greatest campaign in our history, the APPEAL finds itself face to face with a crisis so grave that I have decided to place all the facts before its friends and leave the future of the APPEAL in your hands. There comes a time in the life of every man when it is necessary to speak plainly and without reservation. This is likewise true of newspapers that have been established to espouse an unpopular cause. Such a time has been reached in the life of the APPEAL.

EIGHT years ago on the morning of one of those days that fixes itself indelibly on memory's record, Comrade Wayland called me to his home. On my arrival my first glance into his face told me that some question of moment was to be decided.

I had then known the "One Hoss," as we in the office affectionately called him, about four years. I had come to the APPEAL from a country village to take a place in the composing room. I liked the work for my heart was in it. My enthusiasm was boundless and I worked with an eagerness that knew no weariness. From printer to foreman and from foreman to associate editor, then editor, were the successive steps of my connection with the greatest publication in the world. My ambition to work for Socialism was being realized. During these four years I had assumed no responsibility as to the financial affairs of the paper. The problem of getting subscribers, of meeting the pay-roll, paying the postage and paper bills, were matters entirely foreign to the little world in which I lived and moved. That was Comrade Wayland's part of the job, and even I, as intimately associated with him as I had been during these four years, knew little of the struggle and burden of those pioneering days to keep the APPEAL afloat and free from debt. Nor will anyone ever know what those years of struggle and hardship cost our comrade.

On that morning Wayland's face was lined with the furrows of care; the skin, tightly drawn, was pale; from the eyes came a look of great weariness; he seemed a man seventy years of age, though he was just in the prime of life—scarcely fifty. Vilified, traduced, criticised by friend and foe alike, Wayland, I readily perceived, felt that he had reached the limit of his endurance. The burden of maintaining the APPEAL in the face of such frightful odds had become a greater burden than one man could carry. Some time prior to this he had offered the APPEAL to the national organization of the Socialist party. This offer was refused. Under the party constitution the party was prohibited from publishing an official organ. This provision was introduced into the constitution to prevent a recurrence of the disaster that had overtaken the old Socialist Labor party, very largely because of the manner in which the official paper had been used by those in power to run affairs independent of the membership.

"Fred, if the APPEAL is to live to fulfill what I believe to be its mission you must take charge of the paper from now on."

This is what Wayland said to me. I protested that the spirit of depression would pass and that tomorrow affairs would look more hopeful. He shook his head sadly. "I am resolved on this change; I know when I have reached the limit of my endurance and my resources. I do not propose to jeopardize this great institution, built up by the Socialists of this country, by hard work and sacrifice. I had hoped that the party would take over the APPEAL, but perhaps

the framers of the present constitution have built wiser than they knew in providing that the party should not engage in the publication of an official paper that might easily be made the organ of a clique, to be used against the interests of the entire membership."

After a discussion that continued all day and far into the night it was decided that I should lease the paper for a term of ten years. The terms of the lease provided for the payment of a rental of \$1.00 per year with the provision that I should be permitted to spend any surplus the paper might accumulate in any manner calculated, in my judgment, to promote the propaganda of Socialism.

What has happened during the strenuous years since I assumed the management of the APPEAL is a matter of history with most of you. From a circulation of 175,000 copies per week the paper has steadily grown until today it proudly boasts of the fact that it has a larger list of subscribers than any political newspaper in the world. What this splendid result has cost in time and energy, in heartaches and tears, can never be known. Most of you see only the bold and aggressive and successful side of the APPEAL. Of the struggle that goes on here in the office to maintain unimpaired the fighting front of the paper, those on the outside can know nothing. The public will support and applaud a winner. It despises a loser. The APPEAL has always been a winner!

DURING the eight years of my responsible editorship of the APPEAL, it has been my dream to formulate a plan that would automatically maintain and increase the circulation. The measure of the APPEAL's influence is determined by the number of its subscribers. The ordinary and orthodox schemes used by capitalist newspapers are unworkable on the APPEAL. The use of premiums and prizes, on which most of the capitalist newspaper successes have been built, have long since been abandoned by this paper. The subscriptions that come to the APPEAL through the offer of extraordinary inducements are of little value to either the paper or Socialism. I early made this discovery and so I resolved to hit upon some other method. There are two ways to move men to action—an appeal to their cupidity and to their fighting spirit. The APPEAL adopted the latter course—behold the result!

The APPEAL has made its greatest strides forward under the lash of persecution. The APPEAL Army has always responded, as the figures printed in the above table eloquently testify, when we have been attacked by unscrupulous and prejudiced government officials. These attacks, however, by the government are beyond our control and they are at best an uncertain method of building the subscription list to a revolutionary newspaper.

After the flood of subscriptions which reached us during March and April, due to the wholly unjustified attack by the government, there came a very decided and alarming reaction. After the victory, in the rejoicing and jubilation, many of you forgot that the APPEAL still needed fuel in the form of subscriptions. You felt that you had earned a well-deserved vacation from this rather prosaic work of getting subscriptions. But the APPEAL can't stop! The expenses go on just the same, increasing with each day. The fixed charges of the APPEAL can only be, with the greatest difficulty, reduced. When they are raised to meet the extraordinary influx of subscriptions, it is almost impossible to put them down after the tide has passed. That is the situation in which the APPEAL finds itself at this moment.

IN my experimenting for a plan that would solve the circulation problem on the APPEAL, we hit upon the idea of holding subscription meetings with a paid admission, each ticket being good for a forty-week subscription. This plan met with immediate success. It combined the advantages of platform and newspaper propaganda. In the two years the subscription lectures were conducted, more than three hundred meetings were held attended by more than 300,000 persons, each of whom became a subscriber to the APPEAL. Comrade Debs was enthusiastic over the results following these meetings. Not only did it give him an opportunity to talk face to face with the people who attended the meetings, but through the APPEAL he was able to talk to them each week for forty weeks. Other speakers were put on the platform on this basis and we were encouraged to believe that the long-sought circulation plan that would give the APPEAL a million subscribers had been discovered. Like all good things it was coveted by others. The national secretary of the Socialist party visited Girard and announced that the national organization proposed to establish a lyceum bureau modelled along the same lines as those on which the APPEAL bureau was being conducted. It was pointed out that the party could operate these subscription meetings much more successfully than the APPEAL. While the negotiations between us were conducted in the most friendly and comradely manner, the APPEAL was given to understand that unless we withdrew our speakers that it would be looked upon as an unfriendly act toward the party organization. Those of you who have followed the APPEAL's career are aware that it has been our policy in no way to interfere with the work of the national organization, contenting ourselves with doing the pioneer work necessary to secure new recruits. We immediately cancelled the dates that were partially arranged for and took up other lines of work. During the months last winter covered by the national lyceum course, the APPEAL turned down one hundred applications for Debs meetings which would have brought to this paper more than 125,000 subscriptions. The loss to the APPEAL during these months seriously handicapped the paper in the work I had planned to do. Not only that, but it ate seriously into our reserve fund. The national secretary had promised that if the APPEAL would abandon its subscription meetings that we should receive many more subscriptions through the national lyceum than we had through our own bureau. The number so received was 10,291, merely a fraction of the results from the Debs subscription meetings which in the two seasons of its operation brought us 300,000. It turned out as I had anticipated, that a very considerable portion of those who patronized the national lyceum course were already readers of the APPEAL and as a consequence the number of subscriptions we received was very small indeed. The best statement on the merits of the two plans is that made by the *Free Press* of East Liverpool, Ohio, which is as follows:

A national referendum is up for discussion, to-wit: "Shall the National Lecture Course be endorsed for next year?"

At first glance one would be inclined to say, "yes, of course." But let us take a closer look at this matter. The lecture course tickets sell for one dollar. The experience of those who carried the lecture course through successfully last year, and who failed in trying to do so this year, is that one dollar is too much money for the average old party voter to pay for political instruction. He is too much used to getting what he considers is the same thing for nothing. Of course he is wrong in this view, but that fact does not make him any keener to pay one dollar for the fun of testing whether he is in wrong politically or not.

Previous to the putting on of the national course, the APPEAL TO REASON had a staff of lecturers in the field on a subscription basis. That was a single lecture, twenty-five

cents admission. Each admission ticket bearing a stub good for forty weeks' subscription to the APPEAL. This increased the list of the APPEAL enormously.

And as the APPEAL list increased just so the membership of the party increased. And in a like ratio the Socialist vote increased. But with the putting on of the national course the APPEAL withdrew its operations along this line and since then the APPEAL's list of subscribers has marked time only.

When we put on the N. L. C. last year we sold about 500 tickets, mainly to Socialists; people who had already formed an appetite for Socialist literature. In other words, we were taking carcasses out of our game bags and shooting our ammunition into them. And it took strenuous efforts to sell our 500 tickets. This year we could only sell 120 and had to stop the course at the second lecture with severe financial loss.

Two months previous to this fiasco we put 1,500 people into the Ceramic theater to hear Debs. At least 800 of them were non-Socialists. And these people are getting right along a warm dose of Socialism every week through their subscription to the APPEAL. Then it is safe to say that four out of five of the rest of the audience, being already on the list of the APPEAL, have sent their ticket stub to a non-Socialist friend.

If endorsing the National Lecture course means driving the APPEAL lectures who are on a subscription basis off the field let us not endorse it. Even though it means that twenty or thirty well-paid lecturers must go back to soap-boxing. Worse calamities than that could happen.

Let our exceedingly effective machine gun (the APPEAL) keep up its execution. Don't let any regiment, no matter how brilliant it appears, crowd it off the field, for the purpose of firing into the already slain bodies of the enemy.

AFTER the wreck to these subscription plans, we began immediately to devise other methods. Fortunately for the circulation at this crisis the department of justice took a hand in the game and gave the circulation a boost that lifted the list of subscriptions beyond the half-million mark. That is merely temporary. Some method more substantial and permanent is necessary. The plan most frequently suggested to the APPEAL by members of the Army that would solve our circulation troubles was to ask each of our readers to get one subscriber each week. That looked easy and practical, but long experience has proven that a simple request is not sufficient to move the average man to action. One-half the APPEAL Army (the old guard) needs no prompting on our part to do its share of the work. Unfortunately, the work of one-half the APPEAL Army will not keep this paper afloat. As the paper grows, and our expenses increase, it is necessary to have new people added to the Army roll. Our problem then is to interest these new ones and to move them to action. Finally, however, in response to numerous letters suggesting this plan it was decided to call for 50,000 volunteers who would pledge themselves to send one subscription a week until the APPEAL's list reached a million. The plan looked feasible and attractive. It was commended upon every side, many of our readers becoming enthusiastic over the prospects of an early realization of our dream of a Million subscribers. But here is what happened: Each comrade seemed to think that his neighbor would join in this work and, therefore, that it was not necessary to pledge himself to the simple task of getting one subscription a week. The members of the old guard, that portion of the APPEAL Army that has been boosting the paper during all these trying years of struggle, rejoiced in the fact that they could now take a rest without jeopardizing the existence of their favorite paper. It will, therefore, come as a surprise to our readers to know that less than 1,000—to be exact, 608—readers of the APPEAL have pledged themselves to get one subscription a week. We are thus forced to admit a humiliating defeat—the first in our history. I believe you are entitled to know the facts so that you may help us devise ways and means to put the APPEAL back on its feet. I cannot explain why there has been so poor a response to what appeared to be a very practical plan and one that required so little effort. It may be that the request was such a simple one that it did not attract your attention. You have never failed to do the big thing when asked by the APPEAL, but it would seem that when we ask all of you to put forth a small effort, you pass it by as too insignificant and too unimportant for your prompt attention.

Or it may be that in the judgment of the APPEAL Army this paper has reached the end of its usefulness. Comrade Wayland and I, in talking about the APPEAL's future, have agreed that unless the APPEAL brings to itself a sufficient support to maintain it that we shall never issue a plea for help on the ground that the paper should be maintained because of what it has done in the past. So long as the APPEAL is useful and of value to the Socialist movement, I believe it will be supported by the Socialists. When it no longer receives that support then we here in the office must take it as your notice that you have found other ways to carry on your work for Socialism.

The demands on the Socialists for their time and their money was never greater than it is today. A hundred calls are being made—many of them so insistent that you cannot ignore them. Scores of struggling newspapers are pleading with you for help; national, state and local campaigns are to be financed; imprisoned and brutally treated comrades are asking that you come to their rescue.

These struggling papers and these comrades need your help, and I would not have you relax for one moment the work you are doing in their behalf. But the Appeal at this time faces the gravest crisis in all its career. Therefore if we are to keep this magnificent fighting machine going, you must redouble your efforts and give the Appeal the benefit of that extra work.

The situation in a nutshell is this: Unless there is a decided increase in the number of subscriptions received, and that too without delay, the Appeal cannot continue more than two months. All the fabulous wealth credited to Wayland and myself by the lying capitalist newspapers will not keep this giant machine afloat. Even if it were sufficient, the influence of the Appeal without a paid list of subscribers would amount to little. The experienced agitator knows the value of the subscriber who pays his own money for the paper. To get that sort of subscriptions requires on your part only the effort of asking the man—of asking every man you meet to subscribe. I appeal to those of you who have been converted to Socialism by this paper and to those of you who have used the Appeal with success in your work for Socialism to lend us your hand for the next ten days and give us time to get our breath and out from under this load that is threatening the existence of the Appeal. In other words, dear comrades, you must become the circulation managers of the Appeal. I have done my best. It is now up to you. With these facts in your possession, I leave the Appeal in your hands, confident that your decision will be for the good of Socialism.

FRED D. WARREN.

Girard, Kansas, July 1st.

