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Total number of subs for week ending June 6..... 550,192
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Turner Exposes Confidential Advertising of Gunman Firm

BY JOHN KENNETH TURNER.
 Staff Correspondent Appeal to Reason.

THE great McKees Rocks strike of five years ago is known for the massacre of workmen by state mounted police rather than for anything else. It is not so well understood that a private gunman concern furnished the excuse for the violence of the "cossacks"—the official corporation police of the corporation-ridden state of Pennsylvania.

In the confidential advertising of Bergoff Brothers, "Labor Adjusters," entitled "Strikes We Have Successfully Handled," appears the following item:

Pressed Steel Car Company of McKees Rocks, Pittsburgh, Pa., Mr. James Ryder, General Manager, Pittsburgh, Pa., Mr. John Rogan, Secretary, New York, N. Y.

In the summer of 1909, 10,000 men working in the great plants of the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rocks went out on strike. We entered into a contract with the firm to break the strike, which we positively did. We opened recruiting stations all over the United States and shipped men by the thousand into Pittsburgh, established our commissary, furnished our own master mechanics and built steel cars complete from trucks to roof, actually making a shipment of steel cars built by strike-breakers, while the operation was in progress. The union was broken, the company granted no concessions and the men came back at a lower rate than they received previous to going out on strike. This was undoubtedly the greatest strike and industrial war in the past quarter-century and we feel quite justified in going into some of the details of this strike.

The McKees Rocks tragedy is published as one of the prime achievements of Bergoff Brothers, and no doubt it was—to be taken as a criterion. One of Bergoff's lieutenants in this strike told me that the general superintendent of the company had complained to him that the services of Bergoff had cost him \$12,000 a day for 35 days, and that, in spite of the claim that cars were built during the strike, Bergoff's "mechanics" had not done \$20 worth of work.

Even then the strike was no doubt an "achievement," from the point of view of the company. For if the company saved only 10 cents a day per workman, that would mean \$1,000 a day, which would liquidate the strike loss in something like a year.

Besides, there is the menace of Socialism in the distance. The ultimate safety of the corporation can only be guaranteed by keeping the workers disorganized.

Some other details omitted from this glowing advertisement of the McKees Rocks achievement are the following, most of them furnished by the Bergoff lieutenant previously referred to:

Bergoff filled the McKees Rocks plants with 1,600 of the riff-raff of the cities, whom he sent down not to work, but, first, to make a pretense of work (to impress the strikers); and, second, to charge the company for. Bergoff paid the 1,600 an average of \$3 a day and charged the Pressed Steel Car Company \$5 for them. Two dollars a day profit on each man adds up to \$3,200 a day clear on wages alone!

Bergoff also made a handsome profit off the commissary, charging the company for food which never reached the mess table. At the end of ten days the city riff-raff went on strike for better food and got it.

The riff-raff didn't come to work and didn't work. All the work they did was the little necessary to keep the smoke coming out of the chimneys. They spent the days and nights in playing poker. Brawls resulting from poker games happened so often that the Pressed Steel Car Company insisted that the gambling should stop.

So there was another strike of the strike-breakers in support of the right to gamble. The company refused to give in, and was backed by Bergoff. Two hundred and fifty men tried to leave the plant, but were forced to stay at the point of guns. One who broke away and ran was pursued through the streets, caught and beaten almost to death.

Of the 1,600 strike-breakers 325 were armed with guns and clubs; they were known as "guards." Seventy-five were on the day shift and 250 were on the night shift. A huge searchlight was used to play on the company property and environs. On several occasions the night guards got drunk and fired into the strikers' houses. When the strikers came near the plant the guards would sally out and beat them up. When the strikers resisted they were shot.

About ten strikers were shot by Bergoff gunmen and about ten by the mounted police whom the violence provoked by the private gunmen brought to the scene.

The McKees Rocks strike was not broken by the employment of scabs, but by the violence of the private and state gunmen. A score of strikers were shot; hundreds were clubbed; as a result of which the remainder lost courage and surrendered. The company could never have won without resorting to violence.

This is the way nine in ten of the unsuccessful strikes of these days are made unsuccessful. Voluntary scabs are becoming scarcer and scarcer every

day. When used at all they are nearly always procured under false pretenses and then held by force—as in Colorado, Michigan and West Virginia. The approved and effective method of strike-breaking today is to break the hearts of the strikers by violence and finally drive them back to work.

I present the following items from the confidential advertising of Bergoff Brothers, "Labor Adjusters," chiefly in the hope of giving the reader an idea as to what extent this business is carried on. Remember, not only that this record is to be credited to one firm only, but, for lack of space, I am giving but a small proportion of the cases cited.

It will be noted that the "Labor Adjusters" refer frequently to furnishing workmen to take the places of the strikers. But in a vast majority of cases these were professional strike-breakers, who came expressly to break the strike, who only pretended to work and who disappeared as soon as the strike was broken.

Steam Railroad Companies.

Erie Railroad Company.—For all operations connected with this company we respectfully refer you to Mr. Alfred J. Stone, general manager, 50 Church street, New York, N. Y.

Operations.—In the spring of 1907 the boilermakers and engine mechanics went out on strike over their entire system. We furnished the road with competent mechanics to take the places of the men on strike. We assisted in establishing the open shop and adjusting the labor trouble to the entire satisfaction of the company.

In the summer of 1908 all large captains working for this company in the east went out on strike. We recruited several hundred experienced men, turned them over to the road, and within a few days had the entire situation well in hand, and conditions practically on a normal basis.

During the spring of 1910 the entire fleet of tugboats owned by this company, running in the New York harbor, ceased operating owing to the strike of their masters, pilots, mates, deckhands, firemen, oilers, and cooks. We furnished the road with competent non-union help and had all their boats running within a few days.

In the summer of 1912, at Buffalo, N. Y., the stevedores, laborers and truckers working for this road went out on strike. We recruited competent help in New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo and Cincinnati, and within 10 days we secured enough help to take the places of all the men, who were expected to go out on strike. We held these men on reserve for the road about one month, when the Erie railroad made a very satisfactory settlement with their employees.

Following which the folder mentions "operations" of a similar character performed for 22 other steam railroads for the four years, 1910 to 1913, inclusive.

Electric Railway Operations.

Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company.—For information relative to services rendered this company we respectfully refer you to Mr. Chas. O. Kruger, president and general manager, Philadelphia, Pa.

During the summer of 1910 about 5,000 motormen and conductors employed by this company formed a union and went out on strike. We were retained by this company to recruit non-union men to take the places of the strikers. We established commissaries at the different car barns, opened recruiting stations in several cities and had 1,000 men on the ground within 24 hours. The strike was finally settled to the entire satisfaction of the company.

Public Service Corporation, Mr. Geo. Robert, first vice president, Newark, N. J.

During the threatened strike of the motormen and conductors of this road at Camden, N. J., in the fall of 1910, we were retained by Mr. Robert to recruit about 200 motormen and conductors. These men were shipped to Philadelphia and held there on reserve for about 10 days, ready to be delivered at the Camden barn within one hour. Through the efforts of this office in Philadelphia, the trouble was finally averted to the entire satisfaction of the public service corporation.

Trenton Street Railway Company, Mr. John A. Rigg, president, Philadelphia, Pa., Mr. Peter Hurley, manager, at the time of the strike.

During the strike of the motormen and conductors of this road in the fall of 1911, we were retained and furnished about 100 men. The operation lasted less than a week and was settled to the entire satisfaction of the company.

Schuylkill & Douphin Traction Company, Pottsville, Pa.

In the fall of 1911 we were retained by Mr. W. B. Harrington to furnish motormen and conductors. This we did and established the open shop within 24 hours.

Metropolitan Street Railway Company, New York City, N. Y., Mr. Thos. Delaney, superintendent of transportation.

In the summer of 1911 we were retained by Mr. Delaney to furnish laborers and guards to take the places of their striking channel-men. The backbone of the strike was broken within 30 days and only part of the men who went on strike were taken back.

Steamboat Companies.

Old Dominion Line, Mr. James Leyland, general manager, New York, N. Y.

During the summer of 1906 we furnished this company with about 500 laborers, longshoremen, wenchen and guards to take the places of their striking longshoremen at Norfolk, Va.

Wilson Steamboat Company, Messrs. Sanderson & Sons, New York agents, motormen and conductors.

Operations.—During the spring of 1907 we furnished this company with about 300 longshoremen, laborers, wenchen, foremen and special policemen to take the places of the men on strike.

In the fall of 1907 about 500 longshoremen and dock laborers working for this company at their

docks in Boston quit work. We were retained to recruit non-union help, which we did. And within a few days were operating on a normal basis.

Twenty-seven additional operations of a similar character are enumerated.

Teamsters' Strikes.

Department of Street Cleaning, City of New York, Hon. McDonough Craven, commissioner.

In the summer of 1907 about 2,000 drivers, working for the street cleaning department of the City of New York, went out on strike. We entered into a contract with the city and furnished competent men to take the places of the striking drivers.

Hon. Wm. Edwards, commissioner. In the summer of 1911, during the strike of the street cleaning department drivers, we furnished competent non-union help to take the places of the men on strike.

Team Owners' Association, Yonkers, N. Y., Mr. Towner, president.

In the summer of 1907 we furnished this association with men to take the places of their striking drivers.

Adams Express Company, New York, N. Y., Mr. McCay.

We furnished about 1,500 drivers and guards to take the places of their employees who had gone on strike.

Operations for nine other recent teamsters' strikes are listed.

Building Trades Strikes.

Marble Industry.—Marble Industry Employers' Association, Mr. Wm. K. Fertig, secretary, 17 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y.

In the summer of 1911 we assisted the following firms, members of this association, in securing mechanics during their strike. We also established commissaries at their different plants for feeding and housing of the men. We furnished guards for the preservation of life and property. Also guards to escort and protect the mechanics at different plants and to and from buildings in the course of construction. The men returned to work without gaining any concessions.

The list of firms is a long one. Following it several other building trades strikes are mentioned.

Six machinists' strikes are claimed besides the affair at McKees Rocks.

Bakers' Strikes.

Bakers' Association, 26 Beaver street, New York, N. Y., Mr. Hildebrand, president; Mr. Fry, secretary.

We were retained by this association to engage bakers and guards during their strike, and furnished the following members with 50 to 100 bakers. We also furnished guards for the preservation of life and property and positively established the open shop.

A list of firms is appended.

Hotel Strikes.

We furnished the following New York hotels with all classes of cooks, pantry men, firemen, silver men, waiters, omnibuses, and other classes of hotel help to take the places of their employees on strike. We also furnished guards for the preservation of life and property and positively established the open shop.

The hotel list makes a formidable showing.

Brewery Strikes.

Scranton Brewery Company, Mr. Pat Casey of the Casey & Kelley's Brewery, Scranton, Pa. In the year of 1911 we were retained by this company to hire 500 mechanics and laborers to run their breweries. The men were held in readiness and were prepared to break the threatened strike.

Kansas City Brewery Company, Mr. Joseph J. Heim, president, Commerce building, Kansas City, Mo. In 1912. We were retained by this company to hire 300 mechanics and laborers to run their breweries. The men were held in readiness and were prepared to break the threatened strike.

Smelter and Mine Strikes.

American Lead, Zinc & Smelter Company, Mr. Rossmann, general manager, 1012 Pierce building, St. Louis, Mo. In 1911 we furnished this company with guards to protect their plants at Caney and Deering, Kan.

Thomas Iron Company, Mr. Horace Boyd, superintendent, Hokaudauqua, Pa. In 1913 we furnished this company with stationary, hoisting and electrical engineers, timber men, firemen, drillers, muckers, pumppmen and guards at their Richard mines, Wharton, N. J.

Many other strike "operations" are dealt with in similar boastful terms, totaling in all about eighty, and running in time from 1906 down to the present.

While Bergoff Brothers' claim that they have never lost a strike cannot be borne out, there is no question that through their instrumentality scores of strikes have been broken, millions of dollars in wages have been lost to workmen, and—that is of even more importance—hundreds of thousands of workmen who might have become a permanent fraction of organized labor are still in the non-union class.

RECENT reports made by 286 public service corporations show net earnings for the past year amounting to a total of \$370,801,186. This is the price the various cities of America paid for permitting profit mongers to do the work they needed done, instead of doing the work themselves. But if they would take measures to save this snug little sum they would be denounced as impractical, immoral and irreligious. Oh, how big the Dubb family is!

THE United States department of agriculture report that the wheat crop will be the largest ever produced in the United States. They estimate nine hundred million bushels, one half of the world's production, 137 million bushels more than any previous crop. If anybody goes hungry in America this year we will know the reason why—too much wheat.

THE agitation of Socialists in favor of using the public schools the year around is beginning to bear fruit. Summer schools are to be held in the universities of ten states this year, while the agricultural colleges of several other states will hold summer sessions. It will finally come to include all schools, everywhere.

THE masters are anxious that their slaves should be "efficient." If the workers had charge of the machinery the machine would be efficient for them and make them more than they could use on six hours per day.

SOMETIMES the prejudices of the parents is visited upon the children, even to the third and fourth generation.

AN EMPTY VICTORY.

Gilson Gardner, a noted Washington correspondent, reports that "Labor has won an empty victory and lost its real fight" when the house recently passed an amendment to the new anti-trust act "exempting" labor unions from its operations. An ambiguous amendment was passed which gives the courts a splendid chance to construe it in the interest of the employers. The amendment must have been pretty rotten considering the fact that every congressman on the floor voted for it, including the worst enemies of organized labor.

Congressman Thomas' amendment which was the original demand of the American Federation of Labor and which would have really benefitted labor, was overwhelmingly rejected. It is hard to believe that leaders of organized labor would consent to a fake exemption clause. Yet this is the case. Gompers and the other A. F. of L. leaders are reported to have approved of this fake amendment. They must have, because we hear no protest from them.

So then this is what organized labor gets from the Wilson administration. A clause as futile as the one just passed could have been secured from the Taft administration and could have probably by this time been interpreted by the courts. As it is, organized labor will have to wait a few more years for the courts to pass on it, and the only ones who benefitted from the support given by the Gompers crowd to Wilson in 1912 are the democratic politicians now holding down fat jobs in the federal service. When will labor wake up? When will it elect to congress men from its own ranks to do its bidding? When, oh, when?

BEGINNING OF SOCIALISM.

Who was Karl Marx? In what country was he born? Is he still living? How many countries have a thoroughly Socialist government today? In what country was Socialism born?

Karl Marx was a German Jew, born in 1818 and died in 1883. The idea of Socialism was not "born" anywhere or at any time. It has been a development out of economic causes, coming wherever capitalism developed. In the early days of Marx's life it was seeking to accomplish things in America through the establishment of co-operative colonies, and both England and France took part in these experiments. Marx conceived the idea of accomplishing the Socialist ideal through capture of the government by the working class, through a political party, and to explain his theories wrote and published an analysis of "Capital" in 1866. This changed the entire methods of the Socialists, who were even at that time organized in practically every country in Europe as well as in the United States. The second and third volumes of "Capital" were not printed until after Marx's death. Socialism exists in no country on the earth, though the Socialist movement is organized in practically every country. It cannot be established until the entire capitalist system is overthrown and full co-operation takes its place. It has always sought this end, though of necessity the best method of work was not grasped at first, the colony idea being generally believed in, in an early day, though now abandoned by Socialists as unable to accomplish the desired end.

THEY MUST MOVE.

"The world do move." The thought is suggested again by a recently unearthed letter of Alexander Stephens, written in 1832. The man who afterward became Lincoln's great anti-slave cabinet officer, wrote this:

Went to a party. Witnessed the new dance, the waltz, which disgusted me very much. Oh, the follies of man! The railroad is the topic of the day. Railroads, it is true, are novel things. The greatest obstacle in the greatness of the enterprise, the stupendous thought of seeing steam engines moving over hills as the safe and rapid flight of fifteen miles an hour, produces a greater effect in discussion of the undertaking than any discovered defect in arguments in its favor.

The waltz is now considered eminently proper, and society is discussing the decency or indecency of the Maxixe. The railroad train now runs at more than thirty miles an hour (or roads that have not been wrecked by the manipulation of financial pirates), with a modicum of safety, and we are now considering the aeroplane that goes a hundred miles an hour.

At the time that Alexander Stephens wrote a man who opposed chattel slavery was openly denounced as an enemy of home and religion. Now abolition of slavery is regarded as eminently respectable, but he who would end wage slavery is accosted with the same epithets.

It is a funny old world. But, after all, the fossils have to get a move on them or they will be run over. Alexander Stephens dodged just in time to save himself. Will you?

ACCORDING to latest official reports there are in circulation \$751,554,696 of bank notes. These are "secured" by United States bonds "and other securities" to the amount of \$740,818,360. But the "securities" still belong to the banks and still draw interest for the bank. The bank notes are therefore presents to the banks, and are not worth the paper on which they are printed, beside being fraudulent and unconstitutional. They are unconstitutional because the constitution confers on congress the right to issue money, but not to farm out the issuance of money.

ONE rotten old ship that will soon go to join the Titanic and the Empress of Ireland, is private ownership.

THE laborer having been worthy of his hire for 2,000 years, let's vote for a system that will make the hire worthy of the laborer.

HAVING been crushed by the elephant, gored by the bull moose and kicked by the jackass, why not give the hand of labor a chance to feed, clothe and shelter you?

A LECTURER says "the progressive party will give every man and woman a chance to earn a living." But only the Socialist party will give them a chance to get it.

"This is a fine old world to live in," says Uncle Joe Cannon. Well, it ought to be, considering the rent we have to pay for it. By the way, who gets the rent, and why?

TAFT says Socialism could succeed only in a civilization composed of ideally unselfish men. That's more than we can say for the present system, which would make that civilization into a hell before sunrise.

THE Canadian government has kindly consented to guarantee a \$45,000,000 bond issue of the Canadian Northern railroad. It thus helps both the bankers and the railroad lords. The people may go hang.

The workers build the motor cars. And the bosses get the rides. The workers skin each other, but the bosses get the hides. From our hides we make fine leather, lads. To please the smiling plute. Now let us get together, lads. And the plute will get the boot.

A CAPITALIST writer says "no way has yet been found for impressing upon congress the honest, clear-sighted opinions of honest business men." Easy. All you have to do is to get an honest lawyer and the thing is done.

A BIG business hanger-on says congress before legislating on business questions should get the views of business men of the country. All right; here they are: Smash the unions. Reduce wages. Raise prices. Kill Socialism. Jail agitators. Now trot out your legislation.

WHAT would you think of a senator who would openly declare now: "The purification of politics is an iridescent dream; the declodge and golden rule have no place in a political campaign?" That is what Senator Ingalls said with a sneer in 1888. We have moved quite a ways since then.

AN old line economist says "business men who know nothing of politics are at the mercy of politicians who know nothing of business." And the honest worker will be at the mercy of both tribes of ignorami until he takes matters into his own hands by means of his political party, the Socialist party.

"ONE billion at stake.—Safety of foreigners and investments demand advance on Mexico City."—Headline. All right. When Americans in America are safe from the attacks of gunmen, we'll begin to think about the safety of foreigners in Mexico; and those who get the dividends from the investments can do the advancing.

AN old party editor who says "our country stretching from ocean to ocean, from the lakes to the gulf, with all its advantages of soil, of climate, of inland and coastwise transportation is not producing sufficient foodstuffs to supply its inhabitants," objects to Socialism on the ground that it is an inefficient system of production.

EX-PRESIDENT ELIOT of Harvard University who holds, with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., that scabs are the highest type of American manhood, says that "the large cities of the country are becoming so congested that the race cannot live normally and soon there will be a country wide tendency to degeneracy." But it is from the congested parts of these cities that most of the scabs come. Isn't the professor a little inconsistent?

Though my living's very sumptuous, I'm not feeling quite so scrumptious. For somehow things aren't what they used to be.

At the prophet business I'm no wizard, but I've a feeling in my gizzard. That something rough is going to fall on me. For in and out of season, that blamed Appeal to Reason.

With the story of my life is making free. And I've heard those soap-box fellows with lungs like blacksmiths' bellows. Haranguing crowds when working they should be.

And upon my sacred honor, I feel sure that I'm a goner. And I sadly wait election day to see.

A PENNSYLVANIA shop-keeper calls for a congress of business men "to be held in the national capital to demand freedom from hampering legislation." Mr. Rockefeller feels that if he had been given more freedom in Colorado the cost of murdering union men and their wives and children could have been reduced materially; while the directors of the New York, New Haven and Hartford are sure that but for the blighting effects of restrictive legislation they could have squeezed several more millions out of their employees and passengers. This unpatriotic tendency of the common people to have more respect for their lives than for the profits of Big Business must be nipped in the bud.

AGAIN we are informed by one William Howard Taft that Socialism must fail because of the failure of co-operative colonies. Inasmuch as Mr. Taft himself was such a striking failure, he might have declared that his failure was proof that Socialism could never succeed. This would be as sensible as anything that man ever said in his life.

There's a Reason why you should send the Appeal a dollar, and get yours to the four-year list, it is expensive taking off your name and putting it back on again every 40 weeks. You save the Appeal this expense by subscribing for four years. If you want to make the little old Appeal stronger and better send along that dollar and subscribe for four years.

Free Speech Fight in John D.'s Town

By telegraph to Appeal to Reason.

New York.—I had a session with the Tarrytown board from 8 to 12 o'clock at night. At first they flatly refused to make concessions. What turned the tide was the fact that a local paper urged suppression of free speech because Rockefeller had a pay roll of \$30,000 a month in Tarrytown. They could not face the idea of having that go out as the reason for their attitude. They suggested that we apply to the supreme court for mandamus to compel them to permit speaking. This overthrew their objections to the principle of free speech. Having no mind to become tangled in legal suits that were threatened if speech was further restricted, they still dreaded the sentiment of the town, which was overwhelmingly against any concession. We then suggested that they give us an opening to convince the town as we had convinced them. The final compromise was that the board resolved to hire a local opera house and invite us to set forth to the citizens the argument for free speech that had convinced the board. The president of the village will introduce us, and other trustees will debate with us, while the audience will vote on the result. We do not regard this as final settlement, but it is a step on the way to it. We have stopped the uplifted club of the police, and the voice of reason will be heard.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

The A. P. Must Answer

I made in the columns of the Appeal some carefully documented charges of suppression by the Associated Press. I challenged the Associated Press to take up my statements and to prosecute me for criminal libel as they are now prosecuting the editors of The Masses for having used the same phrases, but it kept silent. They do not want my charges brought up in court. They planned to maintain a haughty silence about the matter, but I am happy to tell the readers of the Appeal that they will not be permitted to follow this policy for one of the leading newspapers of the country has undertaken to compel them to discuss my charges. I am not at this moment at liberty to say more than this. Let it suffice to say that the Associated Press is to be smoked out. It is going to answer my charges.

Pierson, president of the village of Tarrytown, demanding a permit to speak. Mr. Pierson did not reply. Then Abbott and Caron again went to see the chief of police, and afterwards Abbott alone called upon Mr. Pierson. All these peaceful applications for a permit were made, but there was to be no free speech in Tarrytown.

Whereupon a group of men and women went up to enforce the right of free speech. The newspapers have called them "I. W. W.s." As a matter of fact, I believe that not more than two or three of them have ever had anything to do with the I. W. W. Some of them are anarchists; Caron told me that he did not know whether he was an anarchist or Socialist, because he had had no time to find out what either meant. For my part, it makes not a particle of difference to me whether they be anarchists, Socialists, members of the I. W. W., or members of the Salvation Army. If they desire to stand on the streets of any American city, town, or village, and discuss any public question, they have a right to do it, and I hold that it is the duty of every American who loves his country and believes in its institutions to protect them in that right. In going into this fight myself, I have not taken the trouble to inquire what their ideas may be. And I do not believe that the members of the APPEAL army will care a particle more about the matter than I do.

Clubbed and Sent to Prison. Twelve of them stood up, one after another, in Fountain Square; and one after another they were dragged down by the police, clubbed and hustled off to prison. The next day three more made the attempt, and they also were arrested. These last were tried at once, and one received a sentence of thirty days, another a sentence of three months.

You can imagine, perhaps, what the capitalist newspapers of New York City did with this story. Edition after edition appeared, each one with new alarms upon the front page. The I. W. W. was marching upon Rockefeller's town from all over the United States! The anarchists were plotting bombs and assassinations! The authorities of Tarrytown had hired fifty special officers, each armed with a hickory club and two loaded revolvers! The fire department was ready to turn out at a moment's notice! Hot tar had been provided with which to deluge the agitators—the authorities had even gone to the extreme of putting a coat of tar over the square where the efforts at speaking had been made! A dozen men were guarding night and day the fountain which Rockefeller was having moved to his estate! Rockefeller had doubled the guards on his estate, and the sheriff of the county with sixteen deputies was marching night and day before the gates! A particular wild and ferocious anarchist was loose among the Italians of the town, and Rockefeller was discharging the laborers from his estate, because of fear there might be anarchists among them! And so on, through columns and columns of sensation.

Newspapers Lied. To read the accounts of the arrested agitators, you would have thought they were maniacs or wild beasts. They howled and made pandemonium in their cells. They cursed and reviled God, and the Pope, and the chief of police of Tarrytown. They went on a hunger strike, and broke plates over the heads of those who wanted to eat. But the next day they were all eating ravenously—and so on.

One had to be reckless as to his reputation when he meddled in that story. However, I went up to the trial of the twelve "agitators" last Saturday, having first taken the precaution of telegraphing to the justice of the peace, and asking his permission as correspondent of the APPEAL TO REASON to be admitted to the court room. I found the members of the fire department, and the fifty deputies present according to specifications. But they let me in, and even got me a chair, and sat me where I could talk to the prisoners.

I will not say much about the proceedings, because their only result was a week's postponement of the trial. Neither will I say much about Justice of the Peace Moore

and decency prevail. We believe that the sense of fairness which lies deep in the heart of every human being will be manifested, and that we will have no trouble by means of moral suasion in keeping this forum from becoming a public nuisance. In case of disturbance by persons, we should of course have the right which every citizen has to appeal for police protection; but so far as concerns the speakers, and the orderly and intelligent part of the crowd, we believe that by tact and by free criticism we can take care of the problems that arise. At any rate, we think that it can do no harm to let us try.

Waived Police Protection. In answer to the above proposition, the millionaire commissioner of police objected that we were asking for police protection, for which the people of Tarrytown would have to pay. They did not want us in Tarrytown, he said—they were not interested in our ideas, and why should we expect the taxpayers to put up money for us? Finding that there was a good deal of sympathy throughout the board for this point of view, I answered that I personally would make a different proposition to the board. "Give me permission to speak on the streets of Tarrytown," I said, "and I will agree to waive my right to police protection; let the police go about their own business, and I will take my chances with the crowd. I believe I have been able to convince this audience of my sincerity; and I am willing to take the same chance with any crowd of Americans." Abbott and Schroeder agreed, and so that aspect of the matter was settled.

The board asked us if we would be content if they found a lot which was centrally located, and obtained the permission of the owner for this to be used as a free speech forum. We answered that so long as we did not have to get the owner's permission, so long as the right was granted by the community as a right to all, we would be satisfied with that settlement. The board then voted to call an executive session for Wednesday night to take a final vote on the proposition.

Brands for Free Speech. An interesting episode should not be overlooked. It happens that America has just been paid a visit by a distinguished foreign man of letters, Dr. Georg Brands of Denmark. I believe it may safely be said that Dr. Brands is today recognized throughout the civilized world as its leading literary critic. He lectured Sunday night at the Comedy theater in New York and over a thousand people were turned away. On Monday morning I went to see him, and he asked me about the Tarrytown matter. I told him the story. And I wish you could have seen the consternation of this old man of 72 years at the idea that such things could happen in America. I said that I wished the board of trustees could see his amazement. And he answered, "Tell them for me." I said, "Perhaps they will not believe me." To which he replied, "I will write to them." He then wrote the following letter:

To the Trustees of Tarrytown: I have visited your land of liberty, and seen your beautiful statue in the haven of New York. I hope that in this crisis your action will be such as not to injure the reputation of your father, the "sweet land of liberty." Freedom of speech seems to me to be one of the most precious rights of humanity. I must ask your pardon that I, a stranger, dares to meddle in your affairs.—Sincerely yours, Georg Brands.

My story would not be complete without a word as to the attitude of the newspapers of today. Tuesday, after this public meeting. These papers were interested in portraying the "agitators" as mad dogs and savages. They were interested in scare headlines about revolvers and clubs and tar and feathers. But they are not interested in a decent and human settlement of the issue. He was followed by the other representatives of the league, and also by a lawyer representing the "Live and Let Live League," who produced an excellent impression as he pleaded for free speech as a means of keeping down dangerous agitators like Sinclair, Abbott and Schroeder. The board called upon any one who cared to speak upon the other side, but there was no one. Our arguments were listened to with respectful attention for over two hours. Many questions were asked and objections made by the members of the board, but on the whole I think I may safely say that we succeeded in making them realize that the denial of the right to speak had been a grave mistake.

A Fair Proposition. We were asked to submit a definite proposition, embodying our ideas as to what should be done. We therefore offered the following in writing:

Where the right of free speech has been denied, nothing can settle the matter but full and careful provision for continuous protection to every individual in his constitutional right to say what he will, subject only to the law which makes him responsible for his utterance. We hope to convince the authorities and the people of Tarrytown that it is necessary and proper that a place should be set aside, according to the custom in England and in many of the more enlightened American communities, at which anyone at reasonable hours may say what he has to say on public questions, and be heard by anyone who cares to hear. Believing as we do in free speech as a sacred thing, and as a thing which in the long run will vindicate itself, we make the offer to the Tarrytown authorities that we will relieve them of the burden of starting and protecting such a forum; and that we will, if they will permit, give to them and the whole country a demonstration of what we think a free speech forum ought to be. If they will set aside a place which may be used between the hours of 8 and 11 p. m. for speaking, we will undertake that so long as the present excitement in the public mind continues a representative of the league will always be present to see that order

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A Prayer by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

From the Denver Express.

O Lord, my God, I thank thee for the great privilege of living in this age and period of Christian civilization, and under a system which permits the few of Thy children to oppress, enslave and exploit the multitude.

Hear me, Father, for mine iniquities and transgressions against Thee are many; and my sins testify against me; and Thou knowest my iniquities.

Thou I put on righteousness as a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation upon my head, and the garments of vengeance for clothing, and clad with zeal as a cloak, hide not Thy face from me.

I thank Thee for a Governor Ammons and a General Chase; they are men after my own heart. Thou they may have murdered women and little children and roasted them alive with Standard Oil, they did it in the name of the law.

Great is the Law! Blessed be every crime done in the name of law and order!

Dear Lord, let the names of Ammons and Chase go down in history on the roll of honor, by the side of Herod, Nero, Pilate, Caligula, General Wyler, and the other Monsters of History.

O God, I thank Thee for the degenerate, debased and debauched gunmen, private detectives and militia, who did such valiant service for Thy servant at Ludlow, in roasting little children and their mothers and murdering their fathers. I know that Jesus said "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of God." But that was not in an age where civilization had attained the moral progress of this day, where the dollar is the standard of its civilization.

Thou knowest, O Lord, that in this age human rights are justly subordinated to property rights, and that the life of a poor laborer or his wife or child is as nothing.

I know I have kept back from labor its need;—I have challenged the outcasts to battle;—When they plead at my feet, in their need, And when their clamors of hunger grew louder, And my laborers prayed to be fed,—I answered their prayers with powder and lead.

Heavenly Father, my conscience acquits me of any wrongdoing in Colorado. Huerta would not know what to do with my conscience; but I glorify Thee, Father, by teaching Thy word in a Baptist Sunday school.

O Thou Supreme Intelligence, give Pa the dough, as he needs it to endow colleges, universities and educational institutions, that he may thereby promulgate false political economy and industrial injustice.

I will give praise and glorify Thy holy name. Amen.

Folly of Regulation.

J. A. Wayland in Appeal, 1906.

What's the use of all this chewing the rag with the owners of railroads about rates, fair or unfair; of occupying the attention of the courts, local, state and national, about what is just and unjust; of spending the unthinkable millions in commissions and investigations and law costs to find out what ought to be done with these corporate properties? What's the use and what good has come of it? Do not the mergers and squeezings continue? Are not the small roads being absorbed by the greater, the small stockholders fleeced by the stronger, the public still skinned by the aggregation? For fifty years this has continued and the fortunes that were complained of by the public forty years ago are now grown to figures never dreamed of then—isn't this long enough to make you think? Remedy? Sure there is a remedy. All this arrangement is man-made and man can change it if he wishes. Why not have the public build railroads and operate them at cost, and leave the railroads now operated alone? They would have to bring their rate down to the rates the public roads would and could give. Nations that own their own roads do not have the trouble we have. If public roads make money it goes into the public treasury instead of making more millionaires. All the people are rich enough to own their own roads—but they are not wise to the situation, and are purposely kept ignorant of it by the papers owned and controlled by the great railroad and other interests. Are you wise?

Which brings up the thought that we have no way by which the people can express their wishes on any matter, and are thus kept ignorant of public sentiment. It is not certainly known just how many people desire public ownership of railroads, express or telegraph. If the question were submitted to the people in a "yes" or "no" vote, the people could then determine what should be done. But the men elected to position do not wish to trust the people—and such men should not be trusted by the people. The game of the trusts is to keep the people ignorant of public sentiment. By owning, or controlling by patronage, most of the papers of the nation they can make it appear that the majority are opposed to a thing when they are really for it. I believe that nine-tenths of the people would vote for public ownership of the railroads if it were submitted to them. More than that ratio voted for the immediate ownership of the street railroads in Chicago a few years ago, but the chumps voted men into office at the same election who did not want that done—and they didn't get what they voted for. Funny old world, this.

You can have public ownership of railroads and express and telegraph whenever you will give your votes to men who want it thus. But you continually give your votes to men who do not want it and say so. If your government can be trusted to "control" railroads it certainly can be trusted to operate them, for it would be easier to operate them than to try to control them while recognizing that they did not belong to the public. The government has lit-

and to hear them fairly and honestly, but when they come here with threats of death, or assassination and of mob rule, I will not hear them farther."

Upon the motion of another member of the board the trustees were made implied threats the trustees were prepared to grant permission for a street meeting.

All Falsehoods. I can only state that his entire scene is the invention of the Herald reporter's malice. No such episode occurred, no such words were spoken. I have demanded a retraction from the Herald, and if they do not make it I intend to sue them for libel. I shall let the readers of the APPEAL know how the matter turns out.

I want also to say a few words about the attitude of the Associated Press in this matter. I was informed upon good authority that because the accounts sent out by the Associated Press were so inadequate, the United Press had sent four men especially to get the story thoroughly. Yesterday morning, when I got the letter from Dr. Brands, I offered it to the Associated Press in writing, and they refused to send it out. I then offered it to the United Press, which took it eagerly, and sent it out. I am collecting episodes of this sort, and some day I shall have a volume of them!

"Psychological Conditions"

From the New York Sun.

Citizen Outfowork, hat in hand, accosted the professor as he came out of Candler House: "I have a wife and four small children—" "You only think you have," said the professor; "your state is merely psychological."

"I haven't had any work for six months, since the factory—" "Fie," cried the professor, taking off his eyeglasses and waving them in a wide gesture of denunciation; "don't you know that nonemployment is merely psychological?"

"My wife and children are actually hungry—" "Nonsense, my dear sir; hunger is merely psychological."

"My brother has just been 'fired' by the X. Y. and Z. railroad; the railroad people said they had to reduce expenses."

"How ridiculous; expenses of railroads are merely psychological. So is your brother's discharge."

"Professor, will you lend me a dollar? When better times—" "This is most unbecoming language. What times could be better than these? Times are merely psychological. So is your assumed need of a dollar. Learn to know the need of mankind and to find that need in yourself. Does mankind need money? Do you need money? Then find the money in yourself. Everything but my Mexican policy is merely psychological. Money to a victim of the merely psychological state called 'out of a job'! Good-by. I wish you more psychology and a better frame of mind."

The Benson Combination. This is the favorite. It gets the results. Others have used it to make Socialists and report wonderful success. You can do the same:

- 1 Benson's "Truth About Socialism" Cloth \$1.00
- 2 The Key to the Mystery, by John M. Work50
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- 3 The Thieves' Book15
- 2 Appeal's Answers to questions. The Road to Socialism, by C. L. Phifer15

the trouble about controlling the rates and management of the postal system—and what little it does have comes from the owners of railroads and express that do not want the public to have free use of their own property.

A Life Subscription to the Appeal costs \$5. By subscribing for life you help the little old Appeal by adding to the reserve fund and you are forever free from the bother of renewals with the chance of missing two or three numbers at each renewal period. Every active Appeal comrade should be a life subscriber.

"Thou Shalt Not Kill." "If a man kills another man is he always put in jail, mama?" "Not always. Sometimes he is paid by the government to do it; and if he can only kill enough he will have monuments erected to him."—London Seaman.

A people is but the attempt of many To rise to the completer life of one.—Browning.

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per month selling our "Typewriter" kit. No special tools required. Write for details. **FREE BOOK** describing the kit. **FREE BOOK** describing the kit.

SHAW MANUFACTURING CO. Dept. 14, Salsburg, Kansas.

RAILROAD WATCH

At a small cost by fitting our "Railroad" kit. No special tools required. Write for details. **FREE BOOK** describing the kit. **FREE BOOK** describing the kit.

SHAW MANUFACTURING CO. Dept. 14, Salsburg, Kansas.

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You can't buy an ARSENAL. It is not for sale. We give a free copy to anyone sending the Appeal 12 twenty-five-cent subscriptions, or to anyone sending \$2 for 12 Appeal subscription cards. These cards are regular U. S. postal cards, each good for a 40-week subscription to the Appeal to Reason. You sell the cards for 25 cents each to your friends and get your money back.

The Owen Colonies

THIS is the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Owen communities in America. It calls attention to a very important historical event that is little understood by the American people, and that those who speak and write on the subject from a capitalist standpoint do not rightly interpret.

Before the Owen experiment there had been a series of religious communities established in this country, nominally under direction of spirits, and for the most part embodying some peculiar religious tenet, such as celibacy or promiscuity. They were not socialistic, for the reason that Socialism had not then been codified into a system of philosophy, but were rather communistic, frankly modeled after what they thought to be the system adopted by the early Christians.

The Founder of Owenism

The Owen experiment was remarkable from the fact that it was promoted by a man who had been unusually successful in business. Robert Owen, though a poor boy, made himself owner of a woolen mill in England that grew under his direction to be exceedingly profitable. As he became rich he turned his attention to labor and educational reforms, inaugurating many of the movements that now are approved all over the world. He was the first to agitate against child labor in factories; first to start the kindergarten and raggedy school; first to advocate model lodging houses and public baths; first to discard pauper labor in his mills. When dull times compelled him to close his mills for three months he insisted on paying his employees full time during their period of idleness.

The reputation of the man for disinterested public works, as well as for practical business ability, led to him being requested to devise a system of education for Prussia, which he did and which is in use today with the approval of the best educators of the present time, and to a request that he remove to Russia to supervise social betterment there, which he declined to do.

This man evolved a theory that has since been adopted by Socialists, and which is about the only feature of his system that Socialists have approved, that declared: "Human nature is radically good, and is capable of being trained, educated and placed from birth in such a manner that all must ultimately become united, good, wise, healthy and happy." He expressed in a book he published a desire to establish a colony that he might demonstrate the truth of this proposition. Half a dozen nations offered him land on which to build his model. He rejected all offers, and decided to come to America and pay for all that he received.

The Owen System

Owen's plan, though at that time hailed as a savior by many of the noted literary and scientific people of the world, now appears as artificial and arbitrary. He proposed to "cut the world up into villages of from 300 to 2,000 souls, and a preference of 800 to 1,200." These were all to live in one house, to be built in the form of a square, with a great court in the center, and to be supplied with water, heat and

even cooking from a central plant. All were to work together, putting the proceeds into a general fund, sharing alike and eating from a common table. It will be seen that it was a pure communism, bearing but small resemblance to the social organization proposed by Socialism.

However, it happened that the religious community at New Harmony, Ind., offered to sell to Owen, and he purchased of this people, 30,000 acres of fertile land, nearly 3,000 of which were under cultivation, with fine orchard, and a laid out town of 160 houses, besides schools and churches. The fact that this plot was bought with houses already built for community work led to an abandonment of the original intention of erecting but one house as described in Owen's book.

Owen came to America, was received by and lectured before congress, and on his call for colonists at once received about 900 applicants. The membership included scientists and others possessing international fame, as well as some without education and who were what might be termed very aptly "cranky." For a time the community was very harmonious.

Dissensions Arise

About a year after the formation of the society dissensions began to manifest. Several pulled out from the community and some four or five little communities were formed in the immediate vicinity. Ultimately all went to pieces. Robert Dale Owen, son of the founder, however, remained in America and later on became an active force in the new labor movement and the Workingmen's party. Robert Owen, the father, was not entirely persuaded that the colony idea was impractical, for later on he arranged for establishing a larger community better organized and equipped, in Mexico, though this never materialized; and when the fourth wave of community agitation swept over the world and to the United States, he lent his moral and financial support to it. He died poor.

Result of the Experiments

As has already been pointed out, the experiment was communistic rather than Socialistic in nature, hence, the criticism that its failure proves the impracticability of Socialism is invalid. It is possible, however, that the peculiar beliefs of the two Owens, father and son, which their active brains led them to formulate and their natural bravery of expression to proclaim, resulted in fastening on the movement of Socialism, that followed some fifteen years later, dogmas that were purely personal with them. Robert, the father, at one time proclaimed his belief that all religion was false and a curse to humanity, though he later on repudiated this belief; and Robert Dale, the son, as boldly declared for the abrogation of the marriage rite. In spite of these things, however, the personal qualities of the two men were above reproach, and they gave their lives in sincere efforts to advance the cause of human happiness.

When Robert Dale Owen identified himself with the Workingmen's party and the trades union movement, it was freely charged that trades unions were against religion and favored free love, although the main contention of the Workingman's party, that the public land should be given to actual settlers, became the basis on which the republican party later on rode into power.

The Owens gave impetus to many of the great reforms Americans have since championed. They established the first really free school in America; the first school in which males and females were taught together; the first manual training school; the first woman's club; the first club of suffragists; the first prohibition of the liquor traffic. There is as much logic in condemning all these things on account of Owen's failure with them as to condemn Socialism as a failure because the colony did not succeed.

Only in the sense that all this was a feeling after better things can it be said to have had relation to the movement of Socialism. It was not Socialism, but it is quite likely that the agitation that came with and followed it helped to stimulate the world's thought until the full Socialist philosophy was evolved.

Influence of the Colony Experiments

There can be but little doubt that the five great American colony experiments, of which the Owen movement was the second, exercised a strong influence on the thought of the world. Many Socialists, though the Socialist movement has

often declared that the community must of necessity fail, have in the early days of their development joined colonies. Even J. A. Wayland, founder of the Coming Nation and the APPEAL TO REASON, at the beginning of his career founded a colony; but it must be remembered that he was raised in Indiana, not far from New Harmony, and hence imbibed the idea more from his surroundings than from his knowledge of Socialism. Another idea that the Owen community seems to have fixed on the minds of many is that Socialism favors the labor check as a form of money. The fact is, the labor check was devised by Owen and approved by his community, but has never had the approval of Socialism, though this is not understood by many.

MEN are often called brave when they are only ignorant.

MEN are often called patriots when they are only hypocrites.

YOU, the workers, pay for the soldiers and slugs that help in holding you up.

THE master class may be pay-triatic, but it does not do its own fighting, remember that.

CAPITALIST civilization is built on the bent backs of the workers. Suppose they should stand erect.

CAPITALISM is bringing out a vast amount of unwritten argument why Socialism should be adopted.

EVERYBODY now is willing to admit that he believes in Socialism—only, the fakirs don't want it to win.

THE old parties are one and all getting ready to plead with you to authorize them to hold you up and then kick you.

IT is numbers that gives punch to the Socialist movement, coupled with gumption that knows the vulnerable places on which to land.

IT is a sad thing to see strong men begging for jobs but still more sad to see strong men vote for a system under which they must beg for jobs.

THE workers are starving on every hand while the plutes are fed on the fat of the land. And such is the sorrowful case, because the Dubbs make the wealth, while the plutes make the laws.

IN one thing the masters are right. There really is nothing to arbitrate. When all belongs to labor, labor must have all, and no compromise is really honest or right.

WITHOUT the workers all productive industry would come to a standstill and yet it is the shirkers who get all the good things the workers produce. Funny, isn't it?

NOW that President Wilson has told the soldiers that their work is to preserve peace, some one should send word to Satan that he should go to preaching. It would be as sensible.

"TEDDY" says, according to the newspaper reports, that on one occasion while in the Brazilian jungles his party was forced to subsist on monkey meat. This may account for some of the monkey-talk "Teddy" has been regaling the public with since his return.

IF congress will permit the railroads to raise their rates for hauling mail \$10,000,000 a year, and if the interstate commerce commission will authorize a raise in freight rates that will bring in another \$10,000,000 it ought to mean fine contributions for the democratic campaign funds this fall.

THE express business in Kansas fell off nearly \$50,000 during the past six months, while the parcel post business in the same territory increased more than that. Evidently the Kansans are not afraid it will destroy religion and the home for the people to do things for themselves.

A COLLEGE professor says the remedy for existing evil conditions in the big cities is to have "wide streets, lots of air, and small gardens about the houses of the working people." Fine, professor, lovely. Now tell us how we are to get the "wide streets, lots of air, and small gardens about the houses of the working people"—when land is capitalized at \$50 per square foot.

INVENTORS UNDER CAPITALISM

Another inventor has received the reward that capitalism gives him. William F. Haas, at the age of 83, committed suicide because, after perfecting the shoe wetting machine that made several millionaires, he didn't have enough money to assure him even decent comfort in his old age.

But this is only the common fate of the inventor. Under capitalism he gets nothing, while the master class reaps it all or perhaps stifles his invention and makes the world do without the result of his genius merely because it would not pay them to make the change in machinery the improvement might cost. The New York World comments on the tendency in this way:

The history of invention is a record, with only a few exceptions, of terrible toil and of genius cheated and starved.

What a comment on invention under capitalism! Yet the truth of it cannot be gainsaid. A few years ago Prof. Langley made a flying machine, but because the explosive engine had not then come into use it would not fly and was dubbed, "Langley's Folly," while the aged inventor died heart broken. A few weeks since, however, Glenn Curtis took the old machine, attached a modern engine, and it flew.

In face of all these discouraging facts, the master class, that starves and cheats genius, has the nerve to ask, what will become of the inventor under Socialism? and, what will be the incentive to invent things under Socialism? The inventor will fare a hundred times better when Socialism unties his hands and frees him from poverty than he can possibly do now.

IDEALS FOR THUGS

The president has mistaken his vocation. He should have been a preacher. He is eminently qualified by his simple faith to advise even the devil to be "good."

In an address before the graduates of the naval school at Annapolis he said:

The idea of America is to serve humanity, and every time you let the stars and stripes free to the wind you ought to realize that in itself a message, that you are on an errand which other navies have sometimes forgotten, not an errand of conquest, but an errand of service.

That sounds nice. But it is humiliating to think that the president is so "innocent" he does not know that the function of the navy is to kill in the interest of the robbery of the worker and that it can have no other function. He might as well plead with a professional executioner to spare life as to make the talk he did to the navy. He is dealing with facts, and not addressing a Sunday school class. The fact is, that society is organized on the basis of robbery and murder. Nice talk is not going to put a stop to the crime and horror of it. The rhetoric of the president is fine. The sentiment is not half bad. Only, it is rot, so far as practical results are concerned.

If you would stop robbery and murder you must do it, not by talk, but by putting an end to the system and machines of robbery and murder.

The National Socialist is the best ever, as it gives us all an opportunity to discuss all questions in such a way as to bring out all points.—Ray R. Ames, Cheney, Wash. The National Socialist is 25 cents a year.

THE "CALL TO COLORS"

The Railway Employers Journal issues what it terms a "Call to the Colors," in which it appeals to railroad workers to retire those congressmen who suggest that the railroads ought to confine themselves to running railroads and not to running politics and robbing the toilers. Just the color of the colors to which the Journal would have the slaves of the road rally is not given. Judging from the evidence in the New Haven cases, however, they are probably black. The call says: "All you get is what you earn from the railroads." The trouble is, they don't get what they earn. They only get what they can force the railroads to give out of what they earn. If they do help the railroads to hold up the country for more loot, they will also have to fight for every penny that they get.

DISCONTENT with bad conditions is the way to bring conditions that will breed contentment.

When you have finished reading this paper, show it to a friend. Call his attention to Turner's article and get his subscription.

THE high cost of living is caused by your own fool vote.

It is always the worker who must obey, always the worker who must "love." Let the capitalists obey and love a little while.

THE old parties will soon begin to promise great things to labor. After election labor will get it as usual—in the neck.

THE banker is a man authorized by law made by the people's representatives to borrow money from the people without interest and then refuse to lend it back to the people for less than eight per cent and gilt edged security.

THE conspiracy of the masters against the administration may have been a "psychological condition," but the hold-up that the interstate commerce commission and congress is authorizing them to accomplish is a very real thing.

"NAPOLEON was a great butcher, six million men having been killed in the wars he fought. But capitalism is a greater butcher, killing six million people the world over every year through avoidable accidents and preventable diseases.

ACCORDING to a press dispatch, from Washington, a large buzzard hovered over the capitol building for several hours the other day. As these birds never linger long except over some dead or rotten thing its prolonged visit excited considerable speculation as to what the attraction might be.

Said a wise man one day to his neighbor "If your head being stuck with a neighbor, Or your head busted wide To see what's inside, Then don't vote for the party of leighbor."

THE Pittsburg Kansan, a rabid anti-Socialist paper, sends out the supplement furnished free by the railroads, showing by false figures how wonderfully well the railroads have been managed and why rates ought to be raised. But then, it is the Pittsburg Kansan, and that makes all such things plain.

PRIVATE ownership of railroads is so practical. Leaving out of the question the revelations made in the New Haven matter, travel on the publicly owned roads of Germany is ten times safer than on the privately owned roads of America. The American managers are certainly peacherinos.

Four Appeal subscription cards will cost you a dollar. For a dollar you can get four non-Socialists to read the Appeal for 40 weeks. It will start four more people on the road to Socialism.

PRESIDENT WILLARD of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, testifying before the Interstate Commerce commission, was asked if this would be the last raise in rates the railroads would ask, and replied: "No, I think not. I think the tendency of rates will be to continue upward." In other words, private interests will milk you to the limit.

In testifying before the interstate commerce commission, President Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio, admitted that Morgan juggled his road out of \$50,000,000 for the purchase of the bankrupt C. H. & D. But then, railroad scoundrels should be permitted to get dividends on all the fraud they choose to perpetrate. Raise the rates—it will mean Socialism all the sooner.

The bull moose and the elephant went forth their plea to make—"It ain't no use, oh, Brother Moose, The workers are awake."

A LAW and order league has been organized at Charleston, W. Va., which openly advertises that the way to cure society is to cut out the diseased part, and wishes to begin at once on the agitator. The trouble is, the league is composed of microbes on the body politic who are wishing only to save themselves. To get rid of the itch it is the rottenness that must be cut out—and that is exploitation, not agitation.

SINCE the amalgamated whitewashers of Denver, calling themselves the chamber of commerce, have declared that there was no massacre of Ludlow and that the state militia have wings growing under their uniforms, it is probable the women and children only thought they were killed, and the miners were not really on a strike but only imagined it. It seems to be, as the president expresses it, purely a "psychological condition."

Children Nowadays Are Simply Awful. They Have No Respect for Their Elders at All. At Least, That is What Henry Dubb Thinks.

By Ryan Walker



YOU will note in the circulation report on the first page that the Appeal is barely holding its own. A very small gain is reported this week. This in spite of the fact that the country is seething with protest against the bloody rule of Rockefeller and his ilk. This in spite of the fact that the country is suffering from political treachery and governmental dishonesty. This in spite of the fact that workers everywhere are realizing the mistake they made in supporting the Wilson ticket in 1912. And yet the Appeal barely holds its circulation—barely keeps going. At this time the Appeal ought to be making tremendous strides so that the enemy shall know that we are a fighting army which knows no defeat. Is it asking too much to call on the friends of the Appeal to rally and to give our circulation a substantial boost? Suppose you go out among your friends today and solicit their subscriptions. You will find no trouble if you will only undertake to do this. A club of four from every friend of the Appeal is now in order. We shall expect a club FROM YOU.

TWO PRESIDENTS TARRED

It is a pleasant thing to reflect that a president of the United States would conspire with Big Business to defeat the law. Yet we have had sworn testimony before the interstate commerce commission that not one but two of our former presidents have been guilty of that very thing.

Charles S. Mellen, president of the New Haven railroad, testified in the way of Theodore Roosevelt:

I went to Washington and consulted with President Roosevelt about it (that is, about the New Haven railroad retaining ownership of a steamship line in violation of law). He said: "If you do not sell your lines to me, Morse, I will promise you, so far as I am concerned, that you shall have no trouble while the law remains as it is—your share of no trouble with me while the law remains as it is."

Mr. Mellen took the precaution to have these words taken down in shorthand and recorded by the secretary of state, so that he might not later on be accused of lying. The proof is positive, therefore, that a president of the United States, in violation of his oath of office and his professions of fidelity to the people's interest, promised Big Business not to prosecute it for violating the law.

Nor is this all. Lewis Cass Ledard, a director in the New Haven road, in testifying before the same commission, said this of Mr. Taft:

I went to Washington and conferred with Attorney General Wickersham and President Taft. "He was not pressed to tell what occurred at these meetings," says the dispatch. "But it appeared that about the same time or shortly thereafter the subpoena directing Mr. Morgan to appear before the federal grand jury at New York was withdrawn and Mr. Morgan was excused."

It was this same attorney general at about the same time, that directed the prosecution of the editors of the APPEAL for telling the truth about conditions in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth.

Two presidents involved! It is humiliating to have to record this fact. And we shall see what happens about the Rockefeller and Young Morgan testifying before the interstate commerce commission, whether the Wilson administration will be caught in 'the same effort to shield Big Business—whether only the republican and progressive candidates are guilty or whether the democratic candidate is equally vulnerable. Keep your eyes open and prepare to blush at the humiliation of a republic.

OWNING AND POSSESSING

In discussing certain fancied objections to the Socialist position on the land question, a correspondent says:

A man must own his land to have the incentive to improve it.

This does not hold out in experience. Under the system of private ownership of land in America more than half the people rent either the farm or the city property they use. Ownership therefore does not conduce to ownership, strange as that may sound. The reason is found in the fact that less than a fourth of the land of America is used, while less than half the people have a chance to use what is used, except on the basis of paying tribute to others for the privilege. In a majority of cases the farmer is holding out from use as much land as he is actually using. The ownership of land therefore does not give incentive for the use of it.

Suppose, on the other hand, that the Socialist idea of land holding prevailed. The land that was held by the whole people would all be used for the benefit of the whole people. The land that was privately held would all be used, for the reason that it would not pay a man to pay taxes on land he did not use and could never realize on either as an investment or in renting. That land which was abandoned because of it not paying to hold it idle would at once be available for use by others, either in private or public capacity.

The result would be that then any man could have access to the land without having first to pay for it, and without having to rent it and pay tribute to another, before he was enabled to do so. Now that the frontier is closed the only possible way of making land available for all is through the Socialist plan.

Get Ready for It

Plans for "The People's College" are being worked out as rapidly as possible. It is a project of such supreme importance, to the working class movement, that great caution must be used to avoid mistakes. Of course you are getting anxious. It is perfectly natural that you should be so. You will find, however, that no time is being wasted. You will be gratified when you read the announcement.

We are confident you will agree with us that the establishment of "The People's College" marks the beginning of the end of "wage slavery." The announcement will be made before July 1, so get ready for it. LEGAL DEPT. APPEAL TO REASON.