

THE railroads of America have cost the people of this country just one thousand times as much as did all the ten states immediately west of the Mississippi river. Yet the people do not own a penny in the roads. On the contrary, they are bonded, without their consent, to continually pay interest on ten billion dollars, most of which is fictitious valuation.

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J. A. WAYLAND.

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Appeal to Reason

THE United States is one of the three leading nations of the earth that do not own its railroads. All the rest own all or part of theirs. We cannot boast of progress until we have a public monopoly and cut out the monopolize banking and conduct these things.

NEW BOND-AGE COMING

A new period of railroad organization is "on." This means that the water now in the roads will be squeezed out, leaving the small stockholders flat, and then more water will be injected to be held by the big fellows until they can unload again on the little ones. The process is well illustrated in the reorganization of the Orient railway. After it was capitalized for many millions, it was thrown into the hands of a receiver appointed by the federal court, and under him sold at auction for \$6,000,000, a fraction of its value. Now it will be bonded again and new floods of stocks issued, until the speculators rake in more millions.

The Frisco is in the hands of a receiver, and other roads are going there. The freezing out of the mutts who imagined they were becoming investors and owners of the trust will soon be in active operation.

The lesson was taught by Fisk and Gould with the Missouri Pacific; they leased the property, wrecked it, bought it in for a song, then set the printing press to producing stocks and bonds without limit, and thus laid the foundation of the Gould fortune. There came a cleaning up and for a time the people considered the Gould plan wholly disreputable.

But the people forgot, and John Pierpont Morgan later on worked the same swindle on practically all the roads. Now the overloaded balloon is about to collapse. The New Haven situation is proof of it. The railroads are going into the hands of receivers, after having been so completely wrecked that travel is absolutely dangerous on most of the roads of America. Following this will come reorganization and new floods of water. It is announced that already four billion dollars of railroad bonds have been issued and are being taken up by the banking houses controlled by the hundred families that now control America. Some of the bonds are issued in advance of the receiverships, it is so well understood by the masters that the game is on.

Watch for more billions to be "made" from manipulation of railroads. They have already proved the most valuable juggling asset the masters have ever known, but their usefulness in this line is not at an end.

THEY OWN EVERYTHING.

In No. 969 the APPEAL printed evidence to show that one hundred families, all united with John D. Rockefeller either by marriage or in business interests, own half the wealth in the United States.

These hundred families are the owners of the railroads of the United States. It does not matter that tens of thousands of other persons may hold stock in the roads, it is representatives of the hundred families who direct the policies of all the roads, who absolutely control the roads, and who reap the chief benefits of the returns the railroads receive.

From these railroads, as shown on this page, a tremendous income is made. The same families who own them are engaged in banking, manufacturing, oil production and other income making businesses. The result is that they are receiving an aggregate income, not of fifteen billion dollars in thirty-two years, or half a billion a year, but many times that sum, that being the returns from railroading alone. They can't spend this money. It must be reinvested. These men have absolute control of the market; their tribute from you is as sure as though they were the government with power to collect taxes by force of arms. Perhaps they have the use of arms to get what they want, even the army which you pay for. The struggle they have, and the only struggle, is how to invest what comes to them. If they don't invest it there must be stagnation and a collapse of civilization. We have come very narrowly to this crisis only recently.

To gain markets they have almost forced a war on Mexico. To gain markets they are compelling Uncle Sam to seize the customs houses of smaller nations, Cuba and San Domingo. To gain markets they are compelling the nations to bankrupt themselves for armies and navies. And still the crisis is just ahead.

This is what capitalism has brought. It lives only on loot, and that loot must increase year by year or it will wreck everything. The only alternative is Socialism, which is ownership of the industries by the government and ownership of the government by the people.

UNCLE SAM has given the railroads of America territory as large as France and Germany combined. Now the railroads wish power to raise their rates.

ON the state railroad of New Zealand school children travel free. On the private road of America the poor children never get to ride at all.

The Pullman company has a cinch. The railroads pay it for the privilege of pulling its cars, and the patrons are expected to pay the porter's wages in tips. Where do the railroads get their pull?

THE railroads of the United States are capitalized at more than \$11,000,000,000. This is nearly six times as much as all the money in the United States. Where do the railroads get their pull?

THE Morgan interests tied up all New England through the New Haven lines, and bought legislatures and newspapers as though they were merchandise to aid them in their work. Where do the railroads get their pull?

EVERY president for fifty years has been elected by the railroads—that is, by money contributed by those who received the contributions as profit and interest on their investments in railroads. This is where the railroads get their pull.

THE Southern Pacific railroad owns timber lands, given it by Uncle Sam out of the people's domain, from which could be cut 105 billion feet of lumber, which is a twentieth of all the timber in the country. Where do the railroads get their pull?

WHEN Fisk and Gould began the wrecking and reorganization of railroads, they kept a federal judge in their rooms, with their mistresses, in order to get out injunctions for them and enable them to "put it over." Where do the railroads get their pull?

IN the last thirty years the railroads of America have killed more than 50,000 people and maimed nearly a million. Three-fourths of these accidents might have been avoided had safety appliances then in existence been employed. But the people forget so soon.

THE supreme court just awarded to the Northern Pacific railroad and Standard Oil company, oil lands valued at a billion dollars because, though the grant was admittedly fraudulent and illegal, the statute of limitations had expired. Where do the roads get their pull?

SEVERAL railroads combined to send three federal judges on a junket to Mexico free of cost to them. On their return these judges declared the two cent passenger fare law adopted by the legislatures of Missouri and Oklahoma as unconstitutional. Where do the railroads get their pull?

IN the last twenty-five years the people of the United States—the workers who produce, in the last analysis—have paid in interest on bonds issued by the railroads, without their consent, nearly six billion dollars. This is more than half the face value of the railroads, with all their water.

IN the last twenty-five years the workers of America have paid in interest and profits about three times the value of the railroads of America to the banker-owners, and have nothing to show for it. If private ownership continues they will pay for the roads again within the next eight years.

THE Southern Pacific railroad, the Weyerhaeuser interests and the Northern Pacific railroad, which control a third of the timber lands of the United States, got the lands, according to the official report of the commissioner of labor, by "land grants of the federal government to great railroad corporations." Where do the railroads get their pull?

It was the railway promoter that secured the bonding of a hundred counties in Missouri and other states for the building of railroads that never were constructed, and it was the federal judge who held that these bonds must be paid, jailing county judges to compel them to order the payment of the fraudulent contracts. But the people forget so soon.

MONEY CONTROL.

It was Gould and Fisk who discovered the Rothschilds' bond idea which gave control of the railroads to the banks. It was John Pierpont Morgan who made this rule general. Bankers' control of railroads is a burden the people should no longer tolerate. They should seize the roads and repudiate every bond as being an obligation to which they did not agree. They should inaugurate a monopoly of money and banking, and thus prepare themselves to finance their own roads, without bonds. They should free the railroads from the toll system, just as they freed the dirt roads from that domination a little more than half a century ago.

Railroads Loot 15 Billions

MUCH has been said about the lands donated to the railroads of America. Henry M. Hyde, writing in the Technical World Magazine, summarizes them as follows: "Congress has given away the public domain to railroad and other corporations to the extent of 266,000,000 acres, a bit of territory not far in extent from the total area of France and Germany, two countries which support between them a population much greater than the whole population of the United States when the last census was taken."

Much less is known of the tribute these same railroads have levied off the people of the United States in the way of profits. Philos Cook of California, a student and ardent Socialist, has carefully gone over the records for thirty-two years, and has computed this tribute for the benefit of the Appeal readers. Here is what he finds:

In the 32 years, 1880 to 1911, both inclusive, the railroad systems of this country took from the people, generally for freights, fares, etc., "as gross operating income" \$46,199,779,692 (Forty-six billions dollars.)
Paid back as "operating expenses" \$31,259,392,120 (Which went back into or remained in the hands of the people generally.)
Leaving "net earnings" to the railroad "managers" of \$14,941,387,572 (Fifteen billion dollars.)
Of these "net earnings" there went into the hands of the "managers," permanently, becoming their private property, and so lost to the people generally, as free money for the transaction of business \$12,367,991,084

It is hard for anyone to comprehend the meaning of FIFTEEN BILLION dollars, the amount of the net earnings of the railroads of the United States for thirty-two years. It may help you to do this by reflecting that France was paid FIFTEEN MILLION dollars for the territory of Louisiana, which includes all the territory of the United States west of the Mississippi river, with the exception of what Uncle Sam took by force from Mexico. FIFTEEN BILLION dollars is just a thousand times as great as fifteen million, or what was paid for this territory that now includes ten states. You may compare it also with the purchase of Alaska, which cost seven million dollars. Fifteen billion is more than two thousand times as much as Alaska cost, with all its gold.

The total wealth of the United States at the present time, including all the land, is estimated at \$140,000,000,000. The net "earnings" of the railroads in thirty-two years, after deducting all possible expenses, aggregates one-tenth this entire sum. This is exclusive of the value of the land grants and money grants made when the railroads were built. It is no wonder that one of the greatest politicians of the United States once said: "The people? Why, the corporations are the people." He might almost equally as well have said: "The railroads are the people."

If private or corporate ownership of the railroads is to continue, it will mean that fifteen billion dollars more will be taken as profit and interest by the railroad owners from the wealth producers of America in the next twenty years, rather than the next thirty-two years. But the railroads are demanding that they be permitted to raise their rates. With all their income, they have let the roads so run down that they are not safe and it is freely predicted that in order to meet the requirements of transportation several billion dollars will have to be borrowed and spent on the roads. If this is done, it will mean that much more in the form of stock and bonds on which the people will have to pay interest and dividends. If, on the other hand, the people had possession of the roads, they could make the needed improvements from the receipts of traffic and at the same time save themselves in cash outlay something like ten billion dollars in twenty years. Considering what they have already paid to the masters of transportation they would be justified, in both law and equity, in seizing on the railroads in the name of the whole people, without a penny of remuneration!

EARNINGS CAPITALIZED

John Moody, the Wall Street authority, in writing about the era of financing that came with the opening of the 20th century, on the Fish-Gould model, said:

No sooner did the modern corporation arrive than the seeds began to be sown from which has grown the world-wide custom of capitalizing earning power—that is, massing in concrete forms, in the tangible shape of stocks and bonds, the value of possibilities of profits under the newly invented methods.

The same authority shows how extensively this "capitalization of earning power" has proceeded, in the words:

In the twenty years from 1890 to 1910 the total capitalization in the form of stocks and bonds of public service corporations in the United States grew from less than two hundred millions of dollars to nearly twenty billions.

This means that the masters of America—the bankers who own the railroads—figured out how much the workers of America could earn above their keep, and capitalized, in stocks and bonds, their holdings so as to be able to rake in everything else. How much does this lack of being conspirator against life and prosperity?

But since 1910 four million workers have been imported from Europe, the population has otherwise increased, and the invention of better machinery have combined with these facts to make the earning power of the workers greater than it was four years ago. Therefore, the hundred families who own America have again conspired to issue more bonds and thus rake in anything and everything you hoped for your family and your children.

It is either hopelessness, or an overthrow of the tyranny of profit that makes this possible. Which do you favor?

It was after the A. R. U. strike and the Martin Iron strike that blacklisting became a national

scandal, ruining thousands of honest workers for life. So it was the railroads that introduced this vicious weapon. But the people forget so soon.

REAL RAILROADERS.

Railroads are a necessity to modern life. The real railroader, the man who actually does the work, is an honorable member of society. But those who reap the greatest returns from railroading are not railroaders. They are bankers and speculators. Even the management is entrusted to hired hands, and the demand on them is so great, because of the fictitious stocks and bonds on which interest is demanded, that they are indeed in a quandary. But it is not right, because the masters, the riders, make these demands and the demands puzzle the hired managers, that the people should be taxed more in order to make possible the big exploitation demanded. Bank domination of railroads should be abruptly and forever ended. The people should own the roads that society needs, and they should be administered at cost for the benefit of all. The very men who now do the actual managing could continue on the job and find it easier and pleasanter than now.

It is an old saying that it takes two to make a contract. The country will not issue bonds except on vote of its citizens. The state or nation will not issue bonds except as authorized by representatives of the people.

If some individual would present a bill to you which you did not authorize you would repudiate it, on the ground that it was not legal except as you consented to it.

But the railroads of America have bonded you for millions and you didn't have a word to say about it. Indeed, you didn't know about it until it was all over. They have placed you in debt for more than nine billions of dollars, without your consent or knowledge, which is more than twice the bonded indebtedness of nation, states and cities combined. You are held to pay interest on this indebtedness. Where is the justice of it? Where is the legality of it?

But this is not all. They are preparing to increase your indebtedness. They are going to issue more bonds and hold you to pay interest on them. In all probability the new bond issues will be greater than the old ones. You will be held to all.

The only consent you gave is your refusal to rebel—your refusal to demand confiscation of the railroads, and their operation by the whole people, for their benefit. The fact that you have been bonded without your consent is ample ground for confiscation of the roads. Will you stand for this confiscation? Or do you prefer that the roads should confiscate all you and your children can produce, world without end?

THE net profit of the Prussian state railways is about \$150,000,000 a year or one half of the total revenue of the state.

THEY PUT YOU IN DEBT

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If Socialism were in power private owner of the railway not control politics by control of his swag to the fund.

If Socialism were in power there would be no railroad monopolies. All profits over running would go to the workers and roads.

If Socialism were in power railroad fare could be reduced to half a cent a mile, while the remuneration of the railroad worker would be greater than it is now.

If Socialism were in power school children would ride free on the railroads, as they do now in New Zealand, and there would be such a thing as education by travel.

The value of the oil lands awarded to Standard Oil Company by the supreme court exceeds a billion dollars, and, to quote from the dispatch telling of the award, "exceeds in value seven times all the gold coin in the United States, and more than all personal property and real estate taxed in Louisiana, Rhode Island, Virginia, North Carolina or Nebraska." The basis of the decision was that, though the reservation of mineral lands from grants by law would have entitled the government to recover the lands, the time limit for bringing the suit had expired. It does seem as if "The Rockefellers own and control America."

If Socialism were in power the railroad worker would own his own job by reason of being part owner of the road and able to do the work. He could not be ruled out or black-listed.

If Socialism were in power the railroad worker would control his working conditions and this means that he would see that travel was safe and working conditions were good.

If Socialism were in power the people rather than the private owners of the railroad would control the markets. The cost of living would therefore automatically decrease.

Two million people are employed by the railroads of America. This means that many are dependents on the bankers owing the roads for their daily bread. A dependent cannot be free.

If Socialism were in power the railroad business would be managed from the ground up—that is, the real operators would elect their managers instead of being hired by them and subject to their whims as now.

UNCLE SAM has paid the railroads of America profit to the amount of fifteen billion dollars, which is a thousand times as much as he paid for the whole Louisiana purchase, from which ten states were made. And now the railroads insist that they must raise their rates.

It is a peculiar fact that the bonded indebtedness of the railroads of America exceeds their capital stock. In other words, the stock cost less than nothing; yet you are expected to pay dividends on it. To enable them to do it they wish authority to raise their rates.

It was to defeat the American Railway Union that Debs was thrown in prison when he had the strike won, while federal troops were first thrown into a strike situation over the protest of the governor whose state was so invaded. The railroads thus led in using the federal army. But the people forget so soon.

DURING the Grant administration the Credit Mobilier scandal showed the first effort of the bankers to control railroads had involved many congressmen and even the vice-president, through revealing them as holders of stock of railroads to which they were asked to grant vast tracts of land. But the people forget so soon.

A SUCCESSFUL ROAD.

There is one railroad, sixty miles in length, that is not bonded. It has been rebuilt in the last five years out of the profits of operation, though its rates are lower than those of most roads. It does its own express business. It has bought two ocean vessels which it will operate in connection with the rail traffic. It does not fight just claims for damages, and during 1913 paid \$26,000 for personal injuries and \$75,000 for damages to goods; yet its accident list was less than the average. This is the Panama railroad, owned and operated by the United States government.

FISCATE THE RAILROADS

Why should not the people confiscate the railroads, seeing that the present holders confiscated them?

They confiscated them when they induced congress to give them of the people's land sufficient to pay for the railroads several times over.

They confiscated the roads when they leased them, wrecked them, then bought them from receivers at almost nothing.

They confiscated the roads when they issued stocks against them to several times their value, and then demanded dividends on all the stocks issued.

They confiscated the roads again when they issued bonds against the railroads in excess of the inflated stocks, and held the people to pay interest on debts which they had nothing to say about creating.

They confiscated the roads when they collected enough interest and dividends to pay for the roads three times over.

Since the master class has set such notable and brazen examples of confiscation, let the people follow their example and confiscate the railroads without a penny of remuneration.

But they tell you this would deprive many innocent purchasers of stock, many poor people, of their holdings. Rats. Right at this moment the masters are planning to reorganize the railroads and confiscate the holdings of these innocent ninnies who permitted themselves to be taken in by a bunch of crooks.

The confiscation of the roads by the masters has been solely in the interest of loot. It has been the most corrupt chapter in American history.

The confiscation of the railroads by the whole people would be in the interest of freedom. It would lead to the most happy and brilliant chapter in American history.

So confiscate the railroads—through the ballot box. Do it at once.

RAILROAD SIDELINES.

The professional railroaders—who for the most part are not railroaders at all—have many side lines. Some of these are necessities and others were created out of the need the railroads had for service, for the purpose of milking the small stockholders for the benefit of the big ones.

Most important of these is the telegraph. Most of the telegraph lines of the country parallel railroads. Most of them, though controlled by separate corporations, are largely owned by the big railroad manipulators. They thus bring in revenues for the chief stockholders who control the roads, and in addition, as has been suggested by a postmaster general, give to the big financiers a certain control or influence over the news that is transmitted over them. They should be owned by the whole people.

Then, there are the express companies. They are largely owned by men who control the leading railroads. The government has already, in response to many complaints against their exactions, started the parcel post, which is cutting into their business. It should be made a government monopoly; and in order to prevent exactions for carrying both mail and parcels, the roads themselves should be handled by the federal government.

The Pullman sleeping car company was organized by the big stockholders of the railroads. These men influenced themselves to actually pay to haul the sleeping cars, and the Pullman company has the crust to expect the public to pay its porters for their services. It means velvet for the big fellows and a betrayal of trust toward the small stockholders. But what do they care for that?

Then, nearly every railroad lets contracts at enormous rates for construction to stockholders in the road who have organized construction companies on the side for the express purpose of bleeding the small stockholders.

There are other subsidiary companies connected with the railroad business. For example, it has been shown that for many years the Standard Oil Company, which had holdings in the roads, received rebates for all goods they shipped, and not only so, but also for all goods their competitors shipped as well.

The only way this kind of business can be broken up is for the government to assume full control of transportation for the benefit of the whole people.

THE Northern Pacific railroad holds timber lands given it by Uncle Sam out of the public domain that aggregates lumber possibilities of 32,000,000,000 feet. Where do the railroads get their pull?

Tricks of Gunman Trade--As Told by One of Them

BY JOHN KENNETH TURNER.
Staff Correspondent Appeal to Reason.

GUNMAN frame-ups, agent provocateur performances, and other tricks of the strike-breaker's trade, are here presented in the words of David R. Masterson, who gained notoriety in connection with the recent street-car strike in Indianapolis. For seven years Masterson procured his livelihood as a slinger and gunman. In that period he was employed successively by the largest strike-breaking agencies in the country. The following disclosures were made by Masterson in March of this year in the county jail at Terre Haute, where he was placed--so he claims--as a result of a plot of certain great corporations to seal his lips:

The first strike breaking job I was on was in the latter part of 1907, the suit and cloak makers' strike in New York City. There have been three hundred and twenty-six strikes in seven years and very few that I missed. The only times I missed one at New York was when I was employed on another job, but outside of them, I got in on all the jobs, and they thought pretty well of me.

I worked on the last job that the first strike-breaker, Jim Farley, ever had, at the Hannan Shoe Factory in Brooklyn, and that was a job that will demonstrate to many union men how easily they are fooled.

Made Noise Like Shoemakers.
Farley sent about a hundred boys over to this factory. Not one of us were shoemakers, and I do not believe one of us had been inside a shoe factory before. We were told that some of the men were loyal to the company, and all we had to do was to put licks on the uppers to create the impression that we were shoemakers. It was summer, and the noise would be heard outside, and those "wops," or foreigners, would suppose that we were regular shoemakers. We stayed there about nineteen days.

In 1908 I worked at the plant of the Coast Electric railway company, running from Atlantic City to Audubon, N. J.

I worked in the International Paper Mills strike, a general strike of all the paper mills in New York state. I was employed as a guard. In this International Paper Mills strike, Post and Post, a strike-breaking agency which sprang up for this special occasion, hired the men. Over three thousand men were employed on this operation. As a matter of fact, the only assistance they gave in operating the plant was to guard.

Damage Ran into Millions.
About the only strike I can remember where the men actually had experience at the work for which they were hired was in the strike of pilots and deck-hands in New York harbor. On this job about seventy-five per cent of the men were experienced. But the damage done by the remaining twenty-five per cent of inexperienced men amounted almost into the millions. For instance, the Delaware, Lackawana and Eastern Railroad had a man for pilot who was sent out with a tow of what are known as car-floats. He had four car-floats in tow and was taking them from the Delaware, Lackawana and Eastern pier in Hoboken to Hampton Ferry in Brooklyn. Before reaching the Hampton Ferry, two of the car-floats had been jammed into by the Central Railroad of New Jersey ferry boat, plying between Jersey City and Liberty street, New York, and over fifty thousand dollars damage was done. And attempting to tie up the tug at the Brooklyn landing, the tug was jammed against the piers and sunk with the loss of two lives.

To give another idea of the methods employed by these large corporations to create false impressions among the men who go out on strike, The National Malleable Castings company in Toledo, Ohio, had a strike of their molders in 1911. Bergoff Bros., 1440 Broadway, secured the contract to furnish them with molders. As usual, the regular run of strike-breakers were sent out on the job.

During the employment of the men in New York, a very interesting occurrence took place, and that was the hiring of two men who had actual experience as molders. The managers of this agency desired, if possible, to be able to select some men who could make a showing at the molding business after they arrived at the factory. They were confident that these two fellows were not "finks," and, as often happens, they selected these experienced men to impart to the strike-breakers something of their knowledge of the business.

All Ignorant of Trade.
After several of the professional strike-breakers had been turned down, a few of the more notorious gunmen in the crowd managed to kick one of these men in the leg, give him a desperate look, and that almost settled the proposition. After the required number of men had been enlisted, they were sent to the Grand Central station in New York, and while waiting in the depot, the "finks" surrounded these two experienced workmen and told them that they had better not go on the train to Toledo, and that if they did, they would be thrown off. These two men were finally bluffed out. The result was that when our crew arrived at the factory, there wasn't anybody who knew anything about the work, and nobody who cared to do any work.

The first day after we had arrived, the superintendent of the plant asked a couple of finks to assist him in pouring some metal. They did as requested. After seeing two men doing actual work, the "finks" organized a "kangaroo court" and it was decided that any man who might do any work, no matter how little or of what character, would be sentenced to a certain penalty. Generally three or four burlies would be designated to blacken his eyes or inflict some other bodily injury, thus carrying out the sentence of the court.

Helped to Get an Injunction.
On this job, I was picked out for a "walk-out man." Another fellow named Whitey McGrath and Jack Martin, were my assistants. The management of the factory desired to secure an injunction restraining their striking employes from picketing their factory. The idea in sending us out at noon and at night was so that we might be able to have these pickets start an argument with us. It was intended that we should take a beating and thus furnish the corporation with a cause for an order from the court. As it happened, the men did not start anything, and their numbers were so great that it was not good policy for us to think of starting it.

We were on this job about fifteen days. There were over a hundred men with us, drawing five dollars a day and board and transportation to and from New York. Not a wheel turned and not a man worked. And there would have been no dissatisfaction among the managers of this corporation even with this immense outlay of money and loss of production had they been able to destroy any hopes that the men might have had for union recognition. They did get union recognition, which was the main point.

The corporation that spent the most money of any one that I have worked for in its attempts to disrupt a union organization was the United Lead company, of Maurer, N. J. Over seven thousand men were shipped from New York to this point on special steam boats.

President Wilson Surrenders to Wall Street
The following statement was issued by President Wilson on July 8, 1914. A few days previous J. Pierpont Morgan was a welcome visitor at the white house. This statement is an obvious boost for Mr. Jones of the Harvester Trust and Mr. Warburg of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Wall Street bankers, for positions on the federal reserve board. It will be noted that the president's language resembles Roosevelt's views on good trusts and bad trusts. Thus it took only about a year and a half for Wilson to come to terms with the Wall Street capitalists of industry.

It would be particularly unfair to the democratic party and to the senate itself to regard it as the enemy of business, big or little. I am sure that it does not regard a man as an object of suspicion merely because he has been connected with great business enterprises. It knows that the business of the country has been chiefly promoted in recent years by enterprises organized on a great scale, and that the vast majority of the men connected with what we have come to call big business, are honest, incorruptible and patriotic.

The country may be certain that it is clear to members of the senate as it is to thoughtful men that those who have tried to make big business what it ought to be are men to be encouraged and honored, whenever they respond without reserve to the call of public service.

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During the employment of the men in New York, a very interesting occurrence took place, and that was the hiring of two men who had actual experience as molders. The managers of this agency desired, if possible, to be able to select some men who could make a showing at the molding business after they arrived at the factory. They were confident that these two fellows were not "finks," and, as often happens, they selected these experienced men to impart to the strike-breakers something of their knowledge of the business.

All Ignorant of Trade.
After several of the professional strike-breakers had been turned down, a few of the more notorious gunmen in the crowd managed to kick one of these men in the leg, give him a desperate look, and that almost settled the proposition. After the required number of men had been enlisted, they were sent to the Grand Central station in New York, and while waiting in the depot, the "finks" surrounded these two experienced workmen and told them that they had better not go on the train to Toledo, and that if they did, they would be thrown off. These two men were finally bluffed out. The result was that when our crew arrived at the factory, there wasn't anybody who knew anything about the work, and nobody who cared to do any work.

The first day after we had arrived, the superintendent of the plant asked a couple of finks to assist him in pouring some metal. They did as requested. After seeing two men doing actual work, the "finks" organized a "kangaroo court" and it was decided that any man who might do any work, no matter how little or of what character, would be sentenced to a certain penalty. Generally three or four burlies would be designated to blacken his eyes or inflict some other bodily injury, thus carrying out the sentence of the court.

Helped to Get an Injunction.
On this job, I was picked out for a "walk-out man." Another fellow named Whitey McGrath and Jack Martin, were my assistants. The management of the factory desired to secure an injunction restraining their striking employes from picketing their factory. The idea in sending us out at noon and at night was so that we might be able to have these pickets start an argument with us. It was intended that we should take a beating and thus furnish the corporation with a cause for an order from the court. As it happened, the men did not start anything, and their numbers were so great that it was not good policy for us to think of starting it.

We were on this job about fifteen days. There were over a hundred men with us, drawing five dollars a day and board and transportation to and from New York. Not a wheel turned and not a man worked. And there would have been no dissatisfaction among the managers of this corporation even with this immense outlay of money and loss of production had they been able to destroy any hopes that the men might have had for union recognition. They did get union recognition, which was the main point.

The corporation that spent the most money of any one that I have worked for in its attempts to disrupt a union organization was the United Lead company, of Maurer, N. J. Over seven thousand men were shipped from New York to this point on special steam boats.

President Wilson Surrenders to Wall Street
The following statement was issued by President Wilson on July 8, 1914. A few days previous J. Pierpont Morgan was a welcome visitor at the white house. This statement is an obvious boost for Mr. Jones of the Harvester Trust and Mr. Warburg of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Wall Street bankers, for positions on the federal reserve board. It will be noted that the president's language resembles Roosevelt's views on good trusts and bad trusts. Thus it took only about a year and a half for Wilson to come to terms with the Wall Street capitalists of industry.

It would be particularly unfair to the democratic party and to the senate itself to regard it as the enemy of business, big or little. I am sure that it does not regard a man as an object of suspicion merely because he has been connected with great business enterprises. It knows that the business of the country has been chiefly promoted in recent years by enterprises organized on a great scale, and that the vast majority of the men connected with what we have come to call big business, are honest, incorruptible and patriotic.

The country may be certain that it is clear to members of the senate as it is to thoughtful men that those who have tried to make big business what it ought to be are men to be encouraged and honored, whenever they respond without reserve to the call of public service.

I predict with the greatest confidence that nothing done by the democratic majority of the senate of the United States will be of a sort to throw suspicion upon such men. Mr. Jones and Mr. Warburg, in manifesting their willingness to make personal sacrifices and put their great experience and ability at the service of the government, without thought of personal advantage in the organization of a great reform which promises to be so serviceable to the nation, are setting an example of patriotism and of public spirit which the whole country admires.

It is the obvious business of statesmanship at this turning point in our development to recognize ability and character, wherever it has been displayed and unite every force for the upbuilding of legitimate business along the new lines which are now clearly indicated for the future.

As the company had large wharves on the river, the men could get into the plant without any fear of molestation. The men employed in this plant had received a maximum wage of \$1.75 a day for ten hours work. Nevertheless, they employed these strike-breakers at a special rate of \$4.50 a day, transportation and expenses, and kept them on the premises for twenty-nine days, and didn't turn out a dollar's worth of stock.

Cost Half Million Dollars.
The cost of this strike can be easily figured because at no time were there less than three thousand men on the payroll of the strike-breaking agency. To figure each man at \$6.00 a day, would be making a low estimate. Three thousand men at a flat rate of \$6.00 a day for twenty-nine days--\$522,000.

The heaven for the strike-breakers in New York City is Mills hotel, 7th avenue and 36th street. Here is an up-to-date, modern hotel, only one block from the Great White Way, and it is so infested with strike-breakers that when a big strike is pulled off, the management goes begging for patronage. A man need get together only thirty cents for a clean bed in a small room. He is entitled to the use of their shower baths; he has the benefit of a large library, reading rooms and smoking rooms. It is the Waldorf-Astoria of the cheap lodging houses. There is no crook so well-dressed, so refined, or no crook so penniless and so beggarly-looking that he dare not stop at this hostelry.

At one time I was solicitor for Waddell and Mahon, and solicitor's work is a job that requires the solicitor to sit about the main office during certain hours, and in case a strike job is pulled off, the solicitor immediately rips out in search of men, that is, in case they want the men in such a hurry that they can't wait to put an ad in the paper.

Gets Scabs at Mills Hotel.
I have had to round up men hundreds of times myself. Waddell's office was at 26th st., and I never bothered myself to go farther than 36th--to the Mills hotel. This hotel, by the way, is run by and for charitable purposes. It was only necessary to tell one "fink" that a strike was on, and the news would spread like wildfire. Usually, I didn't dare go into the Mills hotel because these fellows knew what my job was, and as soon as I would arrive on the scene, they would suspect that a strike had been called and would flock around me like geese. But when there was a job, I simply had to appear in the corridor and take one "fink" aside, and he would wink to some others, and in less time than it takes to tell it, I could go out of the Mills hotel with five hundred men.

To go back a few years, we will call to mind the strike at the National Malleable Castings plant at Holmes avenue, Indianapolis.

The men employed as assistants and molders in the various departments at that plant were prevailed upon by persons interested in the I. W. W. to go on strike.

Sought to Get a Job.
As soon as the strike was winded about, I hurried to the office of the concern, but was unable to secure an interview with the general manager. But I found him about eight o'clock the same evening at his residence on North Meridian street--a very palatial residence, and a sleek, well-fed man, Mr. J. B. Davidson. I told him of the many advantages that could be secured by hiring operatives. At this time I was an employe of the W. H. Kock Secret Service. Kock has served time in jail.

It was agreed that we should furnish ten men to this concern at \$5.00 a day and expenses. It was a very easy matter at that time to secure guards in this city for two and a half a day.

The following day after the strike was called, our men were all sworn in as deputy constables by Daniel Barton. Mr. Barton was to receive so much for each man that he would deputize. That evening, and for several days thereafter, our men guarded the plant. I did the secret service work personally. I attended a meeting which was held in a hall over a beer saloon on Traub avenue. I gained admission by presenting a phoney card which represented me to be a newspaper reporter. This strike lasted nine days. The men went back to work without recognition of the I. W. W., who were more feared at that time than the A. F. of L. has been feared in this city recently.

On the ninth day, after everything had been quiet, the men had caused no violence or created no disturbance of any kind, the management decided to lay off our operatives. Mr. Kock, the head of the agency, decided that he wanted his men to stay there longer. Accordingly, he employed one Eugene Baird to go to the plant of the National Malleable Castings company, to smash windows and burn a fence down.

Moving Picture Operators' Strike.
I will give a little incident connected with the strike of the moving picture operators of Indianapolis against the down town members

of the Moving Picture Owner's Association of Indiana.

One day while standing on the corner of Capitol avenue and Washington streets engaged in my usual vocation of insulting and intimidating Organizer Thorpe and any other persons known to be sympathizers with the Union cause, a well-dressed stranger approached me and asked if I would like to make a hundred dollars quite easily. I told him that a hundred dollars wasn't so much to make, but if it could be made quite easily, and if he would show me the easiest way to make it, and if that way was satisfactory to me, I would accept his proposition. He said there were a lot of young men standing in front of certain moving picture houses in the downtown districts distributing cards which were a sort of notice to the prospective patron that the amusement house they were about to enter employed scab labor. This well-dressed stranger also said that the management of these houses were noticing a considerable deficit in their daily receipts, and that all I would have to do would be to slap a few of those boys in the face and they would be scared to death, and in that way we would be able to break up their activities in that direction. I asked how many places I had to cover, and he gave me a list of names of moving picture theaters.

The said day, about 10:30, an automobile was hired from a local garage. I secured the services of two other assistants, and we started out to clean up. My method of operation was indeed very raw. We would drive up in front of a moving picture house, stay in the auto until we found the coast clear; then I would jump out, and without a word, take the cards out of the distributor's hand, and also search him to see if he had any cards in his pocket. If he did, they were also taken. Only in a few instances did any of these men ask our authority; and in these few instances, they were shown a chauffeur's badge, which was supposed to carry with it police powers, or anything else that we might want to use it for.

In five hours I had put a quietus on the card distributing business. Labeled the Union Leaders.

The same evening that this occurrence had taken place, a number of moving picture operators, including their business agent, Howard Cornell, chartered an automobile, intending to pursue the machine which I had on the streets. Just listen to what happened. Complaints were made by me that union men were driving about our main thoroughfares in a guerilla wagon. The police patrol was put into service, and even bicyclemen were used to find this car of the union men. The traction slugger's car had been on the streets for months doing all kinds of guerilla work!

I was employed in following up the motion picture operators for a couple of weeks, and the operation was so easy that I took in all of the money myself. About the hardest thing I had to do was to throw these cards around on the sidewalk and street in front of moving picture houses at a time when nobody would be around to suspect my motives, and likewise at a time when some estimable police lieutenants might be patrolling their beats, giving them an opportunity to pick a few of the cards off the sidewalk and return to the superintendent of police with the declaration that the side-walks were being littered with these cards by the union men. Judge Remster of the superior court had ruled that the cards could be distributed provided the boys would pick them up from the side-walk, and provided they would not be thrown around on the streets. You can see from this that in my work, every little movement had a meaning of its own. In a few weeks time, I had cleared over \$400 on the operation. The taxi-cab companies got the rest.

Stories of Real People

BY G. POE MONTFORT.

RISING ABOVE THE SOURCE.
He rises from the muck and slime. A humble worker in the ranks. And after he has served his time. At buying votes and counting blanks His honors slowly come across. And he becomes a petty boss.

In this position he must stoop To anything that brings success; With crafty grafters loop the loop And save the hoodlums from distress. And as his party louder calls He braves the legislative halls.

Soon things begin to come his way. For little favors he can do. For persons who will gladly pay To have their shady deals put through; With reckless hand he plays the game And reaps a certain kind of fame.

Now coming out from all this stench By hook and crook and scheme and plot He grabs a place upon the bench And says what's law and what's not; He makes decisions pure and strong And never after can do wrong.

FOR reasons best left to the understanding of the reader, permit us to name a young woman A and hasten on with her story.

A was forced to drink of hemlock by the system. And her sole offense was, that she contributed and published an article for the APPEAL. And to make the offense more culpable she talked exultantly of the fact that she had done.

As to A, after graduating from a western university, she studied stenography and secured a position as official reporter for the Colorado state senate. Through this connection she came to know all the grafters and their especial graft. Dangerous knowledge, that. A then secured a position in the state land office. During the time of both positions, A wrote some very concise, trenchant editorials for the Denver Express, a paper whose policy permitted the use of phraseology that when speaking of a spade, a spade was the expression used.

After a few months A received an offer from the Express and accepted, causing a certain few gentlemen, both returned and thin, to have rarebit thoughts as to this and as to that. Then it was that a certain all por ruf, red-lined newspaper of Denver made it known that A's services would be entirely acceptable to them. A swallowed the bait and thereby hangs a fisherman's tale. Fishermen have such a way of distorting the truth.

A was put upon the state house run where she nobly scooped the town for her paper. Just at this time that perfectly distressing little incident, the Colorado coal strike, was having its share of expurgated publicity. This didn't quite fall in line with A's conception of what was needed by the public. To A to seek the truth and write it was a privilege above all others; and find to it, a recompense greater than a king or emperor could bestow.

Carrying out her idea of fair play for the benefit of the public, A wrote many stories that had to do with the trickery of their majesties, Chase and Ammons. But these were suppressed for reasons best known to the editors of the red-lined newspaper. Two weeks before Mother Jones was kidnaped and brought to Denver to avoid the supreme court decision anent the Moyer decision. A wrote a story for her paper exposing the scheme of the state officials and coal barons, which was instantly "killed." At this time A also wrote a story to the effect that State Auditor Konehan refused to pay an average of \$109 for bronchoses of \$16 value and also refused to pay for the same horses three times.

This story met a like fate. At this time A had written and had had accepted by the APPEAL a short paragraph about the Colorado courts. A was jubilant that at last she could tell and write the truth without let or hindrance. And for this offense A came up against the system and found herself within the ranks of the western breadline.

Discharged because she sought to tell the truth as she found it, and that she contributed an article to the hated sheet, the APPEAL. Moral: If you hear of graft, keep quiet; if you see graft, keep quiet; if you both hear and see graft and write of it--fired.

The National Socialist--An open forum for Socialists. Its readers are its editors. 25 cents a year.

Socialism Only Hope.
Only the triumph of Socialism can render accessible to the proletariat all the sources of culture. Only the triumph of Socialism can make possible the reduction of the hours of work to such a point that the workingman can enjoy leisure enough to acquire adequate knowledge. The capitalist system of production wakens the proletariat's desire for knowledge; the Socialist system alone can satisfy it. --Kari Kautsky.

A new edition of "Appeal's Answers to Questions" is now on the press. It has been thoroughly and carefully revised and will be printed in larger type than the first edition. It's a good book to hand to your non-Socialist friend. It covers a wide range of subjects and there is no reasonable question that anybody could ask about Socialism that is not plainly and clearly answered in this little pamphlet. A dollar will buy 20 copies.

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Sinclair Scores Tammany Judge

The following reply is made by Upton Sinclair to the decision of Judge Crain in general sessions, New York, confirming the conviction of Sinclair for picketing the offices of the Standard Oil Company, 26 Broadway:

Not knowing very well the latest regulations of "Our Judicial Oligarchy," I am uncertain whether or not I am permitted to criticize this decision; but I will take a chance at it. I will say that the decision is a masterpiece of humor, and will delight mankind for generations to come. Let it be understood that the charge against me is "using threatening, abusive and insulting behavior"; and that the policeman, the only witness who testified as to my behavior, said that I had been uniformly quiet and courteous, that I had submitted quietly to arrest, had spoken to no one, and that my conduct throughout had been "that of a perfect gentleman." In telling these facts to audiences in Chicago and Denver I said that I was wondering just whom it was that the authorities considered I had "threatened, abused and insulted"; and that I was unable to conceive, unless perchance it had been John D. Rockefeller, Jr. And this was everywhere considered to be a highly humorous remark. I remember that at a dinner of the Chicago progressive club the guests laughed for at least two minutes over it; and now comes the learned judge, and in fifteen pages full of legal phraseology he turns my joke into earnestness! It was really Rockefeller whom I threatened, abused and insulted!

But jesting aside, this decision is inconceivable. If it were upheld, it would mean the end of free speech, and indeed of public life. Under it, all criticism would be impossible. To take an extreme case, the time-honored custom of burning people in effigy; what would become of it? Take public parades and mass meetings, called to protest against the conduct of any citizen, for instance, against the conduct of Murphy, an entirely unofficial person--in deposing the governor of the state. To do any public thing to "rebuke" Mr. Murphy "by subjecting him to ridicule or insult" would be disorderly conduct; and it would not be necessary that Mr. Murphy should be there, or should make a complaint; the police would at once arrest anyone who uttered a word--since uttering a word is "doing"--and take him to the nearest police station.

Or take cartooning; obviously, after that decision, no newspaper dare publish a cartoon tomorrow morning. If any of them do, I shall at once call the attention of the nearest police captain to the offense, and the editors and publishers will at once be taken to jail. Drawing, printing and selling a cartoon are a form of "doing"; and they are necessarily public; and their main purpose is generally to "rebuke a citizen by subjecting him to ridicule or insult." In Harper's Weekly of four or five weeks ago appears a terrific cartoon, representing John D. Rockefeller as a hideous old creature, crouching and watching through a spy-glass the smoking ruins of Colorado; and there is the caption: "Hell from beneath is moved to meet thee at thy coming." Now can any sane man hold that this cartoon does not publicly rebuke a citizen by holding him up to ridicule or insult? And note that it makes not the least difference whether what the cartoon alleges be true; it makes no difference that Rockefeller has admitted under oath his full responsibility for and approval of, the hideous crimes in Colorado. "It is likewise beside the point whether the thing he saw to reprehend was or was not reprehensible!" Nor will the outraged law wait till Mr. Rockefeller makes complaint; it will leave him to sue for libel, but will send at once to the offices of Harper's Weekly--now that the law has been made clear--and arrest Mr. Haggood for "using threatening, abusive and insulting behavior."

The case will be at once appealed, and if necessary will go to the United States supreme court. I sincerely hope that in appealing the case, I will not be held to be doing something to subject the learned judge to ridicule or insult.

The Past Is Dead.
As for us, we respect here and there, and spare everywhere the past, provided it consents to be dead. If it resolves to be alive, we attack it and make haste to kill it. Superstitions, bigotry, idiosyncrasy, prejudice--these specters, are specters though they be, tenacious of life; they have teeth and claws in their smoke; we must grasp them and assail them at close quarters and wage a war without truce; for it is one of the fatalities of humanity to be condemned to an eternal war with phantoms, and a phantom is difficult to take by the throat and hurl to death.--Victor Hugo in Les Miserables.

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JUDGE CRAIN'S RECORD

On March 14, 1905, one of those things to be expected in lives of the poor occurred. A tenement at 15 Allen street, New York City, burned with the rapidity characteristic of the homes of the lowly who are born but to support the rich and powerful. In the fire 19 human beings were lost. New York City was quite incensed as it always is for a day or two. The coroner's jury censured the conduct of the tenement house commissioner, T. C. Crain. Mayor McClellan was so rude to him thereafter that he resigned. The following year Tammany quarreled with McClellan. So it nominated for judge of general sessions (the court where the political boss is most needed) T. C. Crain and he was elected.

We Oppose Pockets for Women.
1. Because pockets are not a natural right.
2. Because the great majority of women do not want pockets. If they did, they would have them.
3. Because whenever women have had pockets they have not used them.
4. Because women are expected to carry enough things as it is without the additional burden of pockets.
5. Because it would make dissension between husband and wife as to whose pockets were to be filled.
6. Because it would destroy man's chivalry toward woman if he did not have to carry all her things in his pockets.
7. Because men are men and women are women. We must not fly in the face of nature.--Public.

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Will You, Comrade Reader, Help Open Their Prison Doors?

BECAUSE he dared to raise his voice against the crimes of Rockefeller in the oil king's subsidized church, Bouck White, the Socialist author, was brutally beaten and sent to prison for six months. He is now forced to associate with the lowest specimens of New York's underworld while the higher courts refuse to entertain his appeal. Every reader of this paper is asked to at once write to GOVERNOR GLYNN, EXECUTIVE MANSION, ALBANY, N. Y., and request him to use his influence in getting a hearing for Bouck White before the New York Court of Appeals. Don't delay! ACT NOW!

RICHARD Ford and Herman Suhr, two workingmen, are today in a California prison, sentenced for life. Their only crime is that they stood loyally by their fellow workers in the recent hop pickers' strike. Anyone who has read Turner's articles knows that these men are absolutely innocent and that they are the victims of an infamous frame-up. Are these comrades of ours to be damned to a living death without any protest from us? Are you going to stand for it? If not, write your protest at once to GOVERNOR JOHNSON, EXECUTIVE MANSION, SACRAMENTO, CALIF. Don't delay!

What They All Say

Received my ARSENAL. It's doing good work. Wouldn't take \$10 for it.—J. W. Bishop, Alben, R. I.

In order to fully appreciate this short and to the point letter you must be the possessor of an APPEAL Arsenal of Facts. Carry one a week and never again will you be without one. Note that Comrade Bishop says "it's doing good work"—he means good work for Socialism. That is what you want to do—good work for Socialism. You can do it with an ARSENAL because the greatest power in the world is facts. You can't sidetrack them. They always have the right of way. Remember you can't buy an ARSENAL; we have none for sale. You get one free by sending the little old APPEAL 12 twenty-five cent subscriptions, or you can secure one free by sending \$3 for 12 APPEAL subscription cards. Tackle the next man you meet for a subscription and see how easy it is to make him dig for a quarter.

MORGAN AT HIS OLD TRICKS

John Pierpont Morgan visited President Wilson the other day. He came from the presence of the chief executive smiling. He seemed to be pleased about something. The *Chicago Tribune* the day after his visit printed the following special dispatch:

Following the mysterious visit of J. Pierpont Morgan to the white house yesterday, where he talked with President Wilson for an hour, it became known today that Morgan & Co. and Kuhn, Loeb & Co. have proposed the application of the Vera Cruz import and export revenues to the payment of the interest on Mexican bonds held by those bankers.

Does this look favorable for the great bonding house of railroads? Listen: This being the attitude of the administration toward American citizens owning property in Mexico, it is assumed that the United States does not contemplate holding the Vera Cruz revenue to apply on damages. Nor will these revenues be held to cover a national indemnity, which the United States waived in the protocol signed at Niagara Falls.

New York bankers, therefore, are confident that eventually a large part of the Vera Cruz receipts will be turned over to them by the United States government. This situation they regard as much more favorable to an early payment of interest on Mexican bonds than would have been the case had the United States not occupied Vera Cruz.

Although the administration has insinuated that it will not use the customs receipts for this purpose, it is regarded merely as good diplomacy and not final. Roosevelt when president not only used the customs receipts of Honduras to indemnify this same house of Morgan, but actually invaded the country and put a rebel in the presidency to make it possible. Wilson found Mexico invaded before he ordered it, and is now in a peculiar situation. Precedent and pressure are both against him to force him to terms.

In its issue of January 28, 1911, continuing its exposure of Roosevelt's open conquest without authorization from congress, the APPEAL told of the "Annexation of Honduras" through military occupancy, the purpose being to secure possession of the custom house there and so pay Morgan for bond issues he held, guaranteeing republicans

a campaign fund. The APPEAL then said:

The United States government has become agent of the Morgan banking syndicate to the extent that, under plea of enforcing the provisions of the Monroe doctrine, it has deprived an American republic of independence of action. The Honduras indebtedness, all told, a year ago, amounted to about \$113,000,000. It is not meant that Honduras ever borrowed so much money. On the contrary, because it was a small and weak republic, it was held up for big bonuses and tremendous compound interest when it borrowed money, until the loan of between \$20,000,000 and \$28,000,000 had grown to an alleged indebtedness of \$113,000,000. Sometime in the latter part of July or August Morgan bought up the Honduras debt in Europe, paying for it approximately \$14,000,000. He did not make the purchase, however, until after he had at least an intimation that the United States would stand behind him in collecting it. The June previous, in a speech before the university of Pennsylvania, Secretary Knox outlined a theory that the United States should enter into treaties with Central American countries which would empower this government to take possession of their customs and administer them until the finances of those countries were straightened out. This was Morgan's assurance.

The APPEAL continues with proof that American capitalists financed a revolution in Central America, after Honduras had refused to pay the entire claim, after having paid off the money actually borrowed. It was then that Roosevelt landed American marines in Honduras and overthrew the constitutional president, making sure a man for the place who would pay the bonds entire.

Now President Wilson, after American troops were mysteriously landed in Mexico without orders from the commander in chief of the army, is asked to turn the customs receipts of Mexico over to the house of Morgan until his speculation in Mexican bonds is made good. Will he do it? Sure thing. The democrats will need money in the coming campaign. They need assurance that a panic will not be forced on the country to the ruin of the administration. The masters have the whip hand, and Wilson will surrender.

Great is "progressivism," whether democratic or republican or bull moose! Great is the "good man" in politics! Great is the power of the bondholders!

MAY LAND MARINES IN DOMINGO

The United States is collecting the revenues of Cuba, seeing that American bondholders are paid interest on debts fraudulently created there. The United States army, without orders from the president, invaded Mexico, afterward seizing the Mexican customs house at Vera Cruz, and Morgan insists that the collections be used in paying Wall Street its interest on fraudulent Mexican bonds.

Now, because New York capitalists have fomented four rebellions in Santa Domingo, demand is made that the United States seize the customs ports there and see that Wall Street receives payment of interest on bonds it issued to finance the rebellions. That is the latest information from Washington.

Will Wilson do this thing? Sure, Mike. What have the big financiers been visiting him for, anyhow?

The old saying, "save your pennies and the dollars will take care of themselves" should be changed to fit present conditions. It should read, "save your pennies and Rockefeller will take care of the dollars."

Sabotage in West Virginia.—The capitalist machine in West Virginia needs a few more monkey wrenches thrown into the works in the shape of Appeal 40-week subs. You can help in this by paying for the subscriptions of four or more West Virginia voters. We have the names, several thousand of them, and five dollars will put twenty of them on the list for 40 weeks, one dollar will pay for four. We have the names, you have the dollar, let's co-operate and win a state for Socialism.

The Hop Growers' Own Judge

The sixth amendment to the constitution of the United States says:

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have assistance of counsel for his defense.

But the judiciary has arrogated to itself the power to make exceptions to the constitution of the United States, here as elsewhere.

In contempt of court proceedings the court becomes accuser, prosecutor, judge and jury. Moreover, the court has an extremely wide latitude in determining what is contempt of court. He makes the law to suit himself—and then applies it.

Judges have agreed that to question the motive of a judge, whatever the circumstances, is a crime they can punish by fine and imprisonment. There is no such thing as free speech in the United States—when it comes to speaking of judges.

A Challenge to Stanwood.

I can assert my belief that, as district attorney of Yuba county, one E. B. Stanwood knowingly entered into a plot to railroad innocent hop-pickers to the gallows. Mr. Stanwood may enter action for libel, but if I can show good cause for my belief he cannot injure me.

But I am unable to make a similar assertion in regard to one E. P. McDaniel. For that individual may forthwith enact some class legislation in favor of his own class—the judge class. He may declare my words in contempt of court, pronounce me guilty, and commit me to jail for a period commensurate with the heat of his anger.

I know that I live under the American flag. The glorious stars and stripes are guaranteed, theoretically, to immunize men from punishment for lese majesty, lese judiciary, or lese anything else. But, somehow, the red-white-and-blue medicine doesn't "take."

Unhappily, I reside within the jurisdiction of one E. P. McDaniel, judge of the superior court of the county of Yuba, California. Far be it from me, then, to question the motives of His Honor in the cases of Richard Ford and Herman Suhr. Would said McDaniel swerve one hair's breadth from perfect justice to avenge the death of his friend, E. T. Maxwell? Or to please the millionaire hop growers, first citizens of Yuba county and fellow lodge members? Or to teach migratory laborers, "the scum of the earth," forever to accept what is offered them when they come to Yuba county?

Judge's Record Analyzed.

I will, therefore, only print his record. 1. The defense prayed for a change of venue, arguing the impossibility of their getting a fair trial in Yuba county. Judge McDaniel denied the prayer and insisted on presiding over the case himself. It can be stated with the greatest confidence that had there been a change of venue acquittal would have quickly followed.

2. The first partial expose of the Burns-Yuba county frame-up was contained in a pamphlet, "Plotting to Convince Wheatland Hop-Pickers," circulated by a defense committee during the first days of the trial. The pamphlet consisted chiefly of affidavits and sworn statements taken from court records. Yet Judge McDaniel declared from the bench that it "bristled with misrepresentations." He inferentially charged the attorneys for the defense with being responsible for the pamphlet, threatened them with disbarment

proceedings, declared the pamphlet in contempt of court, and hinted significantly that it would "act as a boomerang which will only hurt their cause!" (Who knows but it did?)

3. When the *Sacramento Bee*, following up the revelations made in the before mentioned pamphlet, succeeded in interviewing Suhr and printed the story of his torture, Judge McDaniel became enraged. From the bench he denounced the article and threatened to cite the editor of the *Bee* for contempt of court. Admitting that he had made no personal investigation of the charges of torture, and, therefore, knew nothing directly, he asserted with the greatest positiveness and heat that, at least so far as Yuba, Sutter and other neighboring counties were concerned, he knew, merely from the character of the men in charge of the jails, that no such things could have happened in them!

4. The *Sacramento Bee's* assertion that "Judge E. P. McDaniel . . . has not accorded him (Suhr) the assistance he asked in bringing his pseudo-legal assailants to answer before the law," the judge denounced as a "lie" and especially in contempt of court. The charge, however, was—and is—true. Judge McDaniel not only did nothing against the conspirators, but he used the power of his office to save them from exposure.

Jury Not Locked Up.

5. Murder juries are usually locked up of nights, especially when the case is bitterly fought, and when there are whispers of frame-up. But apparently the confidence of Judge McDaniel in the integrity of Yuba county applies not only to the men in charge of the jails, but to its citizenship in general—and to outsiders whom Yuba county may happen to employ; such as Burns detectives. Anyhow, the judge permitted the jury to go home of nights. And there were happenings which gave rise to ugly rumors of "jury-fixing."

6. The "confession" wrung from Suhr by torture was not introduced in evidence. The prosecution did not dare put a Burns thug on the stand. But the prosecution did put on the stand several deputy sheriffs of Yuba and Sutter counties, men who had given the Burns thugs the freedom of their jails, men who had been implicated in the third degree torture. These men got on the stand and swore that Suhr had admitted, while in their custody, that he had a pistol during the riot. This was the only "evidence" of a direct nature introduced by the prosecution either against Suhr or Ford. The defense objected to such evidence. But Judge McDaniel decided that the "confession" had been voluntarily made and that the "evidence" was admissible.

Judge Imposed Limit.

7. The jury brought in a verdict of murder in the second degree and Judge McDaniel meted out the full penalty, life imprisonment. In doing so, he delivered a speech thoroughly in keeping with his actions during the trial. The defendants were denounced as "professional agitators of the I. W. W. strike," whose "business was to fan the flames of discontent." The judge defended Durst for refusing to grant the demands of the strikers. The meeting which the sheriff's posse approached with naked guns was quiet, yes, admitted His Honor, "but the claim that it was a quiet meeting in the sense that it was law-abiding and peaceful cannot be upheld with truth. The conspirators stood there in deadly, menacing quiet. It was the lull before the burst of the tempest. To change the metaphor, it

was the quiet of the tiger, crouched and ready to spring."

His Honor does not attempt to explain why the "conspirators" did not get their women and children out of the way if they intended to murder the sheriff!

A protest by one of the campers, to Daken, "My God! man, don't make innocent women and children the background for guns!" is construed, not as evidence of the war-like approach of the posse, but as an evidence of a murder conspiracy on the part of the pickers!

No account whatever is taken of the overwhelming evidence introduced by the defense.

In short, had the speech of the judge been written by Carlin, Stanwood or William J. Burns, it could not have more thoroughly misrepresented the case.

This, then, is the record of the judge in the trial of Ford and Suhr. Far be it from me to inquire into the secret motives of that august functionary!

TWO PRESIDENTS TARRED

The *New York World* is devoting page after page to exposing the deal through which Theodore Roosevelt, when president, took possession of the site for the Panama canal in violation of all rules of nations, and is producing official letter after letter, telegram after telegram, to sustain its charges. Among other things, it quotes from Roosevelt himself in a speech delivered at the university of California, March 23, 1911, as follows:

I am interested in the Panama canal because I started it. If I had followed traditional conservative methods I should have submitted a dignified state paper of probably two hundred pages to the congress and the debate would have been going on yet. But I took the Canal Zone and let congress debate, and while the debate goes on the canal does also.

The *World* sustains its charges that Roosevelt actually invaded Colombia with marines and sailors, and forced its president to agree to the building of the canal when he was a prisoner, not of war, but of intrigue.

Official sanction is given to the charge of high-handed proceeding on the part of Roosevelt by the effort of the Wilson administration to pay Colombia \$25,000,000 in order to square matters. The indemnity has aroused Roosevelt to squeals of terror, because he realizes that it is a rebuke for his administration, a piece of politics calculated to discredit the leader of the so-called progressive party. He responds by charging that the Wilson administration is seeking to pay this money, not to Colombia itself, but to grafters who have their agents in Washington promoting the payment as blackmail. He produces such evidence in letters and telegrams as make a good case against Wilson.

There you have it. Two "progressive" leaders prove each other ready to do anything to despoil and disgrace the people in order to aid the big grafters of various countries. The pot calls the kettle black. It is black. So is the kettle. But this cry is to be made the rallying point of the campaign, instead of the problem of how to free the worker of exploitation.

An interesting side light on these revelations is the fact that the APPEAL told of Roosevelt's infamous work at Panama a number of years ago. As early as 1910 the APPEAL set forth substantially the same things the *New York World* is now printing about Roosevelt.

Total number of subs July 4, 1911, 553,297
New subs week ending July 11, 1911, 12,071
Expiring subs same week, 12,071
Net loss for week, 12,071
Total number of subscriptions for week ending July 11, 551,545

551,545

It is with deep regret that I must record a drop in the APPEAL circulation report. Nearly two thousand more subs were chopped off our list than were sent in by the Army. This is a setback that must be overcome. Let it not be said that the little old APPEAL is again slumping and losing. Let us put our shoulders to the wheel and see whether we can't make next week's report show a gain instead of a loss. IT CAN BE DONE. All it requires is a little help from every one. You, who read this, should now jump in and lend a hand. Do what you can. Send a dollar for four sub cards or send in a list of new names. DO THIS TODAY. Let's see how soon we can begin the upward climb again. It will encourage the entire movement to have the little old APPEAL forging ahead. On the other hand, if you will permit the APPEAL circulation to slump, it will have a very discouraging effect on the movement. And right now we can't afford it. And, furthermore, the little old APPEAL must not be forced to suffer at a time when it is waging an aggressive and telling fight against government by gunmen and for the liberty of Ford, Suhr and other victims of capitalism. I am therefore asking YOU to do your share. Help boost the APPEAL circulation. Send us a club of subscribers—and DO THIS WITHOUT DELAY. I know you will.

"WILSON will take advice of business," says a headline in the *Chicago Tribune*. Of course he will. Business has political government so hog-tied and bluffed that he can't help it. If he had the nerve he could tell the masters that if they tried anything he would seize their plants for the whole people and run them without profit, but he, too, is a jellyfish. He begs the looters for terms.

SOCIALISTS are sometimes accused of wanting to take the farmer's little farm away from him. What Socialism aims to do is take the farm away from the privately owned trusts and make it possible for the farmer to secure the full social product of his labor. The average farmer today has nothing but a job and his title to that isn't the best in the world.

THE latest bunco game is for the candidate to make his individual platform. It is perfectly safe to make it radical, because, without a party to back it up, it doesn't amount to shucks. But the politicians believe you are sucker enough to be caught by it. Are you?

THE farmer is no better off than the wage worker as far as the trusts are concerned; the wage worker has his labor power to sell while the farmer has the products of his farm, and the trusts control the markets in which all must be sold.

It is all right to hope for the best, but it is foolish if you do not vote for it too.

WATER is placed in stocks in order to soak the worker.

What Are You Doing?

Out at the little town of Fort Scott, Kan., has been established the first school of its kind in the world—a school owned by the workers and conducted by them. It is operated not for private profit but for the purpose of preparing people for the working class to fight the battles of the workers in every department of life. The profits made by this school go into its treasury for the purpose of extending the work. No one receives a cent from its treasury other than for services actually performed. This school, The People's College, will soon be ready to teach all branches of learning by both correspondence and resident school methods. It is organizing a law class at this time which will commence study on September 15th. You can study at home and lose no time from your work. The chief instructor in the law department is Arthur LeSueur of Minot, North Dakota. He was, until he quit to take charge as one of the directors of The People's College, the leading lawyer in North Dakota. He is a member of the national committee of the Socialist party. He knows the law game from beginning to end. He has given up practicing law and making money, to devote the balance of his life in helping to educate men and women of the working class. Along with the law course each student will be given a splendid course in the correct use of the English language and each will also be trained in the art of public speaking. The plan of this law course could not be improved upon. Don't wait until next month or next year, but commence now to do things. Write us for particulars of this great educational opportunity.—THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, Fort Scott, Kan.

Henry Dubb Can't Stand "Jackassical Questions" From His Own Henry Junior—That's Why He Answered the Kid With a Pair of Boots.

By Ryan Walker

