

Total number of subscribers for week ending Dec. 4 343,082
Number of copies sold for week ending December 11 9,882
Number of new subs for week ending December 11 3,393
Loss for week 1,267
Total Number of Subs for Week Ending December 11 341,015
Total Edition Printed Last Week - 431,500

Established Aug. 31, 1895
FIFTY CENTS A YEAR
Six Months \$2.50
Club of Five or More \$12.00
This is Number 734
Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second class mail matter.
FRED D. WARREN, MANAGING EDITOR
Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., December 25, 1909

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THE APPEAL EDITORIAL STAFF
J. A. WAYLAND
EUGENE V. DEBS
FRED D. WARREN
CHARLES LINCOLN PHIFER
EVEN AS YOU.

THE JANUARY ISSUES.
Numbers 736, 737, 738 and 739. The preliminary announcement of the BIG FOUR ISSUES in January. Then receive to join with the Appeal and do YOUR part toward this great work. Remember—January will be the month in which the future of the Little Old Appeal will be decided. Shall it be crushed or shall it triumph? It is for YOU to say!

HAMMERING ON THE SORE TOOTH

This was the utterance of a prominent lawyer to Eugene V. Debs at the close of a recent tremendous Warren protest meeting. Debs had hammered the federal courts and the corporation puppets which preside over them in a most vigorous fashion and a number of lawyers were in the audience. At the close of the meeting the lawyer we are quoting, and one of the most prominent members of the western bar, called Eugene Debs in private to congratulate him and to say that in exposing and denouncing the courts he was not only serving the cause of the people, but doing the very thing that the lawyers themselves want to have done that they may practice their profession free from the prostitution which is a part of the general subserviency to the despotic sway of our present federal court system.

Said this lawyer to Debs: "The Appeal is making the fight that the press in general and all decent people ought to make, but dare not under the prevailing conditions. The press belongs to the same power that controls the courts and that is why it is silent. I have been reading the Appeal ever since it opened up on the despotism of the federal courts and each number is looked for and read with increasing appreciation by myself and other members of the bar. We are more than glad that a paper of influence and power has at last opened its batteries on the venality and corruption of the federal judiciary. It is not only a menace to freedom, but a positive disgrace to the country."

The federal judges are simply the tools of the trusts and corporations. This is notoriously true of recent appointments. You may think that I ought to speak out instead of being a coward, as I confess myself to be, but the fact is that if I were to say publicly what I am now saying to you privately, I would be virtually driven from the profession and blacklisted into starvation. Most of my practice is in the federal courts and to incur the ill will of one of these judges is to be blacklisted by them all. There is a common understanding among them and they can easily make it impossible for a lawyer who offends them to be stripped of his practice and robbed of his means of making a livelihood. This is God's truth, but in God's name don't quote me as saying it. Other lawyers feel just as I do. Among themselves they confess that they are a pack of cringing sycophants and that they are compelled to bow in reverence to the court even though they know the judge is an infernally corrupt scoundrel who ought to be in prison stripes.

"Keep hammering away, Debs, keep hammering away! The judges are beginning to wince, for the Appeal is landing on their sore tooth every blow it strikes. I speak from within and know for a fact that the federal judges are beginning to cower beneath the deadly blows the Appeal is striking full in their hypocritical faces. They give no outward indication, but the Appeal is the only paper that hits them where they live and they are mortally afraid of its influence and power. They would like to hang Warren, but they are hesitating about even sending him to jail. The fact is that they do not know what to do. Every time they hit the Appeal they increase its circulation and consequently its power. Only the other day I heard one of these judges in chambers say that if this exposure of the Appeal contained there was no telling what the outcome would be."

"Keep hammering away, keep hammering away at the citadel of corporate power and corruption, the federal judiciary, and future generations will remember the Appeal to Reason as the most fearless champion of freedom of its age."
Here we have it from one who is in a position to know just what the effect is of the telling blows of the Appeal to Reason in the fight against judicial usurpation and federal court despotism. The time has come to settle the question forever whether the people or the federal judges, their salaried servants, are supreme. The Appeal is leading the fight for you, and if you are with us roll up your sleeves and do your duty. Don't wait for special instructions, but pitch in now and send in a list of subscribers. Give us a million subscriptions and the Appeal will strip the federal courts of their despotism and make the whole world free. It is merely, the instruments of justice, maintained by the whole people to secure equal justice to the whole people.

When triumphant Germany sat athwart the prostrate neck of France in 1871, the victor demanded a billion dollars from his victim as the price of taking his foot off. The world stood aghast at the magnitude of the demand and staggered at the burden which the French must suffer. This was one demand, and there were years in which to pay it, and when paid the matter was settled. But the daily press of this country tells us that the dividends of the industrial stocks and bonds amount to more than that each and every year, and the exploitation continues indefinitely. The French had to pay a ransom for their liberty, but the Americans pay a ransom each year and never gain their liberty. Oh, we are a great and a wise nation of galoots!

THE PRISON REFORM LEAGUE, 443 S. Main street, Los Angeles, Cal., has issued a book on the subject, which contains much valuable information. There is every reason why the barbarities of prison should be abolished. Write them for prospectus.

BRADSTREET reports that the necessities of life are now at the highest point they have ever reached. The men who own the job own the products of the work, and they have the right and power to put the prices where they please. And the common people who have to pay the price or starve, like it. They vote to have it so. Good.

To keep from freezing, twenty tramps slept in the court room of "Judge" Beiter, at Chicago, and the thing on the bench fined them \$20 each! If some man had stolen the court building he would be an honored citizen. A man without money is a criminal today. But we live in a great, free republic where the "people" rule! Ancient Rome was just compared to this modern anarchy.

The people who are trying to make out that the French revolution, with its atheistic tendencies, was an advanced feature of Socialism, are again off the scent. It was a fight for republicanism, and if it proved what the critics say it did, it means that our revolutionary forefathers, in fighting for republicanism, were atheists. There was absolutely no demand in the French revolution for socialized industry, which is the one demand of Socialism.

Taft recommended in his message a four-fold increase in newspaper postage rates to apply only to papers of general circulation, like the Appeal to Reason. Corporation owned dailies and local weeklies are not to be disturbed. This is Judge Taft's method of preventing the circulation of facts regarding the federal judiciary! But the facts will be printed and distributed in spite of this! Keep your eye on the Appeal.

The courts can always be relied upon to further every scheme of thievery and graft. The supreme court of California has ordered the state secretary to permit the filing of the Merced River Electric company for an issue of \$1,500,000 in bonds when the company has only a paid capital of \$2,500! The constitution says a company may not issue bonds greater than its capital—but what is the constitution to the judges and their capitalist owners? What is the use of having constitutions and laws—the judges don't care any more for them than for the scrawl of a school boy. What do the capitalists own judges for, if not to serve them. Who wants the people protected against graft? None but cranks and Socialists.

The Arbuckle company has paid into the United States treasury \$695,573 as duties out of which it confesses to have swindled the government. The law is that not only must the duties be paid, but that the goods shall be confiscated. But not with the rich. The law does not apply to millionaire criminals—it is made only for the small criminals. Yes, justice is sold to the highest bidder. With all the corruption exposed in these import cases, not an officer of the great trusts has been sentenced—not will one be. They bribe public employees, swindle the government and are not punished. This administration is like all the past ones—owned body and boots by the thieving corporations, who dictate its appointments and run things just as they please. And the poor chumps who voted it in are skinned to a frazzle. Great is the purity of capitalist politics. The government represents the lack of intelligence of its voters.

The Farmers National bank at Tulsa and the state guaranteed bank at Kiefer, Okla., have been closed. Too much speculation with other people's money. The people down there will find that neither national nor state guaranteed banks are safe—that these institutions are the prey of speculators and go broke. When they are wise enough to learn this lesson by losing great amounts, they will make use of the initiative and referendum to have the state own and operate the banks making loans only such regulations as the statutes shall specify—and then the speculators cannot get the money to organize wild cat oil and land and other companies to skin the public. The interest of legitimate loans where then go into the state treasury where it belongs. Why should not the people who own the money in bank—the public—get the interest on their own money? Can you give any reason to the contrary? But it takes much loss and pain for the people to ever learn a lesson.

MONTGOMERY WARD & Co., two years ago built a nine-story building 150x200 feet. Only two years ago, mind you. Now they have let a contract to build another double that size! This is not an advertisement, but a mention to show how ignorant is the average small merchant who clings to the old parties that support a system that will as surely drive the small business man out of the streets as the great factories put the small factories to the wall. All the business question of whether to go into the ownership of a few great corporations, or whether the public is to own and operate them for the benefit of the whole people. The average small business man thinks that he may be one of the big ones, and doesn't know that his chances are so small as to be worth nothing, and that his voting against Socialism is the thing that means his financial ruin and that of his fellow tradesmen and neighbors. He is too busy studying how to keep what little traffic is left to him, to think about reading a book on sociology. The Socialist smiles as he sees the great corporations expanding their business by leaps and bounds, while the little skinnies are gradually drying up and crawling into their holes. It takes just such a condition to make some people think

What an Ex-Federal Judge Says

BY W. B. FLEMING
Ex-Judge of the U. S. District Court of New Mexico.
TO THE APPEAL TO REASON:—Mr. Jefferson prophesied that the United States Courts would prove the "sappers and miners" of the liberties of this country. His prophecy has come true. The people can never be free until the tyranny of our judicial system is overthrown. The democratic party is so far degenerated that it is silent on this great question. Even Mr. Bryan seems to be afraid to speak out. The vigorous, fearless, and able attack of the "Appeal to Reason" on this despotism brings hope of our ultimate redemption. If the spirit of liberty be not dead in the hearts of the people a storm will be raised that will sweep this cancer from our system of government. All hail to your noble efforts. All honor to the valor and heroism of your corps of fighters.
Louisville, Ky., Dec. 13, 1909.

JUDGE PETER GROSSCUP

The Man Who Saved the Standard Oil. \$29,000,000 Will Be the Subject of the January Articles on the Federal Judiciary. In This Series, Truth Will Appear on the Stage in Such Abbreviated Costume That Some Folks May Be Shocked.

BY GEO. H. SHOAF,
Staff Correspondent Appeal to Reason.

FOREWORD.
LET IT BE distinctly understood at the outset of this series of articles that neither the writer nor the Appeal to Reason cherishes aught against Peter Stenger Grosscup, judge of the United States circuit court, with headquarters at Chicago. To the writer, Judge Grosscup is a total stranger, as he is to every other member of the Appeal staff, with the exception of Eugene V. Debs, who was tried in Grosscup's court in 1894 and sentenced to serve six months in Woodstock jail. Comrade Debs has repeatedly declared he bore no ill will against Grosscup, counting himself the victim and enemy of a social and economic system which Grosscup typifies, and hating the system rather than its representatives.

This statement at this time appears necessary for the reason that several persons are inclined to credit the Pollock disclosures to a desire for revenge on the part of Editor Fred D. Warren, who recently was sentenced to pay a fine of \$1,500 and serve six months in jail, in Pollock's court at Fort Scott, Kan., for the exercise of simple rights not denied bankers, corporation managers, police chiefs and county sheriffs. The Pollock articles were not inspired by editor Warren as a result of being convicted in Pollock's court. Certainly the writer of the articles entertained no personal animosity against the federal judge. Long before the Warren case arose it had been decided by the management of the Appeal to Reason that the rottenness and tyranny of the judiciary, and especially the federal judiciary, should be investigated and exposed. Warren's trial and conviction in a federal court hastened the publication of the exposures, and Judge John C. Pollock was selected as the first example because of immediate familiarity with his methods.

Not in spite of, but therefore, has brought forth these judicial disclosures, nor malice against the several judges whose records are being bared, but that the machinations of the courts—the last and strongest bulwark of capitalism—might be seen and understood by the people, and the interest of workers promoted, constitute the reasons that have caused this paper to reach in to the inner sanctuaries of the greatest power on earth and drag from their pedestals the lords of the bench and hold them up to criticism and public scorn.

This work is not done in bitterness but in love. It is worse than folly to hate any one; whether he be a capitalist or the idle beneficiary of wealth. Society is divided into two classes: it is granted to the robbers and the robbed; but the mere hating of the robbers by the robbed will not abolish class distinctions nor equalize the opportunities of life.

The fact is the rich are as much the victims of capitalism as the poor, and it is a debatable question who is more responsible for capitalism's continuance—the selfish working poor or the selfish idle rich. With every honest avenue of successful endeavor closed to him, the young man, energetic and ambitious to succeed, is compelled to play the game according to the ethics of capitalism; if he would succeed, he must become a criminal. Many men of wealth have been known to declare themselves opposed to the system that makes those criminals who succeed, but not understanding the philosophy of the world's development, nor the reasons why they limited their criticism and discontent to language that was as loose as it was meaningless.

The Judge vs. The Man.
JUDGE GROSSCUP, no doubt, as corrupt a scoundrel and as great a moral leper as he is, would willingly aid in destroying the present vicious system of social and economic injustice if he could see his way clear to the establishment of a more human and equitable method of securing a livelihood for the people. In many of his speeches and magazine articles he has acknowledged that somewhere something was wrong and that there

ought to be a change. Recently, in the North American Review, he announced that he would not hesitate to desert the party of his fathers and unite with a new political party if it was in earnest and really meant to inaugurate a change. No matter how corrupt Grosscup's life has been, nor how prejudicial to the interests of the poor his decisions invariably are, the writer is willing to concede that in advocating his scheme of "peopleizing" the corporations Grosscup is prompted by honest motives and a sincere desire to see justice prevail. In his magazine articles he is writing out of court. Here, at least, he can be himself. And the dispassionate critic will concede that the ideas he here advances and the principles he here advocates are the outpouring of a heart which, on the bench, he must stifle if he would continue to hold his job.

An honest judge or a just judge is an unthinkable person under capitalism. If a man were honest and just before he reached the bench, after receiving his appointment he would quickly grow both dishonest and unjust, unless he degenerated into a disenter. Forty years ago Henry Clay Caldwell, the last surviving appointee of Abraham Lincoln, tried to honestly administer justice in a federal court, and, finally, he resigned the bench in disgust. His record shows a larger number of dissenting opinions than is accredited to any other judge. Men are not liars and thieves because they wish to be such; they lie and steal because they must. The fault is not so much with the individuals as it is with the system under which they live. The capitalist system of production and exchange is wrong. The institutions which flourish under capitalism—including governments and courts—are wrong.

Not against individual capitalists and judges is the Appeal to Reason making war; these men are the creatures of their environment. The fight is against capitalism. If this point is not made clear and does not stick in the minds of the readers of these articles on the judiciary, then the moral of the whole story is lost.

Two Jekylls and Hydes.
PETER STENGER GROSSCUP was born at Ashland, Ohio, February 15, 1852. His parents were Pennsylvania extraction, his mother being a Miss Baummeister, and a woman of much physical energy. She had a swarthy complexion, and by many Ashland people is said to have been a Jewish woman, though this is denied by the Grosscup family. Her brother, Solomon Baummeister, was a familiar character about Ashland, and is said to have been the prototype of his nephew, Peter S. Grosscup. Old Solomon Baummeister was a man of varying moods and achievements. Alternately he would hold religious revival meetings wherein he would exhort sinners to accept salvation, and then he would be found in some low dive carousing with loose women and filling his hide full of booze. A more licentious two-legged animal never appeared in Ashland, it is said, until his nephew, now the Honorable Judge Grosscup, began his career which drove him out of the town. The uncle held revival meetings to offset his wickedness; the nephew writes fluently about "peopleizing" the corporations, the purpose of which, believed by many persons, is to throw sand in the eyes of the people while he hands down decisions granting enlarged power and further privileges to the corporations.

The house where Grosscup was born originally was a log structure and stood in the midst of the Grosscup farm two miles west of Ashland. The writer drove by the place recently, accompanied by an old gentleman who was one of Grosscup's former schoolmates. Today the logs have been weather-boarded and a tin roof put on. It had an air of prosperity not unlike the days when the judge's parents lived there and engaged in agriculture. The room occupied by young Peter is on one side of the entrance and had changed but little in forty years. When Peter returned from the Boston Law School, where he completed a course in law in 1872, his parents moved into Ashland, taking a house on Clairmont avenue.

later. The name Grosscup is derived from Greeskopf, a German word meaning big-head. In early youth the now distinguished Chicago jurist is described as having cut as sorry a caper before high heaven as was possible in a white urchin of his years.

A Schoolmate's Estimate of "Big Head."
IT IS TO LAUGH when I recall the figure of Pete Grosscup," said an old Ashland citizen, whose name is withheld for obvious reasons. "His face was ugly, his nose outrageously big, his features were irregular and without expression and his chin was not pleasant to look upon. There was not a single graceful movement or poise about his body. He was a great, awkward lad, tall and out of harmony with nature, and as he went shuffling along attired in high-water trousers, below which a pair of homespun blue socks dangled into a pair of enormous brogan shoes, it never occurred to the beholder that he had in him the making of a federal judge. If anybody forty years ago had prophesied that Pete Grosscup some day would be occupying a position greater in many respects than that of president of the United States he would have been adjudged insane.

"But Peter possessed a bright mind, and he was a student. This much must be said to his credit. He was taught German at home, and later he developed into quite a German scholar. Besides his natural astuteness, Pete possessed a certain low cunning which gave him advantages on many occasions. By his companions he was regarded as a person of low origin; that is, while his parents were financially secure because of their industry they were looked down upon as very common stock. Solomon Baummeister's reputation was decidedly unsavory, and Peter's grandfather was a man after Solomon's own heart. That Peter, when a young man, could succeed in winning the affections of young girls only to betray them, and could induce married women to leave their husbands and give up their children for his embraces, to Ashland people constituted one of the marvels of the age. Certainly an uglier or more uninviting biped never walked the streets of Ashland than Pete Grosscup."

Raping a Chambermaid.
AFTER finishing the public schools of Ashland young Grosscup was sent to complete his literary education at Wittenberg college at Springfield, Ohio. Leaving this institution in 1871 he went to Boston to study law. It was in Boston, according to Ashland information, that Grosscup's Uncle Solomon's traits began to outcrop. Here he committed the first act in a career of lechery that subsequently stamped him the greatest moral leper Ashland ever produced. Being refused permission to satisfy his lust by the chambermaid in the rooming house where he was staying, the herculean young law student deliberately seized the maid, threw her across a bed and accomplished his purpose by force. To several associates in Ashland later Grosscup related this exploit with great gusto.

Returning to his native town, with a diploma in his hands, the future federal judge hung out his shingle and began the practice of law. His energy and ability as a speaker, coupled with a brazenness that is described as having been unparalleled in the annals of impudence, by some strange fortune, brought him business. He prospered, and in a short time he formed a partnership with Judge William Osborne. When Osborne died Grosscup succeeded to a joint practice that gave him prominence as one of the best lawyers in the county. In a little while he formed another partnership, this time with C. J. Kenly. Grosscup was still in this partnership when he was forced to leave Ashland for Chicago between suns in 1882.

Despoiling Women of Virtue.
FROM THE TIME of his appearance in Ashland as a lawyer in 1873 until the year of his enforced departure Grosscup, it is claimed, ruined five young unmarried women, and caused two wives to separate from their husbands, one of whom, the wife of a Lutheran preacher, after deserting her husband and children, ended her life in a house of prostitution, it is said, in Denver. In the next installment in our issue of January (Continued on page 2.)

The Topeka Capital predicts that as a result of the government's attempt to railroad the Appeal editor, 30,000 votes in Kansas next fall. The Appeal's list of subscribers in Kansas has grown from 13,000 to 72,000 since July 1st, the date Warren was sentenced to jail. The Socialist vote in Kansas during the past twelve years has kept pace with the Appeal's list of subscribers. If this holds good next year the Socialist vote will quite likely exceed the estimate of the Topeka Capital. It's an ill wind that brings good to no one. I am quite willing to go to jail if by so doing it will bring Socialism to public attention and converts to our cause. Lay on, Macduff!

The worst citizen is one who refuses to think. He is the base of power of every graft, every despotism, every bad condition of society. And is totally oblivious of it all! A foolish or unlearned man in office is worse than a rascal. The foolish man votes for laws that are oppressive and made for the purpose of permitting some persons to rob the balance. The rascal who knows will not vote for such laws unless he is paid for it. The unlearned man votes for them because he trusts others who take advantage of his ignorance. And we have a "heap" of men in office, good men, honest men, who are used by the cunning for the disadvantage of the public. What we need in office is men who have ideas and deep convictions on them. They never betray their trusts.

Keep this in mind! That whoever owns the property of a nation has, does and always will control that nation. In no other way than by the whole people owning the property can they ever control the state. If a man owns a farm or mine or shop, he is in a position to say how they shall be run, and will do it so long as the law recognizes his ownership. So the people who own the property of the nation are in a position of influence to dominate the laws—for if they do not, and men who do not own the property control the state, the owners would as well not be owners. Under Socialism the whole people will own the capital of the nation, and they will therefore be in a position to control the state. The rich control this nation and every other one on earth.

In response to a public clamor, the republican platform demanded a postal saving bank system. It nowhere said anything about a central bank system. But the postal bank is to be put aside until the central bank system gets attention! You bet the bankers understand where they are. They are in Washington in force, and will get what they want, and they will put a joker in the postal bank system, if one is established, that will give them the benefits of the system at the expense of the government. The common people have not the interest in their government that they should, and they get nothing. The bankers have a big interest, and they can afford to spend the time and money to get laws that will enable them to make more millions. The common people are not represented at Washington.

BECAUSE you have become accustomed to some method, you do not always see the error of it. In the rising public indignation about the usurpations of the courts, and the injunctions and new interpretations, you hear many say that anarchy would prevail to stop it. No such thing. No judge of any court in England, France, Australia and other countries can declare a law passed by the people's representative, unconstitutional, nor can they by an order, called an injunction, without trial by jury, send men to jail. Does anarchy prevail in these countries? You are somewhat off your broad foundation. Referring to this usurped prerogative of the courts, the supreme court has just stated that congress has no right or power to abrogate the action of the courts! You see they consider the courts above and beyond all reach of the people. Above congress! Say, what do you think of that? Get a wiggle on you, eh?

BEFORE the National Guard association at Philadelphia, December 10th, Col. Cornwell, of the militia, advocated conscripting citizens into the army. He said, as reported in the Evening Bulletin:
The patriotism of the citizen cannot be depended on for soldiers. Commercialism being rampant, the remedy—a conscription law, forcing service in the army on able-bodied citizens.
It is coming. The people do not like the law, and only such as are driven to it by the desperation of poverty and out-of-work ever enlist—and they desert almost as fast as they enlist. They are treated like dogs, and the army is simply a machine to protect the robbery and rascality of the great trusts' owners in their oppression of the people. Socialists know the remedy—send the Appeal to every address in the army that you can find. The soldiers are the easiest men to make Socialists of that you can reach. Say, won't there be rioting and the deuce to pay when they begin to drag men from their homes to make soldiers of them! But they will do it before many years.

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Single subscription, one year, \$1.00
Single subscription, six months, .50
In clubs of four or over (40) weeks, .25

The January Issues

"The vigorous, fearless and able attack of the Appeal to Reason on this despotism brings hope of our ultimate redemption."—W. B. Fleming, ex-judge of the U. S. District Court of New Mexico.
APPEAL TO REASON, GIRARD, KAN.
Send me ONE HUNDRED copies each week, of the BIG FOUR issues in January—Numbers 736, 737, 738 and 739—for which find enclosed \$2.00. Count on me as one of the "Warren Defenders."

Signed _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

THE JANUARY ISSUES. Numbers 726, 727, 728 and 729. Read the preliminary announcement of the HIG BUNDLE ISSUE. Then resolve to join with the Appeal and to YOU part toward this great work.

GRAFTING ON THE WIDOWS. Red Cross Society Joins the Mine Owners in the Inhumanity of Cherry.

Cherry, Ill., Dec. 11.—The cruelty displayed by the St. Paul Coal company to the poor widows of Cherry is past all belief. One would think the sight of these poor miners, brought up from the mine in such horrible shape, and poor women shrieking in grief, would melt a heart of stone, but it has not affected those mine owners. They have had nothing but profits in their mind from the time they put inflammable timber, instead of steel and concrete, in their mine, to the present, for they are now engaged in trying to swindle these poor widows whose husbands they murdered.

The legislature of Illinois has just adjourned without doing anything to relieve the Cherry sufferers. The Associated Press had this item this morning: "The legislature has adjourned and even those who suffered so terribly from the Cherry disaster are to see the gladsome Christmas season go by without any remembrance from the state." They should have held an extra session as soon as the disaster occurred to devise ways and means to assist the sufferers. It is a matter of no importance that five hundred miners were killed and that their families are suffering. But the president sent warships to Nicaragua to rescue two American citizens because they have property. Who can fail to see the class struggle in society?

Red Cross Attacked by Aldermen. I was astonished to see that the Red Cross was doing nothing for families that were in great need. Yesterday Ernest P. Bicknell, who has charge of the \$100,000 given for the Cherry sufferers, admitted that only \$1,000 of this amount has been expended and that went to Red Cross employees. So great a scandal was raised that Alderman Schully and Representative Cermack, who have friends in Cherry, came here to investigate conditions. They were horrified and went back and opened up an attack on the Red Cross. The alderman and representative advised that all funds be turned over to the United Mine Workers of America. I interviewed Chas. H. Rasell, the secretary of the Illinois branch of the Red Cross. I tried to discover from him the cause of their present inefficiency, but he would not discuss it. He insisted upon talking about bonding the money for the widows. Rasell is not only secretary of the Red Cross, but he is employed by the Merchants' Loan and Trust company, of which Orson Smith, treasurer of the Red Cross, is president. I thought I saw the point and felt well repaid for my interview. "But the money was given to aid these women now and to cheer them a little in their terrible grief," I said to Mr. Rasell. "Who will compensate those women for these three weeks of horrible agony they have endured, made worse by cold and hunger?" "Think how cold and inadequate charity is! There are men and women in Chicago who have spent \$100,000 on one social function. There are many millionaires over the country to whom \$100,000 is a mere bagatelle. These persons believe the Red Cross is reliable, and still from the whole country only \$100,000 was given to the Red Cross to help those who suffered from the most terrible disaster in the history of the country.

The United Mine Workers have been busy trying to combat the mine owners who are attempting to defraud the families of their murdered members, and, although no effort has yet been made to collect funds, \$60,000 have been donated to the United Mine Workers for the Cherry sufferers. The miners were busy down in the mines trying to rescue their brothers, but they soon got around to looking after the families, and all the help they have received has come from the United Mine Workers. This is another demonstration of the fact that the workers must save themselves.

An Appliance for Extinguishing Fires. The coroner's inquest is eliciting some valuable testimony. This investigation is being held before the state mine inspector and the mining investigating committee. Attorney Seymour Steadman represents the United Mine Workers. Emil Girez swore that when the fire started it could have been put out with a bucket of water. Questions and answers as follows: "Could the fire have been put out with a bucket of water when you first saw it?" "Yes, easy."

"Was there a bucket of water where you could get at it?" "No."

"Were there any buckets in which you could have carried water?" "No."

Anna Disson said to me: "They no buy electric light. It cost only \$25. For that the men die." Testimony shows that the torches used to light the second level were pieces of three-inch pipe stopped up at one end and with a wick place in the other. When the wicks were loose the oil dripped from them. The fire started from the hay touching this dripping torch. Matt Francisco, a boy of 15 years—showing a violation of the child labor law—was in charge of the hay, asked Rosenkranz, the cager, what he

should do with the burning hay. Rosenkranz told him to dump it into the third level, which he did. There the men put the fire out, but the timbers had already caught on the second level.

Alexander Rosenkranz, the cager, who is not a fellow servant but a police officer, has been spirited away. P. P. Buck, the chief clerk of the St. Paul Coal company, took him to Chicago and has since been seen talking to him on a cross-road near Cherry. Attorney Steadman says they don't need his testimony, any way.

Maxwell, Chedister and Dougherty swore that no continuous escape shaft was opened from the third vein, as required by law, and that men coming from the third level had to pass through a trap door at the second level and walk several feet before they could reach the main shaft. They also swore that the second level was obstructed with old pieces of pipe, double tract, etc.

Discharged for Complaints. The St. Paul Coal company knew the mine was unsafe, for Chairman Evans, of the pit committee, representing the United Mine Workers at the mine, so informed the company before the accident. Evans was discharged for making this complaint, and when the union offered to stand by him and see him reinstated he refused, for his fellow miners were in bitter need of work because of the panic and he would not precipitate a strike. The testimony presented at the coroner's inquest shows that the miners were murdered because the St. Paul Mining company, which is the St. Paul railroad, flagrantly violated the law in its mad pursuit of profits.

AGITATION LEAGUE. Deficit reported last week..... \$45.76 Amount collected since last week..... \$123.03 Amount on hand..... \$77.80

This week the Agitation League takes up the most important work of its career. During December and January six copies of the Appeal will be sent to ALL LAW STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES!

While collecting these names I couldn't make public the nature of the new campaign. But now all names are in. From this time on things go forward with a rush! I want the League to fully appreciate this work. As intimated last week it's striking at the very root of capitalistic court procedure. The lawyers of the nation have been pretty well awakened. Their letters of commendation pour into the office with every mail. Now the League gets to the embryo lawyer with the truth about his idol, the federal judiciary. Realize for a moment what that means. The bench is the goal of every law student. The December and January issues will show the path taken by predecessors to attain legal distinction under capitalism.

Every comrade should take hold of this work with vim. It's driving another nail into the casket of judicial rottenness. There's no greater work before the Socialists of America. You can aid mightily by adding your contribution to help carry on the work of the League. Here are contributions since last report. Make it a point to get yours in by next week.

ALPHONSO IS HAUNTED. From an Article by Marquis DeCastellane. Alphonso XIII of Spain, like Macbeth, has now "murdered sleep." Nature's sweet restorer has deserted him. A hereditary consumptive, his nose has become longer, his lips thicker, his eyes more lusterless and he is an old man.

FOLLOWING THE PROCESSION. Messenger, Hagerman, N. M. We have been chided several times lately about the socialistic proclivities of the Messenger. We need guilty. During the past two or three weeks we have published several Socialist propaganda articles by the special request of some of our Socialist friends, are doing it this week and expect to continue the practice. In fact we are getting ourselves in training to make a graceful flop when the psychological moment arrives. It would be rank foolishness on our part to attempt to run a democratic paper or even an independent one, in a community so overwhelmingly Socialist as Hagerman is getting to be.

Riuz Rearrested. Last week the Appeal mentioned the fact that Inez Riuz, Mexican revolutionist, had been released by a Texas judge, after being long held for extradition. Since then he has been rearrested under orders from Attorney General Wickersham. He is sixty-three years old, and has already spent ten years in Belton for participating in a revolution fifteen years ago, his full term. But Diaz appears bound to hunt him to death, and Uncle Sam is willin'.

Where is Orchard? The statement is again being made by western newspapers that Harry Orchard the arch-murderer, is not in the Idaho penitentiary. Visitors are not permitted to see Orchard—not even personal friends of the warden. In order to settle this controversy western newspapers ought to agree upon a committee to visit the penitentiary to thoroughly investigate the charges made that Orchard was given his liberty.

Captured the Opposition. Manhattan, Kan., Dec. 17.—Opposition to the Debs lecture on the part of the dominant element in the Kansas State Agricultural college at Manhattan last night, and their refusal to admit him to the college auditorium for fear "he would contaminate" resulted in such strenuous agitation among the students, led by Comrade Ted Vincent, that one of the largest and most successful of all the splendid Kansas series of Warren protest meetings was pulled off in the Manhattan opera house. The audience was made up largely of college students and professors, all of whom pronounced the lecture as being the greatest they ever listened to. The magnitude and success of the meeting was a surprise to even the most optimistic, while the indifferent and hostile were astounded. College professors jostled with students, women with men and children with grown-up, in their efforts to shake the hand of the man who had held them spellbound for over two hours. Between twenty-five and fifty copies of the "Life, Writings and Public Speeches of Debs" were disposed of, while practically every one of the entire audience was enrolled as a subscriber to the Appeal, and from many on the Little Old Appeal will carry its message into hundreds of homes in Manhattan.

The college auditorium was refused Debs before his lecture. After the lecture a committee of professors pressed forward and earnestly appealed to him to address the students at college the following morning. Socialism presented in its true light had wrought a wonderful transformation. Before the meeting Comrades Vincent and Bush, who were the most conspicuous promoters in the move, were looked upon with ridicule. Today they are the subjects of congratulations from fellow students and instructors. However, both smile serenely, content with the knowledge that their splendid work was inspired by love for the cause so ably espoused by their champion and comrade, Gene Debs.

THE STRIKE IN SWEDEN. Quiet has settled down in Sweden, after six months of suspension of all lines of business, the whole working population quitting their work until the masters gave the workers better conditions of labor. Three hundred thousand workers quit their jobs and paralyzed the whole structure of society. Here when strikes occur the masters at once push in thugs, police and strike-breakers and more or less violence is the consequence. Writing on this point W. E. Curtis, in the Chicago Record-Herald says: "But there was one great satisfactory fact. As I have already said, the struggle was attended by no violence. Occasional attempts were made to terminate a controversy; perhaps a black eye or a mangled nose or torn clothing, but there was no resistance to the law, no dynamite, no attempt to injure property. Although hundreds of thousands of workmen walked the streets day after day in idleness, they conducted themselves with dignity and self-respect. The largest due to the fact that the sale of liquor was not only prohibited, but was absolutely stopped. Every saloon in Sweden was closed; and the clubs, hotels and restaurants were forbidden to sell wine to their patrons. The record of arrests during the period of the strike is said to have been the lowest in the history of Sweden. Crime was almost unknown, although multitudes of men were on the verge of starvation, there was little stealing and very few arrests for larceny. The police courts were practically idle. There were no attempts to have five or six hours' business every day finished their docket in a few minutes, and often they stopped at once for a momentary manifestation of national self-control, and the benefits which may be produced by preventing the sale of liquor."

LAWYERS AT AUCTION. The ice trust in New York has been fined \$5,000! It was allowed to skin the people a whole year and then fined a sum that would not be a fair license bought off. When a violation of the law can be bought for cash, it is buying the law. That fine does not touch the case and does not pay one-tenth of the fees the state had to pay its lawyers. Only a prison sentence should be had in any crime case. There should be no money fine at all. There it would be equal to all. A \$5,000 fine to a great trust is nothing, but a prison fine for all its officers would be felt. But the rich make the laws and they leave many loop-holes to get out when breaking them. The average citizen is so ignorant of the principles involved in laws that it is just as easy to deceive them here as it is in Timbuctoo. Under Socialism the whole people will vote directly on the law, and they will be compelled to read it before they vote, and then they will know what they are doing.

Advances the Cause. Whenever martyrs are made of men leading a cause it advances the cause. This will be true of Socialism and labor organizations when men like Gompers, Mitchell, Morrison and Warren have jail sentences standing over them.

Advances the Cause. King Leopold of Belgium, built a magnificent bridge between his palace and the palace of his morganatic wife. He opposed Socialism because "it would destroy the family," just as many goody-goody people in this country. He was a murderer and had all the vices. Usually when you scratch the fellow who opposes Socialism on moral grounds you will find one whose private life is a disgrace. They live immoral lives and condemn Socialists for advocating a system that will make women independent of their betrayers.

Advances the Cause. The workers have had to learn many things together. They have had to learn to work together and strike together and to be locked out together and tramp together and to be locked up together and to starve together and sleep in the strawstacks together; but they still have a very important thing to learn to do together and that is to vote together on election day.

Canadian Rates. Single subscription, per year..... \$1.00 In clubs of four and over..... 50 Four copies in one wrapper to one individual..... 1.00

Fitting A-round Christmas T-line Season. In hundreds of thousands of homes Santa Claus visit will be brief and his gifts more meagre than last year. This season than last year, a so-called "Fitting A-round Christmas T-line Season" Santa Claus visit.

THE APPEAL WORKER WITH A COPY OF FACTS CAN TELL THEM WHAT'S WRONG! You agitators! Turn to page 44 in our Arsenal of Facts. There's the beginning of a four-page indictment of Capitalism Destroying the Home. It's a terrible arraignment. It's remorseless. Bitter. But city by city all over the world it shows how capitalism is crushing the last vestige of "home" among the workers.

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The Big Ten. John W. Linn, Peoria, Ill. 50 W. W. Little, Elm Bluff, Mo. 25 F. H. Hinz, Chant, Okla. 25 J. H. Lewis, Wellington, Colo. 25 S. E. Dale, Ocala, Fla. 25 S. A. Cleveland, Bethel, Alaska. 25 A. H. Derry, Mt. Pleasant, W. Va. 25 "The Union" Convention, Ariz. 25 Jim Snodgrass, Prescott, Ariz. 20

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FENCE. A straggly copy did the work for me years ago, wrote Comrade Owen, Beebe, Ind., in his section as fast as the people are ready for it.

Farmers Sons Wanted. With knowledge and advancement, steady employment, must be honest and reliable. Apply at once, giving full particulars. The Veto Primary School Association, Dept. 12, London, Ontario.

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THE JANUARY ISSUES.

Numbers 734, 737, 738 and 739. Read the preliminary announcement of the DEBTS ISSUES in January. Then resolve to join with the Appeal and do more for it than for any other work.

THE CIRCULATION

FIFTEEN STATES INCREASE WITH THIS REPORT! That's the result of a vague warning—just a hint to the Army three weeks ago—that a screw was loose in Washington, D. C.

Subs put on a year ago and those sent in during March of this year both expire this month. That accounts for a slight loss in subscriptions.

I told you last week that a rousing report ALL ALONG THE LINE would make them pause in Washington. That wasn't guess work.

Let this report be what the rumble preceding a mighty protest. Add your voice to that protest. Your individual voice will be heard through the medium of a rising subscription list.

PROTEST!

More Than 20,000. States. Oe. On. Total. Kansas 1,408 1,382 27,271. Pennsylvania 517 505 22,068. Texas 527 448 20,076.

More Than 15,000.

California 513 360 17,660. Michigan 334 359 15,446. Oklahoma 512 433 16,858.

More Than 10,000.

Missouri 438 417 14,183. Washington 387 254 11,915. Illinois 380 251 11,120.

More Than 5,000.

Indiana 241 217 9,460. New York 309 502 9,086. Minnesota 229 118 8,870.

More Than 3,000.

Montreal 168 150 4,868. Colorado 128 108 4,483. Massachusetts 121 117 4,404.

More Than 2,000.

South Dakota 97 58 2,844. Nebraska 87 86 2,732. Canada 100 108 2,523.

More Than 1,000.

Georgia 103 48 1,983. North Carolina 48 28 1,808. Virginia 28 29 1,232.

Less Than 1,000.

New Hampshire 84 21 888. South Carolina 1 13 560. Rhode Island 41 3 542.

MISSOURIANS 'SHOWN'

The federal court has just rendered its decision in the famous or infamous robbery of the people of a Clair county, Missouri. It was a case of capitalism vs. the people.

Forty years ago a smooth railroad promoter dropped in on the people with a smooth project. A railroad was to be built across the county; the people were to be brought into touch with the outside world.

The citizens of St. Clair county oppose Socialism because they are ignorant of its objects as they were of the bond issue. Under Socialism such robbery would not be possible.

JUST THE PEOPLE.

The street car monopoly in Kansas City arranged with the council to get a twenty-six-year extension of their franchise, the present one having sixteen years yet to run.

If you have an acquaintance or relative in the army or the navy, send him the Appeal. He will appreciate it as much as a letter from home.

When President Taft told the rivers and harbor congress that he favored better waterways "because of its influence in the reduction of railroad rates," he showed that he is either very ignorant or insincere.

ON TRAIL OF THE APPEAL.

Just to give you some slight idea of how closely the government spies trail the Appeal and its representatives, we print below a letter received by Comrade Brewer, who has had charge of the Debs meetings.

Mr. George D. Brewer, Concordia, Kan. Sir: I am advised that the money order clerk at the postoffice at Boulder, Colorado, returned to you at your demand a counterfeit fifty-cent coin which you had offered with other money in payment of a money order.

FATHER McMAHON, a catholic priest of Cleveland, has just been adjudged a bankrupt with \$1,500,000 debts unpaid. The capitalist system which he upholds was his undoing.

It might shatter some of your idols if you read the article on the sugar trust in the January Cosmopolitan and its relation to the members of the cabinet at Washington.

What else should Brewer have done? As a matter of fact Brewer did not "demand" the return of the coin nor did he know it was a counterfeit.

Third avenue railroad stock, which was sold at \$122 a share, is down around \$12.25. Shortly before the company went into the hands of a receiver the stock was at \$125 a share.

What is the lesson? Is it not that somebody has legally confiscated somebody's property? If the stock never was really worth more than it now sells for, then somebody was getting something for nothing when he sold it at the higher figures.

J. P. MORGAN has bought the Cleveland, Ohio, telephone system with its long distance (independent) lines, for eight millions. There is nothing too small for Morgan.

Capitalism understands the best methods of working their graft. During the populistic period, the movement that was made up almost exclusively of farmers, plume papers made all manner of fun of the farmer.

Reports just printed show that in Oklahoma 22,216 farms were operated by owners while 56,292 were operated by tenants!

Just the people. The federal court has just rendered its decision in the famous or infamous robbery of the people of a Clair county, Missouri.

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That no franchise would be worth the expenditure. Direct legislation would purify politics—but those who profit by corruption do not want purity in politics.

PLAIN WORDS TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Appeal to Reason, as it has taken frequent occasion to say, has no official relation with the Socialist movement.

Only when the Appeal has had something of importance to say to the members had it ventured to address them upon party matters.

There is nothing the matter with the Socialist party. A good deal of ill-advised talk has been indulged in upon this subject without any real reason for it.

First—The Socialist party is primarily a party of the working class; it is not that it is nothing.

Second—The Socialist party being a working class party should be officered and managed by representative working men and women, and not by lawyers, doctors, ministers, merchants and other professional and business people.

Third—The Appeal believes in rotation in office. The constitution ought to be so amended that no national officer should hold office for more than two years.

Fourth—The Appeal believes that no editor or manager of a Socialist paper should hold official position in the Socialist party.

Socialism is worth studying. A new book entitled "What is Socialism?" a copy of which will be mailed free on request by Charles H. Kerr & Co., 135 Kinzie street, Chicago, will convince you.

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self control. Only in the intelligence of the membership, the rank and file, is there security against the wiles and plots of the enemy.

Below we print a list of the candidates for national executive committee, now being voted on:

W. J. Bell, Tyler, Texas; B. Ripley, Chicago, Ill.; Otto F. Branstetter, Oklahoma City, Okla.; James H. Brewer, Joliet, Ill.; James W. Carey, Boston, Mass.; E. B. Carr, Chicago, Ill.; Stanley J. Clark, Huntington, Ark.; John M. Collins, Chicago, Ill.; Louis Duxbury, East Palestine, Ohio; Adolph Germer, Belleville, Ill.; Geo. H. Goebel, Newark, N. J.; Morris Kaplan, Duluth, Minn.; Lewis Morrow Lewis, San Francisco, Cal.; James Maurer, Reading, Pa.; J. P. Morgan, San Francisco, Cal.; Thos. J. Morgan, Chicago, Ill.; Sumner W. Rose, Biloxi, Miss.; John W. Slayton, Myrtlewood, Mo.; E. Spide, Girard, Kan.; F. G. Strickland, Anderson, Ind.; Carl D. Thompson, Milwaukee, Wis.

According to Judge Phillips, of the federal court of the Western District of Missouri, disobedience to a law framed by congress, and proven bribery, are both legal, if these things are committed by parties on the inside.

The accused were therefore set at liberty, not because of their innocence, but because the federal judge overruled congress in the matter of making laws to conserve public health.

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in eastern cities. The reason assigned by the trust for the advance was: "We need the money." That was plain truth. They knew the helplessness of the people, that they would be forced to pay their price or suffer.

What did the court do? Did it find these capitalist thieves guilty of the return of the money fraudulently taken from the people?

Below we print a list of the candidates for national executive committee, now being voted on:

W. J. Bell, Tyler, Texas; B. Ripley, Chicago, Ill.; Otto F. Branstetter, Oklahoma City, Okla.; James H. Brewer, Joliet, Ill.; James W. Carey, Boston, Mass.; E. B. Carr, Chicago, Ill.; Stanley J. Clark, Huntington, Ark.; John M. Collins, Chicago, Ill.; Louis Duxbury, East Palestine, Ohio; Adolph Germer, Belleville, Ill.; Geo. H. Goebel, Newark, N. J.; Morris Kaplan, Duluth, Minn.; Lewis Morrow Lewis, San Francisco, Cal.; James Maurer, Reading, Pa.; J. P. Morgan, San Francisco, Cal.; Thos. J. Morgan, Chicago, Ill.; Sumner W. Rose, Biloxi, Miss.; John W. Slayton, Myrtlewood, Mo.; E. Spide, Girard, Kan.; F. G. Strickland, Anderson, Ind.; Carl D. Thompson, Milwaukee, Wis.

According to Judge Phillips, of the federal court of the Western District of Missouri, disobedience to a law framed by congress, and proven bribery, are both legal, if these things are committed by parties on the inside.

The accused were therefore set at liberty, not because of their innocence, but because the federal judge overruled congress in the matter of making laws to conserve public health.

Second—The Socialist party being a working class party should be officered and managed by representative working men and women, and not by lawyers, doctors, ministers, merchants and other professional and business people.

Third—The Appeal believes in rotation in office. The constitution ought to be so amended that no national officer should hold office for more than two years.

Fourth—The Appeal believes that no editor or manager of a Socialist paper should hold official position in the Socialist party.

Socialism is worth studying. A new book entitled "What is Socialism?" a copy of which will be mailed free on request by Charles H. Kerr & Co., 135 Kinzie street, Chicago, will convince you.

Capitalism understands the best methods of working their graft. During the populistic period, the movement that was made up almost exclusively of farmers, plume papers made all manner of fun of the farmer.

Reports just printed show that in Oklahoma 22,216 farms were operated by owners while 56,292 were operated by tenants!

Just the people. The federal court has just rendered its decision in the famous or infamous robbery of the people of a Clair county, Missouri.

Forty years ago a smooth railroad promoter dropped in on the people with a smooth project. A railroad was to be built across the county; the people were to be brought into touch with the outside world.

The citizens of St. Clair county oppose Socialism because they are ignorant of its objects as they were of the bond issue.

Just the people. The street car monopoly in Kansas City arranged with the council to get a twenty-six-year extension of their franchise, the present one having sixteen years yet to run.

RUSSIAN TACTICS. The situation in Spokane is growing worse. At first the effort was to prevent street speaking, and every one who attempted it was jailed.

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