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 FRED D. WARREN, MANAGING EDITOR.
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GROSSCUP TAKES TO TALL TIMBER

Phillips "Retires" to Avoid impeachment—First Blood in a Battle That Has Only Begun.

AT LAST the effect of the Appeal's agitation against the usurpations of the federal courts is becoming apparent. When, last week, the accused judges were challenged to bring libel suit against the paper that accused them of grafting, and when congress was called on to either impeach the judges or deny the Appeal the right of admission to the mails, according to whether the charges were proven or disproven, the guilty parties, toward which the fingers of a million accusers were pointing, were thrown into a panic. Something was done at once!



That something was not the bringing of a suit for libel against the Appeal; neither was it a resolution introduced in congress calling for an investigation of the charges. But it was as marked and significant as either of these moves would have been. It was the sounding of retreat on the part of the guilty judges.

How Judge Grosscup sidesteps investigation is told by the following item taken from the Tribune of Chicago, Ill., coming only a few days after the Appeal's challenge appeared:

Judge Peter S. Grosscup of the United States circuit court will depart tonight or tomorrow for New York and will make a European and African tour that will last two or three months. "I am taking a much needed vacation," said the judge yesterday, "and expect to have a good time traveling with my old friend, Frank E. Myers, of Ashland, O."

Spending this week in New York, where he will meet Mr. Myers, Judge Grosscup will sail on the steamship Caronia next Saturday, going directly to Alexandria, Egypt. The judge said he expects to make a trip up the Nile river. He has closed up his residence in Highland park.

He has gone! He has taken to tall timber, has vamoosed, has absquatulated. Grosscup, whatever his crimes, is nobody's fool. He knew that if he remained in America he or congress would be forced into some kind of action, and action of any kind would be fatal to his future. But if he could get out of the country he figured that impeachment proceedings would not be brought against an absent man, and that by the time he returned the excitement would die down, so he might escape.

He had both reason and precedent to determine him as to the wisdom of this course. Just at the time when Theodore Roosevelt had been convicted by the Appeal of the guilt of the Alton steal, he left the country, going to the same land that Grosscup now seeks, and the long silence of that four-flusher was merely an evidence of his determination to be forgotten. Grosscup thinks the ruse was successful with Roosevelt, and that he is, therefore, justified in trying it himself.

But this is not all. Another federal judge, exposed by the Appeal, the very same week, announces his determination to get out from under! Judge Phillips, of the federal court of Missouri, the man who helped to engineer the at once famous and infamous fishing trip to Tampico, Mexico, where he and Judge Pollock were guests of railroads, and who, on his return, knocked out the two-cent passenger law in Missouri—this Judge Phillips announces that he is going to retire from the bench! A mighty shrewd way to escape impeachment!

Two judges knocked out in one week! That is not a bad record. Doubtless the only reason Pollock does not follow them is because he has not been on the bench long enough to enable him to retire on pay, and is of such small size that he can lose himself in a poker game without taking the trouble of fleeing to Africa.

It all shows that the Appeal has lauded. Others might say that it is vindication of or victory for the Appeal. But this is not enough. Some guilty individuals may sidestep in such a way as to confess their guilt while escaping punishment for their crimes, but the system of usurpation known as the federal judiciary is still in existence, and the system of capitalist production still lives as the creator and corruptor of the court. These must both go. The federal courts must be destroyed on the ground that they were created without constitutional authority and are, therefore, usurpations and illegal. And capitalism must be destroyed. It is not expected that the latter result will be accomplished within a week or year, but it is as sure to come in the end as the flowers are to bloom in the near future. It is not to be expected that the federal courts will be destroyed without due agitation, but they are a menace to liberty and they, too, will go if you, the workers, make demand of your congressman for the authority for their creation and continuance. Will you do it?

IT IS SOMEBODY'S MOVE

Editorial printed in a string of Scripps-McRae League papers, numbering over twenty, February 11th.

Within the past month some half million or more American citizens have read a terrible story that has been printed about Judge Peter S. Grosscup of the United States circuit court. The story, which has been printed in installments, marshals an array of charges ranging all the way from nasty village gossip and scandal to documents (hitherto unpublished) from the files of the government at Washington.

These charges, involving as they do misconduct as a man and misconduct as a judge, are either true or they are false. Judge Grosscup, so far as can be learned, has taken no steps in the matter. The government at Washington has done nothing. The United States district attorney and the federal grand jury seem to have done nothing.

It is not sufficient to say that these publications have been made by a Socialist newspaper. The point is that these things have been published broadcast, and are rapidly becoming matters of common discussion. We believe in the freedom of the press, and the best way to secure that freedom is to punish abuses of it. If the Socialist newspaper has not told the truth, if it has libeled a United States judge, then it should be dealt with according to law.

But if all hands sit silent, then it is the judge himself and the proper government officials who will be more guilty than the Socialist editor of bringing contempt upon the courts. For unless the stories can be disproved and the writer punished, Grosscup ought not to sit another hour upon the federal bench.

PROSPERITY is the cause of high prices. That is to say, the plutes have arbitrarily raised prices in order to increase their own prosperity.

At the last election three hundred and fifty-nine thousand and seventy-seven (359,077) Kansas voters—count 'em again—cast their ballots in favor of a bank guarantee law. A legislature elected for that purpose passed a bank guarantee bill and it was signed by the governor. And then Pollock, the judicial gambler, set aside the mandate of the voters of Kansas. Oh, yes, you are a power in the nation—you have a voice in making the laws—nut!

REV. WRIGHT GIBSON, Presbyterian minister of Pittsburg, Pa., announces that hereafter, owing to the high cost of living, he will refuse to marry couples where the man's income is less than \$2,000 a year. So it appears marriage is only for the rich and well to do. The present system is such a friend of marriage and the home. If things continue, it may be the worker will be reduced to the point where the chattel slave was—where there is no real marriage, but only the living together of man and woman as a matter of convenience. Such a moral arrangement, isn't it, that good people should stand for it?

...all of every human endeavor in modern times, leads to the federal court room. If it's a fight for free speech, sooner or later, the case must be submitted to the federal courts. If it is a fight for a free press, it goes to the supreme tribunal. If it is a fight between the master and his slave, the final arbiter is the federal judge. If it is a fight between little capital and big capital the federal judge has the last say. If it is a law demanded and voted for by a state or nation, the federal judge has the deciding vote. It, therefore, behooves us to know what manner of men constitute the federal judiciary—where they get this power and why they always use it against the working class.

SENATOR BRISTOW of Kansas made a speech in Brockton, Mass., last month, wherein he explained, so the Kansas City Star reports, the great "Alton Steel" in which, he said, Harriman and his associates cleared fifty-six million dollars, for which they did not expend a single dollar. Slowly, but surely, the facts in connection with the Alton steal are making their way to the public mind. If Senator Bristow had cared to do a good job in this connection, he would have explained that there could have been no Alton deal without the active assistance of one Theodore Roosevelt, who was then governor of New York. Roosevelt could have punctured the gigantic steal by withholding his signature as governor to the bill which alone made the deal possible.

SOME weeks ago a friend invited me to witness the championship wrestling match at Kansas City. The champion was pitted against a new aspirant for the honor. The champion had his antagonist bested from the word go, but it was quite apparent that he permitted him to throw him around, with several pretty close calls to a throw-down—much to the amusement and delight of the assembled multitude. But when it came time to end the bout, the big, burly champion ended the contest and walked away with the honors and the money.

This contest reminds me of the fight now waged in the courts between Standard Oil and the people. The Standard Oil permits a "near-fall" like a \$20,000,000 fine or a dissolution decision, much to the delight of the auditors, the common people. But please observe that the Standard Oil walks away with the fun in the one case and there will be no dissolution in the other. Want to bet on it? How much?

SOME weeks ago the Appeal referred to an article entitled "Is Kidnaping Legal?" written by George Allan England, and printed in the New West Magazine, Portland, Ore. The Appeal is in receipt of a letter from the general manager of the New West Publishing company, wherein he says: "As a result of the very friendly notice you gave us recently in the Appeal to Reason referring to our article, 'Is Kidnaping Legal?' in the January issue, we have received many more orders than we have been able to fill. The Chicago Daily Socialist and Wishnie's also, I believe, made some mention of this article, and as a result we have on hand some thousand unfilled orders. May we request of you the further favor of a notice to the effect that we will reprint the article in our March issue, and that all orders from your readers will be filled at that time? We undertook, at first to send out letters individually, but the task has grown beyond us."

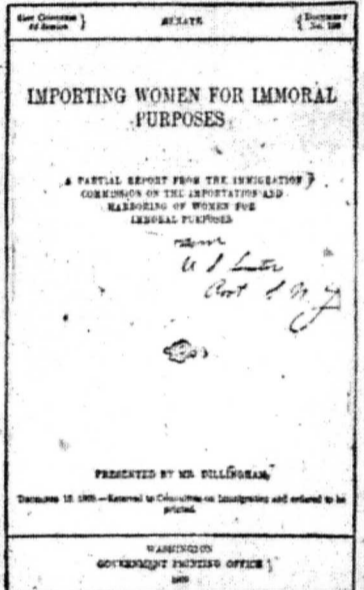
In saying that the cause of the postal deficit is the greed of the railroads on the one hand and that the express companies would like to wreck the postal department for their own profit, one is presenting only two facets of one fact. The express companies are under the same heads as the railroads, so that it all amounts to Big Business seeking to wreck public service in the interest of private profit. H. C. Barlow, traffic director of the Chicago association of commerce, is authority for the statement that all the big express companies are practically owned and actually controlled by the railroads. We have reached an amazing situation when, instead of the people fighting private business for the extension of their property rights, private business is leading an assault on the commonwealth with a view of destroying all that the people have gained in the past. It emphasizes the fact that it must either be socialization of industry or a loss of popular government and all popular rights. The mere fight for life will bring the people into the Socialist ranks.

WHITE SLAVE REPRINTS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 14, 1910.

Mr. John L. Lippe, Havana, Ark.
 My Dear Sir—I am in receipt of your request for Senate Document No. 196. I am sorry to advise you that the entire publication has been exhausted. My information is that there will be a reprint of this session for distribution and if so I will be glad to furnish you a copy at that time. Very truly yours,
 CHAS. C. REID.

When this letter reached the Appeal nearly a month ago it was not believed that congress would attempt such a frazen heax as to foist upon the voters a reprint of the white slave document for distribution. That capitalism's representatives would attempt to shield the system under such a flimsy cloak was unthinkable. This week a New York comrade sends me a copy of the document forwarded to him by Senator Root of New York. The cover page is reproduced below:



Read that carefully. Notice that it's a "partial" report. This is not the original document in its entirety. It is not the report which every senator and congressman received—and then attempted to hush up. It contains only what your masters think good for you to know about the body-traffic in the women of the working class. What business has the working class to know what becomes of its widows, daughters and sisters, anyway? The plutes know—and that's enough.

Bombard Washington for "Senate Document 196, Sixty-first Congress, Second Session." Give full title as indicated by quotation marks. Demand the full report—you won't get it. The D. C. gang knows better than to let you get your eyes on it. But let them know that you're next to their game, anyway.

Perhaps you think the gang at the capitol city is not genuinely, definitely personally interested in the continuance of the trade in the bodies of working class women. The following is from page 85 of the Appeal's Arsenal of Facts:

TAFI AIDS "WHITE SLAVER."
 EXECUTIVE CUTS YEAR FROM SENTENCE OF CONVICTED NEW YORKER.
 Washington, Dec. 24.—President Taft commuted the sentence today of a New York "white slaver" by cutting off one year from a three-year sentence.

The case was that of Auguste Reissert, a Frenchman convicted in New York of "importing women for the purpose of prostitution and of harboring an alien woman for immoral purposes."

The law making the harboring of an alien woman for immoral purposes a crime has since been declared unconstitutional.—Portland, Ore., Oregonian, December 25, 1909.

Do you see how all these things dove-tail into one another? Don't you get the connection between last election returns and the "disappearance" of Bill Jones' girl?

Wake up!
 White slavery is part and parcel of the profit system. It is carried on, aided and abetted by the very men your masters select for you to vote for. Socialism, by destroying the profit system, will wipe the curse from the world.

Vote it out. Protect your daughter from the legislative hawks of capitalism.

THE POST HOLE.
 C. W. Post is again weeping at the ice house. A few weeks since it was reported that three car loads of peanut shells consigned to a manufacturer of breakfast foods in Battle Creek, Mich., had been found in a railroad wreck. Post couldn't understand who this manufacturer could be unless it was himself, and so he hired a little editor of a little medical journal to brand the story as a lie concocted by the "labor trust," and this denial, by a man who didn't know, became Post's defense, which he hired printed in papers all over the country, particularly the religious press, in order to show that his own halo was on straight and that all good men were haters of labor. There was a time when Post's periodical orators were funny; but now he seems to be weeping at the ice house. The sycophants who receive pay for printing his rot applaud him, it is true, but the rest of the world is becoming weary of absurdity and punk and peanut shells. The Post hole that emits such unearthly screeches and noises is impressing the country, now, much as does the wailing of a tom-cat on the back fence at midnight. He should ought to don't.

A DISPATCH says the milk trust is threatened with prosecution. Whether the prosecution is to include the milk-sop of the white house the dispatch does not say.

DEBS SETTING THE EAST AFLAME

Remarkable Series of Meetings—He Is in Pennsylvania Now

By telegraph to Appeal to Reason.

Greensburg, Pa., Feb. 18.—The Ohio campaign, which closed Wednesday at Youngstown with a big demonstration that kept the vast auditorium ringing with its cheers, was a record breaker in every respect. Fourteen principal industrial centers were covered, from Cleveland on the lakes to Portsmouth on the river and from Cincinnati on the west to Youngstown on the Pennsylvania line. Every meeting was a pronounced success. At Cleveland and Cincinnati the papers evidently thought to ignore the meetings, saying but little about them until the night they were held. But when the editors saw the opera houses packed in the face of severe storms of sleet and snow, they were dumfounded, and hastily sent representatives for interviews; and the morning following the meetings the papers all contained extended and flattering reports of the meetings and their first returns dates, declaring that next time they will give us larger crowds and more subscriptions than on the first visit.

One of the noteworthy features of the meetings the past week, in Ohio and Pennsylvania, has been the increasing demand for literature. Sales have broken all records. Another feature of the work has been the revival of interest and increase of membership of the locals where meetings were held. It is a safe guess that another result will appear later on in increased votes.

The Pennsylvania dates so far have repeated the success that was manifested in Ohio. Ever since we struck Pennsylvania we have been struck snow and a blizzard, but everywhere we have beaten them to a standstill. Every house thus far has been crowded to its utmost capacity. Last night at Uniontown it was extremely inclement, with heavy wind and sleet, yet the grand opera house was packed from pit to dome, and local papers say that every element in the country, from richest to poorest, was fully represented at the meeting. In almost all instances we find the house fully sold out before the hour of meeting.

We are now in the coal and coke regions, where Carnegie, Phipps and Frick are masters, and where they number their slaves by the thousands. The place is a veritable inferno. As far as eye can reach the coke ovens are in full blast, and the countless tongues of flame, intermingled with dense volumes of gas and smoke, give a lurid

WHAT OF THE FARM?

According to the Advertiser of Caledonia, N. Y., the New York Central has just bought three farms. The B. R. and P. railroad, according to the same authority, has appointed a superintendent of farms. The Caledonian asks: "Is this an entering wedge for the railroads of the state to gradually buy up farms until there is a mammoth combine in possession of all the farming lands of the state? We predict that within twenty years the railroads will own practically every foot of tillable land in the state. They will begin buying the villages next. You see, when they have a few farms surrounded, they can force the farmers to sell by refusing them right of way to the outside. Just keep your eye on the target, that is all." To the unthinking this may seem impossible, but it is not impossible.

The immense returns from the railroads will necessitate further investment, and the time is coming when attention will be turned to land. There is the same possibility in the factory system of farming that there is in the factory system of manufacturing, and the farmer will be as helpless to resist the tide when it turns against him as the small manufacturer was to prevent the hand shop from being run out. The farmer boasts about owning his farm now, but he does nothing of the kind. The railroads that control the market own a controlling interest in the farm today. Farmers are being told what Socialism will do to them, but it would be more to the point to ask what capitalism will do to them. Farming will no more continue what it is now than it could remain in the primitive anti-stock law state of our fathers. If the railroads and big capitalists do not really take the farms, they will exercise control of them through the control of transportation and the markets until the farmer will realize his helplessness. His only hope of really owning things, is Socialism, which would give to his control the land he can use, and also the markets and transportation which are necessary to make his work effective.

FARMING AND ECONOMICS.

The government reports show that the making of a farm wagon costs in 1909 only \$7.19. The labor cost of the wood and iron used in a wagon cannot be more than \$1. The wagon sells for 70 bushels of wheat at \$1 a bushel. Now how much does the farmer really get for wheat that is spent for wagons? About 13 cents a bushel, when the market price is \$1. Now this is true of almost every article for which the farmer spends the money he gets for his crops of all kinds. The farmer may think he is getting a good price for his produce—but is he, really? The difference between \$8.84 and \$7.19 is what the farmer pays for nothing—is the cost to him of the private ownership of the in-

cast to the night, and make the coke slaves stand out like specters, in some vast cavern, stirring the fires that consume them. There are more multi-millionaires, according to population here, than in any other section of the world. At Uniontown there are sixty-four millionaires, one for every 7,500 of the population. To make up for these there are masses of wage slaves whose emancipation from the coke hells of capitalism is the mission of the Socialist party.
 GEORGE D. BREWER.

Crimes of Capitalism.

In his tour of Ohio Debs carried with him a copy of the Cincinnati Enquirer, which he called the Daily Chronicle of the Sins of Capitalism, and from which he read as evidence of the corruption that prevails. One page of one of these papers, sent in as marked by Debs, tells of probing for graft at Columbus, Ohio, of the "gigantic graft expose at Chicago," of a young woman, despondent because of poverty, plunging into the rapids of Niagara and to death; of graft exposures at Pittsburg; of grafting at San Francisco; of a murder in New York and a robbery in San Francisco; of suicide in Philadelphia and rape in Louisiana; of a savings bank shortage in Boston; of the squabble over the Swoppe estate in Kansas City, involving a murder charge with wealth at the bottom of it; of a big row over an attempt to collect a debt in Cincinnati; of a sensational suicide of a California man and a New York woman. The page sure seems to be pretty well filled.

Debs Dates.

Wheeling, West Va.—Victoria theater, Sunday, March 13th, 2:30 p. m.
 Cumberland, Md.—Academy of Music, Monday, March 14th, 8 p. m.
 Hagerstown, Md.—First Hose Hall, Tuesday, March 15th, 8 p. m.
 Baltimore, Md.—Albough's theater, Charles and Preston streets, Thursday, March 17th, 8 p. m.
 Camden, N. J.—Fraternal Order of Eagles' hall, Saturday, March 19th, 8 p. m.
 Elizabeth, N. J.—Proctors theater, Sunday, March 20th, 2:30 p. m.
 Newark, N. J.—Wever's Coliseum, Tuesday, March 22d, 8 p. m.
 Jersey City, N. J.—Grand View Hall, Ogden and Franklin streets, Wednesday, March 23d, 8 p. m.

New York dates will be announced next week. Date will likely be made this week at Washington, D. C., for March 16th. Towns in New Jersey will please note that the 21st is still open. Address the state secretary for a date.

industries. This is a clear loss. If the public owned and operated the industries, including the farms, it could produce so much for each worker, by eliminating the costs and wastes of competitive expense, that each worker would get three to five times as much as he now gets—and that, too, without all the fret and worry and uncertainty that attaches to production and distribution today. The farm owner thinks he is independent and has a civit. But if he has, what have the chaps who live off him? His ownership of a farm is merely the paying of the price of the farm for a steady job that does not give him one-third of what Socialism would give him for the same work. Every farmer that understands this is a Socialist—every one that does not is still voting for the system that makes him pay three to ten times what articles cost to produce. See?

"SOCIALISM IN PERU."

Once more they are printing the old gag about how "Socialism perished in Peru." Socialism never existed in Peru. What did exist there was a benevolent absolutism. The incas or rulers, owned everything, much as the trusts own everything in America today! only, the incas had some respect to the needs of their people, and, by giving them access to natural resources, succeeded in banishing poverty from the land. This benevolent absolutism went down before a conquering absolutism bent on robbery. The result was disastrous to the people of Peru, simply because it was robbery and gave place to a system of robbery. When Peru was without poverty, on account of the people having access to nature, there were no machines to speak of, and transportation was a simple matter. This being true a simple arrangement was all that was needed to banish poverty. But today the machinery of production and distribution is complex, and to accomplish the same result now it would be necessary to give the people free access to this machinery as well as to nature, which can be done only through socialization. Absence of poverty in Peru was not due to the political or social usage—to either democracy or Socialism—but to the benevolence of the ruler with this absolute power. Joseph, in Bible times, gave to the pharaoh of Egypt a power over all things very similar to that exercised by the Peruvian incas, but Pharaoh chose to use this power as a tyrant, and as a result the people became abject slaves. Both Peru and Egypt were examples of fully triumphant individualism, but it happened that the one was considerate in absolutism. Even that led to good, but it is a bad policy to trust the destiny of an entire people on the goodness and wisdom of an individual. Far better is it to establish an industrial democracy—Socialism—and let the people themselves use principles that have in the past proven themselves efficacious for the ending of poverty.

UNITED STATES TREASURY LOOTED OF BILLIONS

HERE have been but two investigations of the accounts of the government finances since the foundation of the government. One was by the Edmunds committee in 1869, and the other was by the Davis committee in 1880.

Both these committees found a state of things that should have aroused the nation to the highest pitch, and probably would have done so had the reports been made public; but as the growing capitalist system and the party in power would have been embarrassed by the publication of the facts in the case, they were promptly suppressed.

The Davis committee made its report on April 28, 1880, Report No. 539, 46th Congress, 2d session. The quotations that follow are from this report, the figures appended to the quotations referring to the page from which they are taken.

Millions Disappear.

"The difference between the reported decrease of the public debt and the Pacific railroad debt and sinking fund is nearly \$70,000,000. The reports furnish no explanation what became of this \$70,000,000 or how it is accounted for. By comparing the debt statement of the register with the secretary's tabulated statement in the finance report of 1870, it will be seen that the secretary's statement increased the debt \$94,000,000. (Page 32.)

"In the finance report of 1870 this amount is dropped from the statement as part of the public debt, and stated as a debt of the Pacific railroad companies. The public debt ought to have been reduced by this \$58,638,320, but an examination of the figures in the statements discloses no such specific reduction." (Page 33.)

"It appears that six different statements of interest paid disagree with each other; the Register's statements do not agree with each other nor do those of the secretary, and there is about \$93,000,000 difference between the highest and lowest amounts for the ten years included in this table. This shows either that there is an error in the accounts kept in the different offices as to the interest paid, or that there is something yet to be explained." (Page 35.)

"It has been repeatedly alleged that the books and accounts of the secretary, comptroller, register and treasurer, are checks on each other. But it appears that the treasurer's statements between 1860 and 1870 include \$331,409,634.10 more receipts than the secretary or the register charges him with." (Page 33.)

"It appears that the books and accounts of the secretary, comptroller and register do not agree with each other and are not a check upon the treasurer, for the latter, as already stated, accounts for over \$331,000,000 of receipts more than appear from the statements of the other offices, and he accounts also for \$330,981,109.63 more expenditures, from 1860 to 1870, than the secretary or register seem to charge to him." (Page 34.)

A Billion Goes Glimmering.

HERE is some testimony of Mellen C. Hooker, a treasurer employe, before the committee, page 36:

Q.—(By the chairman.) What reports do you make? A.—The warrants for which your memorandum calls, namely, No. 895, dated June 30, 1868, and No. 947, dated June 30, 1870, do not appear on the files, neither have they been on the files since I have been custodian of the warrants.

Q.—Can you direct us to any place where we should be likely to get information connected with them? A.—I cannot.

Q.—Have you made inquiry or search for them yourself? A.—I have; diligent search.

Q.—What has been the result? A.—Diligent search on my part has failed to reveal their whereabouts; search made as soon as I ascertained that they were gone.

Q.—How long is it since you have known they were gone? A.—A little over two years.

Q.—Have you made search diligently at intervals since? A.—No; I have not.

Q.—Have you informed the register of their absence? A.—I have.

Q.—Do you know any place or anybody to whom we could apply that could give us further information about them? A.—I do not.

On a subsequent day the same witness was again called, he having been, meanwhile, instructed to make further search, and this was the result (page 36).

Q.—(By the chairman.) There were two warrants covering the permanent and indefinite appropriations for 1868 and 1870 that we asked you to produce to us when you were last before us. Have you been able to find them? A.—I have not.

Q.—Have you made an effort to find them? A.—I have.

Q.—You are custodian of the warrants, I believe? A.—Of the appropriation warrants.

So your committee were unable to obtain in the treasury department these two large warrants, No. 895 and No. 947, for 1868 and 1870, respectively, covering the permanent and indefinite appropriations, amounting—

For the year 1868 to... \$947,209,450.80

For the year 1870 to... 540,760,511.95

Total \$1,387,969,962.75

More Millions Juggled Out.

IN FINANCE REPORT OF 1870, page 196, the treasurer gives only July 1, 1870, class of bonds bought net cost in paper and gold, says the principal was \$123,429,100, yet when deducted from the principal of the public debt \$117,740,000 only was deducted.

"The treasurer says there is no difference, except in name, between 'sinking fund' and 'special fund,' and that in deducting these funds from the nominal aggregate of the public debt the two are treated in the same way; and on June 30, 1870, he had in his custody, purchased for sinking and special fund, bonds amounting to \$123,429,100. He also gives the loans to which the bonds belong, and of what kind, whether coupon or registered. The secretary, in the finance report of 1870, page 14, states that on July 1, 1870, there was to the credit of this fund \$121,429,100, showing a difference of \$2,000,000; that is to say, the secretary reports \$2,000,000 less than the treasurer reports he has in his custody. The above statement further shows that when the amount of this fund is deducted from the nominal total of the public debt, the sum of \$117,740,000 only is deducted, or in round numbers \$6,000,000 less than the treasurer reported, and \$4,000,000 less than the secretary reported as having been purchased and paid for." (Pages 40, 41.)

"So the Pension account is charged in the treasury department with a sum between \$11,000,000 and \$13,000,000 more than the secretary of the interior reports to have been expended.

"It will be seen by reference to the tables on pages 192, 193 and 194 that the state, war and navy departments all disagree with the treasury department as to the amounts of money received by each for disbursement, but the committee did not investigate into the causes of such discrepancies.

"The committee are of the opinion that the books and accounts between the different departments ought to be so kept that all would agree, and there should be no differences as to the amounts of money charged and received.

"From pages 196 to 199, inclusive, of the testimony will be found a copy of what is known as an indefinite appropriation warrant, No. 919, dated June 30, 1869. This warrant takes from the treasury \$397,945,900.96 and it is countersigned August 7, 1869, more than a month after the fiscal year had closed—interval enough to secure accuracy and perfectness in every item. And yet seven of the various amounts, including the footing are scratched and apparently altered; the amounts scratched are large, ranging from \$25,000,000 to \$65,000,000, making a total of about \$230,000,000.

"The committee feel that the frequency and magnitude of these erasures, coupled with the loss of so many original warrants, deserve more than a mere cursory notice of the facts, and, while unable to state accurately the causes, they have felt it to be their duty to call the special attention of the senate to them. (Pages 42, 43.)

No Check on Bonds Issued.

"Thus it will be seen the chief of the warrant division, the chief of the loan division and the treasurer of the

The United States treasury has for fifty years been systematically looted by those who were supposed to be servants of the people. The steals have been covered up by false bookkeeping, by mixing of funds, by erasures, by tearing from the records many pages that revealed the story of perfidy. The total steals in this time have aggregated hundreds of millions of dollars. Startling as these statements are, they are absolutely true and matters of record. The facts in the case appear in an official volume "Reports of Committees of the Senate of the United States for the first and second sessions of the Forty-Sixth Congress, 1878-'80," which is in the possession of the Appeal to Reason, and which is such a rare book that it is doubtful if another copy can be found in the United States outside of the Congressional Library at Washington. It was thought that the record was so rare that the people would never discover the amazing situation, but the Appeal herewith presents some of the startling disclosures made in this official document.

The extent of the steals is almost unbelievable. The following is only a portion of it, as appears from the official reports:

In Pacific railroad debts (page 32)	\$ 70,000,000
Discrepancies in six reports (page 32)	93,000,000
Further discrepancies (page 33)	331,409,634
Missing warrants, 1869 (page 34)	400,000,000
Bond sales disappeared, 1879 (page 38)	1,720,677
Overcharges on pensions (page 42)	12,000,000
Overcharged (fraudulent) warrants (page 42)	230,000,000
Pacific Railroad steals (page 53)	58,638,320
Warrants disappeared (page 36)	1,387,969,962
Total	\$2,584,737,583

United States all say that there is no check upon the loan division in issuing bonds, and that upon the integrity of one man in the loan division may depend whether or not the bonded debt of the government is reported. If there was a return of the bonds to the treasurer to see if the amount agreed with the money received, this would be a check on the loan division. As it now is, that division can increase the treasurer's order or originate an order on the register for the issue of bonds, and there is no check. Many hundred millions of dollars in bonds have been issued with no other check than the integrity of an officer in the loan division of the secretary's office." (Page 24.)

Major Power testified:

Q.—Still they are in his possession and no one else has possession of them but the treasurer; and he could, if he was dishonest, put them in circulation without making any further report about the matter? A.—There is no other check upon the immediate issue of these notes. (Page 24.)

"This shows that the treasurer keeps the money received for bonds, principal and interest, together, and that he cannot tell from the books how much was received for principal and how much for accrued interest for a given time; that is, accrued interest on bonds sold is not kept as a separate account. The treasurer pays the interest on bonds, but he cannot give the amount of bonds outstanding. The treasurer pays all coupons presented, if genuine, but he does not know whether or not duplicates are paid by him or by the sub-treasurers elsewhere." (Page 25.)

Eugene V. Daskam, chief of division of public moneys, in the secretary's office, testified as follows (page 37):

Q.—If the loan division issued a bond for \$20,000 instead of \$10,000, and chose to check that \$10,000 when it came back, that would be all in the loan division? A.—Yes; we have no check on the loan division in such a transaction.

"By reference to page 196 of the testimony it will be seen that Treasurer Gilliland substantially agrees with Mr. Daskam. The public moneys division sends a list to the loan division for check, but there is no regular or prescribed time for sending it, and sometimes it stays there a month or six weeks, and even longer, before being settled. A list is made, say at the end of each month, containing it, may be, several hundred items, and then a covering-in warrant may be made for a million dollars or more.

"It is plain that the public moneys division has no check on the loan division that would prevent a larger bond being issued when a smaller one had been issued and paid for." (Page 37.)

"The treasurer says that the accrued interest on bonds sold in 1879 was \$1,290,677.21. Large as this sum is, there is no division or bureau in the treasury department from whose books a statement of the amount received between 1860 and 1878 could be furnished to the committee." (Page 38.)

Printing Money at Pleasure

"According to the present system

of issuing bonds there is no sufficient check on the loan division of the secretary's office. Legal tender notes, national bank notes, bonds and revenue stamps are delivered by the printing bureau of the treasury department to the treasurer, comptroller of the currency, loan division and commissioner of internal revenue, respectively." (Page 53.)

"The constitution, article 1, section 9, clause 7, provides that 'no money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law, and a regular statement and account of all receipts and expenditures of all public money and of all debts due to or from the United States.' In view of these provisions, surely the secretary of the treasury has no right to order the register to change his reports after they have been officially made to congress by former registers and secretaries."

Falsifying Statement of Debt.

"The secretary's table, which appears in the finance report for the first time in 1870, shows a large increase of the public debt over the statement of the register. In 1870, by order of the secretary, the register's office went back nearly forty years and changed the statement for each year from 1833 to 1870, largely increasing the amount of the public debt statement; for the year 1868, ten million dollars in round numbers; for the year 1863, twenty millions; for 1864, seventy-five millions, while for 1865, 1866, 1867 and 1868, there is a total decrease of about twenty-five million, and an increase for 1869 of \$99,000,000, and for 1870 of \$94,000,000, or nearly 100 million in each of the latter years. Notwithstanding these large differences between the statements of the secretary and register in the official reports of 1870, the finance report of 1871 as made to congress is found to contain agreeing statements from the secretary and register, by the register changing and increasing his amounts so as to correspond with those of secretary, and these changes and increases still exist. It is a fact well established that all official reports to congress made previous to 1870 by the secretary and register substantially agree and were many millions less than as now reported in the finance reports.

The following quotation is made from the testimony of Assistant Register Titcomb before the investigating committee, page 19:

Q.—Had not all the annual reports of the various registers of the treasury made prior to the report of 1871 agree substantially with each other as to the public debt of the United States for each year? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Since 1871-72 does not each annual report substantially adopt the previous report for all except the year with which it deals? A.—I believe so.

Q.—So that in fact the material changes, whether they were the system or what-not, that occurred, occurred between 1869 and 1871? A.—I think they occurred in 1871 exclusively, with the exception of a blunder in this tabulated statement which was made by Mr. Nevin—he did not know how to make it—the blunder of deducting the cash in the treasury. The committee reports further

juggling of public debt figures on page 19:

"In the official finance reports of 1869 and previous years, the bonds issued to the Pacific railroad companies were treated as part of the public debt, amounting, in 1869, to \$58,638,320; but in 1870 this item was dropped from the public debt statement, and treated as a separate debt; and yet instead of the aggregate of the debt for the year 1869 being thereby reduced 58 millions, there was an apparent increase in the total of \$99,000,000; and adding the 58 millions, the secretary's statement showed an increase of \$157,000,000 in the public debt over the amount of it as stated by the register."

On page 21 the committee tells how false statements of the past had been corrected by criminal bookkeeping:

"For over three-quarters of a century down to 1870 one system had worked well and satisfactorily; it had been approved by successive administrations of various parties. But in 1870 a new statement was made, going back nearly forty years and changing the amounts reports for almost every one of the intervening years, thereby apparently increasing the amount of the public debt statement—and of the expenditures statement by almost a hundred million dollars in a single year. (Page 21.)

The committee, page 17, tells of treasury bookkeeping as follows:

"Mr. Guilford reiterates his statement that three items, amounting to \$6,293,827.79, are not on the public debt books, and yet they are added to make the statements agree."

To a question asked Mr. Guilford, who had for fifteen years been an employe in the register's office, the following reply is made, page 18:

Q.—Was the register's report changed between 1870 and 1871, as represented upon the right-hand column? A.—The register's report for 1871 makes a different statement, showing a different amount outstanding for those years.

Fixing the Records.

THE FOLLOWING is quoted from the Davis committee report of 1869:

"The methods of accountability and comparison between the various bureaus in the treasury department, as well as their own operations, have been, since the war began, as it seems to us, quite imperfect and deficient, and in some respects grossly careless."

On page 49 the Davis committee says, quoting again from the Edmunds report:

"It appears from the testimony of Mr. Saville that the system was changed in 1870, and he gives the figures which show that in 1862 the statement of the public debt was apparently increased nearly \$10,000,000; in 1863 \$20,000,000, and in 1864, \$75,000,000." (Page 47.)

On page 52 the Davis commis-

sion quotes from the former report:

"The committee is entirely satisfied that the duplicate notes themselves were duplicated in the treasury and not out of it. By a careful comparison in the genuine bonds and coupons in the treasury it seems to the committee certain that these duplicates were printed both faces and backs, in the treasury, and sealed and numbered in the treasury."

"As to the 7-30s of 1864, nothing was required to make the notes themselves perfect for issue after they left the printing bureau and the sealing department attached thereto, where the red seal was imprinted upon them, as they did not bear the seal of the treasury proper, and the signatures of the register and treasurer were engraved and printed from the same plate as the notes themselves. The committee find that a considerable number and amount of these appear to have been duplicated originally, and it is impossible, as is said in respect to the coupons, to know certainly at this time whether these duplications are mere innocent mistakes or are fraudulent."

"Opportunity was given by the committee to the treasury officials at the close of the examination to make such explanation as they desired, but none was made other than the testimony discloses.

"The statements of the public debt and of receipts and expenditures as contained in the finance report of 1871 differ widely from the previous official reports, and apparently increase the public debt, while the changes in the finance reports commenced with the year 1833 and continued till 1870, yet down to 1861 the increases and decreases in the debt nearly balance each other, showing that the debt and the receipts and expenditures were stated with substantial correctness and accuracy previous to 1861." (Page 52.)

"The warrant for 1869 corresponding with the two missing warrants transfers from the treasury nearly \$400,000,000, and is scratched and apparently altered in several places and to the extent of millions of dollars." (Page 34.)

"The above shows that all the original permanent and indefinite appropriation warrants for 1870 cannot be found." (Page 36.)

Collusion in Concealing Fraud.

"Mr. Bagley, of the secretary of treasury's office, says that he found a difference of \$1,000,000 between the public debt statement at that time (1871) and the amount of the debt stated from receipts and expenditures, and the discrepancy appeared for the first time in the finance report of 1871. That is to say, when the public debt was compared in 1870, there were \$116,000,000 of the public debt, according to the secretary's debt statement, unaccounted for by a statement made up from the receipts and expenditures." (Page 28.)

Major Power, a treasury employe, testified as follows, page 29:

Q.—What check is there on the loan branch of the secretary's office as to the amount of the bond that has been ordered by the treasurer? In other words, if a bond for \$1,000 was subscribed for and the loan division gives an order for a \$2,000 bond, where is the check to prevent that \$1,000 bond from going upon the public? A.—If the order to the register for the bond recites the certificate of deposit as a \$2,000 deposit in place of \$1,000, I believe there would be nothing to prevent the bond being issued. There would have to be collusion to falsify the record.

Q.—All in the same office? A.—Yes.

Mutilating Public Records.

WILLIAM WOODVILLE, a treasury employe, testified, page 27:

Q.—Do you know any leaves being entirely cut out of the books that appeared to have been cut out? A.—Yes, sir. In the beginning of the war some of the treasurer's accounts that way, about 1861 and 1862.

Q.—To what extent were these alterations of record? A.—In the treasurer's books from 1860 to 1867, inclusive, the alterations, scratches and cancelled warrants amounted to about twelve hundred in round numbers.

"Thus it appears that in these three ledgers from the register's office there are 428 erasures and apparent alterations; in six ledgers of the secretary's

office 2,099 erasures and apparent alterations; making a total of 2,527 in nine ledgers. It will be seen that the Secretary's ledgers have many more of what appear to be changes and alterations than the register's books have, and that the number, not a few hundred involving small sums, but reaches to thousands involving millions of dollars; and they do not appear only in the day-books or journals, but extend to the great ledgers of final entry."

"The erasures and apparent alterations upon the ledgers of the secretary, treasurer and register extend to thousands, some of them affecting millions of dollars. Entire leaves are cut or torn from some of the books, but no evidence taken by the committee discloses the fact that these erasures, apparent alterations and mutilations were made with a fraudulent intention."

"The report made in 1869, heretofore referred to, shows that there was at that time great carelessness in the bookkeeping of the printing bureau of the treasury department, and that many notes and bonds were unaccounted for."

"Official reports from the war, navy and interior departments of the amounts received and expended by them respectively do not agree with the amounts charged by the treasury department to them, but the committee did not investigate into the causes of such discrepancies." (Page 33.)

These are but part of the steal.

They do not take into consideration the railroad grants, the looting of the public domain, the Credit Mobilier frauds, the revenue steals, the whisky ring, the army contracts, the financial conspiracies or a hundred other things that have aroused the people in the past.

Taken together, the known facts and the suppressed reports, here made public for the first time, the steals pass into the billions and show very plainly how the wealth of the people has gotten into the hands of the interests. It is a record such as the world has never heard of before. Beside these figures, to which must be added the present grafting of the railroads and express companies at the expense of the government, the postal deficit, about which so much is being said in an effort to graft the people further, is a bagatelle. The steals that have taken place in the past fifty years would clear such a deficit every year for two centuries! It cannot all be grasped at once. The figures are too stupendous. But study them, and you will understand how the wealth of a continent has been stolen within a century, leaving a majority of the people propertyless. Every petty thief, for which any one has suffered imprisonment during the life of the republic, would not aggregate a tenth as much as is involved in these greater steals. Do you wonder that Socialists say the demand for a reckoning and for a restoration of the commonwealth is a great moral question? Remember, these figures are not charges merely; they are not things the Appeal has gathered on its own responsibility; they are official figures, garnered by men who were selected by the government to find them out; and when the report was made it was so terrible that it was suppressed in the interest of the guilty parties!

What are you going to do about it? Continue to vote with the parties that are responsible for the steal? Be silent and indifferent? Rather, you should arouse in a mighty protest and call on congress for another investigation and for a full report of these matters, made public! Tell your congressman you are tired of him fooling over such nonsense as trying to cut agitation papers from the mails, that you want an accounting for the way your servants have been treating you.

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Editorials by Appeal Readers

Join the Party.

We are approaching a national election of the congress and state legislators, who in turn elect our United States senators. At a late election in Saxony the Socialists increased their votes in the national law making body from one to twenty-five. No true Socialist will isolate himself from active participation in the only society that holds in it the good of humanity. Join the local and add your influence to the protest and anti-begging for what you want. We need the help of all who believe in equality of opportunity, in liberty and justice. If you have no local near you write the national secretary, J. M. Barnes, 180 Washington street, Chicago, Ill. for literature on how to organize, or send 25 cents and become a member at large.

Under the Same Old Flag.

Education, wealth and pleasure for the children of the non-producers. Ignorance, poverty and misery for the children of the producers.

Comfort and luxury for the idlers; poverty and misery for the workers.

The idlers at the banquet, the workers in the bread line. The same old flag.

Can this republic exist with the few

in idleness and comfort and the many in slavery and misery?

Work and poverty, idleness and wealth, and one flag for all.

Jesus said: Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not for of such is the kingdom of heaven.

The Mill Owners say: Suffer little children to come unto us and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of hell, also profits.

The masses ask for bread and they get a battleship.

Is there any justice in the system that is hunting a foreign market for its surplus when the producers of the surplus are on the verge of starvation?

The open door abroad to exploit the foreigner, the open shop at home to exploit the workers, and the closed mouth to degrade them, and still the same old Glory.

JOHN PUTMAN, Cornell, Pa.

Protection of Property in Mexico.

I noticed some weeks ago, the mention of the young Mexican Fernando Polmarus reported murdered. Now, I was of the unfortunate Popolobampo colonists and my wife teaching in the school where he and my son (nearly his age), went to school and he was often a caller at my house with my boy, as he lived with his grandfather in the colony. Both were well respected. Fernando went to clerk in the store of Don Barboza. The same man put a brush league around a track of the Mayo Indians' lands which they had held undis-

puted for I have no idea how long and the don kept the land. But I don't know as that was any more of a crime than it was for Johnson of the Agila sugar works, to take our colony land and evict the colonists without even a brush fence. He took improved farm lands, orchards, cane fields, etc., a \$200,000 irrigation ditch with the claim, and the colonists received not one dollar. But I would like to know the fate of Fernando if you can give it and oblige an old reader of the Coming Nation as well as of the Appeal. Any address where I could obtain any information would be thankfully received.

Fort Arthur,

