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Appeal to Reason.

This is Number 836

J. A. WAYLAND

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

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., December 9, 1911

"Before the grand jury was called Bone was summoned to Washington, where he discussed the Warren charges with George W. Wickersham, attorney general. Then he returned to Kansas and went to work."—*Topeka Kans., Journal.*

Voice of Truth Must be Heard

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

Another attack has been made by the official retainers of the powers that be upon the Appeal to Reason in their mad determination to strangle at all hazards the voice of the revolution. For five years the Appeal has had to bear these attacks in some form or other and now the boast is made by these liveried menials of the master class who draw salaries as public officials and are supposed to serve in that capacity, that they have a stranglehold at last and that in this encounter the three indicted editors of the Appeal will wind up in felon's garbs in the very dungeon at Leavenworth whose foulness they exposed, while the flag of Judge Pollock's court is planted in triumph above the voiceless remains of a once revolutionary paper.

In succeeding issues the facts will be given to Appeal readers and they may then judge for themselves as to the extent of the conspiracy, hatched in Wall street and brought forth in Washington, to suppress at all hazards the Appeal to Reason and put an end to the pernicious activity of its editors by incarcerating them in a federal prison for a long term of years.

In pursuance of this conspiracy the postal authorities have recently issued special orders aimed exclusively at the Appeal, compliance with which will add at least ten thousand dollars annually to the cost of mailing, and virtually force the suspension of the paper, precisely the object these special orders have in view.

For the present we shall not go into details. We simply want the Appeal Army and its friends and supporters to know that the Appeal is again in the clutches of the federal authorities and that it is once more forced to fight for its life. No other paper has ever been the victim of such infamous and relentless persecution.

But the Appeal is not whining in weak despair or wailing over its tempestuous lot. On the contrary, it esteems all these vicious attacks, considering their source, as tributes to its robust integrity and uncompromising revolutionary character.

In fighting for its life the Appeal is simply fighting the battles of the Socialist movement and if its editors are immured in the cells prepared for them in the federal dungeon whose horrors they have laid bare, they will serve their time without regret, but the paper must be defended against the official stranglers of capitalism to the very last ditch.

There are many excellent Socialist publications in this country and the number is steadily increasing, but not one of them, nor all combined, have excited the wrath of capitalism and drawn so many of its bolts as has the Appeal to Reason. There is no other reason for this than the enormous circulation of the Appeal, the fact that it reaches hundreds of thousands of reading and thinking people and that they have faith in it because it is their champion and fighting their battles, and this constitutes such a lurid menace to capitalist despotism that it is not in the least strange to find this colossal power aroused to the necessity of extinguishing this torch of truth before the dark places are lighted up and the people see their way to freedom.

In the struggle for the emancipation of the people from this stupendous power which oppresses them, power vastly greater than was ever before concentrated in the hands of a petty ruling class, free speech and a free press are of inestimable value. In every such struggle the aim of the ruling power has always been to stifle the voice of discontent by suppressing free speech and strangling the press. On the other hand the champions of the masses have always fought with dauntless valor to keep the clutches of despotism from the throat of truth and to incite the revolt of the oppressed by reviewing their wrongs and sufferings and appealing to them from the forum and through the press to rise in their manhood and shake off their oppressors.

In the struggle of the abolitionists against chattel slavery almost every attempt to establish a press was thwarted and when finally the Liberator was launched by Garrison the paper was harassed and the editor hounded in every way the malignity of the slave drivers could suggest. Wendell Phillips, the dauntless champion whose centenary has just been celebrated, and whose place is secure among the immortals, had often to fight not only to prevent free speech from being strangled, but for his very life. It was in defense of freedom of speech that Phillips expanded to his most heroic proportions and on one such occasion he uttered these stirring words:

"No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. Let us believe that the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole truth you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing. Entire unshackled freedom for every man's life, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion no matter how wide its range. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves."

Were Phillips among us today he would be at the very head and front of the fight the Appeal to Reason is making to prevent a capitalist government from sandbagging it into silence.

Phillips was gloriously right when he declared that "the community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinion, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves."

It is because of the truth it has spoken, the crime it has exposed and the defiance it has issued to the ruling masters, that it is now to have a gag put upon its lips, and in this fight the Appeal has no hesitancy in calling upon the men and women who have made it to stand by it now as never before and to unite all their revolutionary energy and determination in throwing off the vampires that would throttle it, that its voice may be heard with increasing power in its appeal to the people to rise in their majesty and throw off their oppressors.

The ruling class are worse than foolish to imagine that they can defeat the cause of right by strangling the voice of truth. Not long ago the report of the vice commission of Chicago so foul and damning in its indictment of capitalism that the ruling class were appalled by it, was held up by order of the postal department, as it is now attempted to hold up the Appeal to Reason, but an enlightened and indignant public opinion forced the postoffice department to rescind its order and now it may be freely read in the pages of this report that thousands of the unfortunate women in the disreputable districts are recruited from the store, shop and factory girls whose wages under capitalism make it impossible for them to live respectable lives.

For the same reason that it was attempted to suppress the report of the Chicago vice commission, the attempt is again made, and by the foulest of means, to put down the Appeal to Reason.

Comrades and friends of the Appeal are now summoned to present a solid front and make the fight of their lives to prevent the tyrant's heel from crushing the revolutionary movement and his deadly clutch from strangling the voice of the people.

Who Are the Big People Protected by the McNamara Confession?

Statement by Darrow: "Things were happening in which BIG People were interested. The movement was impelling. THEY wanted the matter cleared up and feared further blood shed unless WE obliterated the incident from Los Angeles at ONCE."

The winning of this election by the Otis gang means to the Otis-Earl syndicate a sum of money so vast that it staggers the imagination. The men composing this syndicate, knowing that the Owens River aqueduct would pass through the San Fernando valley, acquired title at prices ranging from fifty cents to ten dollars per acre to a vast tract of land. They proposed to irrigate this land with water from the $23,000,000 aqueduct now being built by the city of Los Angeles. This land, with merely the prospect of irrigation, has risen in value to more than $100.00 per acre. With water actually on the land, values will go to $1,000.00 per acre. This will net the Otis-Earl plunderbund $50,000,000.00. A million dollars judiciously spent among the capitalist lawyers would bring about just such an ante-election climax as was reached in the McNamara case last Friday.

The new Los Angeles charter gives the city the power to acquire by condemnation proceedings this vast tract of land through which the new aqueduct passes at prices for which the land was purchased by the present owners. This was the "impelling cause" that made it necessary for the Los Angeles looters to capture the City of Angels at the election on December 5th.

The above facts throw a flood of light upon the mysterious and highly suggestive statement made by the Chicago attorney for the McNamaras which is as follows, taken from the Associated Press report last Saturday morning in Joplin (Mo.) *Globe:*

"As far as I am concerned I felt that sooner or later it had to come. Things were happening in which big people were interested. The movement was impelling. They wanted the matter cleared up and feared further bloodshed unless we obliterated the incident from Los Angeles at once."

Who are the "big people" behind the scenes who are to be protected by this betrayal of the cause of unionism? What inducement persuaded the capitalist attorneys for the defense to spring this sensational confession just at the time when it would do the capitalists of Los Angeles and of Wall street the most good and result in the greatest damage to the Socialist party of Los Angeles and to the workers of the world?

No further exposures could possibly hurt the working class. The only people who could be injured by further exposures are the "Big People" who are interested in clearing up—what?

Who are you protecting, Mr. Darrow? You must tell or stand branded before the whole world as one of the conspirators in the exploitation of the McNamaras' crime in the interest of the criminal master class of this country!

Like a thunder bolt from the clear skies came the news from Los Angeles on Friday night, December 1st, that the McNamaras had made a confession of guilt. It has shocked and stunned the working class who in their effort to secure a fair trial for the accused had poured out without stint their hard-earned dimes and dollars.

The Socialist press has been the staunchest of all the defenders of the McNamaras. Neither the Socialist press nor the working class in general has any apology to make for this defense. It will be remembered that the Appeal said in its issue of September 30th that the McNamaras were democrats and that their methods of fighting the battles of the working class were not our methods but because they were of and for the working class we were bound to defend them. We did not believe them guilty. In another issue of the Appeal we made it clear that we had no confidence in the capitalist lawyers who had been retained in their defense. Our own bitter experience with the attorney who was chosen as their leading counsel justified our belief that the trial would somewhere somehow end in a fiasco. Our readers will have noticed that the name of Clarence Darrow has never appeared in connection with the McNamara brothers in the columns of the Appeal until now.

The one Socialist attorney for the defense Job Harriman, weeks ago was shoved aside from active participation in this case and at the approaching hour of an election that was to decide the political fate of the working class in Los Angeles, Harriman's traitorous attorney associates shoved the dagger in his breast and at least tried to stab to death the whole working class of the Pacific coast.

Stabbed by the Lawyers

Imagine the situation. A great city seething with the social revolution. A militant working class aroused in a mighty protest against its capitalist masters, and not only Los Angeles but the whole nation in a rising tide of Socialist revolt.

In this social revolution the McNamaras had been weeks ago lost sight of, for the political revolt of labor is not due to capitalist attacks on individuals or unions but to the misery, poverty and suffering of the nation's lowly millions.

The contest was not one merely for the conviction or freeing of two labor union officials but the unlawful kidnaping of McNamara had helped to develop a titantic battle on the coast between Socialism and capitalism, with the odds decidedly in favor of the former.

Los Angeles was following the lead of Milwaukee, Butte and New Castle. The election of Job Harriman and the Socialist ticket was absolutely assured. The masters were desperate. Los Angeles for Socialism meant California for Socialism, and California meant the nation.

These masters, in whose ranks are included the Southern Pacific railroad owners, who have so long ruled and robbed the California people, in their desperation appealed to the capitalist lawyers conducting the defense. What influence was brought to bear on them to throw up the case on the eve of election and induce their clients to plead guilty will perhaps never be known. That there was a collusion between the prosecution and the capitalist lawyers for the defense is a justifiable inference.

That the confession came on the eve of election and at a time when it might result in discrediting the Socialists and injuring the trade union movement and thus put the old gang once more in the saddle is pregnant with meaning.

A Capitalist Spy

In this hour when most people will be too stunned to think clearly, let us review a little of the case. In a Los Angeles cell there is another man connected with the case who has not had a trial nor is it likely that he ever will be tried. This is Ortie McManigal the hired spy of the Manufacturers association, whose mission it was to worm himself into the confidence of the McNamara brothers and induce them to commit acts of violence and thus discredit and disgrace the Structural Iron Workers and organized labor in general. Wherever James McNamara planted a bomb, McManigal was there aiding and abetting him in the deed and when the bomb was planted in the Times building, McManigal, the hired agent of the capitalist class, was present and participated. Is it not significant that Otis had another building ready in which to move his paper when murder was committed by the blowing up of the Times? Was not the capitalist class, in its employment of McManigal, a party to the crime? What is plainer than this; that in order to discredit the organized working class capitalism was perfectly WILLING THAT MURDER SHOULD BE DONE.

McNamaras Not Socialists

THE McNAMARA BROTHERS WERE NOT SOCIALISTS. Let this fact ring across the continent. Had they understood the philosophy of Socialism they would never have resorted to deeds of violence in the hope of benefiting the oppressed poor.

Contrast if you will the cases of the Western Federation of Miners growing out of the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone with that just closed at Los Angeles.

With all the cunning, with all the diabolical skill of the Mine Owners' organization of Colorado they failed to fix the crimes alleged to have been committed in the inter-mountain states at the door of the Western Federation of Miners.

Directed by men who understood the Socialist philosophy the members of that militant working class organization endured the taunts and jeers and the contumely heaped upon them by the masters and they retaliated not in kind. They saw their homes destroyed, their wives insulted, their daughters debauched and in no instance did the workers take revenge except by strengthening their organization both on the industrial and the political field. That was five years ago. Today the triumphant banner of Socialism waves over Butte, Mont., over Victor, Colo., and over the Coeur D'Alenes in Idaho.

The McNamara brothers and their capitalist agent provacateur, Ortie McManigal, have dealt a staggering blow, straight between the eyes, to every working man, to every toil-weary woman and to every little slave of the mills in the United States—aye, in the world. This one crime will serve the master class for years as an excuse to prosecute and persecute the working class. It becomes a shield behind which the commercial pirates may hide their bloody deeds.

Who is exulting today? Who is profiting by the crime of the McNamaras? Not the working class. It is the masters who are gloating over the criminal folly of James and John McNamara.

Had the McNamaras been Socialists they never would have counciled, or participated in, any destruction of property, for no Socialist believes in destroying that in which he some day expects and believes he has a right to own a share. The Socialist believes in peaceful and legal methods of getting what belongs to him, not in crime and violence. His philosophy inevitably brings him to this frame of mind.

We do not say that the non-Socialist trade unionist believes in violence and crime, but we do say that unionism, shorn of its most effective arm, political action, leads to the ultimate goal of physical force and violent resistance.

The strike as a weapon is valueless without the power of excluding the scab from the employer's service and in this nation unfortunately there are more scabs than members of organized labor. Every strike, therefore is attended with violence. The capitalists play the workers against each other—the organized and the unorganized. When these two divisions of labor began to use violence, then the militia is called and the strike is lost to organized labor.

While the methods of the non-Socialist trade unionist in fighting his battles are not the methods of the Socialist, yet we repeat what we said in this connection in our reasons for defending the McNamaras—issue of September 30th: "Better far—and more to be praised—is that element of the working class that fights some way, somehow, than that dull sodden portion that licks the hand that smites and fawns at the feet of their masters like cringing dogs."

If it becomes necessary for me to choose between the criminal rich and the criminal poor I shall hesitate not one second in taking my stand with the criminal poor. The latter is a criminal from ignorance and necessity, the other from greed and avarice.

* * *

When one contemplates the long list of crimes committed by organized capital against the women and children of the poor it is a source of wonder that the French revolution has not been repeated oftener in the world's history. Six hundred thousand men, women and children are ruthlessly murdered or injured in the shops, the mines, and on the railroads of the rich annually. Every year two hundred thousand daughters of the poor are destroyed in the red light districts because the capitalist system offers them no other means of support. A million boys and girls, the children of the working class, are ground up in the sweat shops and the department stores to supply gold for the idle sons of the privileged classes.

* * *

There was no excuse for the murder of twenty-one men in the Times building in Los Angeles on that fateful December night. Charge it up if you will on the debit side of labor's account, but cast your eye on the ledger of capitalism. Remember the two hundred and sixty-four miners whose lives were crushed out in the coal caverns of Cherry, Ill., due to a violation of the Illinois mining laws by the capitalist owners. Remember the hundreds of poor working girls who were burned to a crisp in the Triangle building in New York.

The hands of the capitalist class are red with the blood of their helpless wage workers. The blackened faces, the mute tongues and the sightless eyes of these victims of man's greed cry aloud to us to be remembered.

It is hard sometimes to be temperate in dealing with these things, but such has always been the message of Socialism to the working class. From every printing press, rostrum and soap box our continual appeal is, "Fight your battles at the ballot box in the manner prescribed by the constitution." Violence by the working class is indefensible so long as free and fair voting is allowed.

Should the time ever come when our capitalist enemies undertake to rob us of the ballot and govern us by law in the making of which we have no part, then it is our right, our duty, to raise the flag of revolt as did our forefathers on the historic fields of Lexington and Bunker Hill.

* * *

Too long has organized labor allowed itself to be led by politicians both in and out of the unions.

Its leaders have opposed class conscious action at the ballot box and this left only strikes and violence as weapons to be used in its defense.

What these leaders have sown the workers are today reaping, and it is a harvest of shame that has shocked and paralyzed organized labor from sea to sea.

Let organized labor now on this battlefield of defeat profit by experience. Let it here highly resolve that it will put aside weapons that are inadequate and antequated, join the Socialist party in a great strike at the ballot box where its superiority in numbers makes it possible to overwhelm its enemies.

Socialism is henceforth and from this hour the only hope of the American working class—the Socialist party its only means of defense.

Views of the Tragedy

A Hurried Word from Debs.

From a personal letter to Fred Warren we print the following:

Here are some articles written mostly before the McNamara news came. I will not stop now for comment. Our position is secure and we have nothing to apologize for or take back. We had a right to presume the McNamaras innocent until they were proved otherwise.

It is quite clear to my mind that this action was precipitated by the threatened political triumph of Socialism on Tuesday. The plutes are entitled to no credit for clemency or mercy. They proposed this settlement, I think, without a doubt, and agreed to penitentiary sentences instead of hanging, provided the dicker was closed up just on the eve of the election so as to smash the threatened Socialist victory. The plutes were frightened by the political menace into relenting in their demand for the blood of the McNamaras.

If only the workers of Los Angeles were now awake to their best interests and united to achieve a sweeping Socialist victory on Tuesday it would be the master stroke and the McNamara business, which has been so effectively turned against them for the moment, would culminate in their greatest triumph. Now is the time for the workers to stand together at the polls, but they will not do it. Their united forces will be shattered to a considerable extent by the ruse of the enemy. We shall see. I will send you something on this case in ample time for next issue. Yours,

DEBS.

Traitors.

In the McNamara confession there stands out blazenly the operation of foul traitors to the working class.

Chief council for the defense, Clarence Darrow, reiterates over and over again that it had taken two weeks for them to get the confession.

Who ever heard of defendant council working night and day for two weeks in an effort to secure a confession from a client?

Did the workers of America, after being convinced by repeated assurances of the innocence of the accused by their attorneys, contribute hundreds of thousands of dollars to them for the purpose of having them wring a confession from the McNamara brothers?

It was through the statements, made public and scattered broadcast, of these men and their capitalist lawyers proclaiming their innocence, that the American working class flew to the support.

Not a man or a woman who was fighting on the platform or through the press had the remotest idea of their guilt. This honest, sincere work was being carried on by men and women who loved the cause of labor more than their very lives. Thousands of them would have been willing to go to the gallows themselves, if need be, to save the lives of the McNamara brothers.

Imbued with love for the cause, inspired with a firm belief in the righteousness and justice of the fight, convinced by circumstances and repeated assurances from the defense of the guiltlessness of the men charged, from coast to coast the working class arose and cried aloud in genuine protest.

The murdering of innocent workingmen had been legalized before and attempts had been numerous.

In the minds and hearts of the working class they honestly believed that another tragedy was being enacted; that innocent brothers were victims of a foul conspiracy and that another dastardly attempt was being made to strike at the vitals of organized labor through the officials of the structural steel and iron workers.

Labor has nothing to be ashamed of; nothing to regret. It has done its work well. That it has been deceived, betrayed and sold out by those in whom it trusted and believed is only one of the incidents in the age-long struggle towards the light. It will happen again and again. Traitors will appear from the low places and the high places. Labor will be dealt staggering blows from within its own ranks and from without. Hopes will be blighted; confidences destroyed and noble efforts will be crowned with calumny and misrepresentation. But out of it all must rise the inevitable triumph of working class supremacy.

GEORGE D. BREWER.

A Scoundrelly Job.

In the history of criminal jurisprudence no parallel can be found for this proceeding. Everybody knows that there is an infamous, scoundrelly job somewhere in this deal. The whole thing is corrupt as hell itself and those connected with the miserable affair will be overwhelmed with the shame and disgrace of their conduct. Every enemy of labor is exulting at the sad predicament in which labor finds itself. This exultation however will be short lived. The truth will soon be known as to how much was paid, who got it and by whom it was paid, for this attempt to wreck the labor movement.

J. I. SHEPPARD.

Good Out of Evil.

It has already been pointed out that this will discredit unionism, under the plan advocated by old line politicians driving the workers into political action of necessity. That is true. But to my mind there is still deeper significance in the McNamara confession and in various recent happenings that it is unnecessary to name now. It means the discrediting of questionable methods, the forcing into the background of impure leaders. Viewed in this sense, it is the best thing that could have happened. In the long run this will be a tremendous gain for the Socialist, for the working class, movement. With the masses of the people there is something infinitely noble and ennobling in the universal uprising of labor looking for the realization of the dreams of the good of all ages. If some at the head of things have not had this vision and this purity of motive, if some were willing to resort to violence, it is well that it appear now rather than in the moment of victory when it might be more influential for evil. You may depend on it that out of this seeming defeat there is going to arise a surer and sweeter movement, which will have a power irresistable. Well will it be with us if we do not need to have the lesson repeated.

C. L. PHIFER.

Fighting to Win

By Telegraph to Appeal to Reason.

Los Angeles Calif., December 2.—The McNamaras plead guilty without Harriman's knowledge or consent. Surrender framed and timed at hour when it would most hurt in the approaching election. Yet the comrades are fighting bravely and hope to win.

Frank E. Wolfe.

In the Perspective

BY J. A. WAYLAND.

MAKE laws that compel men to have money but make no laws that will enable them to get money. That is modern economy—for the rich.

THE king of England would not dare veto a measure passed by both houses of parliament. But our president dares. Of course Americans would not submit to a one-man power!

TO pass a law against trusts is the veriest nonsense. The people need not care for trusts if they will establish collective business in which they are equal owners. The trusts will die for lack of patronage.

THIS government is just as wise and good as the majority of the people—no better, no worse. Ignorant people elect ignorant or corrupt officials who make ignorant or venal laws. It will never be better until the people are taught better.

WHEN the laborers of this nation—by which I mean men who labor with hands as well as head—become conscious of the atrocious conspiracy that is making them beasts of burden for the profit of the upper classes, they will at the ballot box reverse the system. And then see how quickly the exploiting classes will defy the law, hire those they can, and revolt. They are the dangerous element.

THERE ever seems an incongruity to me in the pains and expense that people take to save others from a burning building, or from drowning, or from suicide, and then quietly let them starve to death without the least compunction of conscience. As though starvation were not more horrible than either of the other methods! I see these same actions reported in almost every daily paper I pick up.

YOUR tobacco money would buy enough literature to convert your whole locality in a year. Why complain of conditions when you will not do your part, knowing what your part is? Others who suffer know no remedy. You should present, persistently, that remedy. If you talk all the time you tire them, but once interest them in reading and the work is done. If you don't spend some of your money that way, the monopolists will finally get it and then you are poor, and no good done.

AN Oklahoma ranch owner said it would be nobody's business, if he was able, if he bought a whole county and told all the tenants move out. He did not say what he would think if someone else did it and he happened to be one of the renters! He did remark, however, that it was easier to get people to work for him by simply buying the land they were using than in any other means at his command.

THE cry for justice is not a mere wail. Behind it are strong arms and loyal hearts and before it is a vision of peace and plenty for all.

Debs on the Trust

[One result of the heavy Socialist vote was an invitation extended to Eugene V. Debs to write an article for a press syndicate on the trust problem. It was featured by the Chicago *Tribune* and other papers, occupying three full columns. In it he makes the Socialist position clear to perhaps two million readers, all told. Following are extracts from the syndicate story:]

THE expanding industrial forces now transforming society, realigning political parties and reshaping the government itself, can not be fettered in any such artificial arrangement as Mr. Roosevelt proposes. These forces with the rising and awakening working class in alliance with them will sweep all such barriers from the track of evolution until finally they can find full expression in industrial freedom and social democracy.

In this scheme of State Socialism, or, rather, state capitalism, Mr. Roosevelt fails to inform us how the idle owners of the trusts are to function except as profit-absorbers and parasites. In that capacity they can certainly be dispensed with entirely, and that is precisely what will happen when the evolution now in progress culminates in the reorganization of society.

The trust question will be settled in due time, not in accordance with the preconceived notions or plans of any of us, but in obedience to the laws of evolutionary progress and in harmony with the inexorable logic of events.

Time was when competition in industry was constructive in its effect upon those engaged in it; now it is destructive, and every wise capitalist knows it and seeks escape from competition in the shelter and security of combination and co-operation.

The owners of the trusts, in many instances former competitors and bitter rivals, and not infrequently personal enemies, are now in partnership with each other, co-operating with each other instead of competing against each other, not because their competitive relationship inspired them to fly into each other's arms, but because they were driven to do so as the only alternative to bankruptcy and ruin.

The owners of the railroad trust, be it noted, have nothing to do with making or maintaining or operating the railroads any more than the owners of the steel trust have to do with the building of mills or the making of machinery or the production of steel.

Industrial competition is as certain to culminate in industrial combination as that the millions of tributaries in the Mississippi valley are certain to unite in the Mississippi river.

To deal intelligently with the trust we must know, first of all, that the trust is simply the twentieth century tool of production, distribution and exchange, and from the Socialist point of view there is but one question in reference to the trust that confronts the people, and that is, shall the trust be privately owned by a relative few and operated for their fabulous enrichment, or shall it be owned by the people in their collective, organized and enlightened capacity and operated for the benefit of all?

And this is the choice between industrial despotism and industrial democracy, that is to say, between capitalism and Socialism.

And it will finally have to be all one or all the other, for there can be no half way ground between two such antagonistic forces as despotism and democracy.

Lincoln's immortal "House Divided Against Itself" speech of half a century ago, would, with slight modification, apply perfectly to the present industrial and political situation.

A Present Day Fable.

From *Up the Divide*, Denver, Colo.

"Hey! down there—you men in the boat. A band of robbers is ransacking your home over the hill."

"Oh! you shut up. You'll scare the fish. We're having some good bites."

"Hello there! Can't you hear anything? You're being robbed."

"You stop your noise. We know what we're about. You can't see anything."

"Say—the thieves are in your house Some of them are loaded with the goods already."

"I wish I had a club or a gun, I'd make those damned fault-finders keep still or clear out. I don't see why some people want to be everlastingly stirring up trouble."

Kick Them Out

The APPEAL is in receipt of the following letter signed by three members of the local of Okmulgee, Okla.:

Dear Comrades—One, Dr. C. W. Hallowell, of Alamagorda, N. M., is posing as a Socialist and visiting all towns where the Socialists are making progress, and is trying to organize a secret military inner circle within our ranks.

He explains there are 500,000 anarchists on the Pacific coast, and that they are going to start something within a few days. That they are going to blow up several cities the same moment, and that when they do it will be blamed on the Socialists, and the Socialists should be organized and armed and when the thing starts, that the Socialists should get together at once all over the U. S., cut all wires, blow up all railroad bridges, rob the banks and stores for supplies, and kill every capitalist they can find.

He further explains that the inner circle of plain clothes citizens mentioned in the Los Angeles *Times* and copied in the APPEAL TO REASON, was a gentle hint that big business was organizing a similar organization for the purpose of quietly disposing of agitators and undesirables.

We believed from the beginning of his story that he was a Burns' operative, seeking to entrap the leaders in the Socialist movement, and we did not give him any encouragement but told him that his plans were not in harmony with the Socialist idea of handling this revolution, that every act of our local, state and national bodies in this and other countries, were trying to prevent blood shed, opposing war and all military operations as a means of accomplishing our ends and substituting ballots for bullets.

When this agent of the Burns type realized that we were on to his game, he left on the first train.

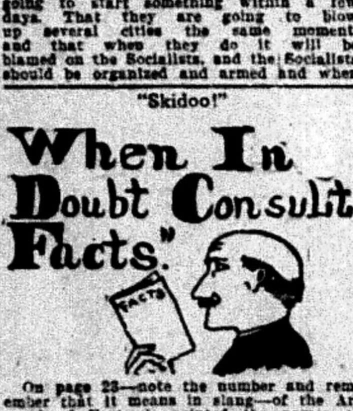
We believe that there are thousands of these operatives at work and that they intend to get the thing started within two weeks if possible, so we decided to inform all of our leading papers, the national and our own state office.

This thing should be exposed at once and given widest publicity.

STEVE M. GIPSON,
County Chairman.
R. F. BARBER,
T. A. MEDLEN,
Committee Local Okmulgee.

Socialists have always advocated a peaceful revolution. Whenever anyone suggests works of violence he should immediately be kicked out. Only last week the APPEAL printed a statement that spies were creeping into the Socialist party. There is one thing about it, they will find absolutely nothing that is not open and above board in Socialism. They may, however, try to start something and lay it on the Socialists. For this reason it behooves Socialists everywhere to be wide awake. Whenever there is any mention of violence the party making the suggestion should be promptly squelched. No doubt there are agencies that would like to betray the Socialist party into apparent lawlessness, but it is not going to be done. Socialists will not stand for it.

"Skidoo!"



On page 23—note the number and remember that it means in slang—of the Arsenal of Facts is printed the names of forty-two men and corporations. Most of these men are "earls" and "lords" and "dukes" and "barons." They live in "dear ol' Lunnon," or "Gay Paree" and have a "grand good time;" while you pay the bill. You don't, eh? Well, you do, and this is how you do it: These forty-two men own practically 23,000,000—note the number—acres of land in the United State. That's over 500,000 acres each. And you bet they get their rent. That's where you come in—you have to pay it. Whether this "fact" was printed on page 23 by mere chance or whether some unknown power caused it to be there, we know not. But it is very significant, nevertheless. And when the toilers finally awake, it certainly will be "23"—"skidoo"—for the lords and dukes all right, all right. This is just one of the thousand facts contained in the Arsenal. The book is vest pocket size, bound in genuine red Morocco, and it can't be bought with money. There are a few copies left from the twelfth edition, which was 30,000 copies. You can get one by sending us twelve subscribers, buying twelve sub cards, or ordering a bundle of twelve papers for one year—$3 pays the bill. You will be sorry if you don't get one of these books before they are all gone.

Orders Come from Washington

Before the grand jury was called Bone was summoned to Washington, where he discussed the Warren charges with George W. Wickersham, attorney general. Then Bone returned to Kansas and went to work.—Topeka (Kan.) *Journal*.

The edict has gone forth. Agitation must cease. This is made apparent by an Associated press message from New York, dated November 26th, reading in part:

"Ninety per cent of the business men of the country believe there is too much political agitation for the good of commerce, according to a report issued by the National Association of Manufacturers. The report is based on replies to inquiries sent over the country by the association. There is no question that our business men are determined to remove the disturbing element. The personal statement of the contributors say that future conditions depend on the success of preconcerted and systematic effort to check the reign of political agitation. The interesting thing is that this movement is non-political. Party lines are ignored. These business men are neither republican or democratic. They want an opportunity to do business without political interference. They hold political activity responsible for the apparent indiscriminate and bull-headed prosecution of trusts, for the attacks on the tariff, for the harmful uncertainty of legal enforcements, for the apparent penalizing of railways, and for the radical vagaries of national and state legislation. It is well for the politicians of all parties to understand that we have in this country a powerful force represented by an aggrieved business, which has determined to exercise its power at the polls. This force held together by the power of common interest and entirely independent of party lines, is watching both men and measures."

There you have the ultimatum to the old parties which they dare not ignore. There you have capitalist class solidarity. There you have the threat. The nation must let business continue its work of exploitation, even though it be in violation of the statutes, else the sinews of war will be severed. In conformity with the demand, the magazines have ceased muck-raking and are now cooing as softly as suckling doves.

To stop Socialist agitation they must proceed in another way.

The Appeal is the only agitational paper of large circulation that is left in America. Its agitation can be stopped only by crushing it. They have begun action that means its destruction.

The postal ruling compelling it to do the work of the postal department at the expense of the Appeal; the ruling that a paper may be sent back even when not refused and a penny return postage charged against it; the concerted effort of postmasters all over the country to discourage the circulation of the Appeal; the three indictments brought in the federal court against three editors of the Appeal; all indicate the determination to at this time put the Appeal out of business.

That the order for prosecution comes directly from Washington is now absolutely certain. The Topeka, Kan., Journal, an organ standing very close to the federal administration in Kansas, in an article giving Bone's version of the indictments against the Appeal, says:

"Before the grand jury was called Bone was summoned to Washington, where he discussed the Warren charges with George W. Wickersham, attorney general. Then Bone returned to Kansas and went to work. An agreement had been reached by the federal officer that an indictment would be asked on the publication of one of Warren's articles in which he told many unpleasant things about the management of the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth."

There you have the flatfooted statement that the order of prosecution came from Washington, and that it was determined to end exposure, whether that exposure was right or wrong.

If the Appeal can be silenced, then other Socialist papers will quietly be suppressed, and then the masters will have everything their own way.

Get Together.

BY CLYDE J. WRIGHT.

Hitherto the Socialist propaganda has been bigger than the Socialist party; from now on the Socialist party will be bigger than its propaganda.

The propaganda has taught the reason why; but a knowledge of duty, even a willingness to do it, is no evidence of capability or that we are equipped.

Even capitalism feels the tremendous force of the APPEAL *and its Army in turning opinion in favor of Socialism until the heart of society beats to the thought and philosophy of the new time revolution. But the greater struggle is immediately at the door of events—the* APPEAL *and the Army have an added responsibility.*

A belief in a doctrine is not an equipment for its achievement. This is a matter of Socialists getting together intelligently for the purpose of launching our campaigns, to conduct political attack and to promote our political defense; for studying our town councils and legislatures, and to bring the believers in Socialism into an organized body for our common defense.

ARBITERS OF PEACE.

A FEW years ago, when the rulers of Germany and France were threatening to hurl the workers of these respective countries at each other, the Socialists of Berlin arranged for a great mass meeting. Jean Jaures, the French Socialist, was announced as one of the speakers. Fearing the effect of such a meeting on German jingoism, the chancellor of Germany asked the German minister at Paris to communicate directly with Jaures and request him not to speak. So far as known, this is the first instance in history where an ambassador has been sent to communicate with a private citizen.

August Bebel, in commenting on this fact, recalled that Marx had once said that in addition to the five great powers of Europe there was a sixth one—the working class. "Now," said Bebel, "this sixth power is admitted to the concert of nations and is recognized by the sending of an ambassador."

When Italy made its raid upon Tripoli, the Turkish government sent a communication through the Socialist member of the Turkish parliament to the International Socialist bureau asking that the Socialists use their influence to secure peace.

That the International Socialist bureau is now recognized as the only effective peace movement in the world is shown by the following item taken from the New York *Sun*:

The discussion which has been going on in France and Germany as to whether the governments of the two countries made during the recent Moroccan dispute appeals to Socialism to aid in averting war had its origin during the debate on the army bill in the Dutch second chamber. The leader of the Social-Democrats in that body, Mynherr Troelstra, started the ball rolling with the flat footed statement that the two governments had communicated with the International Socialist Bureau of Brussels.

The hint was at once taken by the leading German Socialist journal, *Vorwaerts*, which affirmed the statement even more positively. The North German *Gazette* and the Paris *Temps* contradicted the story, but the Frankfurter *Zeitung* and the Paris *Radical* reaffirmed it, giving additional details. Finally Troelstra in a conversation reported in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* of Amsterdam backed up the whole story, so that many papers throughout Europe now take the position that the evidence is sufficient to prove that the French and German governments actually appealed to International Socialism to save them from the consequences of the situation in which they had become involved, seeing that war at that time was not quite convenient to either of them.

Awaiting a formal statement on the subject by the International Socialist bureau, the best opinion seems to be that while neither government made any official approaches to the Socialist organization, both may have intimated through intermediaries that any help given by Socialism in preserving the peace would be highly appreciated and means would be found to show governmental gratitude for the service.

Intellectual Prostitution.

"The curse of the age," Arthur Young will tell you in his deliberate, side-of-the-mouth drawl, "is intellectual prostitution. What have we for those that barter their bodies? Poverty and loathing. But glory and wealth is the punishment we mete out to that far intenser evil—the trafficking of the brain. Yet body prostitution ends with the individual. He alone is destroyed. But the entire race is harmed by the defilement of the sources of thought. Instead of the people being given mental drink to refresh them with the truth they are constantly being confused and stupefied by draughts of poisonous error.

"Yes, my dear fellow, the lackey-artists, lackey-writers, lackey-lawyers and lackey-intellectuals are the genuine enemies of progress. To what use, I ask, do they put their wits? Of what gain is it to the world that their brains are acute and sharpened? Their large capacities serve only as more effective barricades to shut the people out from its rightful inheritance of culture and happiness."

This is the beginning of an article on "Art Young, Radical Cartoonist," by J. B. Larric in this week's *Coming Nation*. The article is illustrated with a number of Art Young's most remarkable cartoons, including "Holy Trinity," which is largely responsible for the abolition of the worst conditions in the tenements owned by Trinity Church, and "The Galley," which is "Dedicated to the state where child labor is still permitted," and of which it is said, "A thousand books on the subject—and a thousand books have been written on it—could not more furiously protest against this inexcusable crime of civilization."

Business in Capitalist Courts.

A federal statute passed by congress in July, 1890, provides that "every contract or combination in the form of a trust or otherwise for conspiracy to restrain trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, is declared illegal and every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year or both such punishments, in the discretion of the court." As plain as that statute is I don't see how great jurists like Taft and the judges of the United States supreme court can make it appear that there can be reasonable trusts. Will any reasonable man believe such sophistry?

LAFAYETTE GALBRAITH.
Tippecanoe, Ohio.

THE question of votes for women is practically settled. Politicians will now have to consider votes by women.

Go to Hell, Judge Wright!

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

There is a petty judicial despot on the federal district bench of Illinois, an appointee of the jungle man, who by the irony of fate is named Wright, and to this servile corporation lackey I want to address a few plain words in answer to his recent ukase from the bench to the striking employes of the Illinois Central division of the Harriman railway system.

The extent to which this judicial hireling went to insult and outrage these strikers, the vulgar impertinence and unblushing effrontery with which he spat in their faces, is simply unbelievable, and since they, feeling themselves helplessly in his power, submitted to his insolent harangue without a word of protest, I now answer for them in the spirit in which outraged manhood resents such an insufferable outrage and in the only words fitting to give expression to that resentment:

Judge Wright, you can go to hell with your insulting harangue, where you and it properly belong!

I have just finished reading the account of this scandalous judicial assault upon workingmen, with a rich and powerful corporation pitted against them, and every drop of blood within me is hot with indignation. Here are the facts briefly stated:

Thomas Woods, president of the striking boilermakers at East St. Louis, was charged with inducing strike breakers to leave the Illinois Central shops in East St. Louis. He had used perfectly peaceable means and no breach of the law was alleged against him. Woods voluntarily surrendered himself to the authorities. He had violated no law and committed no offense except against the Illinois Central by peaceably persuading strike breakers not to take the places of the striking employes.

This is what angered Judge Wright the creature of the jungle man, and as soon as Wright had him in his clautches he let loose his pent-up wrath and went to such length of indecency that if the whole capitalist regime were not degenerate he would be impeached at once and kicked from the bench into the gutter where such a vulgarian would find his proper level.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat declares that the decision rendered in this case is "one of the most sweeping ever handed down in a labor trouble in the United States."

After bullying and browbeating the helpless defendant for standing by his fellow-workers in the struggle against a heartless corporation, and heaping abuse and insult upon the strikers and lying outrageously about the strike, about which he confessed he knew absolutely nothing, he commanded the strikers to go back to work, and he then graciously suspended sentence of Woods "to see what his future behavior would be." It is a pity that Woods did not answer him in the words I am now using. Of course, he would have been in contempt to the limit, and very properly so, just as I am at this writing, and if Judge Wright, the miserable corporation scavenger, is not also a cowardly bluffer, let him cite me to appear and show cause why I should not be sent to jail for being in contempt of his judicial house of assignation.

Wright is one of those vassals of the ruling brigands who is fierce as a terror in dealing with the working class, but submissive as a spaniel at the feet of his corporate masters.

Here is a specimen of the "reasoning" of this judicial imbecile in dealing with the strike and the strikers: "I don't know what this strike is for" . . . "Go back to work." . . . "If they (the strikers) behave I will never punish this man, but if they don't and I am compelled to pass upon these cases again I don't know what I will do."

The whole diarrhetic diatribe consists of just such idiotic droll and contradictory slobber. It would disgrace a drunken fish-monger.

First, Wright says he don't know what the strike is about, and in the next breath he orders the strikers to "go back to work." He admits that he knows nothing about the strike and yet he has the gall to order the strikers, whom he looks upon as slaves (the slaves out of whose unpaid labor are paid the salaries of all such leeches and parasites and pimples as this judicial caitiff) to go back to heir slave pens and be thankful for having masters to rob them and two by four corporation judges to spit in their faces and force them back into their dungeons when they dare to protest against their wretched lot and voice some aspiration, however meekly and modestly, to be treated like men instead of brutes.

What right has this contemptible judge to order these strikers back to work? Is he their owner that he may apply the lash to them as if they were dogs? Or is he but the corporation slave-driver who under the terms of his commission has now to serve in the role of a judicial degenerate?

These strikers are not under the slightest obligation to this mental and moral paralytic who, clothed with a bit of corporation authority, now swells out with pomp and self-conceit and in all the brazen arrogance of the moral craven vents his wrath upon a body of honest workingmen, whose cow-hide boots he is not fit to grease, and covers them with insults, knowing they are in his power and that they are forced to submit to his infamous outrage in silence.

Let me advise the Illinois Central strikers to meet at every point in Wright's jurisdiction and pass just one resolution containing a single line, "Go to hell, Judge Wright"! That is the only fitting answer to make to such a petty czar. It will give him and others like him to understand that workingmen are not such dumb-driven cattle that they will submit utterly without resentment to the crack of the corporation bull-whip. Every Illinois Central striker, not only, but every workingman who is not a scab and every decent citizen in his district ought to be in sovereign contempt of Wright and his degenerate court.

The official Socialist vote of Kentucky at the recent election was 8,718. In 1908 it was 4,296.

Legislative Committees.

Has your local a legislative committee? Or a committee on public affairs? Or any kind of a committee that collects information about municipal activities, that keeps its eye on all proposed municipal legislation, and that draws up resolutions on municipal questions of current interest? If not, it certainly should have. Every local should take an active interest in municipal matters. It should make its voice heard on every problem that is being discussed in the newspapers. It should watch closely the work of mayors, aldermen and school trustees. It should use its influence to secure the passage of measures that will benefit the working people. It should do all in its power to defeat the adoption of ordinances that are reactionary in character. It should make liberal use of petitions, resolutions, communications to the press, and delegations, for the purpose of helping along social progress. And in order to do this work systematically and well, it should appoint a special legislative committee to handle this department of Socialist party work. If your local has not such a committee, permit me to suggest that you make this recommendation at its next business meeting. A small number of comrades can become a great constructive force in the community by concerted action upon definite measures.

W. R. S.

"MERGING OF FARMS."

There has never been a period of depression that was not followed by a new form of exploitation. The depression that has been on for a year past has been marked by the purchase of immense tracts of land by capitalists who had money to invest and who because of agitation were afraid to put it into manufactories.

A letter from Orange, Texas, to the *Farm Implement News* says: "The dawning of a new agricultural era is believed by many people to be denoted in the south by the *merging of several large cotton plantations in Louisiana with a view of cheapening their operations.* This consolidation movement among the farmers is already beginning to attract wide attention, and while it is not yet spread to any marked degree to Texas, there are indications that it may soon do so."

There are people who are simply bewildered by the idea of private ownership of land. They think that a warranty deed is an actuality, although evidence is abundant that under certain conditions the deed can be set aside in spite of its "warranty." A great hue and cry has gone up that the Socialists want to take the farmers' land from them as individuals. Here we have the capitalists at work doing exactly that thing. The farmers themselves are losing their individual ownership, voluntarily, by merging many farms into one. It is exactly the process that has been employed in manufacture and it is throroughly practical. The thing that is desired is to produce more comfort with less expense of effort and the merging system will admit of it. It has done it in other lines and it will do it in farming.

But if the merger with the profit system intact will benefit the farmer, how much more would it benefit him to have a merger in which all were interested and in which full control of the markets would belong to the whole people instead of to individuals? Socialized land would involve no more than this. The Socialist party has not declared that all land should be socialized at this time, feeling that it will be sufficient to socialize and use merely enough to break the power of landlordism and unemployment. But it appears that the capitalists and the farmers themselves are going to force the issue. If they merge farms to any great extent, employing the best machinery and using peon labor to run it, with trained agriculturists as managers, they will soon force the farmers into a position where as a matter of self-protection they will have to adopt Socialism.

LAW OF GROWTH.

Is it a reasonable conclusion that the great industries are not going to grow bigger? Having grown this large out of small beginnings, with the added power thus accumulated, is it not silly to assume they are going to stop growing and improving and expanding? Is there anything in the whole industrial purview of things to indicate that they have ceased to grow and will disintegrate and go back to days of small production?

If you have settled this in your mind, what is to become of the smaller ones if the greater plants *do* grow and produce a greater and greater amount of products? If they sell this great product, where is the market left for the smaller producers or handlers? Must they not perish in competition with the greater plant and its ability to produce and market cheaper than the small ones? If you could produce cheaper than your neighbor, and had the facilities for producing all the market could buy, would you refuse to do it, even if that neighbor was driven out of business? The cheaper the great plants produce the sooner will the small plants go into bankruptcy. Everyone of them could today produce more cheaply if they had a greater demand. A million shoes a month can be produced with less labor and expense per shoe than can a hundred shoes a month. Do you get hold of the principle?

If this principle be true, and every trust is successful and organized on that theory, then it is only a question of time when only the great industries will live and the little ones will have disappeared like the isolated shoemaker, wagon maker, tanner, etc., of the time of my youth. When public clamor forces the great trusts to lower their profits, it will sound the funeral dirge of all the small business men in this nation. And it is coming and in its train more misery and turmoil than this nation ever witnessed, not excepting the civil war and its awful consequences.

What are you going to do about it?

A READER asks if a man who owns stock in some private enterprise will be able to draw an income from it under Socialism. Hardly. Socialism proposes that a man shall earn what he gets and not "draw an income" from the earnings of others. Every man will be able to make a good living, but he would not be able to get a good living at the expense of other people.

THE rulers of today are the children of the robbers of yesterday.

Martin's Sensational Charge

ERNEST B. MARTIN, the Kansas City attorney and former member of the Missouri state senate, who is instigating disbarment proceedings against Leslie J. Lyons, federal prosecutor of the Western district of Missouri, is seeking to reopen the case after the evidence he had, had all been presented, on the ground that he has new and important things that should be heard. One of his allegations is the most sensational that has yet been offered, and is as follows:

"That Leslie J. Lyons has been for more than two years last past and is now, on the pay rolls, as a salaried attorney, of the Long-Bell Lumber company, a corporation doing an interstate business, lately having been investigated for violation of the Sherman anti-trust law, and other anti-trust enactments and laws."

It will be remembered that Mr. Lyons, as a federal prosecutor, is sworn to enforce federal law. If it be true, as charged by Mr. Martin, that at the same time he is attorney for a corporation that is accused of violating federal law, then his guilt is so flagrant that even Taft, who appointed him to the position, cannot longer remain silent in the matter.

Mr. Martin has produced strong evidence in substantiation of charges hitherto made. It is doubtful, however, if he gets a hearing on the new evidence. If he does he will open up a case that will be of nation-wide interest. Mr. Long, a stockholder in the lumber company of which the federal prosecutor is accused of being an attorney, is one of the richest citizens of Kansas City, and owns many mills in the south, where the mill workers are at present locked out because they are trying to organize against the intolerable conditions that prevail.

In addition rumors of illegal seizure of timber and of practical peonage in the lumber camps have forced a federal investigation. If it can be proven that the federal prosecutor who is supposed to press these charges is a paid attorney of the men accused, then the scandal will literally "smell to heaven." This is the very reason why the new evidence is not likely to get before the commissioner hearing the disbarment evidence.

Peons in America

"A torrent of poison is flowing into the United States to fatten the dividends of the Southern Pacific, the Santa Fe and Rock Island railroads," says a syndicate article dated at El Paso, Tex.

Although there is an alien contract labor law providing a penalty for an employer who encourages a foreign laborer to come to the United States, this writer says that already *a full million Mexican peons are in this country working chiefly for the railroads named.* These roads had labor rustlers in Mexico who went so far as to advertise in Mexican newspapers and make speeches to the peons from rear platforms of trains, urging them to go to Jaurez where they could find work. "Penniless and bewildered," says the story, "they flocked to Jaurez by the hundreds of thousands, where they were literally attacked by a pack of railroad rustlers fighting for the best specimens of physical strength."

The peon pays $3 for his job to the agent, 50 cents a month to the railroad for medicine, and receives from $1 to $1.25 for a ten-hour day! He is boarded by the railroad company and charged such excessive prices that he is forced to live as poorly as in his own country.

The telegram in question says that the government has been forced to take action on the matter. It does not propose however to enforce the law against the employment of aliens, but merely forbids the agents to tear clothes or fight over the getting of the stronger peons.

A dispatch from New Orleans says that the number of Mexican laborers who have come to Louisiana is the greater during the past three months than ever before. "The labor problem," says the dispatch, "is becoming more a problem every year. The increase in the number of factories and industrial plants combined with the rapid colonization, with progress in the farming districts, demands a larger supply of labor than the state can furnish." As a result the peons are being imported from Mexico and the south is literally flooded with them. They work cheaper than the Americans.

In all likelihood the next few years will see a shifting of industrialism from the northeast to the south, where the peons can be used more effectively than in the eastern states and where organization is not so strong. Moreover, the cheap Mexican labor is likely to take the place to a very large extent of the tenant farmer.

The past six months has witnessed a remarkable investment of eastern and northern capital in farm lands of the south. For the most part these lands were bought in vast tracts and are to be worked on a syndicate plan. The Mexican peons will produce more profit than the tenant farmers and will keep the soil in better condition. The south has for a long time had the problem of the blacks, but it is likely before many years to have a far greater problem of Mexican and Japanese, and Hindu labor.

A CLIPPING BUREAU sent the APPEAL in one week 150 editorial comments copied from capitalist papers all over the country. Of course, many got away. Socialism is sure breaking into print.

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Just what you want to carry in your pocket and hand out when you get into an argument, or to slip into a letter to a friend. Ten titles now ready: Ten Dollars a Day, Wages in Mexican Money, Just What It Means, Workingmen Wanted at Once, Jim Hill's Advice, Working Men and Women, People Who Make and People Who Take, Socialism Defined, What Socialists Want, Whom Do You Work For? Extra cream tinted paper, 100 assorted copies mailed for 10c; 1,000 for 80c; 10,000 sent by express prepaid for $6. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 W Kinzie St., Chicago.

IT is reported that the mayor of Indianapolis is going to break up the turkey trust. But he is going to do it as a citizen. Why not the people of Indianapolis instruct him to do the same with the bread and milk trust there, but do it as mayor, using the public funds to carry on the work? Why not have him carry out the same scheme in regard to water, lights, medical attention and even rented houses, and in providing occupation for the unemployed?

THE more the masters try to suppress Socialism the more they keep it in the minds of the masses—and that is just what we have been trying to do for years. Thanks for the help, masters.

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Federal Court System Breaking

A change in the federal court system is announced. Of course it is more or less of a fake. Nevertheless, it shows that the judiciary is beginning to feel the proddings of the people. On January 1, 1912, the federal circuit courts are to be abolished. This will let out seventy-seven circuit judges.

On the surface this seems like a victory for the people and was doubtless intended to have that appearance. But after all, it is merely a scheme for enabling judges to draw better salaries and have more power.

Twenty-nine of the so-called district courts and the nine circuit courts of appeal and the supreme court of the United States will remain as the federal judiciary. The seventy-seven circuit judges, who will nominally lose their places, will continue to sit in the circuit courts of appeal and will help out the district courts when necessary. In addition the chief justice of the United States will hereafter receive $15,000 a year and each associate justice $14,500. This is a raise of $4,500 for each of these officials. The position as clerk of the circuit court will be abolished. At the same time the fee system with district court clerks will be superseded by a salary of $3,500 per annum. Under the fee system some of them received as high as $35,000 per year.

The Painters' Election.

The election for national officers of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers begins December 9th. There are two sets of candidates, one supported by the standpatters, and the other by the progressives. The progressive candidates are, president, Charles Lambert, of St. Louis; first vice-president, Otto Damm, of Chicago; second vice-president, A. J. McKeon, Bridgeport, Conn. The progressive candidate for delegates to the next national convention of the A. F. of L. is William E. Rodriguez, of Chicago, and for delegate to the Building Trades department, Herman Jesson, of Davenport.

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A great, big, handsome double heater that's an ornament to any room and that throws more heat than you ever thought a stove could develop. Shipped right from our factory, *freight prepaid*, to your home to *try free for 30 days*, shipment in 24 hours. Then 360 days approval test. 170,000 have bought Kalamazoo Stoves backed by the famous $100,000 bank bond guarantee. Don't buy anywhere until you have our stove book.

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No matter what your past experience has been or what your present trouble may be, I can help you. Questions are answered and advice given that will bring you good luck and success in love, courtship and financial matters.

Send me the date of your birth, and enclose 6 cents in postage (6c.); write plainly, and you will hear from me promptly.

Dr. A. Zerola, Dept. 143 L, Havana, Cuba

Socialist Fiction for Christmas

You have a friend who ought to be a Socialist and isn't. Just before Christmas try sending him or her a Socialist story. It may pave the way for more direct argument a little later. Here are a few good ones:

Out of the Dump *By Mary E. Marcy*
A realistic story of Chicago, showing wage-workers as they are. Full of humor and pathos. Illustrated. Price 50 cents.

The Rebel at Large *By May Beals*
Seventeen short stories, mostly about women. Jack London says they are "full of the fine spirit of revolt." Price 50 cents.

The Sale of An Appetite *By Paul Lafargue*
A story of gay Paris and how a workman took a contract to do a capitalist's digesting for him. Illustrated. Price 50 cents.

Stories of the Struggle *By Morris Winchevsky*
"Behind the Scenes in the Socialist Movement," this book might have been called. It tells of the personal joys and troubles of revolutionists in Russia, England and America. Price 50 cts.

The Marx He Knew *By John Spargo*
Fiction that is almost fact; the story of Marx told as if by a friend of his boyhood. Illustrated. Price 50 cents.

God's Children *By James Allman*
A modern allegory in which God sends a messenger to the palaces and slums of London to report to him on the World's progress. Price 50 cents.

The Recording Angel *By Edwin Arnold Brenholtz*
A first class detective story describing a big industrial strike. Full of action from start to finish. Price $1.00.

Rebels of the New South *By Walter Marion Raymond*
An attractive story of a Socialist and his friends in Virginia. Illustrated. Price $1.00.

When Things Were Doing *By C. A. Steere*
No one knows just how the Revolution will come; Comrade Steere's guess is as good as any, and his imaginary story of the great change is brightened with plenty of humor. Price $1.00.

Prince Hagen *By Upton Sinclair*
This is Sinclair's best book. It is a wonderfully powerful satire on capitalist morals, blended with a remarkably strong and interesting story. Price $1.00.

The Rose Door *By Estelle Baker*
The story of a house of prostitution, and of four girls forced into it in various ways; a charming story interwoven with a terrible indictment. Price $1.00.

"GRACIA" is a story in verse of the passionate love and post-ate despair of one more girl whose life was wrecked by the profit system and its social laws. Fourth edition, illustrated with 12 photos, a beautiful gift book. Price $1.00.

Prices include postage. Address
Charles H. Kerr & Co. PUBLISHERS
118 West Kinzie St., Chicago

Monkey Business.

BY J. H. SEYMOUR, "Hobo Poet."

AFAR in the heart of a tropical land, where bounties of nature are many, resided a fortunate simian band that lived without spending a penny; abundantly cocoanuts grew on the trees and all could be had for the taking; quite often their dinner was picked by the breeze, it saving the monkeys the shaking.

For years they had lived in their well-to-do way nor dreamed of a different arrangement, till pot-bellied Jocko addrest them one day an instantly caused an estrangement; he said, "I've been doing some thinking of late and records and deeds I've inspected; these lands are my noble ancestors' estate and property must be respected.

"In view of the fact that the trees are all mine on shares we will work them hereafter, of cocoanuts *you* will get two out of nine, the rest are for Jocko the grafter. I know not exactly what 'grafter' may mean, but up in the *two*-legged nation I hear that they have them—tomorrow you s'teem I'll start on your civilization."

But though he had cited a precedent grand he met with the others' objection. They said, "It may go in the two-legged land but here it will cause insurrection. We know our ancestor, called man, is afraid to strive to be more than a flunkey, but though of the working men monkeys are made, you can't make a man of a monkey."

Forward Movement as an Opiate.

Rev. Gustavus H. Zastrow, a prominent clergyman of Derby, Conn., recently delivered a powerful sermon, printed in full in the Sunday New York *Call*, dealing with the Religious Forward Movement. In the course of his sermon, he said:

"During the last few months a religious movement was set afoot in Wall street. The object of the men heading this movement is to turn man back to the religion of fear to which our fathers and mothers subscribed allegiance. Their desire is to give quietness to man's restless spirit, to make him a contented citizen here, on the theory that no matter what evil he has to suffer he will be suitably awarded in heaven, provided he meekly submits to his masters while on earth.

"Now, why did this movement begin? Why did its promoters conceive it? Is it because they love man, poor, down-trodden man, so much that they, the Wall street exploiters, above all others desired his salvation? Such a conclusion is preposterous. The prime movers in this crusade care little for human salvation here, as they have shown in season and out of reason. On earth they believe men must toil and fulfill their will, the will of others who have the power to lord it over the workers. They want man to remain a slave on earth, and if he will do that they tell him that he can be free in heaven. What a blessed gospel. How appealing to the intelligence.

"To the skilled observor of human nature and the student of present day affairs, there is at the bottom of our modern life a social unrest. Class is rising against class. The human multitudes, long disinherited, are awakening out of their lethargy and their age long sleep. Wall street with its ear to the ground heard, and a consultation was held. Ways and means were discussed. A plan was adopted. Ministers of evangelical churches were called in. The gigantic religious project, backed up by world known finaciers, was held up before them. The vision was dazzling. Millions, for organized religion. Millions for concerted action in the cause of God. A vast army is formed, officered and manned according to a well conceived program, and behold the men of God cry out, 'America for Christ.'

"The war has begun. Christian soldiers have been commanded to take the field. Dissatisfied and emotional men and women, weary of the things of this world, unable to see the dawning of a better day here, are pointed to the glory of the heaven in the skies. The crusade is expected to have its effect on the communities of America. The terrible whisper heard a little while ago must die out. The sea of angry faces must again become calm. He who was almost free must be driven back to his den, driven to slave for his conquerors.

"In the end, if this project succeeds, the lords of theology and the captains and ministers will divide the spoils, while Wall street will have accomplished its purpose—quieted the discontent with the opiate of religion. This is the object of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. Will it succeed?"

The A. F. of L. Convention.

By the time this paper is printed the last convention of the American Federation of Labor will have passed into history. Its session is noteworthy along several lines.

First, notwithstanding the notoriously unjust system of voting, the proposal to require the resignation of all federation officials from the Civic Federation received nearly 5,000 votes. It was defeated this time, 'tis true, but there is little doubt that if this matter went to a referendum of the membership and the rank and file had a chance to express themselves they would overwhelmingly vote to dissolve this disgraceful combination of notorious capitalists and conservative labor officials.

Second, industrial unionism received a decided boost. A mining department was authorized, with the purpose of grouping the United Miners, the Western Federation of Miners, the railroad employes and the Longshoremen. Both miner sections will come in, and in time the others enumerated, because they are all kindred organizations. Further amalgamation was authorized in the building trades, as was also of the metal trades.

Third, Steps were taken which within a year or two at the outside will provide for the election of federation officials by a referendum vote of the membership of all affiliated bodies. This perhaps is one of the most important steps taken by the convention, as its exercise spells the doom of the "standpatters" in the American Federation of Labor.

Fourth, steps were taken to establish friendly relations with the farmers' union and a fraternal delegate elected to attend the next national convention of that organization. In this connection it may be well to say that it is possible that a real proletarian farmer organization may be in a healthy and militant condition by the time the next national convention of the Federation meets—the Renters' union. If the latter organization grows as it deserves it will be eligible to membership in the A. F. of L., for it is as distinctly a class organization as are the trade unions.

The report of Secretary Morrison showed that the membership had increased very largely during the past year and that the finances were in a healthy condition. The growth of the labor organizations is to no small extent due to the increase of Socialist sentiment. Wherever the Socialists capture cities, unions will grow and prosper. A Socialist vote of 2,000,000 next year will make possible the addition of a half million or more members to organized labor.

Burn the Records.

P. M. Sullivan is an aged attorney of Oklahoma City, Okla. Recently he filed suit against county and state officials, alleging a conspiracy to judicially rob him and others. The answer to this was a charge that he was insane. He was tried for insanity and an order of committment to the asylum issued. Then the old attorney applied for a restraining order, and that being issued, the case came up for hearing. He handled his own case, and his conduct of it attracted wide attention because of the skill with which it was done. Meantime the charges he made have been passed on hurriedly by the supreme courts of the state and *the evidence he submitted was ordered burned at the expiration of six months.* The supreme court ordered an investigation by attorneys with an order of debarment against Sullivan in case his charges are not sustained. The anxiety to get rid of Sullivan's evidence and to discredit him by debarment and incarceration in an asylum points to a condition that needs investigation and the widest publicity. Oklahoma papers should go to it.

A "Chlo-Reform."

A resident of Oakland, Cal., writes concerning a branch office in that city: "Because the reds come out on top at every election, the branch office here with three mails a day has been discontinued and now we have a carrier delivering only once a day. Besides, our mail is often at least a week behind time. Many of us had boxes in the postoffice paid to January 1, 1912, but no money was refunded for two months overpaid box rent. It is a great chlo-reform."

How Socialism Helps.

Are *you* "on for life?"

Monitor school, two miles west of Carthage, Mo., has a Socialist school board and the APPEAL has received a number of communications commending it for its liberal progressive attitude. Of course.

Girard has been in existence for twenty-five years but never had any street paving until it elected a Socialist mayor. A sewerage system, concrete gutters and streets in the business section are being installed under the administration of Mayor Houghton.

The Omaha *Daily News*, of November 11th, says that the town of Wymore is unusually prosperous under the new Socialist administration. Engineer Meeker, who is not a Socialist, says that the four Socialist officials have done more for the town than all the other officials for twenty years previous. Wymore is rebuilding its water and electric light plants and is preparing to install two hundred iron electric light posts in the business section with three lights on each post.

All subscriptions automatically expire, and so do not feel grieved if your paper should suddenly stop. Remember, we do not send papers for longer time than paid for, nor do we send them on credit. Watch the number on your label and renew in time—takes three weeks, you know.

The Class Struggle.

Are *you* "on for life?"

The Lowell, Mass., machine shop has reduced its working hourse from fifty to forty a week and laid off sixty workmen.

The class war on the Pacific coast manifested in the McNamara case finds further expression in the trial at Portland, Ore., of Burt Hicks for the murder of W. A. Wortman, a union striker. Employers of the northwest made the Hicks case plainly a class issue, raising a fund of $100,000 to defend him. It is the other side of the McNamara contention. Hicks is undoubtedly guilty of the killing of a union man. The McNamaras are merely accused of dynamiting a building. The battle is so fierce as to leave no room for doubt as to the class nature of it.

A Greek paper, published at Washington city, says that the shoe shining industry of our cities along with the fruit business has largely passed into the hands of the Greek. The actual work of polishing shoes is done by boys and the investigation shows that these young workers are held practically as slaves, working from fifteen to sixteen hours a day for a wage of from $12 to $15 a month. They are herded in wretched quarters on a diet consisting chiefly of bread, coffee and cheese and are not permitted to learn anything. The boys are in terror of their masters and dare not give the evidence that would lead to breaking up the slavery that exists.

Extra copies of the APPEAL, in bundles of 100 and over, are not counted but weighed. So if your bundle is over or short a few copies it is due to the variation in weight of the white paper. If you are short some other fellow is long.

The Rotten Courts.

Are *you* "on for life?"

George D. Hawkins, a Socialist Scout selling APPEALS and *Coming Nations* at Pittsburg, Pa., writes that he was assaulted while making deliveries of the paper by a boy about his own age who hit him in the eye without provocation. The assailant was arrested but the judge turned him loose without trial.

After serving fifteen years at Albany, N. Y., Henry Webber, a boiler maker, was recently released on parole. The strike coming up in the shop where he was working he walked out with the others, and for this act has been returned to the penitentiary, it being held that striking was a violation of the parole.

Judge W. M. Conley, of Madera, Cal., commenting on the large number of divorce suits in that county, which aggregated 2,221 last year, says that fully 50 per cent of the divorces in Los Angeles county are due to the high cost of living in that capitalist crushed city. Bacon there is forty cents a pound; eggs are fifty cents a dozen.

Do not ask for list of subscribers in your town or city from us. We furnish the state secretary a complete list of the state, and you can obtain names from his.

Eight young women were killed in the Chehalis powder factory at Olympia, Wash., and the judge fixed damages for the death of all at $8,459. One of the girls was under sixteen, and the court was compelled to access a penalty for employing her, but it made up by rating her life as worth $81. Women are cheap under capitalism.

At Butler, Okla., the county commissioners have decided that the court house is in an unsafe condition, and so have rented a hotel building for public purposes. However the court house was not in such a bad condition but that they made it a home for the paupers of the county! "Rattle his bones over the stones, he's only a pauper, whom nobody owns."

At Danville, Ill., home of Uncle Joe Cannon, Socialists and labor unionists held a monster parade and mass meeting in protest against the sending to jail without trial of six union men under claim that they had violated a federal court's injunction. It was the biggest demonstration of labor against the courts ever seen in Illinois, but records along that line are going to be broken from now on.

They Can't Get Over It.

Are *you* "on for life?"

Review, Atlantic City, N. J.—Reforms have got to come. There is no use evading the fact. If they cannot be had from those who should provide them, it is not improbable that the day is not far distant when the bulk of the public will desert both parties now in the lead and swing to the new standard. That steady growth cannot be explained away by any other reason. If the third party in Essex suddenly blooms forth into the second party, the politicians will awake perhaps and see what it means. And they will have the satisfaction of knowing that their abuses occasioned it.

Tribune, Altoona, Pa.—Socialism properly understood, is a very comforting proposition. It will not prove the panacea for the ills of frail humanity its champions hope for. Human nature is the fatal obstacle. Nevertheless it will help the race a little on its onward march toward the realization of its high destiny and when its day has passed let us hope it will be followed by something that will possess all the virtues of Socialism and still be fitted to the government of a race that means well and is constantly aspiring, but which still has some alien blood in its veins, some defects that continue to bar the coming of the glad day when the principles of the Golden Rule shall actually guide the conduct of mankind.

When you register a kick, it will help if you return the receipt card. If you haven't the card handy, write your complaint on a postal card or if sending with another order, on a separate sheet of paper. And address your letter to the APPEAL TO REASON, and not to some individual connected with the paper. That individual may be out of town or in jail, and your letter is delayed. Then you, of course, complain and there is the devil to pay generally.

California's Municipal Farm.

The Los Angeles *Examiner*, which fights Socialism so strenuously, carries a story about the municipal farm of Fresno, saying that "municipal farming pays. Four hundred tons of green hay were raised, of which 200 tons were furnished to the fire department, 25 tons to the state department, and 110 tons are baled, stacked and covered, to be sold at $9 a ton. This year the city farm has earned about $9,000, which paid for all improvements, including the putting in of 200 acres of alfalfa and equipping the farm with derricks, scales, machinery and implements. It is expected," says the *Examiner*, "that next year the farm will meet the entire expenses of the whole city sewer system." The time will come, in spite of such rabid enemies of the people as the *Examiner*, that it will be recognized that the people can do something for themselves and are not dependent on the capitalists to fleece them in everything that is done.

The first primary ever held for the election of a postmaster occurred at Leroy, Kan., November 21st, and Miss Esther Abbot received the nomination. A nomination of this kind makes it practically obligatory on the postal department to make the appointment. It is a new thing in politics, something that points to further democracy.

How Fortunes are Made

From report of Commissioner of Corporations, 1911. Verbatim report.

THE tobacco combination had its origin in 1890 in the formation of the American Tobacco company, capitalized at $25,000,000, which concern combined the five leading cigarette manufacturers of the country and thus obtained control over about 90 per cent of the country's cigarette output. 1891 it extended its business along other lines by acquiring two important smoking tobacco concerns and by entering the plug and cheroot branches of business. Its proportion of the total output in these, however, was small for several years. In 1895 several "all-tobacco cigarette" concerns came under its control, which practically established its supremacy in this branch. From 1894 to 1897 the company, taking aggressive steps to control the plug business of the country, carried on its so-called "plug-tobacco-war." This resulted late in 1898 in the organization, substantially under its control, of the Continental Tobacco company with $62,290,700 of capital stock, almost equally divided between preferred and common. The Continental took over the plug business of a number of leading independent interests and also that of the American itself. Early in 1899, moreover, the Continental acquired the Liggett & Myers Tobacco company, the largest and most important plug concern of the country, increasing its own outstanding capital stock at this time to $97,690,700. The Continental by these and subsequent acquisitions, secured substantial control of the plug tobacco business of the country.

In 1901 the power of the combination was further greatly increased by the organization of the Consolidated Tobacco company, a holding concern with a capitalization of $30,000,000, later increased to $40,000,000, all paid in in cash. The Consolidated was the means of concentrating control within the combination. It acquired practically all of the common stock of the American and Continental companies.

In 1904 the American, Continental and Consolidated companies were merged into the present American Tobacco company, the central concern of the combination. For the preferred stock of the old American and Continental companies, outstanding and in the hands of the public it issued bonds on such a basis as to make the return to the holders the same as before. For the bonds of the Consolidated Tobacco company, aggregating over $157,300,000 it issued, preferred stock and 4 per cent bonds, and for the stock of the Consolidated Tobacco company it exchanged common stock at par. The amounts of securities outstanding at the end of 1904 were $40,242,400 common stock, $78,689,100 preferred stock and $136,-360,600 bonds, a total of $225,292,100; this was decreased to $226,764,600 at the close of 1908, through redemption of a portion of the bonds. Control of the American Tobacco company is vested in the common stock, which, as shown above, forms only about one-sixth of the entire capitalization, but which in recent years (1908-1910) has received nearly one-half the entire earnings as dividends.

The capitalization of the American Snuff company at its organization, was $23,001,700, of which $12,000,000 was preferred and $11,001,700 common stock. The tangible assets of the different concerns acquired, plus $1,700 cash subscribed by the incorporators, amounted to $4,312,728. The difference between this and the total capitalization, namely, $18,688,872, was entered on the books of the snuff company, or of subsidiaries which it maintained for a time as separate corporations, as good will.—Page 28.

For the more profitable Atlantic Snuff company business the American Snuff company issued $7,500,000 preferred and $7,-500,000 common stock. The tangible assets acquired amounted to $1,912,627. The difference, $8,087,373, was entered on the books of the American Snuff company as good will. It is clear, however, that here as in the preceding cases, the common stock, $2,500,000, was a mere bonus.—Page 29.

The stogie branch of the business of the combination, which centers in Pittsburg, is handled through the American Stogie company, which in 1903 took over the business of the United States Cigar company and combined this with the stogie business of the American Cigar company. The new company issued $976,000 of preferred and $10,879,000 of common stock. About $7,-306,000 of the latter is owned by the American Cigar company. The stogie company was enormously overcapitalized. The tangible assets acquired by it at its organization were only about equal to the preferred stock issued, so that practically all of the $10,897,000 of common stock was issued against good will.—Page 32.

The W. Duke Sons & Co., business in 1885 was valued at $250,000 and in that year capitalized at this figure (in 1878 at $70,000). Without other additions than surplus earnings this business formed the basis, five years later, for the issue of $7,-500,000 of stock of the American Tobacco company, $3,000,000 preferred and $4,500,-000 common stock. This stock, partly as the result of the 100 per cent dividend on the common of 1899, partly on account of the issue of $200 of bonds for each $100 of common stock in 1901 and partly on account of the readjustment of the securities in 1904, had increased in 1908 to securities of a par value of $22,000,000. From 1890 to 1908, moreover, cash dividends and interest paid on the stock and bonds based on the Duke business amounted to $16,732,500. The par value of the securities and the cash dividends to the end of 1908, therefore, amounted to nearly $39,000,000 or 156 times the capitalized value of the Duke business in 1885. By taking the market value of the securities, the results would be practically the same.

Ouster Asked for Mayor Seidel

Alderman Carney, democratic representative of one of the slum districts of Milwaukee, has started ouster proceedings against Mayor Seidell, City Clerk Thompson and City Attorney Hoan, charging them with misuse of public money. Tax ferrets were employed by the Socialist city officials for the purpose of collecting back taxes from the tax dodgers. The ferrets were paid from the contingent fund of the city attorney. Carney charges that the Socialists had no authority under the law to pay for this service. A Socialist committee from the council has been appointed to investigate, and thereat the capitalist press froths at the mouth. Funny, isn't it? Did you ever hear of a republican congress, legislature or city council appointing democrats to investigate charges against republicans, or democrats appointing republicans to investigate democrats? Mayor Seidell and the other Socialist officials are laughing at Carney's charges. The charges were never intended for anything but dispatches for the capitalist press. When the corporations were in charge of Milwaukee, the rich escaped their share of taxation. Under the Socialist administration, the tax burden is being shifted where it belongs. The tax dodgers and their kept press are howling and have been for a year, but the Socialists go right on about the business of the city.

Are *you* "on for life?"

Causes of Tuberculosis.

In a recent address Dr. E. Harlan Wells, of Pennsylvania, an expert on tuberculosis, said:

"Medical scientists have discovered that the factors concerned in the perpetuation and propagation of this disease are overwork, child labor, poverty, want, intemperate use of alcoholic liquors and narcotic drugs, and all the various forms of vice and debauchery. Until these conditions are removed or vastly improved, tuberculosis will continue to claim its victims. When the wealth of the nation is so distributed that each man receives enough, and no man too much—then only may we hope to see tuberculosis eradicated."

Class War in Kansas City.

An evidence of the class nature of the capitalists is shown by a circular letter sent by the Employers' association of Kansas City, Mo. This letter calls attention to a case of Edgar H. Bailey, who was sent to prison for life for an alleged killing during the hack drivers' strike in March, 1903. It being realized that the proof was not positive against Bailey, an effort is being made by the unions to secure his pardon. The Employers' association asks the parties addressed to write Governor Hadley protesting against the pardon, and adds: "It would seem that at the present time with the McNamara trial pending in Los Angeles and the development of savage brutality amongst union sluggers in Chicago, this is not an opportune time for the exercise of clemency in such cases."

News of Socialism.

Are *you* "on for life?"

A local has been organized at Glen, N. H., the first in Carroll county.

Decatur township, Clearfield county, Pa., elected a Socialist school board.

In Mercer county, Pa. Socialists doubled their vote over the year preceding.

Osnaburg, Ohio, Socialists elected a mayor, four councilmen, a marshal and clerk.

In Lewis county, Ky., the Debs vote in 1908 was 13. This year the Socialist vote was 133.

This paper is paid for. No bill will be sent you. If you did not subscribe some friend did for you and paid for it.

At Alamagorda, N. M., Socialists cast an average vote of 201, about 15 per cent of the total vote and a 50 per cent gain.

Girard, Ohio, polled 199 Socialist votes, against 110 last year. Warren, Ohio, elected one councilman and two assessors.

Please do not include orders in personal letter to the APPEAL editors. Address all orders for literature and subscriptions to the APPEAL.

Comrade J. E. Hosmer, of Silverton, Ore., has invented and is manufacturing a handy garden tool, known as the gravity hand cultivator.

Local Topeka, Kan., informs the APPEAL that it is not the Socialist local there that is organizing a co-operative store, but the independents.

Former President Elliot, of Harvard, is talking against Socialism but his grandson, Sam Elliot, Jr., is more up-to-date and has become an ardent Socialist.

At the recent election in St. Louis the Socialist party carried eight wards, the republicans fourteen, and democrats six. The vote stood, republican 19,395, Socialist 16,006, democrat, 14,695.

Comrade O. E. Brown, APPEAL worker and a Socialist for many years, recently died at Vernon, Tex. He leaves a wife and seven children. Comrade Mrs. Brown writes: "I want to keep the APPEAL for my children if I can possibly do so."

Comrade E. Z. Ernst, of Olathe, Kan., has organized what he calls the Industrial Exchange, based on the Rochedale system that has become such a power in England for the purpose of establishing stores and industries on a co-operative basis.

Blank petitions are being sent from national headquarters in favor of the Berger old age pension bill. It is urged that comrades secure signatures and forward to Comrade Berger at Washington as rapidly as possible. Ghent's leaflet on old age pensions may be obtained from the national office, Chicago, for $1.50 per thousand.

The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers is thoroughly imbued with Socialism. There are three Socialist candidates for head officers now: Charles Lammert for president, Otto Dam for first vice president and A. J. McKeon for second vice president. Herman Jessen, candidate for delegate to the building trades department, is also an active Socialist.

Mrs. J. S. Kiefner, 2892 Arlington avenue, St. Louis, is organizing the Universal Scouts of Freedom as a foil to the Boy Scout movement. A number of locals have been already organized. The motto is "Peace on earth, one country, one people, one flag." The Scouts of Freedom are taught to agitate for Socialism and at the same time are given instructions in woodcraft and outings such as are attractive to the boy nature. If you wish to organize write, not to the APPEAL, but to Comrade Mrs. Kiefner.

The Awakening Ministry.

Are *you* "on for life?"

The Philadelphia *North American* says of Dr. Alfred W. Arundel, for twenty years rector of Pittsburg, Pa., most fashionable Episcopal church, that he was practically forced from the pulpit because of advocacy of Christian Socialism.

Rev. Clifton M. Gray, pastor of the Unitarian church of Charleston, S. C., in a recent sermon said the aims of Socialism are identical with the desires of all good men, and hoped the church would imbibe some of the vision and earnestness of the Socialists.

Rev. Bernard Iddings Bell, Oak Park, Ill., wishes to organize in America a church Socialist league among clerics and layics of the Episcopal church. There is such a league in England, which is doing good work, and it is proposed to organize here along the same lines. Those interested should write him.

Rev. Bard, pastor of All Souls church, Grand Rapids, Mich., has announced himself against the Boy Scout movement, after giving it a trial. He says so many boys carried loaded revolvers, it became necessary for teachers to relieve them of the weapons, and that riots among the boys have become a scandal, led in every instance by a Scout. "What a man soweth that must he also reap." Sow seeds of murder, and you will reap disorder, even if you act nominally in a religious capacity.

In Other Lands.

Are *you* "on for life?"

The new lower house of Sweden is composed of 101 liberals, 65 conservatives and 64 Socialists, a distinct gain for the Socialists over the previous congress.

The daily press announces the suicide in Paris of Paul LaFargue, and his wife, a daughter of Karl Marx, by injection of prussic acid in their veins. No reason is given for the unfortunate act. They were comfortably fixed financially and had been respected and honored widely.

Orders for the *Coming Nation* should be sent direct to the *Coming Nation* and orders for the APPEAL should be sent direct to the APPEAL TO REASON. If you are making remittance for both papers, write your orders on separate sheets and enclose in same envelope, addressed to either paper.

Legal Department.

The Legal Department at Fort Scott reports that students are enrolling for the law course at the rate of twenty-five per day. Every state in the union is represented with students, ranging from twenty-one to sixty, and are taking hold enthusiasticly of the work. The comrades are realizing the necessity for practical education to handle the future destiny of this nation. From the many good letters received, we take the following:

106 Arizona St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Legal Department APPEAL TO REASON, Ft. Scott, Kansas.

Dear Comrades—I received my text books today, and will say that they look like business, and I am ready for the fray. I have always been more or less studious, and I think this is just what I want and need. If there is any other comrade in this town taking the course, and if you think I can be of any help to him, or he to me, let me know his address, and we will get together. I realize it is going to be a long journey by one's self, but I am going to do the best I know how, and hope I come out in the end o. k. I thank you for starting me on the trip, and I hope you will be a plasant one. I remain, Your comrade. JOHN R. COX.

Address all communications APPEAL Legal Department, Fort Scott, Kans.

Anti-Socialist League.

The American Liberty and Property association is the high sounding title of a new organization, born in New York city, and which has for its object the squelching of Socialism. Some of New York's high salaried preachers are on the roll of the executive committee, and William Randolph Hearst is exploiting it through his papers. Hearst prints in his New York *American* in big headlines the following:

"Fears Socialism Will Dominate U. S. in Fifty Years.—Organized Movement to Fight It Finds Many Business Men in Sympathy.—Aim to Educate People.—Flood of Restrictive and Regulative Laws Is Serious Handicap on Trade."

There is nothing very formidable about this organization because it displays its lack of intelligence in putting the time of danger off fifty years.

Masters Neatly Trapped.

The United Shoe Workers are on a strike in Cincinnati. Edward Keenan, their agent, was approached with an offer of $5,000 if he would betray his fellow workmen and call the strike off. He informed Attorney Nicholas Kline of the offer, and a trap was set for the bosses. In the presence of concealed witnesses Keenan received a check for $1,000 as part payment and immdiately turned it into the treasury of the United Shoe Workers. They are now using the money given by the bosses against them and the effort at bribery is likely to cause their defeat.

THE APPEAL ARMY

"Carry California for Socialism"

BY MRS. GRACE D. BREWER.

The little *yellow label* on the wrapper of your paper or pasted to the paper itself is a warning signal. It warns you when your sub expires. If No. 837 shows up you will understand that the APPEAL will stop coming to your address after next week unless you renew. Better do it today, so that you will miss no copies of the meanest paper on earth! It always pleases the Subscription Fairy if you send in three other names with your own. It is not much more trouble to look after four names on one list than one name. Some fellow did this for you—why not do it for some other benighted soul?

Appeal Army Returns an Indictment.

The APPEAL Army returns an indictment against the unjust system of government that will permit such persecution as the federal courts persist in dolling out to the APPEAL. The Army returns an indictment against the rottenness and corruptness of public institutions which makes exposure necessary. The Army declares in terms more glowing than fine words that they are going to stand back of the APPEAL and its editors and see that trial is a fair one at last. The mighty wave of protest that is going up from an indignant army of fifty thousand men and women makes an impression on the thinking public. It will make an impression on the federal courts before they have finished. The APPEAL Army is the one instrument by which the news of the latest outrage against the APPEAL will be heralded to every nook and corner of the globe. They have already begun their task. They will never cease to keep the ball rolling. Many new workers will be added to the list before the fight is over. We've nothing to lose and our liberty to gain.

The *Progressive Woman* and the APPEAL, one year, seventy-five cents.

The rising tide of Socialism is taking this town by storm.—Comrade Welborn, Alexandria, Ind.

The movement is coming along in good shape in this neck of the woods.—Comrade Coyle, York, Pa.

Three hundred cheers for the APPEAL and its editors.—Comrade Meading, Dripping Springs, Tex.

This list is in answer to Harry J. Bone, who claims he runs the grand jury.—Comrade Geek, Edina, Mo.

Inform Attorney Bone that the Army is also ready to do something.—Comrade Andersen, Minneapolis, Minn.

Harry J. Bone may find he has some bones to pick before he is finished.—Comrade Wright, Highmore, S. D.

Socialism is gaining steadily here and we hope to carry the city at no distant time.—Comrade Stubbs, Auburn, N. Y.

The APPEAL converted me and if it wins one of the enclosed list of five it will be worth all the money.—Comrade Martin, Tasker, N. D.

Socialism is on the boom here and the old APPEAL is greatly assisting in making new recruits.—Comrade Demlow, Danville, Ill.

This here federal interference with the APPEAL must be stopped and to help stop it I send four subs.—Comrade Lien, Columbus, N. D.

Mr. Bone must be a man of mighty small caliber to use the expression he did about the grand jury.—Comrade Dunlap, Waxhow, N. C.

Bone may run the federal grand jury but he can not run the circulation of the APPEAL. That's our business.—Comrade Muns, Westlake, La.

This bunch of six bears evidence that we will not permit the APPEAL to be stopped. We are with you to the finish.—Comrade Powell Beardstown, Ill.

We have the plutes scared in this neck of the woods for certainly Socialism is getting to be a real live issue in this city.—Comrade Banden, Herrin, Ill.

Push your fight on the federal courts. They are the key to the situation that is confronting the working people today.—Comrade Nichols, Vaughn, N. M.

I hope this list of twelve will give Harry Bone such a shock he won't be able to revive for about twenty-five or thirty years.—Comrade Coffman, Columbus, Ohio.

This list of twelve is my first attempt. I find that most everybody is anxious to find out something about Socialism since last election.—Comrade Carroll, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Am sorry to learn that the APPEAL editors have been indicted but know that it will make Socialism spread and grow all the faster.—Comrade Kelley, Carrigoze, N. M.

No honest person investigates the subject of Socialism without being impressed with its importance and nine out of ten will see its feasibility.—Comrade Eaton, Arriola, Colo.

Stay with them to the eleventh hour and then some. Enclosed find seven subs to help defray the cost of court proceedings again.—Comrade Cunningham, Buffalo, Ark.

Enclosed find a list of thirteen. Now that Mr. Taft and Wickersham have indicted you again I will be able to more than double the list.—Comrade Gonley, New Franklin, Mo.

This is my first attempt to get subs, but these ten were captured easily. My blood boiled so when I read the last APPEAL I could not keep from getting busy.—Comrade Browning, Holdredge, Neb.

I noticed the APPEAL is going to be aired and advertised again. It looks to me as if they were anxious to stop the little sheet. When it stops it will have its feet in the stirrups.—Comrade Walloon, Carthage, Mo.

Mrs. J. B. Walker, Asbestos, Ore., would like to hear from her father, J. W. Lamb.

This eighteen makes eighty-eight since November 13th. I think I can make it a hundred before I rest.—Comrade Torney, Emlenton, Pa.

I note that the federal authorities are at work again. They are bound to put the APPEAL out of business. But we know the more they prosecute the paper the stronger it becomes.—Comrade O'Neil, Des Moines, Iowa.

Your part in the Leavenworth penitentiary cleansing and the unfairness of your enemies and the enemies of freedom and justice, opposing you and truth have made me a Socialist.—Comrade Hargrove, Baker, Ore.

This list of fifteen is my protest against Bone and his persecution of the APPEAL and its editors, and I can say I hope he will fail in his attempt and furthermore I promise this will not be my last list.—Comrade Via, Clifton Forge, Va.

Your letter to District Attorney Bone is a gem. You not only have the backing of the APPEAL Army of 50,000, but I will say of at least one million Socialists throughout the United States. Do not let the threats of the federal courts deter you in your exposures of graft and tyranny practiced by our public servants. The attacks of those hounds of plutocracy will hasten the emancipation of the wage slaves and producers.—Comrade Price, Malta, Mont.

The Big Ten.

Commenting on Kirkpatrick's "War—What For?" the *Current Literature* says: "'War—What For' has been likened by one reviewer to the pamphleteering work of Thomas Paine. . . . . Mr. Kirkpatrick's book is an encyclopaedia of facts and quotations from war, gathered and presented by a propagandist at white heat. . . . . Published by the author at 112 East Nineteenth street, New York, and will be mailed to any address on receipt of $1.20. For a while the APPEAL is giving this book free to the ten comrades who send in the largest lists for the week. Here are the winners for this week:

John Pearson, Box 336, Riverton, Ill.	75
E. E. Hunt, Los Angeles, Cal.	48
P. S. Höffar, Madison, Iowa	44
Oliver London, Patton, Pa.	37
F. L. Thanerus, Buffalo, N. Y.	31
Henry Carlson, Aneta, N. D.	32
H. E. Raley, Pittsburg, Pa.	28
S. T. Kendall, Guston, Ky.	28
L. T. Partlow, Sheffield, Ala.	26
H. Christman, Carlisle, Pa.	25

Story of "Nigger John."

When I came here six years ago there was a colored man here who went by the name of Nigger John. I soon learned he was an ex-slave, having been owned by a Mr. Nolan, who had dozens of slaves. When the agitation for the abolition of slavery started it was feared, so I am told by old settlers here who knew him well, that Nigger John would be the first to leave his master and get other slaves to do so also. But for the paltry sum of $50 and the smiles of the slave owner, and a few drinks of cheap whiskey, he acted as a spy for Quantrell and his gang. He went into Lawrence, Kan., before that horrible massacre, came back and reported there were no union soldiers there and that the town was defenseless, and in every way aided and fought with and for the parties that were keeping him, his mother, sisters and brothers (a brother, Lewis, still lives and is almost my nearest neighbor) in slavery, and fought with all the treachery and power at his command against the parties that were trying to free him, his relatives and his race.

Foolish nigger, you will say. Yes, very, very foolish nigger! But no more foolish than the workingmen of today who vote the republican and democratic tickets, the parties that keep them in wage slavery, poverty, misery and want.

Workingmen, the Socialist party is educating, working, and fighting, not with bullets but with ballots, to free you, so you may stand up like men among men and receive the full product of your labor and not grovel in the dust and dirt and mire as you do now. As the slaves were freed in spite of the Nigger Johns, so will Socialism free all mankind, men and women alike the world over, from wage slavery, misery and want, in spite of the white "Nigger Johns" who for the smiles of the boss, a cheap drink of whiskey and the promise of a job, fight, work and vote against their own economic freedom.

Nigger John died in the Jackson county, Mo., poor house. Such was his reward for fighting against his own race and class. Workingmen, don't be Nigger Johns. Learn wherein your emancipation lies.

Blue Springs, Mo. J. J. HERMAN.

The Bundle Brigade.

If you haven't time to solicit subs for the APPEAL, join the Bundle Brigade. Get the papers. Mark the striking paragraphs, and see that that unconverted friend of yours gets a copy. The surest and easiest way to get a man to thinking—and you know what happens then—is to mark one or two articles in the paper that fits his case, and see that he gets it. Try it awhile. We'll furnish the papers at the following rates, in bundles to one address:

4 copies per week for a year	$1.00
8 copies per week for a year	2.00
12 copies per week for a year	3.00
20 copies per week for a year	5.00
30 copies per week for a year	7.50
40 copies per week for a year	10.00

Have a Try at That Prize.

The one who writes the best solution to the "Mystery Story" now running in the *Coming Nation* will get $250 in cash.

In addition to this first prize $300 more will be distributed in smaller prizes. There are no restrictions. Every one can try, and there is plenty of time yet.

If you subcribe now you can get all the first chapters of the story and the *Coming Nation* for a whole year for a dollar.

Are *you* "on for life?"

Local Representatives are wanted everywhere in direct employ of Automobile Factories and Agencies to sell, demonstrate and repair automobiles. No experience or capital necessary. We train you at home in a few weeks. **No Charge for Instructions** until you are qualified and earning $[illegible] a week. If you are ambitious and mean business, write at once. MANUFACTURERS AUTO SCHOOLS 2021½ South 17th Street, Omaha, Neb.

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BY ONE MAN. It's KING OF THE WOODS. Saves money and backache. Send for FREE catalog No. B4 showing low price and testimonials from thousands. First order gets agency. Folding Sawing Mach. Co., 161 W. Harrison St., Chicago, Ill.

ONLY $10. CASH Balance $5 a month, buys this three-year GUARANTEED Buggy. Write today for our FREE CATALOGUE of Buggies, Surreys, Spring and Farm Wagons. Century Mfg. Co., Dept. 324 East St. Louis, Ill.

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GOLD WEDDING RING FREE ... Household Bldg., Topeka, Kans.

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BEAUTIFUL PICTURE FREE To introduce our famous art pictures we will send absolutely free the celebrated picture "Yard of Roses," in ten beautiful colors, to anyone sending 24c to pay postage. Offer good only 20 days. Address Art Picture Club, 149 West 8th St., Topeka, Kans.

VETERINARY COURSE AT HOME. $1200 year and upwards can be made taking our Veterinary Course at home during spare time; taught in simplest English; Diploma granted ... London Veterinary Correspondence School, London, Can.

Folding BATH TUB ...

THE REBEL Hickey's Southern socialist propaganda sensation of 1911. Circulation five figures in three months. New, spicy, classy, different. Deals with the land, tenant, negro and other great questions as never before. Stands for party decentralization. Price same as APPEAL. Sample free. HALLETTSVILLE, TEX.

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PATENTS How to GET Every Dollar Your Invention is Worth. Send 8 cents stamps for new 128 page book of Vital Interest to Inventors. R. S. & A. B. LACEY, Dept. 38 Washington, D. C.

Now is the time to do the propaganda work. The old parties are at sea politically. No campaign whatever is possible with them till after their national conventions, because no one knows what either of these parties will stand for.

If Taft is nominated then the republican spellbinders will talk conservative issues. If it is LaFollette they must dish things out differently. The democrats are no better off. If Wilson is nominated the democrats will play the radical stunt, but if it is Harmon then the orators will hand out the good old conservative dope. You see its just politics with these fellows and no principle at all. The people are getting next every day to the game.

We go to the public with no uncertainties. The Socialists know what they want, how to get it and what to do with it when they get it.

We are winning because what we have to offer is what the people need to relieve their suffering and stop the robbery of the exploiters.

The working class is already saturated with Socialism.

Our work now is to reach the farmers. The APPEAL has put before you a plan by which you are to make mailing lists of your farmers and send them literature through the mails.

NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT.

After the old parties open their barrels and begin to put money into the campaign the partisan lines will tighten.

Don't wait. Take the matter up while the tide is setting our way.

The propaganda number, to appear in January, will be splendid for farmers.

Southern Pacific Investment

Last week the Appeal told how four men who built the Southern Pacific railroad, within ten years, on a cash investment of $50,000, through the employment of bribery, through the grants aggregating 9,000,000 acres, cash to the amount of more than $8,000,000 and a government loan of $85,000,000; that they hired themselves to build the road and thus mulcted the company out of some $60,000,000; that they then issued themselves stocks and bonds to the amount of $82,000,000 based on water alone.

After all this was accomplished, the four men who had made themselves multi-millionaires through exploiting the demand for a railroad planned to grab the Texas Pacific railway (which had been granted 18,000,000 acres of land), together with its grant. The fight for mastery between these two roads lasted for two years, but finally the Southern Pacific people made the biggest bid to individual congressmen and "absorbed" the Texas Pacific. Before this the Southern Pacific railroad company had secured another grant of 5,000,000 acres of land for extending its line on to El Paso. The 9,000,000 acres originally given it, plus the 5,000,000 for the Texas railway, plus the 18,000,000 acres it acquired through the absorption of the Texas Pacific, made an aggregate donation of the people's heritage of 32,000,000 acres of land. This was 47,043 square miles. This is an area as great as the states of Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Vermont, with five other Rhode Islands thrown in for good measure.

Now, what became of this fortune?

Stanford had himself elected to the United States senate, where he made a practice of giving away 20-dollar gold pieces for tips. He became proprietor of the great Vina vineyard in California, comprising 100,000 acres, and of the Palo Alto ranch, nearly as large, with its vast breeding establishments, and of much real estate in San Francisco. His stocks and bonds brought an annual income of more than a million. He founded the Leland Stanford university of California, posing as a philanthropist. The fortune still draws dividends from the public. Huntington's wealth was held chiefly in railroads. He built up the first continental system in existence in America. He often boasted that he could travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific in his own cars over his own road, and sail in his own ships from Panama to Hong Kong and from Brazil to New York. The further disposition of the Huntington fortune will be told later on. The Hopkins estate consisted among other things in a New York newspaper of wide influence, and Crocker left property representing values estimated at $40,000,000. All these fortunes are still in existence all levying tribute off the people.

A "Life Time" Subscription.

BY THE CIRCULATION GINK.

Our offer to send the APPEAL TO REASON to any one for life for $5 is being taken advantage of by dozens of the old war horses. They readily see that it is a good proposition for them as well as for the APPEAL. It insures them each and every issue of the APPEAL. No chance of their sub expiring and the loss of two or three papers before it can be started again and the APPEAL does not have to change the type every forty weeks as it does now.

To each comrade who sends a Life Time subscription will be sent a handsomely engraved certificate in the form of a receipt showing a life membership in the "ARMY OF APPEAL READERS." Those who have already sent their subs on this offer will get the certificate.

These certificates will be signed by both J. A. Wayland and Fred D. Warren—signatures will be genuine, too—and will be limited to one thousand. After that a regular receipt will be sent.

If you want a genuine autograph of the One Hoss and Fred Warren before they go to jail you will have to hurry.

If you can spare five dollars we want to urge you to join our Life Time Army at once.

Remember this subscription is for the life of the APPEAL and can be transferred at any time.

What the comrades think of this plan is expressed in the following letters:

O. A. Pope, W. Va.—Here's to you in the good work you are doing, and for a Life Time sub. I will be with you in any and all fights in any way it is possible for me to serve our cause. Go after them! The Army is with you and growing bigger every day.

J. R. Allison, Texas.—Find check for five dollars herewith, for which enter my name on your subscription list from date until my beneficiary collects my insurance. Make up your mind to send the paper a long time, because the last issue was infused new life in me. I just can't "afford to die soon," so send it on for one thousand years. Three or four weeks before the time expires I will renew. Comrades, let's see how many of us can dig up a fiver for the greatest paper in the United States, or anywhere else, for your whole life. Think, act!

Halvor Clanson, Wash.—I make this investment not only because it is good as an investment, but also that I shall know once for all that my subscription shall not run out and will trouble my mind no more about it.

FIGHTING FRED MERRICK.

Fred Merrick, editor of Justice, and four other Socialists identified with the paper, were tried last week in Pittsburg, Pa., on a charge of criminal libel. The suit is based on an article printed in Justice September 16th, in which was described the unnatural and immoral practices permitted in the state penitentiary and actually indulged in by the officers. Press reports announce that the verdict was not guilty.

This case is brought in the state courts and this gives Merrick and his associates an opportunity to present evidence showing the truth of their statements. The charges against the Pennsylvania comrades are based on an article very similar to the one which the Appeal editors have been indicted for printing. There is this difference: The APPEAL editors will be tried in the federal courts, and under the practice of the federal courts we will not be permitted to show the truthfulness of our statements with reference to the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan. The government admitted the truthfulness of our charges against the deputy warden by firing him from that institution. But this we will not be permitted to show unless there is a revolution in the meantime in federal court practice. The only question to be determined in the forthcoming trial next May will be whether or not the article was printed in the APPEAL. As we make no denial of its publication and responsibility of its circulation through the mails, the only question to be determined is whether the words describing the conditions are obscene. As this question has already been decided by the department at Washington, which will be acquiesced in by Judge Pollock, who will try the case, it follows that the APPEAL editors will be convicted.

The district attorney, Harry Bone, is already at work (acting under instructions from Washington) securing a jury composed of men who will return a verdict of guilty. Nevertheless the statements made by the APPEAL describing conditions at Leavenworth, revolting as they are, are true, and the government admitted they were true when it discharged the deputy warden.

The APPEAL editors would not change places with the administration officials, who are prosecuting them. Our position is right and when the facts are known the public will approve and applaud what the APPEAL has done.

SENIOR WARDEN MORGAN.

John Pierpont Morgan is the senior warden of St. George's Episcopal church in New York City, which a few days ago celebrated its centennial anniversary. On this occasion the palatial edifice was crowded and Mr. Morgan in his capacity as warden passed the plate as usual for the collection. It is said that the plate or rather the silver basket was filled with silver and gold and piled high with checks from the rich members of the congregation. It was the irony of fate that Mr. Morgan should stub his toe, fall headlong to the floor, and scatter the coin in all directions. May there not be something to think about in this incident, trifling though it may seem? It is impossible to think of John Pierpont Morgan, the ruling plutocrat of the nation, the corrupter of the body politic, the conspirator against organized labor, the plunderer of the weak and helpless, as a Christian. The very thought of it is sarcasm and worse, it is profanation. The hypocrisy of this old plutocrat as a church warden, passing the plate, is uncovered in this incident as if the Christ himself had dashed the ill-gotten coin from the hand of the pharisee who rolls his eyes heavenward, crying, "O Lord," while "devouring widows' houses" and "laying burdens on the backs of the poor grievous to be borne."

It is a safe venture that the great God of Justice spurns that kind of an offering in the name of a religion which is so commercialized that it serves as a mantle to cover the crimes perpetrated upon the people who are compelled to depend upon charity only because they are robbed of justice.

If reports be true Mr. Morgan not only serves as coin collector at St. George's church, but he is also one of the leading patrons at a very fashionable and costly theater built and presented by him to one of the queens of the stage.

Mr. Morgan is an artist of distinction in all the fields of his chosen antics and activities.

PHILOSOPHY AND NOT FRAUD

The recent elections inspired a vast amount of comment on the rise of Socialism in the capitalist press. It must be admitted in all candor that some of these papers have shown a disposition to treat the Socialist movement not only seriously but fairly and among these papers we are glad to quote the Minneapolis *Tribune* which had an editorial of such fair spirit and withal such a clear comprehension of the subject that it would not have been out of place in a first class Socialist paper. A striking paragraph is here quoted from the said editorial:

"Socialism is a philosophy, not a fraud. If it is not to dominate American government—municipal, county and national—it must be met as a coherent, reasoned, plausible and attractive theory, not merely assailed as half-brother to anarchy and cousin to murder."

This is wholesome advice to the capitalist press and the class it represents but it is more than that, it is extremely significant of the phenominal growth of Socialism which now commands the respect and the serious consideration of thinking people throughout the land.

AND now Bird S. Coler, democratic candidate for governor of New York in 1902, declares the public schools are responsible for the spread of Socialism! In a sense Bird is right. It is enlightenment that is behind the Socialist movement. The only way Bird can stop the spread of Socialism is to destroy the public schools and keep the people in absolute ignorance.

WATCH THE ROADS.

In the early 60s America became railroad crazy, giving away millions or acres of public domain in order to secure the railroads. The railroads were needed.

Good public roads are needed now. And the people are demanding them as never before. In connection with this demand some new things are taking place. The unit of collective ownership of dirt roads has heretofore been the road district. Now it is rapidly being nationalized. Massachusetts is appropriating state money to fill gaps and connect state roads with each other. New York is establishing an elaborate system of state roads. Pennsylvania has undertaken as a state the building of roads that will connect the principal cities and county seats. Maryland is completing a system of roads that will link the important cities of the state. California a year ago voted $18,000,000 to create a system of roads to be built and maintained at the expense of the state. Missouri has projected one rock road to cross the state from east to west and contemplates building two others.

In addition to this a delegation of boosters is making a tour of the country demanding a national road to cross the entire United States.

The first road of importance in this country was a national road extending from Washington, D. C., over the Allegheny mountains, and as far west as Vandalia, Ill. It was the avenue through which immigration proceeded to the west and had more to do with the settlement of the vast territory in the far west than almost any other one factor. The road was finally denationalized, part of it coming under control of road districts and other portions falling into private hands and becoming toll roads.

The building of roads is a very important thing. It should be taught in the universities and public schools. It should be done systematically and permanently. But there is a grave danger under capitalism of graft accompanying the building. So long as the roads are constructed by districts this danger is meager, but when there are state and national roads to build and these are done by contract instead of by socialized effort, it is a matter that should be watched carefully.

Another thing, and something that has given impetus to this new movement: The development of the automobile in the last few years has provided rapid transit for dirt roads, the first time we have had such a thing. If we do not watch the development of this, rapid transit will be individual and corporate and the public roads will be used merely as a means of grafting on the part of promoters. Socialists should advocate public freight and passenger srevice on the public roads. This is something that can be taken up by counties, by municipalities and by school districts. This service would be of great benefit to the towns that employed it, since it would bring traffic to it. It would be a convenience to all people living along those roads, because it would in effect bring them much nearer to markets than they are at present. The time is ripe for Socialists who win in a small way to use this factor.

WERE you aware of the fact that slavery exists in twenty states of the Union under legal provision? The form of slavery is the contract system of employing convicts. *The state leases them out at an average wage of 50 cents a day and they are practical slaves of the people hiring them.* They can be whipped at pleasure and chased with bloodhounds, and there are numerous cases where they have actually been killed. All the stealing that all the convicts of all the states have ever done is nothing to be compared with this crime of slavery and robbery enforced by the legislatures of twenty states in free America!

JUST as a matter of propaganda suppose you get from your local bank, in change or otherwise, some of its bank notes. Then call the attention of the bank officials to the "secured by United States bonds or other securities," and ask them what other securities they have. Ask them if John Jones' note, if deposited with the government, would not constitute one of those "other securities." You can have some fun this way.

SENATOR LAFOLLETTE is springing a new proposal on the republicans. He is asking that the names of all candidates for president be submitted to a ..... endum of the party. Even Taft has been forced to sanction the idea in Ohio. Such a proposition a few years ago would have been hooted at by the republicans. But real democracy has made great strides since Socialism began to be agitated.

Getting Subscribers.

The last thirty-four meetings held by Comrade Debs brought to the office 40,000 subscriptions an average of 1,176 per meeting. The total amount of money raised on these meetings to date is $9,037.75 with a small balance yet to come. If all of the subscription cards are sent to the APPEAL to be redeemed each subscription will net the APPEAL 16 2-3 cents for a forty week's subscription. Most of our readers will understand that this 16 2-3 cents does not cover the cost of a forty week's subscription but we figure that the distribution of so many papers going into so many new hands will yield a big crop of Socialists in the 1912 election and this pays us for any loss arising directly from these meetings. As a matter of fact, a considerable number of these subscription cards are not immediately redeemed—some of them perhaps never being redeemed, which raises the average per sub to something more than 20 cents which enables us to just about break even.

ALDRICH LIES.

Aldrich, Morgan and that gang are telling the people that the banking system is rotten and that the nation is over a keg of financial dynamite ready to blow it to the devil.

These same men, and those who preceeded them, told you year after year that we had "the best banking system on earth." You remember this if you will think about how they denounced the old populists. They lied then and they lie to you now. In that which they are vitally interested I would not believe them under any oath ever administered. They have a better way to skin you and they have enough congressmen interested in bank stock and social ties to bankers to pass the plot they have been concocting to rob you. "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts," applies to these modern commercial bandits as it did to ancient Troy. Think you that they are doing things to help the great mass of people? Is that their character? Have they ever been caught doing anything in that line?

The Aldrich scheme will give absolute control of the money into their hands; they can add new aces to their cards any time, and no matter what you have they will beat you. But no matter. The more rapid they rob you, the more rapidly the wealth concentrates, the more quickly they do up the diminishing few who have a small competence, the sooner will come the revolution. And that will end them and their kind forever. Success to their efforts.

COAL AND COLD.

The workers in the cities are shivering for coal. The miners of the land are in want of warm clothes.

Why?

Because the mines and factories and railroads are privately owned, the owners refuse to permit the workers to produce and supply their own wants. Would the workers hunger and freeze if they had the means and knew how to supply themselves?

When society owns the means of producing and distributing what its members want, do you think its members will not use its every power to supply its desires? If the workers were given free access to the means of life, would today produce twice as much as is now produced, and all would have an abundance. But if they were to double their output today, those employed would not receive any more than they do, and one-half the workers would be discharged for they would not be needed.

Isn't it queer that voters will support a system that denies them the good things of life, and insist on voting against a system that would give them all the good things? The monkey is not to be sneezed at for its intelligence. It could not be trained to gather cocoanuts for other monkeys and sit by and hunger. Only man is intelligent enough to do that.

"WHERE ARE YOU AT?"

A new 50-gang plow in operation at the Missouri agricultural college plows 14 acres per hour. Some farmers think they are safe if they own their own quarter section, and that trust methods cannot apply to farming. The village smith and shoemaker and tanner and others thought the same a generation ago. How wise were they?

The time is rapidly approaching when great farms will produce as much more cheaply than the small ones as the great factories do the small factories. That plow costs too much to be owned by a section farmer. The evolution is going on rapidly, but the average mind is blind to it.

Under Socialism these plows will be used by the nation in producing the nation's food, and the benefit will be for all, and the hours of toil will be shortened until there is a place for every worker in some industry. No hunting for jobs then. Every citizen will know just where he can find employment every day he or she desires employment and at a reward at least three times as much as today.

But the workers are yet blind to their own interests. The politicians have miseducated them, purposely in many instances, but ignorantly in most instances. The agricultural worker under the Socialist state will receive three times as much as the average section-owner farmer today gets for his labor and investment. Where are you at?

PRESIDENT TAFT has pardoned Clarence W. Robnet, bookkeeper in the Lewiston, Idaho, national bank, who was sentenced by the federal court for ten years imprisonment for embezzlement. Governor Hawley protests against the action of the president, saying: "I feel sure that the pardon of Robnet is a fitting sequel to the proceedings in the United States court during the last four years, while the special assistants to the United States attorney general have been running the cases in which the United States has been interested with a high hand regardless of justice or decency."

FOOLERY IN THE COURTS.

Charles Edward Russell in the Coming Nation.

In February, 1903, Judge Grosscup, of the federal circuit court at Chicago, handed down a decision finding that certain meat packers had been guilty of violating the Sherman act and granting an injunction forbidding them to continue their illegal behavior.

On November 18th, of the present year, Judge Kohlsaat, also of the federal circuit court, handed down some other decision against the packers.

This serves to remind us that this tiresome old play is still proceeding.

It has now been continuously on the boards for close upon nine years, in which time the packers have not ceased to do the things complained of at the beginning and the government has not ceased to make some kind of futile and ridiculous motions about them.

Every nation has its distinguishing peculiarity. Ours is a capacity for dreary and monotonous farce.

Much good wit has been expended by Anglo-Saxon minds because the Chinese have plays that last a month. I don't see that the Chinese have anything on us in this particular. We have plays that last nine years.

There is, however, this difference to be noted. The Chinese drama has some reason for existence in the fact that it interests or amuses its spectators. Our inexpressibly dull performance of "Busting the Trusts" has no such merit. It amuses nobody, entertains nobody, and achieves nothing except to cost the government some annual millions. In twenty-one years it has not succeeded in breaking up one trust nor in imprisoning one violator of the law. Students of human eccentricities may find some material in the fact that even if these objects should be at any time attained not one particle of good would result to any human being, nor one particle of change effected in one existing condition. But these little facts will not, of course, interfere in any way with the farce playing.

I suppose that fifty years from now, Levy Mayor will come tottering into court on canes and Judge Kohlsaat, wearing a long white beard, will read from the bench the 4,315th decision in the case of the United States against the Beef Trust, and a quavering chorus of troglodyte editors will pipe up, "Gee, ain't it great! The government is prosecuting them packing house fellers!"

It Seems to Me

BY C. L. PHIFER.

The Loss of Virtue.

Virtue and Vice took a walk one day. Virtue was clad in homespun, but Vice wore the finest of fabrics. They met a Mortal on the street, and Vice was greeted pleasantly.

"I am so glad to see you, Miss Virtue," the Mortal said. "How well you are looking!"

"But I am Virtue," protested the lady in homespun.

The Mortal turned his back on her. She, however, feeling indignant, as the Mortal went his way, asked of Vice: "Why do you permit this Mortal to address you as Virtue?"

"Am I to blame for what he does?" was the reply. "Besides, there is a certain virtue in appearing well."

"Even if you steal the clothing that enables you to do so."

"Of course. Doesn't this Mortal recognize the fact? Don't you see you have ceased to be Virtue by permitting yourself to be robbed?"

The New Preacher.

They call lands after their own names. —Psalms 49, 14.

We grown-ups are as serious as children over things that we merely "call" ours. We fuss and quarrel over them, and collect tribute for their use, and keep our playmates from having any fun, just because our play pretentions are taken for realities. Nobody owns land. Nobody ever did own land. Yet how many people have struggled and suffered because some grouchy comrades grabbed land and told them they could either give up some of their marbles or not play at all! Away back in David's time knowing people laughed at the pretentions of "warranty deeds. They sneered at people who "called lands after their own names." But the land didn't follow them after they died, no difference how loudly they called. The mountain would not come to Mohammed, and Mohammed went to the mountain—"back to the land." This thing of having to work for years in order to "buy" a right to live on the earth is slavery. It is also silly. And wrong. Youbetyou. And monopoly of ten acres by anyone, held from use, is as silly and as truly monopoly as is "ownership" of a million acres. You own only what is your own—what has come out of your own life and effort. We shall never have land for all so long as any monopolize land. We shall never be able to use all the earth and enjoy its good and have genuine security of possession therein, so long as most of it is held in enforced idleness by men who "call lands after their own names."

Advertisements.

We have no literature save of advertisement.
History is biography, a means
Whereby some are advanced to rule the world
After they are dead. Sociology
And poetry alike would advertise
Conditions and experience. The story
Is a pictorial setting forth of life;
And agitation and all preaching do
But advertise some doctrine or idea.
Newspapers live by advertisement only,
Not merely of the things for sale, but also
Of current happenings and timely topics.
One might go further and declare all effort
Is but a means of showing forth oneself
Before the people, hence an advertisement.
I tire of it. Literature and art,
And man himself, shall yet arise above
Exploiting and being exploited—all one thing.

Municipal Cold Storage.

Let us, when we carry a city, establish municipal cold storage. It is cold storage that has given fruit, vegetables and meat as a monopoly to the meat trust. It is cold storage that enables them, through monopoly, to hold these things for months and put up prices to the limit. Municipal cold storage sufficient to meet the demands of the town, would break the monopoly locally more surely than anything else could do. This is a socializing proposition, is possible before nation or state wide victory is won, and would, by virtue of cheapening the cost of living, prove exceedingly popular.

Socialists at Work

BY A. W. RICKER.

Six years ago a petition was presented to the city of Zurich, Switzerland, by Socialists, asking for a fund to provide a hospital for confinement of needy and destitute women. It took these six years of persistent agitation by the Socialists to get the measure submitted to referendum. At an election in September the people adopted the plan by a vote of 11,759 for and 7,102 against. A sum of $88,000 was appropriated for this purpose, and now women who have lived in the city continuously for a year and whose families are in receipt of yearly incomes less than $500 have a legal claim to free treatment during confinement and convalescence in the city hospital. It was argued by the Socialists that the city had to provide often for such treatment through the poor and relief fund and that as a measure of economy it would be cheaper and better to provide this treatment for all and at a suitably equipped hospital. It will be remembered that the Socialists of Milwaukee have also provided a hospital under similar rules and regulation. As we carry more cities in America we will extend this service so that in time it will be possible for the children of the poor to at least be born under surroundings that will afford the child a chance for its life.

* * *

San Francisco, Cal., has admitted 200 members to the Socialist local during two weeks in November, according to a letter from Organizer Comrade John Keller. The boys are working for 2,000 members by January 1st. Just as we predicted some months ago the defeat of the capitalistic labor party in that city has cleared the political atmosphere and now San Francisco will take her place with the other cities of the big west and help to furnish the votes to carry California for Socialism in 1912.

* * *

There are 500 colleges in the United States employing 2,500 professors, and having 175,000 students enrolled. The task set before the Intercollegiate Socialist society is that of reaching these students. Harry Laidler of New York, the secretary, has just returned from a propaganda trip to the New England colleges, during which time he organized chapters at Amherst and Wesleyan colleges. He found many Socialists among the teachers, and met with a cordial reception wherever he went receiving invitations to speak before the classes in economics, and in some instances at the chapel exercises. Socialists living in college towns should encourage propaganda among the students. A letter to the Intercollegiate Socialist society, New York City will bring you full instructions what to do.

* * *

State Secretary Robt. Ringler estimates the Socialist vote in Pennsylvania at 100,000. The campaign of 1912 has of course commenced and the boys are not only going to land a number of state legislators but some congressmen.

* * *

The comrades in a certain ward in New York are preparing to put 4,000 names on the APPEAL list for 40 weeks and have already raised $140 toward the fund.

* * *

Responses are coming from everywhere on the proposal to do systematic propaganda work among the farmers. Just remember, boys, that spasmodic work never gets you anywhere. What you want to cultivate is system. Settle on a propaganda plan and then keep hammering.

* * *

No body of men were ever more in the limelight than the Socialists holding office over the country. The capitalist press is watching these officials with hawklike eyes to discover mistakes or mal administration of official business. The plutes would give big sums of money to trick or betray these men. Socialism is not on trial anywhere, because the charters of cities do not permit of the establisment of Socialism by the mere election of a Socialist city administration. Socialists, however—the working class—are on trial. We must demonstrate our ability to administer public affairs and do it better than the professional politicians. We must not do a little better, we must shine by comparison. In proportion to our success will be our growth in the next few years.

* * *

The National office has on hand a splendid list of leaflets, which are sold at cost. Your local should send for a complete sample set, and make therefrom a selection for house to house distribution. They are printed from large types and are short and to the point. There is nothing better in the line of propaganda leaflets in print. A distribution of leaflets, then the APPEAL followed by a canvass for subs will bring the results. There is nothing so effective as getting a man to subscribe for a Socialist paper. Nine times out of ten the latter will fix him.

* * *

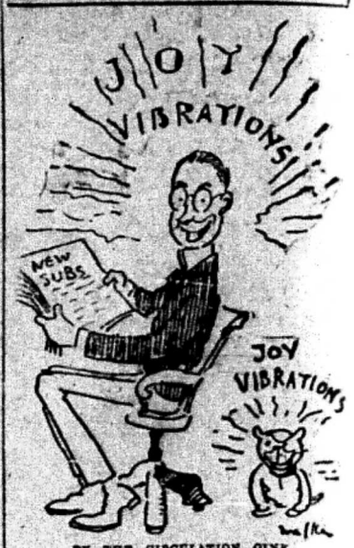
The National Lyceum Lecture course opened in Chicago, Sunday, November 26th, with Arthur Brooks Baker representing the central circuit. The editor of this department closes the course for the central commencing in Chicago January 7th. He has a leave of three month's absence from the APPEAL and hopes to meet many thousand comrades to whom he has been pen talking for a year. Here's hoping that you make the lecture course a roustag success in every city. Let me tell you a professional secret. If you want to pull out the best there is in a speaker give him a crowded house.

Peculiar Ship Subsidy.

Over two million dollars a year is donated to the steamship companies for the carrying of the mails to foreign shores. The ships that carry the least mail get the most money. This is done by our patriotic government "to encourage the American merchant marine." The ship that sails between San Francisco and the island of Tahiti gets $42,180 a year for carrying about 42,000 pounds of mail during the year. Now the funny part is that the ships are not paid by the pound, but by the mile. And still funnier is that they are not paid by the nautical mile, but by the land mile. Why? Because the land mile is shorter. The distance between these points according to all charts, including those of the navy department, is 3,658 miles. But the post office department says that the distance is 4,218 miles. LOUIS KOPELIN.

837—Please Observe—837.

If the number 837 follows your name on yellow address label attached to this copy it means that your subscription expires next week and after that no more papers will be sent until you forward new subscription.



BY THE CIRCULATION GINK.

Hurray! Good news this week. A gain, small, but still a *gain*. Not quite 200, but still it's a GAIN, and that is what makes us smile. When she starts "up" she continues and next week we are looking for a larger increase, and it's up to you to cause no disappointment here

Look at Ohio! She did it all by her own little self. What is the matter with your state doing the trick the coming week? Nothing at all if you will but take a little time, and hustle a few subs for the little old APPEAL.

The picture at the top represents the entire bunch at the office from the editor down to the bull pup—and I wish I could make those joy vibrations extend to you. Get yourself in "tune"—and see if you don't feel these joy vibrations.

A bunch of a dozen subs dropped in the post-office addressed to the APPEAL will cause these joy vibrations to "wiggle" in your immediate vicinity, sure. Try it once and we will send you the Arsenal for your trouble—that'll make you smile and vibrate some more.

So far this week, we haven't heard anything from the P. O. department about changing the sub list into train routes, but expect to every day.

Just received a special delivery letter from a comrade up in Minnesota raising cain with the whole bunch because he hadn't had a paper for six weeks. He threatened all kinds of dire calamities if he didn't get it at once, and regular, too. Looked up the complaint and his sub had expired six weeks ago. He wouldn't have had this trouble if he had been "on for life," and this is one of the reasons we are making the offer to put you "on for life" for $5.

This ought to be a banner month for subs. Folks always figure on spending a little extra money "foolishly" and it won't be hard to get two bits out of 'em. Let 'em think it "foolish" if they want to—they'll change their mind in a few weeks after receiving the "little old APPEAL."

Now I want to know whether you are going to go out and get that dozen subs that are waiting to be "picked," or is it going to be necessary for me to personally camp on your trail till you do? You'd better get 'em or you are liable to have a "star" boarder at your house for a month. It'll be cheaper to get the dozen subs.

Here's the report for this week. Does you state have an "x" before it? If not, why not?

STATE	OFF	ON	TOTAL
More Than 50,000.			
1 Pennsylvania	1,462	998	57,894
More Than 40,000.			
x 2 Ohio	815	3,008	41,525
More Than 30,000.			
3 California	1,059	607	35,304
More Than 20,000.			
4 Texas	1,296	748	26,856
x 5 New York	687	1,128	23,850
x 6 Oklahoma	530	536	22,702
7 Indiana	675	407	20,508
More Than 15,000.			
8 Missouri	516	394	18,406
9 Illinois	541	400	15,066
More Than 10,000.			
10 Washington	446	367	14,800
12 Michigan	497	486	13,777
11 Kansas	441	658	13,873
x13 Minnesota	475	483	13,734
14 Arkansas	839	803	10,613
More Than 5,000.			
15 Iowa	272	219	9,488
16 Oregon	298	216	7,531
x17 Colorado	77	187	7,834
18 New Jersey	261	132	7,395
x19 West Virginia	166	279	7,253
20 Massachusetts	200	144	6,735
21 Wisconsin	219	214	6,048
x22 Nebraska	162	203	5,994
x23 North Dakota	163	167	5,888
x24 Montana	112	157	5,803
x25 Florida	48	142	5,804
26 Louisiana	151	115	5,356
27 Kentucky	162	146	5,136
28 Idaho	142	133	5,093
More Than 3,000.			
29 Alabama	134	83	4,401
x30 Connecticut	36	151	4,245
31 Tennessee	162	83	4,211
32 Georgia	119	49	3,663
x33 North Carolina	46	65	3,634
34 South Dakota	79	75	3,329
35 Virginia	73	37	3,255
x36 New Mexico	65	99	3,209
More Than 2,000.			
x37 Canada	71	75	2,556
38 Mississippi	66	35	2,297
x39 Arizona	47	72	2,036
More Than 1,000.			
40 Maine	59	46	1,959
x41 Maryland	82	123	1,927
42 Nevada	78	19	1,589
43 New Hampshire	48	40	1,436
44 Wyoming	49	23	1,378
45 South Carolina	61	3	1,267
46 Utah	55	55	1,069
x47 Rhode Island	24	42	1,013
On the Sick List.			
48 Foreign	14	7	972
x49 Vermont	10	21	876
50 Alaska	100	2	776
x51 Dist. of Columbia	19	28	671
x52 Delaware	11	16	387
Total	13,719	13,878	470,036

States marked "x" show gain for week.

To Make Another Attempt.

From Kansas City *Post* (July 20.)

The authorities at Washington didn't make a martyr of the editor of the APPEAL TO REASON by sending him to the federal prison, yet they have made him a conqueror by following up his charges against the federal prison management, with a house-cleaning.