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Appeal to Reason.

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FRED D. WARREN
 Managing Editor

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THE stunt pulled off in Los Angeles was not so much for the purpose of carrying the election there as to stiffen congress to legislate for the interests. The only way to defeat the trick is for the people to make demands on congress. YOU should write your congressman at once, protesting against the Aldrich currency bill, the federal incorporation law, and the incorporation of unions, and asking support for Berger's old age pension bill, and for the bill calling for preparation for government ownership of public utilities. Write a card on each subject and induce your neighbors to write. YOU should do as well as Los Angeles did.

THE BIG LOS ANGELES VICTORY

The completion of the count of the Los Angeles vote shows that Harriman polled a total of 53,000, and that Alexander's majority was less than 30,000. This is what the socialists had to go up against at the last moment:

An Alexander campaign fund of \$500,000, five daily papers, all of the saloon crowd, the entire slum vote, the entire red light district, the combined force of the churches, and all that well fed set and their servants that make Los Angeles a pleasure resort; a sensational confession of the McNamaras pulled off at a time to stampede the people.

In the face of this combined force of vice linked up with religion, of money purchasing poverty, the Socialists polled more votes in the city than the party had in the entire state last year. If Harriman could have been elected before the McNamara confession, it would have been with non-Socialist votes. In this case his election would have been a greater calamity than his defeat. At this distance, we consider the Socialist vote in Los Angeles a **great triumph for Socialism.** Harriman's vote is fire-tried, while a large part of those who voted for Alexander would not do it again **without the same things happening, and the same money being used.** This can never be done again. The work now before our comrades is to make party-members out of their voters, and thus get ready for the next big battle—**CALIFORNIA FOR SOCIALISM IN 1912.**

Los Angeles and Its Lesson

BY A. M. SIMONS.

Two democratic politicians, members of the catholic church, holding offices in a trade union and having always used these offices to oppose Socialism, under the counsel and direction of another democratic politician as their chief attorney with a nominee on the good government ticket of Los Angeles as another attorney, and urged on by a catholic priest and a sentimental reformer, have confessed to the blowing up of the Los Angeles Times building.

All parties agree that the only person directly connected with the case, who was wholly blameless in the transaction is the one Socialist—Job Harriman.

When the story was first sent out it was salvaged over with a plentiful slime of pious cant. The public was told that Lincoln Steffens had gone to Los Angeles and preached the gospel of the Golden Rule to such gentle characters as Harrison Grey Otis, Harry Chandler and Zeehandler and convinced them that there was need of being gentle with the poor working man.

Fortunately, this slush was quickly evaporated in the heat of the class struggle, and the whining cant of pious hypocrisy has been drowned in the fierce yelp for blood.

The whole tone of the Los Angeles capitalists is, "We have got 'em down, let's kill them." "Them" being the members of the working class and organized labor in particular.

Some workers have allowed themselves to be carried away by their indignation into demanding vengeance upon the McNamaras. Some trade union organizations have disgraced themselves by demanding the death penalty for these men.

The blowing up of the Los Angeles Times was a crime against humanity. The burning alive of over a hundred and fifty girls in the Triangle fire, the suffocation and torture of nearly 300 men in the Cherry mine and the killing and crippling of more than half a million men and women and children every year on the railroads and in the mines, mills and factories of this country by the forces of greed and in order that profits may come is a crime a million times worse than the mad deed of the McNamaras. Yet we hear no cry from the defenders of society, from the Otises and the Burnses that those responsible for these murders should be hung.

The blackest phase of the crime of the McNamaras was that they set back the day when this murder in mine, shop and factory can be stopped.

The McNamaras were always staunch supporters of the Mitchell-Gompers faction in the A. F. of L., a fact which it would be well for those to remember who are urging, with W. J. Burns, that the lesson of the McNamara case is the necessity of returning men like John Mitchell to power in the union movement.

The Los Angeles affair teaches, with terrible emphasis, the lesson that there is no room in the labor movement for the pure and simple unionist, whether he conceals himself under the cloak of "no politics," "capitalist politics" or fine phrases of "syndicalism" and "direct action."

The logical conclusion of any policy that belittles political action in the class struggle is individual warfare.

We are told that the McNamaras were sacrificed and the confession exploited for the defeat of the Socialist ticket all in order that some mysterious persons might be protected. There must be a universal demand that this veil of mystery be torn aside. The workers of this country have a right to know the names of all those who were implicated in this business. The very best method of expending what portion of the defense fund still remains would be to hunt down the real facts and place them before those who contributed to this fund.

The Socialists alone come out of all this mess with unspiced character. From the beginning Socialists in the unions have opposed the tactics of the McNamaras, and have fought the only tactics that make such actions as theirs impossible.

When they were accused and illegally kidnaped the Socialists protested against the precedent by which law was crushed aside whenever working men's lives or liberties are threatened.

Even then Socialists laid little stress upon the court fight and, contrary to their position in the Mower-Haywood-Pettibone case, where they

McNamara Case Reviewed

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

The confession of the McNamara brothers created such a sensation that for the movement everything else in connection with the case was obscured or forgotten. The widespread sympathy which had been aroused in behalf of these kidnaped workmen was almost instantaneously destroyed and in its stead there arose the clamor of their former friends, among them not a few so-called labor leaders, that the defendants be given "the extreme penalty of the law."

This sudden change from sympathy and support to repudiation and denunciation, from the side of labor to the side of capital, to howl with Otis and the Merchants and Manufacturers' association, with Post and Parry and Kirby, with Roosevelt and Burns, in condemnation of organized labor and all it stands for, just as was intended by the capitalist crowd which forced the confession on the eve of the Los Angeles election, is a spectacle well calculated to demonstrate the present subserviency of the working class to the capitalist class, and it is quite consistent and altogether fitting that such cringing sycophancy should be lauded by the capitalist press, and that such cowardly attitude on the part of those who are supposed to speak for labor should elicit exclamations of approval and delight from Otis himself and the organized gang of marauders, franchise-thieves and grafters pledged with him to the destruction of organized labor and the enslavement of the working class.

Now that the trial in this celebrated case is ended and the McNamara brothers are serving the sentence pronounced in the name of the law, let us, calmly review the principal features of this thrilling chapter in the war of the classes.

It was in April last that the McNamaras and McManigal, the police spy and confederate, were seized and kidnaped, and here let me say that if capital punishment were not a crime, McManigal is the one, and the only one in the affair, who should go to the gallows. The full part played by this miscreant is not yet known, but can easily be surmised. He did the dirty work that McPartland did to hang the Mollie Maguires, and like McPartland, is now qualified to serve his masters as the superintendent of some detective agency.

When the Los Angeles Times was blown up my conviction was that it was instigated by Otis himself and his gang of labor-haters who had sworn to wipe out organized labor and who were and are capable of any crime to accomplish that end, and I have not changed my mind. Jim McNamara may have placed, and very likely did place the dynamite, but who placed Jim McNamara? Who furnished the vast sums of money required to finance these dynamiting expeditions, and who plotted and engineered them?

When the whiskey trust was first organized and its promoters found that certain independent distillers could not be forced into the combine they had their distilleries blown up. Life and property were destroyed, and a reign of terror inaugurated, and although it was known who instigated the crimes no capitalist was ever punished on account of them.

For years there has been war between the Erectors' association, the subsidiary of the steel trust, and certain independent structural iron contractors, and as the former had declared war to the death on organized labor while the latter were on friendly terms with the unions, it may be readily inferred that the independent contractors who were fighting for their lives had an interest in the destruction of the buildings and bridges that were being built by the scab labor of the Erectors' association, and if all the facts were disclosed I am convinced that it would be found that the whole dynamiting conspiracy, with its concomitant plot to wipe out organized labor, was hatched in the capitalist camp and that there the funds were provided and the detectives employed to join the union and carry the conspiracy and plot into execution.

But in this review I propose to stick

The McNamara Case Now

Charles Edward Russell in *Coming Nation*.

YES, we denounced the kidnaping of the McNamaras. Yes, we insisted upon a fair trial for them. Yes, we opposed the apparent attempt to railroad them. Yes, we believed them to be innocent until they should be proven guilty. Yes, we thought the case had the appearance of a capitalist frame-up.

What of it? Knowing what we know of capitalism in America we had good reasons to believe that it would not hesitate to attempt by any feasible means the destruction of any man that stood in its way.

What of it? I can see nothing to retract or be ashamed of. The working class in America is monstrously exploited, preyed upon and victimized. We had every reason, therefore, to insist that when members of that class were accused, apparently because they had made themselves onerous to the capitalists, the laws should not be broken to secure their conviction.

That was all. The accused men turn out to have been guilty. That is not our fault nor the fault of the labor movement. It is not the first time that the advocates of a just and righteous cause have been deceived by individuals and will not be the last.

Yet the good cause goes on and is not to be turned aside no matter who may be deceived.

These are the facts in the present instance. I think they will be recognized as fundamental.

It is not pleasant to be deceived, but I believe, looking impartially over history, that it is not uncommon.

Any man or any number of men may prove to be unworthy. The truth continues to be the truth.

Anyway, I had rather be deceived while standing for the right of an accused workman to have a fair trial than to acquiesce for a moment in the breaking down of any safeguard that has been established for the protection of the accused, or than tolerate for a moment the kind of thing Harrison Grey Otis stands for.

The lesson of the whole sickening story that violence begets violence, that injustice fosters revenge, that violence always defeats any good end, that agitation and union are the strongest weapons against wrong in any community—may that not be lost upon this country.

I see that Mr. Gompers was so upset that for an hour and a half he wandered about the Pennsylvania railroad station like a man in a daze.

Mr. Gompers should cultivate philosophy, which is not only a comfortable thing to have in the house, but useful to him in his business.

The good souls that since the recent election have believed the emancipation of the working class to be assured by a progressive series of easy victories may have found food for reflection in some aspects of this development.

In the issue of November 25th the *Coming Nation* took occasion to remark that one result of the election would be greater and more determined activity by the capitalist class and another would be the appearance of new tactics. It may have been noted that six days before the election at Los Angeles comes an event that rendered certain the success of the capitalist ticket.

If this is a coincidence it is one of the strangest coincidences and for capitalism, one of the most fortunate that has lately happened.

Anyway, I never could understand why some of us think that capitalism will on receipt of a polite invitation, vacate the saddle, touching its hat, meanwhile and apologizing for intruding.

Those of us that entertain this pleasant vision may have it jolted away in the next few months. You need go no further than the war now being made on the APPEAL TO REASON if you wish a good tip on what is at hand. The wave of radicalism lately sweeping over the country must be turned back at any cost. Now watch the ways in which the gentlemen in the saddle will try to turn it back.

In one week British parcel post rates to the United States will be reduced to 15 cents (30 cents) will carry a three pound parcel from any point in Great Britain to any point in the United States. Twenty-seven pence will carry seven pounds and 39 pence eleven pounds. Thus the United States becomes a partner in the parcel post. However, while admitting the value of the idea, it refuses to accept it for home consumption and you will pay from two to ten times the rates for express in the United States that the people of England are charged.

Appeal to Reason

that there is nothing for the workers but slavery, and if they concluded that there was no justice in the courts for their class and nothing in law for them but slavery, who shall dare to say that they were criminals?

They were driven by the irresistible logic of capitalism to do what they did, and capitalism and not they are responsible for the crime in which they were but the unfortunate instruments.

Let those who are so swift to condemn the McNamaras put themselves in their places, if they dare. Let them serve just a week in the hazardous service of the structural iron worker. Not one of the moral cowards who are howling for their blood would have the nerve to take such a risk for a single hour.

It has just been reported after careful investigation that every floor of a skyscraper rests upon the corpse of a structural iron worker. These men have to risk their lives every minute they are at work to feed their wives and little ones. Death is not so terrible to them as it is to the cowards who are denouncing them when they defend themselves in the only way they have learned how under the capitalist system.

When these workers, these structural iron acrobats in midair, sacrificing their lives to erect buildings for plutocrats, organized a union to resist the power that oppressed them, Morgan and the steel trust swore that the union must be wiped out. War followed and ever since the structural iron workers have been fighting for their organized life. Their members have been blacklisted and hounded from place to place, and if this kind of brutality does not drive a man to dynamiting it is because in spite of capitalism the divinity of his abused nature still keeps him in restraint.

I have had some experience with strikes and strikers and I have seen men, especially railroad men, without a flaw in their record, discharged for joining a union and even for sympathizing with unionism, and I have seen them blacklisted, pursued, and discharged, even after securing employment under assumed names, until they were in rags, their homes broken up and their families scattered to the four winds.

One such case I have in mind now that arouses all the fierce resentment of my nature. A railroad man in the strike of 1894, as clean in character and as efficient in service as any I have ever known, was jailed without cause other than being an officer of the union and trusted by his fellows. When he was finally released he found that he was blacklisted. He lost a dozen jobs and finally gave up in despair. He is today a helpless wreck, his wife an invalid in the county house and the two lovely little daughters he had idolized in his once happy home, forced into the street in their childhood through the blacklist upon their father, are now in dens of shame.

Would it have been strange if this man had turned dynamiter or assassin? Could any one have blamed him if he had? And would God Almighty himself not have pitied instead of condemned him?

Let those who are now crying out in such heartless condemnation of the McNamaras put themselves in the place of this blacklisted workman I have just described—and there are thousands of similar cases all over this country—and then tell me in ladylike spirit and in Sunday school language and in a peaceable and law-abiding manner just what they would do about it, and if they really think that a man driven to crime under such criminal circumstances is a criminal at heart and should be murdered by the state for the misery and suffering society inflicted upon him and upon his wife and babes?

For every crime labor commits against capital, capital commits a thousand crimes against labor, but the crimes of capital are matters of fact and it is ridiculous and absurd to even suggest that they merit punishment.

Over half a million of working men, women and children are either killed outright or more or less terribly maimed every year in American industry. Most of the accidents in which these casualties occur are preventable and a large percentage of them are due to the violation of the

