

Total number of subscribers for week ending Dec. 16th... 465,148

Established Aug. 31, 1895... FIFTY CENTS A YEAR... This is Number 840... Appeal to Reason... J.A. WAYLAND... FRED D. WARREN... Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., January 6, 1912

The matter for the Propaganda Edition is almost all in type... It is being gone over carefully, because it is intended to make this a paper that will be of service during all the campaign of 1912.



All good things are a growth. The best things are the result of many minds growing and working together.

For years questions concerning Socialism and the facts that would help the workers fight for Socialism had been coming into the APPEAL office.

When questions were received, the matter was carefully looked up and if we were unable to find the desired information in our library, it was sent to some one who was in a position to give the data wanted.

This was the birth of the idea of the Arsenal. Then for a couple of years Comrade Warren set about finding out just what he would put into the book.

It did not stop growing then. Every Arsenal carried a note asking every user of it to suggest improvements, and each time many suggestions were received which were incorporated in the new edition.

Fourteen editions were brought out and every one was an improvement on the predecessor. Every fact not thoroughly established was weeded out. New facts were gathered, new questions answered, and new pages added.

This year Comrade Warren decided on the greatest improvement yet. The census of 1910 is just beginning to be available. Government investigations have brought out a vast mass of new facts in the last year.

W. J. Ghent, private secretary to Congressman Berger, was asked to do the revising. He is located at Washington, the very center of the information that was needed.

Can you afford to be without one? Can you afford to go on making statements that you know to be absolutely correct, but when proof is demanded be unable to furnish it?

You understand, the Arsenal is not for sale. Its inclusion is to furnish needed information to the comrades and to increase the subscription list of the APPEAL to REASON.

THE HUMAN MOVEMENT. The Socialist movement is the first human movement ever instigated among men. When we use the word human in connection we mean human in the best expression of that term.

The Socialist movement is as wide as humanity, as deep as humanity's miseries, as lofty as its aspirations. It is as human as it is to be divine and to have all the God-like attributes.

In connection with the abrogation of the Russian treaty of 1832, requiring America to deliver to the czar political refugees and providing for baiting the Jews, it will be noticed that nothing was said or done so long as only workers were butchered and only poor Jews baited.

Capitalists Behind the Dynamiting Plots

John and James McNamara are at San Quentin serving sentences for dynamiting, but they are not the real dynamiters. They are only the tools of the dynamiters.

These are the retainers of the money lords who in the name of religion, patriotism, law and order, denounce the red flag as the emblem of anarchy and crime for the mess of pottage which becomes the price of their betrayal of humanity.

It is remarkable how the reformers are uniting to condemn the "APPEAL brand of Socialism," recommending an entirely harmless (to capitalism) kind as "just as good."

There is about the only country on earth that has not recognized the Portuguese Republic. Nowhere is liberty or progress hated more than in Washington City.

SCIENCE, in its war on the housefly, decided the only way to exterminate this pest was to do away with its breeding places. So scientific Socialism found the only way to do away with the pest of poverty was to destroy its breeding ground, private monopoly.

FROM every section of the nation comes the news of tremendous activity in the Socialist propaganda. While the other parties rely on two months work before election, Socialists never stop.

ATTORNEYS of the best trust are sending to country editors elaborate briefs defending the men accused of fixing prices of meats and thus creating a monopoly.

IN cave man days it was customary for the big chief to wear a "necklace" of human skulls around his belly to show his prowess.

THE incentive to gain \$10.00 per day, every day one wants to work, would be greater than the incentive that comes from the uncertainty of earning \$3.00 per day (more often less) every day the wage earner can find a boss.

A SUBSCRIBER to the APPEAL has called attention to the fact that an electric railroad is being built between Chicago and New York with 15,000 stockholders interested, and concludes that this is on the line of Socialism.

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A Case from History

In a previous article I called attention to the fact that the war among the whiskey distillers when the trust was organized about a quarter of a century ago, resulted in the dynamiting of the plants and properties of the "independents" who refused to be driven into the trust and insisted upon competing against the combine.

It is well known that it was a war between rival distillers, powerful capitalist interests, and that in this war they resorted to the destruction by dynamite of distillery buildings owned by their competitors, just as structural iron buildings have recently been destroyed as the result of the war, as I believe, between rival contractors, and for which organized labor and its leaders are as little to blame now as they were then, excepting perchance in such an isolated case as the McNamaras when union hands were employed to light the fuses of the bombs which at the same time served the convenience of the masters in blowing up their own unions.

THE history of these dynamiting outrages extends over a period of four years and over a hundred structural iron buildings and bridges have been destroyed during that time.

Let us now provide additional corroborative testimony to prove our theory. The federal government, as we are advised by an Associated Press dispatch from Philadelphia, under date of December 20th, has filed a suit against the Keystone Watch Case company, known as the Watch Case Trust, declaring it an unlawful combination in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law, and here is what is specifically charged by the government in its complaint as it appears in the court record:

"DEFENDANTS HAVE ALSO URGED COMPETITORS TO SELL THEIR PLANTS AND BUSINESSES TO THE KEYSTONE CO. THREATENING THEM WITH DESTRUCTION SHOULD THEY REFUSE TO DO SO, AND HAVE DECLARED THEIR INTENTION OF ACQUIRING THE REMAINDER OF THE TRADE AND COMMERCE IN WATCH CASES, AND HAVE ASSERTED THAT THEY WOULD SPEND A MILLION DOLLARS IF NECESSARY TO DRIVE SOME OF THE LARGER OF ITS COMPETITORS OUT OF BUSINESS, AND THAT DEFENDANT WOULD HANG CREPE ON THE DOORS OF SUCH COMPETITORS' FACTORIES."

Here we have in brutally plain words THE MOTIVE for the dynamiting conspiracy which has resulted in the destruction of more than a hundred buildings and bridges, including the Los Angeles Times and the Lowell Iron Works, for which the McNamaras are now serving time.

THE independent contractors for the erection of structural iron buildings have the same motive for destroying buildings in process of erection by the Erectors' association which threatens them with ruin, as the Keystone Watch Case company has in placing "CREPE ON THE DOORS OF ITS COMPETITORS."

NOT only this, but the peculiar situation which had developed with reference to union labor and the well-known fact that Morgan and the steel trust had sworn to crush union labor and had already partly succeeded, emboldened the structural iron contractors, rivals of the steel trust, to carry out their dynamiting conspiracy because of that very situation in which THE LABOR UNIONS AND THEIR LEADERS WOULD BE QUITE NATURALLY SUSPECTED OF THE CRIMES, which fact would insure themselves against suspicion, while at the same time they could deal THE UNIONS A DEADLY STAB IN THE BACK WHILE PROFESSING TO BE THEIR FRIENDS.

WE have here the reason why these independent structural iron contractors were friendly with the union, recognized it, and dealt with it in making wage agreements. Their motive is perfectly clear to one who can see the meaning of things so palpably plain. They favored the union for purposes of their own and not because they loved it one whit more than did the steel trust, which had openly declared against it a war of annihilation.

MUST Make Demands.—Caxton 10 pt And now the important thing for organized labor in general and the Socialist movement in particular is to insist upon and as far as possible compel the present investigation by the federal authorities to GO TO THE BOTTOM OF THE AFFAIR and hunt down and drag to the light the real dynamiters, who have operated in the background, in the dark, behind the scenes, where the deeds were plotted and from whence they pulled the strings that set their puppets performing after their McManigahad their nets woven about the intended victims.

IT strikes me that for the most obvious reasons the whole machinery of the Socialist party and of the labor unions should be set in operation to enforce a thorough and complete investigation of the conspiracy from its inception, following it step by step, as the other side have done in furtherance of their ends, until the whole dark and damnable business is exposed, the real culprits unmasked, and the responsibility fixed where it rightly belongs.

THE first effect of the McNamara confession has been—as it was of course designed to be—to place the labor movement, and especially Socialists, upon the defensive, to compel them to protest their innocence in the face of an overwhelming cry of guilt raised to its highest pitch by the capitalist press, and drown their plea of not guilty with the howls of fury by the whole capitalist pack, with Roosevelt in the lead.

THIS effect has certainly been accomplished and for the present the odium of the crimes of the dynamiters has been fastened upon the organized workers, and although they are as innocent as if they had never been born, they are having to bear the brunt of it and the extent to which the movement has for the time being been injured is not to be lightly estimated.

A New Year Review

When the APPEAL prints a statement, its editors believe it is true. If that statement deals with a public official or a federal judge we must not only believe it to be true, but we must be able to prove it if called upon. The APPEAL has run the gauntlet for fifteen years, it has in that time printed some pretty vigorous statements about men influential in political and court circles. No important statement of fact has ever been questioned!

THE APPEAL has spent as much as \$1,000 in running down and verifying the statements of fact made in a single paragraph. Take the Leavenworth expose, for instance. Every essential statement of fact contained in those articles was in the APPEAL office more than a year before publication. Four APPEAL investigators were put to work on that story and after it was completed and personally made an investigation. Scores of guards were interviewed. A dozen states were ransacked and a hundred former inmates of the institution were questioned. Finally when the story was bullet-proof it was given to the world. The APPEAL knew full well the grave responsibility that rested on its shoulders in publishing those stories—but we believed it was a duty we owed to the men incarcerated in that institution and to their families and to society in general. There was no gloating in the APPEAL office when the telegraph informed us that the deputy warden had been deposed by the government at Washington—the APPEAL never kicks a man when he is down. We were gratified that the government, after three fruitless investigations, was compelled to make a change, thus admitting all we said was true.

IT took the APPEAL editor three years to piece together all the facts in the Alton steal, and when it was finally published it likewise was bullet proof. We employed a photographer to go to Albany and photograph the Harriman amendment to the banking laws, showing Roosevelt's signature thereto. This story was denied by the politicians and the APPEAL denounced by the republican party from ocean to ocean. But it stood the test and finally Roosevelt admitted its truthfulness and excused himself by saying, "He didn't know it was loaded."

THE APPEAL's first real fight was with General Madden of the postoffice department. The APPEAL then charged and proved that the postoffice was used to suppress undesirable papers and to throttle those who would not bend the knee to King Capital. The APPEAL has been triumphantly vindicated in a book issued by Gen. Madden since his retirement from the postoffice department, in which he substantiates every charge made by the APPEAL of the infamies and oppression practiced by those at the head of the postoffice department.

WHEN a confidence man is "working" his victim, he is always holding out some brilliant thing which will do so and so for the victim. When he gets his signature or money he laughs in his face. Congress is now victimizing the public. This administration is a great game and the booty being taken from the victims is the greatest ever jobbed by a set of schemers.

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Taken all in all, last year has been a very satisfactory one for the APPEAL. It leads all other years in number of papers sent out. An examination of our records shows that the APPEAL has gone into more new towns and reached more virgin fields than any year in its existence. The APPEAL is a pioneer agitator. As fast as a city or a county or a state is thoroughly organized, the APPEAL moves into new fields. This is why the establishment of new Socialist papers does not affect the APPEAL's circulation. There are now close to 300 Socialist periodicals—most of them in a flourishing condition—with the backbone of their support from workers who formerly boosted the APPEAL. This causes the APPEAL no regrets—because its mission is being fulfilled and when there are no more capitalist minded working men to make into Socialists, the APPEAL will close its stormy career in a blaze of glory!

LET THE PEOPLE BE HEARD. MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COURT. Edward D. White, chief justice, of Louisiana. Joseph McKenna, of California. Oliver W. Holmes, of Massachusetts. William R. Day, of Ohio. William H. Moody, of Massachusetts. Harlan H. Burton, of Kentucky. Charles E. Hughes, of New York. Joseph R. Lamar, of Georgia. Willis Van Devanter, of Wyoming.

I hope you took the APPEAL's advice and penned a brief letter to some one of the members of the supreme court at Washington, setting forth your reasons why the court should uphold the constitutionality of the Oregon direct legislation laws. This decision affects all the direct legislation laws in all the states wherein they have been adopted.

IT is a humiliating position for the American people to be placed in—this of petitioning nine men for the privilege of making the laws under which we live. But that is the situation. A million letters may turn the tide in favor of direct legislation. It is worth the price of a two-cent postage stamp. Not only write but urge others to write and do it today—for tomorrow may be too late!

THE APPEAL not only exposed, first of all, the Alton steal authorized by Roosevelt; it not only unearthed the Harriman letter in which Roosevelt solicited campaign funds from the great railroad magnate, something the latter has only recently tried unsuccessfully to explain; but it also revealed the inside history of the Tennessee Coal and Iron company's absorption by the steel trust with Roosevelt's sanction, contrary to law; and every fact it presented has within the past year been substantiated, under oath, in a congressional investigation.

AND for this work the APPEAL is to be punished. We'll admit, looked at from Harry Bone's point of view, the APPEAL editors deserve the limit. But it is just possible, as on a former occasion, the public may take a hand in the game, and the administration forced to back off, chagrined and humiliated. We are not counting on anything other than a glorious fight and a triumphant outcome, even though the APPEAL staff is locked up in Warden McClaughry's famous hostelry.

In the Perspective

NO MAN can have a legal right to life if the law does not recognize his right to demand employment and receive it and get the full value of the goods he creates while working.

STRIKES are great educators. But the tuition is too high. THE political revolt is becoming very prominent even in this plutocratic slave-camp. It's workin'.

PRINCIPLES are eternally good or bad. Vote for good principles, using men who believe in those principles. THE man who studies these questions will have more power than a hundred who are ignorant. Investigate or perish.

ALL debts are mortgages on the bodies of men and women, who are yet bought and sold on the market by these means. THERE is more labor lost by enforced idleness, ill-directed work and wasteful extravagance of the rich, than would feed, clothe and elegantly house the whole population of the United States.

THE people vote for what they think to be their interest. But judging from the conditions of the millions for the last 25 years, some of them must be awfully mistaken in their thinks. Think better or perish. THE greed and heartlessness of the employing class is doing its work. Only by starvation can the millions be taught any new ideas of government. When you hear a laboring man defending the old parties and upholding the monopolists, let him alone. He has not been sgetezed. Bastard! You can't reason with him, but a hungry stomach will finally cure his disease. Let him alone.

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Court Fight on the Appeal

Calendar of the Warren Case.

May 7, 1907.—Warren arrested after indictment by federal grand jury on charge of receiving stolen goods.

Data on Warren Case.

During the four years in which the Warren case was pending the cost to the Appeal was \$12,210, and to the government over \$12,000.

Calendar of Second Case.

April 29, 1911.—Expose of corrupt conditions at Leavenworth penitentiary.

Why Some Are Rich

There seems to be a fiction abroad in the land that the men who have accumulated capital are endowed with some particular gift that makes them different from other folks.

Still no one is objecting to the public schools—if we except the catholic church. There are many men who would welcome compulsory labor—labor of any sort by which they could earn a living.

COMPULSORY LABOR.

With public schools conducted by the state the compulsory education. With industries operated by the state there would be compulsory labor.

ACCEPTS THE INVITATION.

When trust magnates say that competition can not be restored between big corporations they invite Socialism.

"DEN OF THIEVES."

That New York City is a den of thieves and that the "leading financiers" are a set of "sandbaggers" is the deliberate conclusion of Hetty Green.

YOUR SUIT OF CLOTHES.

The Tariff Board appointed by President Taft has submitted its report to congress. According to this report the cost of raising the wool for a suit of clothes which sells for \$25.00 is \$1.55.

THE DIFFERENCE.

The Miner does not dispute any man's right to belong to any party, but it does feel that the Socialists in taking up the cause of untried criminals and making it closed, set a bad precedent and one which should be rightfully condemned by all fair-minded and law-abiding citizens.

Capturing Slaves in Our "Free" America

Did you know that slaves are hunted now as before the civil war? They are arrested and convicted as vagrants that may be worked in lumber camps.

Boy Hung to Make Him Confess.

To the Editor of APPEAL TO REASON. I am a reader of the APPEAL TO REASON. I like to ask you for some information. I am a German and don't understand the law of this country.

The Cruelties Confirmed.

The letter presented is not all the evidence in the hands of the APPEAL. The Oregon Daily Journal of October 1st, tells of the confession of Christ Swenson at Vancouver.

Case of "Railroading" a Prisoner.

For the past three weeks or more the papers of Oklahoma have been full of the story of the identification of "Ben Cravens," the notorious Oklahoma outlaw.

THIS IS ROOSEVELT.

Some time ago we announced that Roosevelt was in active training for the presidency. Since then there has been so much to confirm it that the fact no longer admits of the slightest doubt.

LOST HIS PANTS.

The ambassador of the United States to the royal court of Germany is J. G. A. Leishman. To attend the court ball given during the holidays by the kaiser, Leishman had to be provided with gold braided knee pants, gilded waist coat, cocked hat and a sword.

A PETITION TO THE COURT.

Write the following on a typewriter, attach it to a blank sheet of paper and get as many signatures to the document as you can and forward to Chief Justice White, Washington, D. C.

Dr. E. L. POWELL, of Louisville,

sympathizes with labor. He showed his sympathy during the night riding period, when admitting that he was as ignorant of the situation as a jackass.

UNCLE SAM has discovered that "adulterated" paper made mostly of clay is the kind of stuff the government has been printing its records on.

How does it come that in concentrating federal troops in fewer posts, Kansas comes in for two posts, at Leavenworth and Fort Riley? Is Kansas more dangerous than other states?

to come out what they had done to the boy. He said and then, We go after them; but my son never got a trial. They kept my son in the jail for a month and then they dismissed the case.

Now will you please be so kind and have a talk with your attorney about this case and look over the law of the state of Washington and inform me what I can do, and how long time I got to bring suit against them?

Vanconver, Wash. WILLIAM DAAKE.

Charles Maust was Ben Cravens, the authorities would feel justified in Charles Maust would be officially non est.

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City identifies Maust as Cravens from a "descriptive list," at Lansing, Kan., where he is supposed to have effected his escape, with "dumpy" six-shooters, when it is a fact the Bertillon system was not in vogue at that time at Lansing.

The crime for which Maust was originally arrested, at Mound City, Mo., was the alleged theft of a horse on the Saturday afternoon before the fall election in 1906.

SHELDON EXPLAINS.

George R. Sheldon is the treasurer of the republican national committee. He has just issued a letter through the capitalist press written by him to Theodore Roosevelt exonerating Roosevelt from the charge that he had, in connivance with the late E. H. Harriman, raised a huge campaign fund to debauch the electorate in the campaign of 1904.

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MURDERERS AT LARGE. The more the facts are known the more clearly apparent it is that capital punishment is an utter failure as a deterrent of crime.

Not only does capital punishment not prevent murder but it is in itself murder and crime against society. When the state murders a human being each and every one of us must share in the moral responsibility.

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841—Please observe—841. If the number 841 follows your name on yellow address label attached to this copy it means that your subscription papers will be sent until you forward new subscription.

Gain for the Army

Please bear in mind, dear Army workers, when you read the circulation column that forty weeks ago the APPEAL's subscription letter meetings with Debs, Brewer, Irvine and Wilson in the field, were in full-swing, sending in subscriptions by the tens of thousands.

What a commentary upon the present social system and upon the means adopted by this system of committing murder to prevent murder! The truth is that poverty-breeding capitalism in which the struggle for existence makes beasts of men, is responsible, and for every murderer murdered by the state a score or more are produced by capitalist society.

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Table with columns: STATE, OFF, TOTAL, etc. Lists subscription data for various states like Pennsylvania, Ohio, California, Texas, New York, Oklahoma, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Washington, Arkansas, Iowa, Oregon, Colorado, West Virginia, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Montana, Wisconsin, Florida, Louisiana, Kentucky, Idaho, North Dakota, Alabama, Tennessee, Connecticut, North Carolina, Georgia, South Dakota, Virginia, New Mexico, Canada, Maine, Maryland, Nevada, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Wyoming, South Carolina, Rhode Island, Utah, Foreign, Alaska, Vermont, District of Columbia, Delaware.