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J.A. WAYLAND

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FRED D. WARREN
Managing Editor

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Capitalist Testimony

HERE is nothing that really figures but labor. Materials—analyze materials. You will find that material means nothing but labor. Freight and supplies? Analyze them. They mean nothing basically but labor—just so much labor.—Charles M. Schwab of the Steel Trust, reported in Pittsburg Leader.

The Appeal and the Bench

It was the APPEAL that first started the fight against a corrupt capitalist judiciary. That up to this time it has been an uphill fight those of our readers who have followed us since it began will bear willing testimony. When the APPEAL first turned its gaze on the judiciary it was frowned upon by every one. It was considered a mere paper, a mere Socialist contemporary, many of whom thought it had policy to open fire on an institution that was held almost in reverence by the people.

But the APPEAL then, as always, before and since, was certain of its ground. It knew by keeping a close watch on the situation that the beast had "retreated to the judiciary" and was there carrying on his work of piracy and corruption behind the mask of the courts, which the people were not wont to question but only to obey and to hold in solemn awe.

Nothing daunted that the APPEAL received no encouragement in the line of attack it had mapped out on the citadel of capitalist corruption, it continued its fight almost single-handed, for years, before finally its efforts became apparent and the people began to appreciate the tactical wisdom of the APPEAL'S course. Up to this time the APPEAL was told again and again that its attempts to undermine the judiciary were fruitless and that its line of propaganda was an assault on the judiciary was ill-chosen for a Socialist paper.

But now, behold! The walls that seemed of stone in the judiciary bulwark begin to crumble and crack under the APPEAL'S incessant fire.

Now the vulnerable point of attack begins to appear, as well as the plundering powers that operate behind these walls to still further grind and enslave the people—and now, like a lurid bolt from a clear sky, the APPEAL is indicted by the federal government.

Now the long arm of Wall street begins to extend from behind the federal courts and its struggle-grip is fastened upon the throat of the APPEAL.

From that time to this the APPEAL has been under continuous fire with the exception of a few months between a sentence and a new indictment to enable the predatory gang to secure a firmer grip and make sure of its deadly work.

During that time the APPEAL has been hounded, held up, robbed in fact, by the emissaries of the powers the federal judiciary is shuddering to the extent of \$25,000, the manifest purpose being to exhaust the APPEAL'S vital resources and force its suspension as a Socialist paper.

But now the APPEAL no longer fights alone. Upon every hand new recruits are springing up and joining the new popular movement against the corruption of the American bench.

Quite recently Pearson's Magazine ran a review of masterly articles on the federal courts, showing their class character and exposing their class decisions, by Allen L. Benson, one of the most gifted and forceful writers upon the subject.

Now comes Everbody's with the announcement of the series by J. B. Connelly on the rottenness of the American courts, the opening article of which appears in the February issue and is the most startling detailed recital of the utter depravity of our whole system of jurisprudence which has yet appeared.

The APPEAL has not the space to go into details of these cases, nor is that its mission. The APPEAL has made it possible for the magazines to now take hold where it has left off and furnish the particulars for the masses. But for the APPEAL'S pioneer work in this field and the awakening of hundreds of thousands, these articles could not now appear, for without the awakening of the masses it would have been rubbish to any publisher to admit such barefaced attacks upon the "sanctified" courts to his magazine.

It is with pardonable pride, we venture to trust, that the APPEAL points its readers to the first fruits now beginning to appear of its fight of five long years against the courts of capitalism.

The APPEAL rejoices that so many of those who were ready to stone it for what they believed to be treason are now shouting its praises for having been loyal to the cause of the working class—the real sufferers at the hands of the courts.

It rejoices that the people are awakening and that they are beginning to see these courts, behind which are entrenched the predatory powers of the plutocracy, exactly as they are.

It rejoices that the light is beginning to break and that the long night is drawing to an end.

The APPEAL is compensated an hundred-fold for all the persecution it has endured, all the financial loss to which it has been subjected, and all the personal discomfort of its convicted editor, who was awarded the jail that he might be shorn like a felon and given a convict's number. In McLaughrey's black hole at Leavenworth. The APPEAL is prepared, for whatever the future may have in store for them in the great struggle for the emancipation of people. From now on, thanks mainly to the APPEAL, the people will have the story of the great struggle for the emancipation of people. From now on, thanks mainly to the APPEAL, the people will have the story of the great struggle for the emancipation of people.

The APPEAL will have powerful allies in waging its warfare against a corrupt judiciary, the last bulwark of a corrupt, desperate and all-powerful privileged class, which has for years exploited the nation, robbed the workers and mocked at the miseries of a long suffering people.

The issue: "Either the APPEAL must be suppressed or the federal courts, as at present constituted, abolished." The APPEAL has an unexpected ally in "Everbody's Magazine" with its series of startling exposures of the judiciary. In three months the press of the nation—that part of it without a muzzle—will be making the working ring. We can force the issue of judicial corruption and usurpation to the forefront in the campaign of 1912. It's the one BIG vital question—because the federal court is the main prop of tottering capitalism. The APPEAL recommends that delegates to state and national Socialist party conventions fast themselves on this question. Let the Socialist party this year issue a ringing declaration on the question of court usurpation. No other issue can be used so effectively in making clear the class character of the present capitalist government.

AFTER all the reasons assigned for favoring recall of the judges, the judges themselves are furnishing the best ones.

THEY who ask what Socialism is, just because they don't want to know, might really puzzle themselves in trying to tell what republicanism or democracy is.

TAFT says we must "return" to competition. Bryan wants to "go back" to the good old days. None but the Socialist would really progress and move forward.

WHILE they were freezing in Kansas City for the lack of coal, many near Girard were anxious to dig coal and were denied the privilege under the capitalist system.

SOMEONE is asking where LaFollette gets his money. The same place that Roosevelt gets his. Neither get it from the workers, and so the workers have no strings on them.

THE man who objects to Socialism because it leaves God out of its platform should remember that the same objection was made by the Tories to the present United States constitution.

THE masters hang on because, when there arises a movement that threatens them they have hitherto been able to finance and so control it. It is well that Socialism is financed only by the dues of the poor.

The State Journal of Springfield, Ill., objects to Socialists using such unbecoming headlines as "Why We Are Gouged." Why, man alive, that is the most cheerful subject in the world, for the capitalist crowd, with which you are vainly trying to train.

ED. C. LASATER, president of the Texas Cattle Raisers association, declares that 300 per cent of profit disappears somewhere between the producers and the consumers. That is what you are paying for the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. How do you like it?

SEATTLE is preparing to start a municipal bank for the deposit of the city's money and the loaning of its reserve fund of \$5,000,000. What? Socialism and anarchy and irreligion and treason and free love and threat against civilization taking possession of capitalist municipalities? That is the most unkindest cut of all.

THE APPEAL has perhaps more loyal friends and more bitter enemies than any paper in the world. I would make all the enemies its friends—and they would be if they would but understand what the APPEAL is trying to do—transform this world of hate and misery, and graft and robbery, poor and rich, into a world of happiness and plenty.

COLORADO is to vote on state ownership of coal mines, through the application of the initiative and referendum. Edward Keating says: "We can pay high union labor wages, provide for the safety of the miners, sell coal to consumers at two-thirds the present prices, and pay all the taxes of the state." That's too good a thing. The courts will see it doesn't get away from the grafters.

There is an APPEAL Arsenal in the office for you. Get it—and equip yourself to meet any foe—blue or black.

FAILING to find anything to criticize in the demands of Socialism, the masters are seeking to create a panic in the minds of the people by declaring that Socialism has a "secret" program that is simply awful. And they themselves pretend to tell what the secret program is! It is such a palpable lie that the American people merely smile grimly while they prepare to swat the masters the harder for their lies.

You little fellow, what do you think of this taken from a pamphlet sent out by the employing printers of the country: "It has been too cheap and too easy to get into the business and should be made harder right at the start, keeping out the little new comers who sap profits." From now on you may depend on it that the little fellows will have to pay as much for the machinery that the big capitalist will have to do for the same stuff. This is a new way of ending competition.

COMPLAINT is made in several localities that Oklahoma sends every year to Eastern companies \$10,000,000 as premiums on life insurance, and receives in return less than three million dollars in indemnities. That is for only one state. Quite a waste due to the system. Yet with all that not one man in ten is insured in old line companies, and there is little security even for those who are "insured." How much better it would be to have a sane system under which all this could be saved, and yet every man, woman and child would be sure of protection in work and from poverty. Such a system is offered in Socialism.

THE church is agitated over Socialism as never before. A great many preachers are coming to the support of the movement for the people. On the other hand, some are becoming fierce in their denunciation of Socialism. At Carney, Oklahoma, Rev. A. G. McCowan denounced the APPEAL from the pulpit of the Christian church, reading from the paper that the church people had united with the red light district in Los Angeles to beat the Socialist candidate for mayor. He declared that nothing would be published in such a paper unless it had been soaked one hundred years in hell. He did not, however, produce any evidence to disprove the absolute facts of the statement.

To the Pioneers

To those of you who received a Pioneer Subscription Blank: Will you please see four of your neighbors and ask them to subscribe? It will help us in the work of spreading the doctrine of Socialism—and your neighbors are hungry for information on this all-absorbing subject.

The Supreme Tragedy By Eugene V. Debs

IT is being enacted continuously and all around us. But most of us are blind and cannot see it, and our hearts are dead and we cannot feel it.

The agony of our fellow-beings, the poverty, suffering and despair which have wrung all the joy out of their lives and left them hopeless to perish as if they were in a desert waste, these constitute the supreme tragedy that is being enacted before our twentieth century civilization.

We sit at breakfast and we are content if we have enough to satisfy our own appetite. Across the way there may be a child dying of starvation. This is not our concern, or if it is, we may in our Christian charity that "surpasseth understanding" organize a charity ball or a rummage sale for its relief.

If we were civilized, if we were really human beings, we would feel the hunger-pangs of our fellow-men, and women, and little children, even if we could not see them, and the food we eat while they are starving would choke us, and the great coats we wear while they are shivering would sear us to the very marrow of our bones.

But we are not civilized and human; we are capitalized and inhuman.

We have scarcely emerged from the caves and jungles. We have lost some of the savage instincts of our ancestors, but we have not replaced them with humane and generous impulses.

The individualism in which we were begotten and under which we grew to maturity has no ethical standard above its own belly-line. It has developed the beak and claw, the fang and hoof, and not the soul and conscience of men, and the extent of their ambition is to lord it over others with arrogant, heartless self-conceit, and glut their own low and vulgar appetites.

Yesterday morning I read in the papers of a little girl of twelve who had attempted suicide by throwing herself into a canal after she had been looking all day for work and was denied; and faint from hunger and without a friend in the world, she sought to end it all, this mere child, scarce out of her babyhood, by destroying herself.

Just think of that, if you can, and see that child as you must, and then think of her as your own! What now of

TAKE COURAGE!

THIRTEEN come times to all of us when we feel that we are tried beyond our strength and when it seems that the more we strive and sacrifice the farther off is the day of victory. But we must rouse ourselves from these moments of discouragement and despair. If we yield to them we are lost. The very moment we feel ourselves giving way to weakness we must summon all our energy to resist the deadly attack and assert all the manhood and womanhood there is in us. Soon we feel ourselves lifted up again and given a new lease of strength for a greater effort than we have yet made.

Of all human beings on earth the workers have the least cause to despair of their lot. If they are still in bondage it is because they will it so. No power between the skies and the seas can enslave them but themselves.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman inspiringly hails the workers:
Then rise as you'er rose before,
Nor hopped before,
And show as we'er was shown before,
The power that lies in you!
Stand all as one,
Till right is done,
Believe and dare and do!

A BRIGHT OLD WORLD.

What a bright old world this will be when poverty is abolished. "Can't be done!" you say? Well, why not? Let us look at it this way: There are so many cubic feet of good solid ground in this old earth. Each cubic foot of dirt is potential wealth. In it is contained and out of it grows food, clothes, houses, automobiles, and a thousand other articles of use, comfort and luxury. "But," you say, "all these articles cost money." Here is where you are wrong. The production of all these things require the expenditure of labor—labor and brains. Both these essentials are possessed by the working class in abundance, although I must admit, it would look at times as though they did not possess brains. But they do and we have ample evidence that they use them when we examine the records of the material progress society has made since the days of the cave man.

Now that we have agreed that that there are some trillions of cubic feet of potential good things wrapped up in the earth and millions of workers to exercise their ability and desire to exercise their powers, the next question to consider is why this labor is not applied to this superabundant raw material?

In the first place, we find that these trillions or so cubic feet of earth are owned by a small number of men, who were formerly working men or whose ancestors were of the working class—commonly called in the old days, chattel slaves. The process by which they acquired title to the land is hid in the mystery and gloom of the past.

If you should examine an abstract of title to any piece of ground within the confines of the United States you would find at some point in the document a transfer that would not square with the rule of right and justice between man and man, judged by the old fashioned standards of right and wrong. To begin with, the land was free to all. It was used without let or hindrance by all men. The meat of the forest was for the taking—the fish in the streams went to him who took the trouble to catch them. Later when game grew scarce, man discovered agriculture. The land was still free until a man, more powerful physically than others, became tired of working and decided that he would make the other fellow work. Slavery then came into being—not slavery of the "inferior classes" and of a different race and color—but of white men and women—just such men and women as you will see on the streets

a civilization in which this monstrous crime against a child is not only of common occurrence, but scarcely provokes a passing thought!

The brutal misdeed of some poor black man lashes society into a perfect tempest of virtuous (?) indignation, but this same complacent Christian society can witness the starving of little children without the quiver of one of its painted eyelashes.

This morning in my own neighborhood, within a rod or two of where I was born and have lived all my days, a day laborer, long in enforced idleness through inability to find work, too meek to beg or steal, administered poison to his wife and babe, and then to himself. The neighbors found the poor woman half covered with a few rags and not a bit of fuel nor a morsel of food in the miserable den in which not an animal would have remained unless it was chained there.

I feel, and keenly feel, the humiliation and disgrace of this horrible social crime. I feel at least my full share of the awful responsibility, and it is with difficulty that I can restrain myself in giving utterance to my feelings.

The earth is ample and the fullness and fatness thereof sufficient for all the children of men, and that we should be so steeped in our sordid individualism and so dead to all the humanities that we should sit complacently by while these social iniquities and crimes are being perpetrated all about us is the utter denial of any claim we may have the effrontery to make that we are civilized and human beings.

When I see and hear and read of these terrible happenings and then note in the press dispatches that a royal duke and a cardinal of the church of Christ are entertained by a plutocrat in such extreme luxury and extravagance that it defies description, and that over their sparkling goblets of wine they congratulate the host upon the "greatness and glory and prosperity of the country," all the drops of blood in my veins boil with revolutionary indignation.

Could I give any stronger reasons for being a Socialist and in the name of Socialism demanding in absolutely uncompromising terms the overthrow of capitalist misrule, creation of the whole social fabric upon a basis of mutualism which the supreme tragedy is continuous, and the realization, humanity and brother-love?

CAN YOU ANSWER THIS?

Commenting on a dispatch from Chicago stating that 150,000 men were out of employment, their families hungry and starving, Fremont Older in the San Francisco Bulletin asks:

What is the matter? Of those 150,000 unemployed men in Chicago, all but a few would eagerly embrace an opportunity to go to work. Barbarous nations when left to themselves see to it that their workers have something to eat and a place to sleep. Highly-civilized nations like ours have a far better opportunity to do as much for the class on which the stability of their government depends. This is not a matter of Socialism but of common sense. What are we going to do about it? Shall we continue to let the rich exploit the poor, or shall we safeguard the future by seeking to stay that concentration of capital which is ever responsible for the extremes of wealth and poverty?

Let 100,000 Socialists put this question up to the 20,000 editors who write the fine pieces on prosperity in the United States. Deluge these mistaken zealots with this direct question, "What is the Matter? Let us make it ring from coast to coast and never cease until it is answered."

President Taft's public utterance against direct legislation foreshadows the coming decision of the supreme court in the Oregon case. If the court follows the president's reasoning, the right of the people of Oregon to enact laws by the initiative and referendum will be declared unconstitutional. The point at issue is the right of Oregon to levy a tax of two per cent on the gross receipts of the Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph company, a corporation doing business within the borders of the state. The corporation is attacking the law on the ground that direct legislation violates the constitutional provision that the several states shall be guaranteed a REPUBLICAN form of government. The corporation sets up the defense that the democratic measures of the initiative and referendum subverts the republican form. The corporation, as usual, is right. The constitution of the United States DOES NOT give the people the right to rule. If the people really want to rule then the constitution must be changed or abolished. It's about time this historic old document, written a century ago, was changed.

DEATH TO SMALL DEALER.

The Wall Street Journal, speaking of the merging of two of the greatest chain of drug stores, says that 1911 will become traditional as the year of combinations. The new combination has \$15,000,000 capital, and rapidly extending its ownership to smaller cities.

But greater than this, it says, is the Woolworth five and ten cent stores, with \$95,000,000 capital, whose purpose is to extend its operation into every locality in the nation. It involves competition with all lines except groceries, meat, and dry goods and clothing. The Journal quotes Pittsburg, Pa., merchants as saying that these stores have already brought disaster to them.

And the great busting of trusts and returning to competition continues with great gusto! And what are you going to do about it?

Mr. ALDRICH and his friends invite the United States to turn over to the Banker's Association all government funds for a period of fifty years. You remember what a horse laugh greeted the farmers when they asked the government to turn government funds over to the farmers? How the Utopian scheme proposed by the hayseeds was ridiculed and laughed off the stage. Now comes Mr. Capitalist with a scheme that has the farmer and his sub-treasury beat several miles. The banker will win because he has taken the precaution to put his friends in office.

The senate committee investigating the charge that Senator Stenhuson spent \$150,000 to secure the office has decided that there "was no corruption, but investment." Buying an office in which one can sell legislation is therefore not wrong but only "business." What do you think of that?

THE APPEAL AND PROFIT. When our friends, the enemy, can find no words with which to combat the APPEAL'S logic and its irrefutable facts, they shout, "You're making a profit from the poor dupes who subscribe for your paper."

Since when has making a profit become a crime, according to capitalism's code? These fellows forget that in condemning the APPEAL for making a profit at 25 cents, they are at the same time condemning the publishers of their own papers—many of which charge four times as much as the APPEAL and give less reading matter.

Many criticisms of the APPEAL have reached my ears, and the curious—or will I say, nature—circumstance is that most of the criticisms are true.

But no one has yet successfully refuted the truth of the statements made by the APPEAL. And after all is said, it is the truth that counts!

While Justice may be blind, she can certainly smell-out money.

The man who has the dough gets the pie.

"Civilization" requires slaves.—Oscar Wilde.

Tell me what you read and I will tell you what you are.

The "progressives" may be progressing toward it but the Socialists have arrived.

The only person entitled to wealth is the person who has created it. The only true title is, "entitled."

The Navy League is the latest organization to fight Socialism. Sounds like a brand to be "chawed."

Time way to succeed is to keep pounding away. Plant fundamental knowledge and it will bear fruit permanently.

There is no "productive property" except as the laborer is considered property. It is always labor that produces.

The capitalist press is crying: "It is Roosevelt or Revolution." And the APPEAL tells you in thunder tones that it is "Revolution or Slavery."

It is all right to be contented with your lot if you have a lot, but what about the fellow who has always worked and has nothing?

SENATOR STENHUSON of Delaware proposes changing the motto on the silver dollar, from "In God We Trust" to "The Trust is our God."

I wonder sometimes whether this life we are living is but a nightmare; that presently we shall awake and find ourselves in a real world?

God made the heavens and the earth and the waters of the sea—but capitalism has built this hideous hell in which you and I are living today.

The man who asks, How are you going to do it? doesn't want it done. If it ought to be done and you want to do it, there is always a way.

THERE are two revolutions, mental and physical. That which begins with destruction too often ends without a mental awakening. That which begins with intellectual quickening avoids destruction.

MORE criticism of the courts has been printed in the past five years (since the APPEAL'S Big Fight started) than in all the centuries preceding. Without boasting, the APPEAL can say it did it with its Big Goss Press!

STEPHENSON has been whitewashed by the senate. It is related that a horse-thief was captured with the evidence of his theft in his possession. He was tried and acquitted. It was learned later that the jury was composed of horse thieves!

THE APPEAL has followed the example of the Kansas City Star and got a wireless poll on presidential candidates; only the APPEAL'S vote is of the working class alone. It stands to date: Debs, 414,760; Bryan, 673; LaFollette, 500; Clark, 130; Taft, 111; Wilson, 133; Roosevelt, minus 17.

There is an APPEAL Arsenal in the office for you. Get it—and equip yourself to meet any foe—blue or black.

"THERE is no satisfaction comparable to that of making one's neighbor happy," reads a French proverb. But this was written many years ago, before the days of Plunder and Profit. The smile you see on the face of Mr. Average Man today is due, in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred, to the fact that he has just beaten his neighbor in the Game of Grab.

TAFT boldly announces that he does not believe the people fit to rule. "Let the minority keep the majority in check and see that justice is done," is the key note of a speech by the president. Taft is a mighty poor politician—Roosevelt would never have made such a break in public. But it should be remembered that Taft had just finished the last course at the banquet where sparkling wine was served in abundance. This may account for this striking declaration—the heart and core of capitalist philosophy.

LET us not overlook, in the general rejoicing, that there are nearly 14,000,000 men who vote the dem-rep ticket—and that it is our job to convert 7,000,000 before we can establish the co-operative commonwealth. That looks like a big job—but when we consider the powerful allies we have in the trusts and the federal judges—not counting Teddy, the Terrible—the job is by no means impossible. Just pass around literature and the hungry populace will grab the Socialist book as a hungry trout goes for a live fly.

JANUARY 30th, twelve years ago, Goebel was assassinated by a bullet fired from the window of the republican secretary of state's office in Frankfort, Ky. Caleb Powers was arrested for the crime. On his person was found a pardon written and signed before the act was committed, by Gov. Taylor, who fled to Indiana. Taylor was protected by the republican governor and later pardoned by another republican governor, two weeks before the trial of the editor of the APPEAL at Ft. Scott, in May 1909, where he sold his soul to the devil by swearing falsely. The Goebel assassination by the Taylor-Powers gang of republican politicians was a case where it seems murder is not murder.

More Indictments Coming

The press announces that the federal grand jury at Indianapolis is to bring indictments against 300 trade union officers within a few days.

The Disappearing Small Town

William Allen White, the Kansas editor who wouldn't take a federal job because it would cost him his independence and self-respect writes the following piece against the mail order house.

The preservation of the home trade to the home town carries with it the preservation of many of our American institutions. It is the only way to get things in American life will pass its country town passes, and it will pass, just as surely as centralization of retail mail order towns passes. In cities, counties, the American country town preserves better than the crowded city, and better than the lonely ranch and isolated farm life, the things that make America great. Here in these country towns the spirit of neighborliness is the prevailing spirit. Men come to know one another, and when any two human beings come to know each other, it is the one who is intelligent and wise, respect always arises for the other. To know one fellow citizen is to sympathize with them. Neighborliness spurs fraternity. The American country town with its circle of friends, with its close, homely simple relations between men, with its economic status that permits the creation of no indolently rich and no abjectly poor, the American country town, American institutions. The mail order house therefore becomes a menace to this country town. The mail order house will kill our smaller towns, creating great cities with their terrible contrasts of life, with their class and social relations, with their inevitable caste feeling that comes with the presence of strangers who are rich and poor living side by side. Great cities give much in ways but little in justice. The motto of the mail order house is every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost—and you bet the devil will.

The "Old Order Changeth," and no man knows this better than William Allen White. And with the change will go the small town and its neighborliness, its helpfulness, its gossip. Also will go the heavy burden which society has uncompromisingly borne in the past to maintain 50,000 villages and small towns. Perhaps in no other way has so much of society's wealth and energy been dissipated as in maintaining small towns, with their duplication of working forces, duplication of buildings, duplication of delivery wagons, etc. Waste by duplication—that's the corner stone of the small town.

The Prophets of the Old Order can't save the village. It's as impossible a task as putting Humpty Dumpty back in place—a riddle which has never been solved.

Centralization is here. The fact then adjust ourselves as sensible men and women to the New Order and get what is coming to us, rather than turning over to a few shrewd plutocrats all the profits that accrue from doing business on trust lines. The village is disappearing because the small industries around which they were built have moved to the city, where transportation and other manufacturing facilities are better. The only villages that are coming into being today are the towns that grow up around a coal mine or an oil field—and God save our children from such habitations.

TAFT SPURNS MAJORITIES. At a banquet at Waldorf-Astoria, January 28th, President Taft, according to press dispatches, used the following frank though remarkable language:

"In the effort to make the judiciary responsive to the whim of the people, I see destruction. The conservative element of the nation must eventually get together to prevent a movement that would make the courts, the creature of popular will, and might make the decision in every case not accord with the law, but accord with what a majority of the people thought the law should be."

Which is saying that the people should be subject to the courts, but that the courts should not be subject to the people!

Which is saying bluntly and brutally that he knows the laws are not what the majority want!

Which is saying that the people should be subject to the courts, but that the courts should not be subject to the people!

Which is saying that a minority, the rich few, with special advantages by and through the judges, should get together to prevent the majority from exercising the right of ruling!

Which is saying that the speaker saw destruction if the majority should rule!

That popular will should not rule! And Taft and his supporters will ask the people to elect them so they can prevent the people from having laws he and they know they want!

And this is patriotism! This ought to awaken anybody but a fool to what the rich stand for.

HID THE SHELLS.

A dispatch from Chicago ament the packers' investigating committee says that the packers hid their profits by organizing little companies and giving them the profits. One little company with only \$15,000 capital was paid three million dollars profit in one year. And the packers claim they made only one dollar head profit on the business! I would not believe them under oath where their profits and interests were concerned. And yet the farmers who get skinned on their cattle and the public that get skinned on their meat purchases, prefer to vote the old party tickets and have this continue, rather than trust their government with the packing industry! Don't you think you and the farmers are blankety blank wise when you vote the old party tickets? We Socialists want the public to own and operate the packing industry that would give you more for your cents and be able to sell meats at much less than they are now. The packers say it cannot be done, and oppose having it given a trial. They are wise to their own interests, but I am sorry to say that I do not think you squeezed lemons are.

Socialist Meanings. There are some words Socialists use which are not understood by all, being expressive symbols from other languages. Proletarian means one of the working class. Proletaire means the middle class. Bourgeois means the spreading or propagating of an idea. It is the plural of propagandist. These words are used because they have become, through use of all Socialists, a sort of universal language. Socialists address each other as "comrades." There is no "inner circle," and there are no secrets about Socialism. They who tell you there are, either willfully or unknowingly deceive you.

BEACON LAMP FREE BURNER FREE. Advertisement for a lamp and burner, offering them for free.

INFORMATION WANTED. Advertisement seeking information about a person named John J. Hill.

The Rose Door. Advertisement for a house of prostitution, mentioning a woman named Rose.

Chicago's Black Traffic in White Girls. Advertisement or notice regarding the black traffic in white girls in Chicago.

Learn to Mount Birds. Advertisement for a course or book on how to mount birds.

WANT THIS? Advertisement for a product or service, possibly related to the bird mounting course.

20 Beautiful Post Cards 10c. Advertisement for a set of 20 beautiful postcards for 10 cents.

PATENTS. Advertisement for patent services, mentioning a lawyer named W. H. Lacey.

5 Fine Post Cards FREE. Advertisement for five fine postcards offered for free.

WANTED - men to learn harbor trade. Advertisement for a harbor trade training program.

PATENTS SECURED ON FEE REFUNDED. Advertisement for patent services with a fee refund guarantee.

10,000 MEN WANTED. Advertisement for a large-scale recruitment or training program.

\$2.50 Per Day Paid One Man or Woman. Advertisement for a job or service offering \$2.50 per day.

Work for Socialism. Advertisement for a program or organization focused on social work.

FREE to every SOC ALIST. Advertisement offering something for free to all socialists.

The Library of Original Sources. Advertisement for a library or collection of original sources.

Direct Nomination. Advertisement or notice regarding direct nomination in an election.

The Movement in Michigan. Article discussing the socialist movement in Michigan, mentioning figures like J. W. Rickard.

Work of Truflation. Article discussing the concept of truflation and its impact on the economy.

Perjured Packers. Article discussing the practices of packers and the issue of perjury.

Atrocities of Child Labor. Article discussing the harsh conditions and abuses of child labor.

The Good Man. Article or notice regarding a 'good man' or a specific individual.

The Fourth Estate. Article or notice regarding the 'fourth estate' or a specific group.

Like a Field. Article or notice with the title 'Like a Field'.

Mincemeat. Article or notice with the title 'Mincemeat'.

The Legal Department. Advertisement for a legal department or law firm.

Little Stories from Life. A collection of short stories or anecdotes.

Some Socialist Statistics. A list of statistics related to socialism, such as population and economic data.

Work of Truflation. (Continued) Further discussion on the economic concept of truflation.

Perjured Packers. (Continued) Further details on the practices of packers.

Atrocities of Child Labor. (Continued) Further details on child labor abuses.

The Good Man. (Continued) Further details on the 'good man'.

The Fourth Estate. (Continued) Further details on the 'fourth estate'.

Like a Field. (Continued) Further details on the 'like a field' article.

Mincemeat. (Continued) Further details on the 'mincemeat' article.

The Legal Department. (Continued) Further details on the legal department.

Little Stories from Life. (Continued) More short stories or anecdotes.

Some Socialist Statistics. (Continued) More socialist statistics.

Work of Truflation. (Continued) Further discussion on truflation.

Perjured Packers. (Continued) Further details on packers.

Atrocities of Child Labor. (Continued) Further details on child labor.

The Good Man. (Continued) Further details on the 'good man'.

The Fourth Estate. (Continued) Further details on the 'fourth estate'.

Like a Field. (Continued) Further details on the 'like a field' article.

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The Legal Department. (Continued) Further details on the legal department.

Some Socialist Statistics. (Continued) More socialist statistics.

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Perjured Packers. (Continued) Further details on packers.

Atrocities of Child Labor. (Continued) Further details on child labor.

The Good Man. (Continued) Further details on the 'good man'.

The Fourth Estate. (Continued) Further details on the 'fourth estate'.

Like a Field. (Continued) Further details on the 'like a field' article.

Mincemeat. (Continued) Further details on the 'mincemeat' article.

The Legal Department. (Continued) Further details on the legal department.

Herve on German Victory. Article discussing the German victory and its implications.

Work of Truflation. (Continued) Further discussion on truflation.

Perjured Packers. (Continued) Further details on packers.

Atrocities of Child Labor. (Continued) Further details on child labor.

The Good Man. (Continued) Further details on the 'good man'.

The Fourth Estate. (Continued) Further details on the 'fourth estate'.

Like a Field. (Continued) Further details on the 'like a field' article.

Mincemeat. (Continued) Further details on the 'mincemeat' article.

The Legal Department. (Continued) Further details on the legal department.

AGENTS! WORK FOR US. Advertisement for agents, offering various opportunities.

AGENTS! WORK FOR US. (Continued) More agent opportunities.

AGENTS! WORK FOR US. (Continued) More agent opportunities.

AGENTS! WORK FOR US. (Continued) More agent opportunities.

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AGENTS! WORK FOR US. (Continued) More agent opportunities.

AGENTS! WORK FOR US. (Continued) More agent opportunities.

Court Fight on the Appeal

Calendar of the Warren Case. May 7, 1907.—Warren arrested after indictment by federal grand jury on charge of sending "insulting" letters to the mails. Appeared for trial. Case postponed.

February 7, 1908.—Pollock overruled motion to dismiss case. May 3, 1908.—Case continued by the government.

November 11, 1907.—Motion to quash indictment argued by Warren's attorneys. February 7, 1908.—Pollock overruled motion to dismiss case.

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The Big Fight

The APPEAL usually fights alone for a time, and then when the public mind has been saturated with the damning facts it has dug up, other papers and magazines join the crusade.

You will recall, those of you who have read the APPEAL for the past five years, several notable instances where the APPEAL rushed in where others feared to tread.

The most recent instance is Everybody's attack on the federal judiciary, which promises to do the APPEAL. The APPEAL congratulates Everybody's and the writer of its series, C. P. Connolly.

If the announcement is fulfilled, we may expect some lively doings in the judicial circles. If there is any faltering along the way, as was the case in the "Barbarous Mexico" series, the APPEAL will finish the job—though practically all the material that will be used by Mr. Connolly has already appeared in the APPEAL.

Here is Mr. Connolly's indictment: That courts have been packed in order to render decisions favorable to certain corporations.

That the judicial opinions of our highest courts have been written in the offices of the legal department of railroads and other corporations.

That federal judges use their power to loot prosperous concerns to the financial advantage of judicial rings.

Many judges feel themselves high priests and sincerely believe that all criticism of courts is unholly and heretical.

Many of them are political henchmen with whom public morals are a cynic's jest. They have packed and controlled the law for the protection of a favored few.

This corruption of our courts pervades every section of the country. It is becoming more and more difficult for the poor man to get a decision against a corporation.

The influence of corporation lawyers over courts has demoralized the legal profession. Corrupt decisions have crept into the law and become a part of it and in some communities have poisoned the entire judicial system.

Then the method of getting them to the worker was discussed. First, it was decided to sell them for a dollar, but that was discarded because it is the mission of the APPEAL to furnish all information necessary to the comrades free—or as near free as possible.

Then it was decided to give one to the ten comrades sending in the largest list of subscribers each week, but that, too, was discarded, because only 500 of the books would be in circulation at the end of a year.

And then the big idea: Give it free to every one who sends the APPEAL \$3 worth of 40-week subscriptions, or ordered \$3 worth of 40-week sub cards, or ordered a bundle of twelve copies (at \$3) sent to their address for a year.

Result is that in the three years more than 50,000 copies of this little morocco bound book, so necessary to every Socialist, has been mailed to members of the APPEAL Army, and the APPEAL has received thousands, yes tens of thousands, of subscribers that it would not otherwise have secured.

And after all this is what you want, and it is what the APPEAL wants: MORE SUBSCRIBERS.

The 1912 edition, containing 144 pages bound in red morocco, is just from the bindery.

Get one today.

Impeach the Usurper

The national convention of the United Mine Workers, which quite recently adjourned, adopted a scorching resolution condemning Judge A. B. Anderson for releasing Detective Burns, under indictment for kidnaping, and demanding a congressional investigation with a view to bringing about Anderson's impeachment and removal from office.

This action of the miners, expressive of the sentiment of three hundred thousand American wage-workers, should be the signal for a general movement against the despotic act of Judge Anderson, the latest in a long series of vicious usurpations which have characterized the federal bench in relation to the working class during the past ten years.

All other labor unions at their meetings and conventions and all Socialist bodies should join in this action with spontaneous energy and determination.

1912 FACTS RELOADED ARSENAL

Say did you know that there is an Arsenal of Facts in this office for you? Did you know it was printed and bound especially for you?

Did you know that it has been in course of compilation for more than three years, and that the compilers of this book represent every member of the entire APPEAL Army?

Did you know that the first thing Warren thought of after this book began to take shape, and he found it so handy for reference, was that "Here is the book for the Army?"

Did you know that from that time on his chief desire was to produce a book that would be indispensable to the Socialist agitator?

Did you know that when you were requested a few years ago to make suggestions for the improvement of the Arsenal that his sole idea was to give some other comrade the benefit of your experience?

Did you know that this is just what has been done; that thousands of comrades wrote to the APPEAL that the Arsenal should contain "facts" regarding this, or regarding that; that hundreds wrote the same thing; that these were sorted out and looked up, and it is this data collected in this way that comprises the bulk of this book; and that before anything was printed it was carefully investigated and the absolute facts regarding the subject were secured?

Now think what a book like this means to you; to have the actual facts on all subjects that could possibly cause a discussion between a militant Socialist and an old-party politician.

Then the method of getting them to the worker was discussed. First, it was decided to sell them for a dollar, but that was discarded because it is the mission of the APPEAL to furnish all information necessary to the comrades free—or as near free as possible.

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SQUEEZING THE FARMER.

In the investigation of the packers' trust, it was proven that the packers met and divided the territory from which each should buy, and what they should buy. Thus the farmers sent their stock to market, were charged ten prices for feed at the packers' yards, and really had to sell to just one firm or ship their stock back home.

How long this had been going on no one knows, but the government proved from the witnesses of the packers that it was going on fifteen years ago and continued down to recent dates. And it is doubtless being done in the same way today.

Men who would do it then to make money will do it today to make money. How many millions were thus taken from the stock raiser by loaded dice, no one will ever know. What is the most curious part of the game is, that the millions of farmers and stock men who are thus robbed outrageously year after year, are opposed to having the government own and operate the packing industry, under which they would get a fair deal, for there would be no one profit by any ups or downs of prices. If the farmers were as wise as a child they would certainly make such a demand on their congressmen and senators for this publicly owned and operated plant that not one of them would dare to vote against such a bill. But they are ignorant of any remedy. They are at the mercy of a lot of confidence men, thieves and perjurers—and there you are. It is easy to skin a lot of such silly suckers.

SCARING SENATE SEATS.

The high cost of living is having its effect everywhere, even in that vermillion appendix of our government, the United States senate.

Senator Stephenson, of Wisconsin, paid something like \$300,000 for his seat. The senate committee which investigated him—probably for raising the prices of senate seats—reported that there was no corruption. The numerous pile Stephenson had to shell out was due without a doubt to the high cost of living.

Senator Stephenson did not corruptly bargain or dicker for influences to elect him. He just bought his seat outright and paid spot cash for it. So far as we are advised the senator himself has not grumbled about the high cost of seats in the senate.

The Trust of Trusts

THE final capitalistic phase of trustification is about to be developed. It is the uniting of the trusts within one all-powerful combination, or a trust of trusts. This is not the name given it in the capitalist dispatches but no intelligent reader can be misled by what is meant in the following press dispatch from New York City.

Executive heads of two thousand corporations capitalized at one million dollars or more each, have been invited to meet in New York early in February to organize the society for promoting efficiency.

It is expected that upwards of one thousand will attend. The organization is to be national. The plans provide for permanent headquarters, stated meetings, the establishment of a library of business, the publication of the proceedings of the society and special committees for each industry.

This is the final stage of evolution in the capitalistic centralization of industry. It means co-operation among the powerful capitalists on a continental scale, and it also means that against such a combination labor is practically helpless unless it also unites on the same basis and develops and uses both its economic and political power to overthrow capitalism and take possession of industry and control the productive forces for the benefit of all.

SPARES NOTHING.

The capitalist system permits nothing to escape that is susceptible to exploitation. It respects neither the gray hairs of the age nor the tenderness of childhood. Everything that a dollar can be squeezed out of is grist for its mill.

In the state prisons of the south the old lease system has been gradually abolished but the contract system has taken its place and during the last few years has spread over many of the northern states. Describing this damnable system in which mistreatment is seized upon in the mad greed for profit, a writer in the American Magazine says:

The state builds great factories, equips them with best light and power, fills them with helpless laborers, mans them with armed guards, then turns the plant over to an outsider for fifty or sixty cents a day for every man employed. Sometimes the guards add for the less. The contractor, as a rule, runs the prison.

Just imagine the utterly heartless depravity of such a system! The unfortunate wards of the state are thus made the convict-slaves of a brutal contractor, worked under armed guards furnished by the state, and exploited up to the last gasp in their wretched bodies. The shame of it cries to heaven.

HEAR, HEAR! A judge charges dynamiting on capitalists and finds fault with the peace officers for not prosecuting the guilty perpetrator. Judge Mahoney uttered these words in speaking of the strike conditions in Lawrence, Mass. "It is an unusual course for me to comment on a criminal case, but there are indications to show that the men and women arrested, charged with having cached dynamite in this city are innocent victims of a plot and due to some persons interested in maintaining a reign of terror in this city." Carry the news to Burns and Otis.

A SENATIONAL statement has been made that a report on labor conditions by the National Children's bureau has been suppressed. Senator Works (prof. amendment to the bill which provides that information when collected should not be distributed except to health officers. Why do they want to keep the people in ignorance? Are they afraid to make known the horrible conditions that prevail?

Three years ago the Appeal, through its Agitation League, sent five copies of our paper each week to all reading rooms connected with American army posts in the United States and its possessions and such permanent addresses of marines as we could secure. This work was kept up until we discovered that the papers were being destroyed by orders from Washington. It was then we asked our readers to send the papers under stamp postage to the soldiers and sailors of their personal acquaintance. In this way many thousands of copies of the Appeal have found their way into the camps and on the battle ships. The above telegram, inspired by fear that the soldier boys will get wise to the game of war, is a fine testimonial of the efficacy of the Appeal's propaganda.

The Appeal was aware of the cabinet meeting held more than a year ago at a meeting of the big politicians to devise ways and means to prevent the spread of this "pernicious doctrine."

They dare not proceed against us on the ground of treason—because it is not treason to ask men to vote the Socialist ticket and to explain the reasons why. So some more subtle grounds for attack had to be found. This came when we exposed the vile conditions at Leavenworth. "Obscene literature! That is the charge, and the people will applaud our action," reasoned these Washington officials—your masters—the servants of the rich!

The attack is to be made on lines that, under the practice in federal courts, prevents us from showing the truth of our statements and the federal courts. But in spite of all this the work of the Appeal will continue right on. Our readers will send the Appeal to the soldier and sailor boys in spite of the Army and Navy league. These gold braids may shout treason until they are black in the face! On with the dance.

There is an APPEAL Arsenal in the office for you. Get it—and equip yourself to meet any foe—"blue or black."

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DELAWARE'S DISGRACE

The whipping post still flourishes under the blue laws of the state of Delaware. It is almost unbelievable that one human being should flog another with a lash until he falls to the earth, insensible, by sanction of the law and in the name of justice. This is what happens in Delaware in the full-orbed day of twentieth century civilization.

A few days ago John Brewington and Arthur Johnson were publicly whipped, according to a press dispatch from Wilmington, and the details of the affair are so sickening that it is almost impossible to read them. The following paragraph will give some idea of the unspeakable cruelty which the state of Delaware practices upon the offenders produced in increasing numbers in capitalist society:

Brewington was whipped first. His back blue from cold, shivered and shook as the first blow of the strap fell, cutting nine bloody welts straight across. Ten times the scourge fell, straight down, and nine times he was showered on his quivering back. Then, by moving his position, Warden Crawford made the strap strike an angle. The blow, but completed, the angle was changed until when the forty cruel blows had landed, a perfect grill of embossed flesh, torn and bruised, showed across the wretched back.

The public whipping of a human being in the name of the law in such a brutal manner as is still practiced in the state of Delaware, is an impeachment of humanity and a burning disgrace to civilization.

It is almost inconceivable that this torture of human beings is still practiced in our very midst, and when we read the press dispatch reporting the beating into insensibility of two unfortunate by the Delaware authorities it seems as if we must have gotten hold of a story of fiction dealing with the middle ages.

Delaware, with her bloody whipping post, disgraced before the civilized world. She ought to adopt the whipping post as the great seal of Delaware and place it upon the state flag as the emblem of the savagery still practiced within her borders.

It is worthy of note that capitalism is at its bloated best in Delaware. Socialism has been resisted there at every point and so far has made but little headway.

People who maintain a whipping post in the twentieth century are of course opposed to Socialism, but Socialism will penetrate there finally, and publicly burn the whipping post as the gruesome symbol of the dark ages of barbarous capitalism.

The whipping post, smeared with the blood and bespattered with the flesh of human beings cut from their naked bodies by the law of capitalist justice, is accounted for, in part at least, by the fact that in Delaware, where it is established by law and sanctioned by the church of Christ, the circulation of the APPEAL TO REASON is smaller, proportionately and otherwise, than in any other state in the union.

A SENATIONAL statement has been made that a report on labor conditions by the National Children's bureau has been suppressed. Senator Works (prof. amendment to the bill which provides that information when collected should not be distributed except to health officers. Why do they want to keep the people in ignorance? Are they afraid to make known the horrible conditions that prevail?

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846—Please Observe—846

If the number 846 precedes 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.

It's Up to You

There is a big row on in the ranks of the Modern Woodmen of America over the recent raise in rates. It was inevitable. When a fraternal insurance concern which depends upon the dues from new members to meet its obligations, reaches the point where the old ones die as fast as the new ones come in, then rates must be adjusted—which means advanced. When the old ones die faster than the new ones come in, then the organization is likely to go to pieces.

These observations are prompted by the APPEAL's own experience. We have been running the APPEAL at a subscription rate that would long since have bankrupted it had it not been for the fact that each year we put on more subscriptions than were taken off, just the same way that the fraternal insurance companies have been running.

If the APPEAL is to live at its present rate of subscription then it must have an ever-growing list of subscribers. It can't live on a list that is going down.

If you want this paper to finish its mission, we ask you to help swell the list. It's not a difficult matter these days to get subs. So do it, comrades. Remember, Bone and Pollock read the circulation figures each week—and they are getting more satisfaction out of what they show than we are.

It's up to the Army to change the complexion of the circulation report. The circulation report follows:

Table with 2 columns: State and Circulation. Includes Pennsylvania (1,447), Ohio (677), California (794), Texas (842), New York (523), Oklahoma (515), Indiana (464), Missouri (658), Illinois (555), Michigan (438), Minnesota (299), Washington (316), Arkansas (247), Iowa (210), Oregon (104), West Virginia (209), New Jersey (203), Massachusetts (136), Connecticut (288), Wisconsin (181), Kentucky (137), Montana (163), Louisiana (161), Florida (79), North Dakota (154), Maryland (174), Tennessee (359), Alabama (108), South Dakota (72), New Mexico (86), Nebraska (174), North Carolina (129), Virginia (32), Maine (37), Arizona (40), Nevada (46), Idaho (84), New Hampshire (94), Wyoming (39), Rhode Island (14), Utah (49), Vermont (34), Alaska (13), South Carolina (46), District of Columbia (142), Delaware (7).

Total 12,211 0.97 458,126 States marked "*" show gain for week.

Wrecking Retailers

The United Cigar Stores company which is simply the American tobacco trust has determined upon a vigorous policy against the retailers. It proposes to camp on their trails all over the country and to literally drive them out of business. In New York City, the retailers have held a meeting and have issued a frantic protest, but it is not probable that their plea will restrain the rapacity of the trust.

According to the theory of the tobacco trust the little tobacco and cigar store is a thing of the past and ought to voluntarily close up and cease to obstruct the progress of trade. The little fellow who owns the store has of course a different idea about the matter and with all his puny strength he is fighting for his life. But he is in a one-sided contest and all the odds are against him and it is but a question of time before he will go down before his triumphant antagonist.

The New York retailers are seeking to have the supreme court dissolve the reorganization plan of the trust, claiming that it is not in accordance with the mandate of the court. It is a waste of money, time and energy. The trust runs the courts, and the courts do not run the trust. Socialism is all that will help the people who are squeezed out by the trust.

Eighty-two members of congress voted against a bill providing that before the president shall appoint any district circuit or supreme judge, he shall make public all endorsements made in behalf of the prospective judge. Do you know why these standpat republicans and democrats voted against this measure? Because if it became a law it would show in advance who the masters of the judiciary really are. Publicity is what the robbers in Washington fear.

BRYAN does the talking for the democratic donkey. The Guffeys, Targgart and Tammany run the animal and furnish the fodder. It's a slick combination. Almost as smooth as the Roosevelt-Harriman gang of 1908.

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APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kan.

Enclosed find 50c, for which send the Appeal for one year to

Name

Postoffice

Street

State

Subscription information and contact details.

Subscription information and contact details.

Subscription information and contact details.

Subscription information and contact details.

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