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FRED D. WARREN
Managing Editor

Appeal to Reason.

This is Number 788
Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., January 7, 1911

DEBS' DATES
January 18th, Muskogee, Okla., 7:30 p. m., Convention Hall
January 19th, McAlester, Okla., 8 p. m., Busby Theater
January 20th, Wichita Falls, Tex., 7:30 p. m., Opera House
January 21st, Ft. Worth, Tex., 8 p. m., City Hall
January 22nd, San Antonio, Tex., 8 p. m.,ethoven Hall
January 24th, Houston, Tex., 8 p. m., New Auditorium
January 25th, Beaumont, Tex., 7:30 p. m., Market House
January 27th, Corpus Christi, Tex., 7:30 p. m., Olympic Theater by the sea.
January 29th, Waco, Tex., 2:30 p. m., Auditorium
January 30th, Austin, Tex., 8 p. m., Opera House

DECLARATION OF REVOLT

By Eugene V. Debs

The working class can no longer submit to the lawless despotism of the capitalist courts in the United States. The only alternative left to them is revolt. The courts of law, so called, under the capitalist system, exercise the most despotic power to maintain capitalist misrule. From their decision there is no appeal, except to the people. This appeal we now make in behalf of a working class reduced to slavery. Their rights have been violated, their organizations tied hand and foot, their press muzzled, their officials imprisoned, and their liberties all but destroyed.

To submit to such outrages in a republic would be the basest cowardice and the rankest treason. Hence this declaration of revolt. For years the people have protested in vain against the usurpations of power by the capitalist courts and the invasion and destruction of the liberties guaranteed to them under the constitution. They now propose to submit no longer like dumb driven cattle, but to give emphatic notice that the limits of their patience have been reached, that their meek submission is at an end, and that from now on they are in open revolt against the power that is trampling upon their rights and destroying their liberties.

The arbitrary imprisonment of Fred D. Warren, the editor of a working class paper, without the slightest warrant of law, is the climax of a long series of outrages perpetrated by the courts to muzzle the press and silence protest against corporation misrule.

In every age and in every nation since there has been a press it has been either prostituted to serve the ends of a corrupt ruling class, or arbitrarily suppressed.

The ruling class has always been the enemy of a free press, free speech, and a free people. Thomas Jefferson said: "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

The author of the Declaration of Independence well knew that without a free press tyranny was inevitable and freedom impossible.

The governments of bloody Russia and barbarous Mexico tolerate no newspapers that expose their iniquities and menace their misrule. That is now also true of the government of the United States.

It is against this insufferable despotism, masquerading as democracy, that we now appeal to the American people to rise in revolt.

Fred D. Warren has been imprisoned for no other reason than that he is the editor of a paper that can not be prostituted and must therefore be suppressed.

We propose to resist this attack and challenge this outrage, relying upon the purity of our motive, the rectitude of our course, and the loyalty of a liberty-loving people to sustain our cause.

Here and now we indict the capitalist system in general and its courts in particular in the name of the working class they have enslaved, and who have now been shorn, as were the chattel slaves, of any rights their masters are bound to respect.

Among the lawless invasions, the judicial crimes, of which these courts have been guilty in their subservience to the trusts and corporations, the following are set forth as the basis of our indictment:

They have issued injunctions in violation of law, or in the absence of law, restraining working men from quitting the service of their masters, from sympathizing with and supporting one another in time of trouble, from organizing as a means of self-defense, from declaring a strike, from peaceable picketing, from holding lawful and orderly meetings, from issuing notices to their own members in their own journals, from withholding their patronage from their enemies, from declaring unfair the corporations that were blacklisting their members in violation of law, from using their own funds in the discharge of their own obligations, and from doing anything and everything else required to buttress the power of the corporations and keep their wage-slaves at their mercy.

These courts have, moreover, declared unconstitutional practically every legislative enactment designed to curb corporate power and afford some measure of relief to the people. Child labor laws, laws reducing excessive hours of labor, laws to prevent women and children from working at night to their physical and moral undoing, have been uniformly set aside under the specious pretext that they interfered with the "freedom of contract" and were therefore unconstitutional.

Not satisfied with even such cruel mockery of the true intent of the law, they have by the use of armed force broken into and dispersed peaceable assemblages of workingmen and working women, and clubbed the helpless and unoffending into insensibility, not sparing even little children.

But they have not curbed one of the powerful trusts operating in flagrant violation of the Sherman anti-trust law, nor imprisoned a single trust magnate. Their wrath is for labor unions, not capitalistic trusts, and their jails for labor leaders, not trust barons.

Their alleged prosecution of Baer's coal trust was a comedy and resulted in a fiasco. The owl-eyed judges could not even discover that any such trust had ever been in existence. The fining of the glass trust a few dollars for having stolen millions; the imprisonment of three poor, forlorn wage slaves of the sugar trust for the colossal swindle of the government, allowing the trust magnates who pocketed the millions to riot in their plunder unmolested; the opera bouffe assaults upon the beef trust, the tobacco trust, the steel trust, winding up with the roaring farce in high judicial vaudeville of the twenty-nine-million-dollar fine of the Standard Oil trust, are all shining examples of the miscarriage of justice in our corporation-owned courts.

Upon what meat have these our judges fed that they have grown so great and powerful that they now spurn the people as being so petty and contemptible?

The answer furnishes the key to the entire situation. The federal judges who render the final decision upon every vital issue that arises between the people and the corporations feed upon the corporations which place them in power.

The federal court is the ruling instrument of the capitalist class. The power of this court is supreme and final. Its members are graduates from the legal departments of the great corporations. All are chosen and commissioned by these corporations. Not one is elected by the people. All hold office for life.

These federal judges are the judicial despots in the service of the industrial oligarchs of the trusts and corporations.

What possible chance have wage workers against corporations before such judges? Absolutely none, until they raise the standard of revolt.

The supreme court, the final arbiter of our liberties, is itself the most irresponsible and lawless body in the land. Composed of corporation lawyers, holding office for life, this court has more absolute power and exercises that power with less regard for the law and greater contempt for the people than any other court on the face of the earth. However brutal and indifferent to their interests this court may become, the people have no redress; they cannot help themselves.

It is true that these judges are but the servants of the people, and yet back of these servants stand the army, the militia, and the police power of the land.

A corporation may discharge its servants at will. The sovereign American people, however, must submit, as things now are, to being spat upon by their servants and treated by them with the most brutal contempt.

And bear in mind that it is not the constitution of the United States that has clothed the supreme court with the despotic power it exercises. That power is not conferred upon it from any source, but has been deliberately usurped, stolen, criminally appropriated, without a shadow of authority or consent from the people, and when the people rise in revolt against this power, it is not in lawlessness but in obedience to law and to vindicate the law which has been outraged, and to rebuke the recreant judges who have perverted the law to defeat the ends of justice, destroy liberty, strangle the voice of protest, and bind the people in slavery.

Let it be forever remembered that it was the supreme court that specifically legalized, by ju-

dicial ukase, the forcible kidnaping of workingmen by a criminal corporation in the United States.

Let it be remembered, too, that the same court in the same arbitrary manner legalized the blacklisting of workingmen, and hounding them to death, by lawless corporations in the United States.

Let it also be remembered, and never forgotten, that it was the same court that paralyzed the lawful and peaceable resistance of workingmen to corporate tyranny by outlawing the strike and declaring the boycott a crime.

In the name of an outraged working class we deny the jurisdiction of the supreme court and challenge the validity of its title. We are not responsible to a court we have no voice in choosing. We repudiate its authority and defy its mandates. And this we do in the name of the constitution it has violated and the law it has outraged.

We challenge this court to produce its constitutional authority for annulling the laws of congress and the state legislatures and for legalizing the crimes committed by corporations in kidnaping and blacklisting the working class.

No such authority was ever lawfully conferred. It does not exist. Its exercise is brazen usurpation, the very essence of tyranny. Such a court is unworthy of respect. It has abused its trust and forfeited the confidence of the people, and it is their duty to rise in their wrath against its abominations.

Listen to what Lincoln said: "If the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the supreme court the instant they are made the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned the government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."

At the time Lincoln uttered this protest in behalf of the people the supreme court had only pronounced the doom of negro slaves. Since that time it has by repeated and insidious attacks sealed the slavery of the whole working class of the United States. If Abraham Lincoln, who was cordially hated by the slave owners and their supreme court, was justified in making this protest half a century ago, we are justified, aye, it is our solemn duty to emphasize that protest by a demonstration of revolt that will shake this republic.

February 12th, the anniversary of Lincoln's birthday, can not be more patriotically celebrated than by the inauguration of a national demonstration of protest against the despotic encroachments of the capitalist courts.

Let that day mark a new era in American history!

Preparations are already in progress for mass meetings in all of the principal cities of the country. The people are stirred as they have never been before and their swelling numbers testify that they are in deadly earnest and ready for action.

The time is ripe, the issue clear, and the people determined. We appeal to every liberty-loving citizen to join in this movement of the masses to put an end to judicial despotism in the United States.

There are times when silence is treason and submission a crime. In the present crisis the people are forced to the alternative of submitting to slavery or striking for freedom.

We cannot doubt as to their choice. They know that Fred D. Warren, an absolutely innocent man, is locked in a prison cell, and they know the reason why. They know that he has been persecuted and hounded by the courts for four long years because he dared to take his stand in behalf of the people against the despotic power that enslaved them. They know that it was President Taft himself who said:

"The one thing which disgraces our civilization today is the delays of civil and criminal justice, and these delays always work in favor of the man with the longest purse."

If such a state of affairs, confessed by the president himself, is not sufficient to arouse the indignation of the people and incite them to revolt, then indeed are they beyond hope of redemption.

But we do not believe it. We know that their blood burns with resentment and that they are resolving to tolerate these abuses no longer.

If the courts and their administration "disgrace our civilization" as President Taft declares they do, and if they are prostituted to serve the rich and rob the poor, as he says they are, then it is the patriotic duty of all good citizens to rise in revolt against them.

Fred D. Warren, upon whom these courts, which are "a disgrace to our civilization," have perpetrated their latest outrage, has devoted his entire life to the service of his fellow-men. He has resolutely denied himself every opportunity for self-advancement. He has steadfastly refused the position and wealth and ease that might be his, did he but consent to serve the rich instead of the poor.

The personal character of Fred D. Warren is as pure as that of any man living. His public record is without a blemish. He is respected for his integrity and loved for his kindly and sympathetic nature by every man, woman and child who knows him. When the federal court at St. Paul, the cowardly corporation judges who waited until after the election to bludgeon their victim, sentenced him to jail, all the townsmen and neighbors of Warren, without regard to class or creed, or political affiliation, united in the most extraordinary and significant protest of indignation ever witnessed in the state of Kansas.

What kind of demonstrations would the neighbors of Pollock, Hook, Grosseup and other judicial worthies make in their behalf?

There is absolutely no excuse for Fred D. Warren being in jail. There is not a trace of guilt, nor a taint of crime in his nature. To put such a man in jail is to indict society as a conspiracy and civilization as a crime. To lock up such a soul in an iron cell is to gibbet honesty and proclaim rascality triumphant.

If Fred D. Warren ought to be in prison then the rest of the community ought not to be at large.

It is not Fred D. Warren, the peaceable, private citizen of Girard, who is in a loathsome cell at Fort Scott, but Fred D. Warren, the fearless editor of the people's paper, the incorruptible champion of the people's cause, the devoted friend of the lowly, the uncompromising foe of oppression, the incarnation of truth and justice and all things of good report among men.

When the federal court sent Warren to jail it was not to punish crime, but to strangle free speech and stifle the voice of protest against crime.

The federal judge is Warren's jailer; the one is the tool of the tyrant, the other the champion of the people.

The federal court is itself guilty of high crimes that merit the swiftest condemnation. The unconditional release of Fred Warren should be the immediate demand. Not his pardon by the grace of the judicial hirelings who put him in jail, but his unconditional liberation by order of the American people.

From tens of thousands of aroused men and women there issues even now the cry of bitter indignation. The mails are literally loaded with protests and assurances of support. North and south, east and west, the tide is surging and spreading. The people are already in revolt. The workers in the cities and the farmers in increasing numbers insistently urge to action. Unnumbered people not identified with the Socialist movement, but recognizing the enormity of Warren's imprisonment, pledge their support.

There has never been such widespread and determined resentment among the masses. The cause of it is so clear that all can see it and so vital to the liberties of the people that all are ready to fight for it.

The supreme opportunity is now before us. In the name of American manhood and womanhood, our self-respect, our fidelity to principle and our love of justice, let us all unite in this revolt of the masses against the crimes of the capitalist courts and government by injunction in the United States!

Let the shibboleth of the American people ring from ocean to ocean and resound throughout the land:

FREE SPEECH, A FREE PRESS AND A FREE PEOPLE!

The Latest Vote

Official Vote Nov. In.

Table with columns for state names and vote counts for 1910 and 1908.

Estimates.

Table with columns for state names and estimated vote counts for 1910 and 1908.

Kansas.

Table with columns for county names and vote counts for 1910 and 1908.

Texas.

Table with columns for county names and vote counts for 1910 and 1908.

FACTS COMING WITH THE NEW YEARS

With the New Year comes the Arsenal of Facts, enlarged, lettered and more accurate than ever.

LECTURE COURSE

PAP DAVID

Socialism.

Our needs, our principles, a solution to our problems. What it will do. How to secure it.

ward the insurrection. Many now openly favor Madero and do not hesitate to predict his final success.

Rally to the Editors

It is gratifying to note that the people and press are generally rallying to the support of the editors of the Appeal.

Socialists at Work

Under the above heading I am to have charge of a new department in the Appeal.

DEPORTING THE MOROS

Cruelties in the Philippines—Picking a Quarrel With Japan.

The Trouble at Tampa

Reskin, Fla., Dec. 30.—I was at Tampa two days last week and found things going worse.

Kidnaped and Assassinated

John H. Collins, sheriff of Santa Rosa county, Fla., was recently indicted by a federal grand jury.

Diaz About Done For

That Diaz is losing in the Mexican rebellion is becoming certain.

Real News Just Made

News of Socialism

The national committee has voted fifty dollars for aid of the garment strikers of Chicago.

Proofs of the Panic

The Williamsburg Trust company, of Brooklyn has failed.

The Bundle Brigade

For 1911 you should not get deluged with regular work for Socialism.

Your Railroad Station Agent

The Anti-Trust League is sending the Appeal to all railroad station agents.

Teaching the Superintendent

Here is a man who expects to die soon, but he is not afraid to die.

Scout News

I am doing fine with the Nation and adding up the numbers every week.

How Farmers Stand

I am a farmer and voted the Socialist ticket this year.

Tricks of the Press

Behind the scenes in the office of big capitalist dailies, the Associated Press, etc.

Warren Protest Meetings

Three Weeks

If you allow your Appeal card to expire you'll be left with a paper even if you renew the same day.

No Fool's Paradise

I have today seen for the first time a copy of your paper.

Points of Progress

The formation of a trust that will control the oil fields in Oklahoma.

High Society

Mrs. Miller-Graham, wife of a California capitalist, recently gave in London a dinner party.

Co-Operative News

San Antonio, Tex., is to have a municipal bond of thirty cents.

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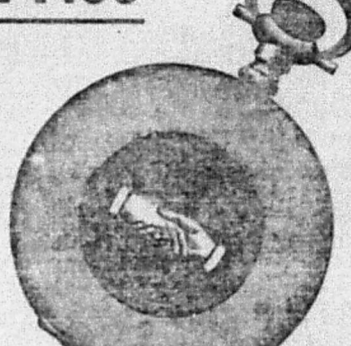
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SOCIALIST WATCH At an Anti-Trust Price



A Magnificent Watch for Socialists Only

The Genuine Burlington Special. Advertise the world's masterpiece of watch manufacture.

THE FIGHT IS ON!

We are bound to win our gigantic Anti-Trust fight, even against the most overwhelming odds.

Special Offer to Socialists

THE MAGNIFICENT BURLINGTON SPECIAL, our very finest watch, direct at 90c at the ROCK BOTTOM PRICE.

No Money Down

We will gladly ship to you on approval. You pay nothing—You receive nothing—until you are satisfied.

\$2.50 a Month

and for the world's grandest watch. The easiest kind of payments at the Rock-Bottom—Anti-Trust price.

Write for the Free Watch Book

THIS BOOKLET will enable you to see, too that you do not want an Anti-Trust watch—made in the independent factory that is fighting the trust.

Patents in Cash Demand

Many deals closed by our clients—recently for \$500,000—\$1,000,000—\$2,000,000—\$5,000,000.

Chicken Business

There's no other business that's so profitable as raising chickens.

Fence

THE STRONGEST FENCE MADE. Built with the best material.

6 Lovely Valentine Postcards 2c

These beautifully colored, gold embossed postcards, 6 for 2c.

Agents

Agents in all parts of the world.

100 Cards 10c

100 beautiful cards for 10c.

Learn to Make Mirrors

Learn to make mirrors at home.

Trying to Make You See

Let me put it to you this way and see if you cannot get the idea: I get an income of several thousands a year. I live in a good home, well-furnished, with large grounds, a team, a man to do the work and servants in the house. My income pays for all these things. Where does it come from? From the rent of business properties in several cities. The merchants pay me the income and you pay the merchants in the price of goods. In fact, you pay, directly or indirectly, but nevertheless, surely, my expenses. You pay my taxes, my grocery and dry goods bill, my servants, my traveling expenses and all. That is not all. You working people made every brick, made every plank and every pane of glass, manned the railroads to bring them to the places where you erected every building—and you virtually made me a present of them under the system you support at every election. I did nothing but play the game you call private ownership—a game you do not even know the rules of and consequently lose all the time.

With my income I can build another block every year and you will pay me a greater income. And then think of the tens of thousands who are doing this to you many millions who don't know how to play the game.

This is not a fable or a fairy tale—it is a fact as certainly as you are reading this paragraph. I have obtained all this property legally but not through moral right. It was not right. I ask you, why do you support a social system that permits me or any other citizen to do this—to get something for nothing—to get an income without producing it? If the rich were to give the poor their property this system would remain just as it is, and a few would soon have the wealth again. It would not change anything, except to make society more corrupt and the many more helpless, waiting for another division. It would be the worst thing that could happen. Socialists are opposed to dividing up the property of the world. It is divided up now and a few get it all.

I want Socialism because I would be better off under it. My children and grandchildren would be better off and safer than under the present system with all I could ever hope to leave them. And yours would be just as well off as mine. I am not a philanthropist. I am not teaching these things for love of my kind or for the safety of my race. My children are just as dear to you as mine to me. They are entitled to just as good a chance in this world as my children or any other man's children. If you are poor, if you haven't the means, you know you cannot give them as good a chance. You may have a genius in a child, but if it cannot get the right conditions to develop that faculty, the child is impaired and the world loses the benefit through that lack of opportunity.

Say, brother, are you so dull that you cannot see this statement of real facts, this confession?

WHAT YOU ARE WORTH

Thomas Nixon Carver, professor of economics at Harvard, has earned his money. He has been figuring out the value of human life from a capitalist standpoint, and has the figures down pat. He says:

One way of finding the real economic value of a man is to find out how much the community would lose if he were to die or emigrate. The community would lose the value of his labor, but, it would save what he consumed.

That's to the point. But it is not all of the professor's wisdom. Taking these words alone one might suppose that he meant the capitalist who actually produced nothing and yet consumed thousands, was a drain on the community. But he meant nothing of the kind. What he did mean was that the worker who, after being exploited by the capitalist, can get a salary only sufficient to keep him alive and profitable, and might not be able to survive. Read the following and you will understand his position:

In case he was consuming more than he was producing by his own individual labor the mental or physical community would gain by his death. In other words, such a man is worth less than nothing. This brings out the fatal defect in a great deal of the reasoning regarding the economic value of a man, viz: the failure to take account of the cost of keeping him. The man who earns \$600 a year and consumes exactly that sum is worth exactly nothing. The man who earns \$600 in a year and consumes \$500 is not making a profit; he is simply a loss maker in making tools—that is, invests it in some form of productive capital, is worth \$100 a year to the community. By reason of his existence the community has \$100 more than it would otherwise have had.

Thus do the "economists" of capitalism juggle figures to prove that the idle rich are entitled to live and that their capital "produces" things, and to show that the worker who produces, and who his product does not pay his way and ought to be killed. Such palaver convinces one that the story of Balaam's jackass talking was true, seeing that other jackasses can talk.

IN VIOLATION OF LAW.

The express companies, which are exacting tremendous tribute from the American people, and which are, as Wannamaker pointed out, the chief reasons why America has no parcels post, operate in violation of Law. Section 3892 of the Revised Statutes of the United States reads: "No person shall establish any private express for the conveyance of letters or packets, or in any other manner cause or provide for the conveyance of the same by regular trips or by stages, periods, or any port route which is or may be established by law, or from any city, town or place between which the mail is regularly carried and every person so offending—etc. Section 2895 provides penalties against owner, driver, conductor, master or any other person having charge of any stage coach, railway car," etc. This gives a monopoly of carrying, on all lines where the postal department operates, to the United States government. Yet, in view of this fact, the express trust has been permitted to get from the railroads better terms for hauling its stuff than the United States did for the mail, and

to send cars and wagons wherever the mail service was in operation, in open violation of the law. As a result the people who had it in their power to get the hauling done at cost have had to pay enormous profits to private companies. It is a case of conspiracy against the people for the sake of business, and amounts to less than treason on the part of the express company managers and the administrators of the post-office as well.

The current issue of the *Coming Nation* contains an illustrated article on Frank Lane, the crippled industrial soldier. There is a pathetic photograph showing Frank Lane on his cot in the hospital at Pittsburg, Kan. There are also pictures of Sheridan Mine No. 5 and the little shanty where Frank Lane once lived. These pictures show up in a striking way in our magazine. We are sending a copy to every ARMY Worker. If you do not receive a copy drop us a postal card and one will be mailed without delay. This story should be read in every trade union hall in the United States. Wherever there are two or more men and women gathered there this story should be related.

New Socialist papers are being started up all over the country.

Let us return thanks to an infinite God that Rockefeller has given his last bribe to the Chicago University; firstly because it will have a tendency to free the professors from his espionage; and secondly, he will not have to raise the price of oil on us to get the money back.

When you buy a house or a farm that will rent for \$500 a year, you are really buying the services of an adult, able-bodied man, who never gets sick or old or needs clothes or food. It gives you the money to secure the services of the average worker. Slavery? What else can it be?

If you were as willing to vote against your masters as you are to strike against them you would have been free long ago, and wouldn't have to strike. Why can't you see the advantage of having the police, army and courts on your side? You know the Socialists would give them to you if they run the country. Are you afraid to trust yourselves with power?

There are enough tenants in this country, if they were to vote intelligently together, to carry the elections. Most of them vote the same tickets as the men who own their dwelling places—just as fools in Europe vote the king's ticket at each election, though they are steeped in poverty! Tenants over there are foolish to support their masters, but are very wise here who vote for their masters!!! Can you see the joke?

CHRISTMAS ever makes me sad. When I was a boy, I never had a visit from Santa Claus. He visited the well-to-do, I saw others having wonderful and pretty things and I had none, and it hurt. So all my life I have carried that feeling with me. I never give gifts to any one who is not poor. Not to my children. It seems to me a crime that gifts should go to those who have plenty, making the contrast that much more bitter for the poor.

The retailers and express companies oppose the parcels post because it would give the people cheaper and better service, which means there would be less profit and therefore fewer middlemen. On the same principle they would advocate higher freight and passenger rates, as they would prevent the people from moving about and seeing where they could do the best. Why should ninety millions of people suffer extortion that one million retailers should make more profits?

Every if your note for \$100, backed by a thousand acre farm, were tendered by you in payment for a debt, it would be refused, unless it bore interest. But the bank can issue its note, without anything so good as that behind it, and it is taken as money! That is what the law does for the banks. If you were wise you could have the law do that much for you. But you don't vote for your own interests, like the bankers do. They know what politics means—and you don't.

If the government pays nine cents a pound for railroads for hauling the mails, as Taft says, then it pays them nine times as much as the express companies pay the railroads, for the express companies charge the papers and magazines for one half to one cent a pound for hauling them on the same trains as the mail is carried. Perhaps it is by carrying express for so much less than they pay the railroads is the reason the express companies declare such large dividends? Are you on?

Our foolish ancestors were just as vehemently opposed to giving all citizens a vote in matters political as the majority are now opposed to giving the workers a voice in the management of the industries they run. They said it would produce anarchy to have every man have a vote—and they say it would produce anarchy today to have the real workers run the industries and get all the products. But men cannot be free if others own their jobs. Socialism will give the workers of the world absolute control of their labor and its products. That will give them something like \$2,500 a year for an eight-hour day, and employment for all who wish it—and nothing for those who do not work usefully.

In trying to bluff Gov. Stubbs of Kansas, President Ripley of the Santa Fe railroad denied the statements of the governor and offered to open any books of his company to Stubbs to prove he had not stated the facts about the capitalization, the value and the profits of the road. Stubbs sent an expert accountant, whom Ripley could not use, and he was getting some good dope, when Ripley refused to let him investigate further! The men who run the great industries are all bluffers and bluffers are always cowards and dishonest. Yet they are the men who have an OK on every law and every decision of the courts—the real rulers of this country. What do you think about it anyhow?

THE VERY LATEST CRIME OF THE COURTS

As we go to press a crime by a judge so monstrous is reported that it staggers belief. Can it be possible? Yes, anything is possible in these judicial houses of prostitution. Here is the case:

Judge Greeley W. Whitford, an infamous scoundrel who himself ought to be in stripes, sentenced sixteen striking miners to jail for a year for the alleged violation of an injunction issued by him at the request of the Northern Coal and Coke company in Colorado. These miners were not even in the jurisdiction of his court. He issued the injunction, put them in jail, and from his decision there is no appeal.

These miners violated no law and committed no crime. They have been neither tried nor found guilty. The Northern Coal and Coke company ordered its lickspittle judge to put them in jail to break up their strike, and that is where they now are—and for a whole year. The Denver papers are filled with the outrage but what will the people do about it? If that venal scoundrel is allowed to remain on the bench the people of Colorado ought to be banished to Mexico and flogged into peonage by their plantation masters.

SIXTEEN INNOCENT WORKING MEN IN JAIL FOR A YEAR WITHOUT A TRIAL, BY THE DECREE OF A JUDGE, ISSUED AT THE COMMAND OF A CRIMINAL COAL CORPORATION. Their wives are homeless, their children are hungry, shoeless and in rags. And the people of Colorado will stand by like poltroons and see this cold-blooded outrage perpetrated without lifting a hand to smite that leprous tool on the bench? Arouse, ye vassals, and revolt against this monster and his crime!

FARMING BEING SOCIALIZED.

The Kansas City Star recently contained a long story on the waste of tenant farming. It made one point very clear. That is, that the tenant farmer does not care for the land as the owner would, letting the property "run down." He naturally feels that he is exploited to the full limit, and so he exploits the soil as his only alternative to keep even. It is another illustration of the waste of the system.

Capitalism is proposing to remedy this situation by changing the tenant farmer into a hired hand. The last few years have witnessed a great interest in agricultural education in the colleges. There is a strong movement looking toward scientific cultivation of the soil under expert management. This in itself is good. But there is something behind it which is not so good. Instead of renting the farms to tenants, the owners will now hire hands to cultivate the soil and they will be directed by experienced foremen. The result will be better for the owner of the farm and the soil will be kept in better condition than it is at present.

This is the same process of transformation that has come upon manufacture. It is a result of developed machinery and conservation of resources. When this has developed a little farther it will be followed by a demand that those who cultivate the soil shall reap the returns. Farming will already have been organized and the socializing of the industry will follow as a matter of course. When this condition comes about the farmers will be the ones who will demand socialized farming, and they may rest assured that this kind of farming will not come until they are fully ready for it.

It does not mean even then that there may not be individual farmers cultivating small tracts of land. It means that the exploiting of the farm worker, either as a tenant or as a hired hand, will be superseded by a more rational and just system.

HIDING THE SHELLS.

Tucked away in an obscure corner of the daily press of December 28th, was a little item about the failure of the Northern Bank of New York City with nine million dollars belonging to the depositors, with this grim comment:

Today's closing of the doors was no surprise to those who had known of the bank's condition. The suspension is recorded as unimportant.

It must be evident that the victims who lost their six millions were not of those who had "known the bank's condition." Else they had not left their money in it. Those who knew it took their money out in time, and they were the ones whose duty it was to make it known, for banks that are not sound are presumed not to be allowed to do business.

That it was in a failing condition may have been known from this remark. But it is unimportant when some depositors lose six millions! That is the fault of modern banking for profit. The innocent and helpless are always the ones that suffer. The government could do the banking business and there never would be a cent lost by bank failures.

The news is tucked out of the way so that you might not get to thinking. There are lots of banks going down, but the papers put on the soft pedal—and the victims are laid quietly away and the old world moves on, smiling as if there were nothing wrong when several thousand depositors are robbed of nine millions. Put your money in a private bank, you sucker.

THE RENTED MAN.

The average worker rents his house and pays a good profit on the investment. More than half of the farmers of America rent farms and support not only themselves but also the owners of the farms. This is the way the worker works. The capitalist goes at it differently. He rents the man, and instead of paying a profit beyond what the man produces, he takes a profit out of the man he rents. Under such conditions, of course, the worker gets the worst of it coming and going. When Socialism goes into effect neither houses, farms, or men will be rented. As a result every man will get what he produces, no more and no less. Some will not be able to live at the expense of others and they who produce will not be compelled to support a lot of parasites.

APPEAL ARMY NOTICE!

The declaration which appears on the first page of this issue is of vital importance to the American people. It is in form to make it available for posting in public places and we suggest that this be done as widely as possible. It will also be a good idea for our comrades to attach blank sheets to this page and secure the signatures of as many people in every city, town, hamlet and cross-roads as are willing to back it up and join in the fight against judicial tyranny in the United States.

RICH THIEF AND POOR.

On December 22d, Nellie Neal at Kansas City was sentenced to three years in prison for stealing some \$40 worth of articles from a store the day before. In the same paper, in an adjoining column, was the report of a case against the rich Duveen Brothers of New York for smuggling in goods and cheating the government out of more than \$600,000. Why are not the rich sent as promptly to prison as the poor? Why such swift justice for the helpless and needy and such consideration for the rich thieves? If the courts are not a farce and fraud what are they? You poor chumps who vote for men to office who believe in private capital—see what you and your class get for your votes! Shame on your stupidity!

The government has dropped its case against the National Packing company of Chicago for being a trust. The lawyers got a nice fee from the government and the people will pay the bills—and the packing trust will go right ahead skimming the public. What are federal judges for if not to protect the trusts? What do trusts recommend men for the federal bench and federal attorneys, if they cannot control them? It is difficult to get any law on the statute books that looks like it was for the protection of the people—but when the laws are passed not one of them ever made caught any rich men in their nets. The judges have the final say. And there you are.

In 1856 a law was passed by the Kansas territorial legislature making it a crime punishable with death to publicly advocate the emancipation of slaves. And in 1910 Warren is sent to a Kansas jail for six months and fined \$1,500 for advocating the emancipation of the wage slaves. We have traveled some of the road to liberty, but we are walking.

White America is seeking to increase her militia by all possible means. England is planning to disarm her's. It was found that the militia was inclined to favor the strikers in later struggles, and hence was deemed a menace rather than a protection for the masters. Wonder if such a situation will ever arise in America.

TO THE RESCUE IN JAPAN.

Dr. Kotoku, his wife, and twenty-four other leading Socialists have been sentenced to death in Japan by a drumhead court of the imperial government. Dr. Kotoku is a most gifted scholar and propagandist, having translated Marx and other revolutionary writers into Japanese and for this and similar activities he and his comrades are to be murdered as Ferrer was in Spain. The insane rulers of Japan imagine that they can head off the revolutionary movement by beheading its apostles. This monstrous crime must be prevented. The most emphatic and widespread protest should be made without delay. The Ambassador of Japan at Washington should be notified from all sources in this country that the American people view with abhorrence the proposed assassination of their comrades and enters their emphatic protest against this contemplated crime.

In New York City a great meeting has been held and the following protest cabled to the prime minister at Tokio. "We, the libertarians of New York, in mass meeting assembled, protest emphatically against the sentence barbarously passed against Kotoku and his comrades."

Kotoku is the Ferrer of Japan. His death would be not only a revolting crime but an irreparable loss. At every meeting held by Socialists and libertarians a protest should be expressed and a copy of the same forwarded to the Ambassador of Japan, Washington, D. C. We earnestly hope that American Socialists may not fail to do their share to save the lives of these noble comrades.

THE COURTS.

If a town or city passes an ordinance for the common good—the courts set it aside. If the state legislature enacts a law for the common good—the courts declare it unconstitutional. If congress passes some law for the benefit of the people—the courts declare it unconstitutional. No law or action that will prevent the rich few from exploiting the many poor has any show under the modern monarch of Feudal Federal Judges.

You can get nowhere until you overthrow the federal black-gowned barons of plutocracy.

Initiative on the Courts

The following by Dr. Charles McCarthy of Wisconsin legislative reference bureau, of Wisconsin legislative reference bureau was printed in the *Kansas City Star*. It is a good story to clip and ask your local editor to print.

1. The constitution does not give specifically the right to the courts to declare law unconstitutional. 2. Hamilton showed that this right was necessary, because: (a) The people are the masters and the legislatures are servants. (b) The will of the master is expressed in the constitution. (c) The legislature cannot exceed the will of the master; if it does exceed the will of the master, then the courts should nullify that act, which is contrary to the will of the master.

Does this mean, however, that the people have given over entirely the power to interpret the document which they made to the courts? If so, what guarantee have they that the courts will not interpret it wrongly? Is there not inherent in the will of the master the right to say just what he means? If a bill is sent up and referendum had to the people, what becomes of the Hamiltonian argument? Has the court the right to declare such an act unconstitutional? Does the court presume to play in between the master and himself? Is it not more likely that the master has said to the court: "Yes, you can interpret this law, but if your interpretation does not suit us we can limit you by our interpretation." We are the supreme court of appeals in the matter of interpretation after all. If this is so, why cannot a resolution be introduced into congress asking for a referendum on the question of constitutionality of the income tax, declared unconstitutional by the supreme court? We will suppose that this resolution can be submitted to the people of this country, and if the people of this country declare that it is their interpretation, then that act is constitutional, then it is constitutional and the decision of the supreme court is overruled by the people. Could this not be applied to the initiative or referendum in the state? By initiative petition we could ask an interpretation upon an act declared unconstitutional by a court and thus preserve the right of appeal.

J. Wesley Hill.

Lee Keedick, emissary of the movement in England. (that means he is over there to gather in the gold coins for Hill) is quoted as follows: "The forum will be the scene of intense activity for two months each summer, when congress relating to capital and labor, arbitration and conservation, will be held there. One of the great features of each summer's attractions will be an encampment of boy scouts."

The following Britons are announced to attend the inauguration at Tangier, L. L. in 1912: Lieut. Gen. Baden-Powell, Ernest H. Shackleton, Gilbert Parker, Hilaire Belloc and William Brace, M. P.

In the *New York Times* of December 24th, I find the following: "Mr. Hill said he did not feel at liberty at the present time to reveal the financial backers of the new chautauqua, but that the financial success of the venture had been guaranteed by substantial men. With some of these Mr. Hill said he had been in consultation yesterday."

Those who are, in the least, acquainted with Hill's record know what to expect from him. He is seeking the capitalists for all they are worth. He knows that Socialism is the question of the hour and sees an opportunity to fill a purse or two by convincing the plutocrats that he can ward it off.

Go ahead, J. Wesley Hill. Make all the racket you can. You'll never hurt the Socialists. In fact, you are only helping them along in their work of agitation.

Tax the Robber.

One of the greatest injustices upon the American people is the living abroad of the American plutocrat lavishly spending the wealth filched from the blood and sinew of the American toiler. If the American people could be inspired now with the love for justice and liberty that filled the hearts of our forefathers, they would not for a minute stand for a condition that makes such a thing possible.

Our forefathers said "Taxation without representation is tyranny" and just ask the old English general, Cornwallis, what they did about it. Think of the millions filched from the American people every year by dividends upon watered stocks, etc. Where are our Putnams today?

We should have a national law calling for a tax of 50 per cent upon all remittances to American plutocrats living abroad, such sum to be applied toward old age pension fund.

Cleveland, Ohio. MURRAY YOUTZ.

788—Quick Action—789

If the number 789 follows your name on yellow address label attached to this paper, it means that your subscription expires next week and you should renew it at once.

NINETEEN-ELEVEN—GO! Up goes the list 8,139. The work for 1911 starts off with a rush. Forty-five states increase. That means that the fight is being waged everywhere at once. It means that "stunned" Socialists have begun to do stunning agitation work. We'll make the capitalist press regret that word, fellows.

It will be easy to keep the figures mounting if you lend a hand at subscription work. People who wouldn't read the Appeal before Warren's conviction are subscribing eagerly now. With this report 16,934 subs go on the list; 8,139 of them are new readers. You see what that means.

In one week more than eight thousand people have been awakened sufficiently to inquire, at least. They're asking why the working class must reverence, be bullied and jailed by a federal judiciary appointed and controlled by the capitalist class.

The spirit of revolt is strong in the Army. It's so strong that it's spreading to others, augmenting the ranks by more than a thousand a day. Your individual revolt will stamp itself upon the revolution in proportion to the people you awaken through Appeal subs. You can be a power in 1911.

This report is enough to send a thrill from coast to coast. If you had a hand in its making it will inspire you. If you did nothing toward this record it will be an incentive to get to work and line up with comrades who can make such a showing.

Look for your state's record. If it's a gain make it your business to chalk up a bigger one next time. If your state is one of the seven with decreases—this is no time for retreat. The one, two or three subs you can get this week may put an "x" before your state.

This year belongs to the working class. Before it's much older the Army will put the Appeal's list at half a million. Do your part in that work. The subscription report follows:

Table with columns: State, On, Off, Total. Lists subscription data for various states including Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, New York, Kansas, Illinois, Wash., Okla., Ind., Miss., Mich., Minn., Ark., Oregon, Colorado, Iowa, New Jersey, Mass., Wis., West Virginia, N. Dakota, Mont., Ky., Neb., Tenn., Conn., Louisiana, Idaho, N. Carolina, Dakotas, Utah, New Hampshire, Ala., Md., Maryland, Va., Maine, Foreign, Canada, N. Carolina, Wyo., Nev., Vermont, Ariz., Hawaii, Miss., Del., N. Carolina.

In the Hospital.

Obio has the most "ons." Alaska has fewest "ons." Pennsylvania's "ons" are greatest. New Mexico advances one number. Wyoming jumps one leading at number forty-two. Oregon climbs into the "more than 10,000" class.

"Sub"-Lets. Obio has the most "ons." Alaska has fewest "ons." Pennsylvania's "ons" are greatest. New Mexico advances one number. Wyoming jumps one leading at number forty-two. Oregon climbs into the "more than 10,000" class.

Francis W. Hirst, editor of the *London Economist*, recently said that war scares are largely inspired by armament contractors, who ultimately will drag many countries into bankruptcy court. This is the urge of profits wholly destructive in nature.

The way to tell how much progress we're making is to multiply the total by thirty. This shows how many names are appearing on the list. Multiplying this week's "ons" by thirty gives us 757,200; that is, we keep up our present gain the way we will reach that figure in just forty weeks. It's a good start in new year.