"The Government Has Spiked the 13-Inch Gun of Debs and the Socialist Party."—Tacoma Daily Tribune, June 23

Total number of subscribers June 20th 313,988
Number of new subs for week ending June 27th 7,826
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Appeal to Reason.

J. A. WAYLAND

FRED D. WARREN, Managing Editor.

This Is Number 658

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second class mail matter.

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., July 11, 1908.

LOOK at the yellow address label, and note the number following name. If it is **No. 659** your subscription expires with the next number. You should renew at least three weeks before your subscription expires so that you will not miss any numbers.

No man is great enough or rich enough to get this paper on credit or for a longer time than paid for. It is publishedas an advocate of International Socialism, the movement which favors the ownership of the earth by ALL the people—not by a PART of the people.

"The Ruling Is Aimed at Such American Publications as the Appeal,"

says Assistant Postmaster Stocking, of Tacoma, Wash.

IN OUR last issue the order of Postmaster General Meyer authorising postmasters throughout the country to destroy such papers as may be offensive to the administration was published and commented upon in these columns, and the contention then made by us is now being verified by the candid admissions and bold avowals of the capitalist press to the effect that the order was promulgated for the special benefit of the Appeal to Reason.

In his order to the postmasters, Postmaster General Meyer broadly states the reasons for his order and specifies the class of publications aimed to be reached, but the hint had long been given to the postmasters that the particular papers which are "indecent" and offensive are those published for the propagation of Socialism, the Appeal to Reason especially, not because it differs from the rest in the character of its contents, but because of its tremendous circulation.

There is not a postmaster who does not clearly understand what is expected of him under this order. He will not inspect the Police Gazette or any of the numerous catch-penny blood-and-thunder publications, which are really offensive to good morals, but he will keep his weather eye open for Socialist papers and make it his special business to see to it that they do not reach their subscribers. This will be expected of the postmasters, and as the average postmaster is something of a politician himself and is keenly alive to what is good for his political health, he will sedulously carry out the spirit of the order, unless his patrons resent his censorship and create such an opposition as will attract too much public attention.

The government does not care to have this question exploited publicly, and so the capitalist papers are discreetly silent except in pointing out that the order has been issued solely to eliminate the vicious influences of Socialism from circulation in the mails of the United States. Some of these papers are as frank as they are undiplomatic in revealing the animus of the postmaster general and stating the facts. Among these we commend the Daily Tribune, of Tacoma, Wash., which has the following:

MAILS PURIFIED!

The Postmaster General Spikes Socialist Guns and Bars Incendiary Press.

"Appeal to Reason" Is Especially Included in List of Matter Deemed Indecent and Obscene.

From Daily Tribune, Tacoma, Wash.

If seditious publications continue henceforth in the United States, they must adopt Russian methods and never exhibit themselves in public.

Postmaster General George von L. Meyer, in a sweeping regulation, rules that such literature is "obscene and indecent," and henceforth will be barred from the mails. Postmasters are given full authority to censor all suspected second-class matter, which means that such matter, if circulated at all, must use the express or a personal medium.

The penalty provided is a fine of $5,000 or imprisonment at hard labor for five years, or both. The term "indecent," the ruling says, "shall include matter of a character tending to incite arson, murder or assassination."

For years officials of the government have writhed under the incessant fire of a revolutionist newspaper published at Girard, Kansas, under the management of J. A. Wayland and Eugene V. Debs. The latter is at present the Socialist candidate for president of the United States, and it is expected that the postmaster general's ruling will evoke the fury of the fiery Indiana orator. *The government, apparently, has spiked the 13-inch gun of Debs and the Socialist party,* and doubtless is prepared to meet the inevitable litigation.

Assistant Postmaster Frank L. Stocking says: *"The ruling is aimed against such American publications as the 'Appeal to Reason,' a Socialist newspaper published in Kansas,* and other journals of the same class, and against publications published in foreign countries whose teachings are anarchistic and incitatory. A vast amount of such matter now comes through the mails, but postmasters, in hard and fast rules stipulated in the order, are empowered to bar all of it."

This article carries a flaming headline, "Mails Purified," with the sub-head "APPEAL TO REASON IS ESPECIALLY INCLUDED IN LIST OF MATTER DEEMED INDECENT AND OBSCENE."

We have here full confirmation of every statement made in our last issue.

"THE RULING IS AIMED AGINST SUCH PUBLICATIONS AS THE APPEAL TO REASON," says Assistant Postmaster Stocking.

This is what we charged and what we knew when we charged it. There is nothing new or startling about it. Ever since the Appeal developed circulation enough to give it national character and influence it has been the object of capitalist persecution, especially since the kidnaping of Moyer and Haywood, and since the mine owners of the west who operate in Wall street and shape largely the political destinies of the nation were thwarted in their infamous conspiracy to hang the union officials they could not buy and destroy the militant labor unionism of the western states. Since then the inspectors and spies and secret service men have been on the track of the Appeal and it is no fault of theirs that the Appeal is still permitted the same privilege that other papers enjoy.

But the Appeal has succeeded in eluding the vigilance of all its pursuers, not only because it was kept advised of every move that was made to entrap it, but because it has never permitted anything indecent or obscene, in the true meaning of those terms, nor anything advocating violence, murder, or other lawlessness, to appear in its columns. Each issue of the Appeal will bear testimony to the truth of this claim and its bitterest enemies will not accept our challenge to disprove it.

But in spite of this the Appeal must in some way be gotten rid of, not because it is really "indecent," but because it has been telling the truth about the capitalist system, exposing its corruption, and calling the attention of the people to the infamous practices upon which it relies to perpetuate its power. It is because of this that the Appeal is offensive, and, if this be obscenity—telling the truth without fear and adhering rigidly to good principles—then the Appeal is guilty. But such guilt can be pronounced only by the beneficiaries of the corrupt political party and the brutal economic system, who by dishonest interpretation make of virtue a vice and of vice a virtue.

In the article above quoted, the Tribune truthfully says that "FOR YEARS OFFICIALS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE WRITHED UNDER THE INCESSANT FIRE OF A REVOLUTIONARY NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED AT GIRARD, KANSAS.

It will be noted that the Appeal only became offensive since it has had power enough to make itself felt. And that it has made its power felt in the crusade against corrupt capitalism and in the support of advancing Socialism, whose mission it is to rescue the nation from the vampires who are sucking its life-blood, is to its eternal credit, and will be so regarded by honest men, the fulminations of the political hirelings of these vampires to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Appeal does not object to the issue which has thus been forced upon it by those it has defeated in the open and who dare not fight it fairly. It knew as long ago as last November, when a prosecuting official of the government announced that the ensuing session of congress would "fix the Appeal," that no effort would be spared to embarrass it, and to ultimately drive it out of existence.

And no effort has been spared. The Penrose bill was introduced for no other purpose than to reach the Appeal, and the substance of it was finally sneaked through congress in its closing hours as a rider to an appropriation bill. So well was the Appeal informed of every step in this campaign against it that it foretold with accuracy just what would happen and an examination of its files will show that subtantially everything it predicted has happened, including the latest order of the postmaster general to his postmasters authorizing them to cast out the Appeal and prevent it from reaching its subscribers.

The infamy of this persecution is exceeded only by the desperation of the capitalism which makes it necessary to prop its crumbling fortunes by stifling free speech and strangling a free press.

* * * * * *

Now the question is, what is the Appeal going to do about it?

It is face to face with a situation which has never yet confronted it.

Up to this time its fight has been to keep the Appeal in the mails. This fight has been finally won and there is no longer any question about the paper being admitted to the mails.

But after it gets into the mails, what then?

Why then, under the new order of Postmaster General Meyer, is when the trouble begins.

Formerly the question was one of admission and now it is one of delivery.

The capitalist government did not dare deny it admission when the final test came, but, shifting its ground, it attacked it at the point of delivery, where it has nearly a hundred thousand of its own chosen people to aid it in suppressing its circulation.

In other words, if the government could not prevent its admission to the mails, it can, at least it believes it can, prevent its delivery to its subscribers.

THE APPEAL DOES NOT BELIEVE IT!

In the first place, not all the postmasters, even though they be republican office-holders, and are appointed in the main because of their manipulation of affairs obedient to the boss in their district, will stoop to the level required to carry into execution this outrageous and despotic ukase of the postoffice department, whose sole object is the suppression of free speech and the throttling of the labor movement in the United States. Not all of them, we say, will withhold the Appeal from those justly and lawfully entitled to it. At least one of these has already written:

"Before I carry out that order I will resign my commission. I would not be guilty of such meanness for the best office in the land, much less a petty postmastership. Appeal to Reason readers are American citizens and as such have a right to get the papers they pay for and any attempt to deprive them of that right is far more dangerous to this republic than anything the Appeal to Reason or any other Socialist paper has ever done or ever could do in the way of stirring up the people."

There are many postmasters in this country who have an equally high sense of manliness and honor and will resent the infamous order to which they were expected to lend themselves with the political servility becoming those who hold small offices at the price of their self-respect.

IN THE NEXT PLACE, THE APPEAL IS GOING TO FIGHT.

For every copy that is burned or thrown out and is undelivered the Appeal will be heard from. This is a new kind of a fight for us, but we are not going to shrink from it. On the contrary, we are now determined as never before to maintain our rights and insist upon their being respected—even by the present pro-capitalistic administration of this plutocratic republic.

We serve notice on Mr. Postmaster General von Meyer, here and now, that we are not going to permit him to throw the Appeal out of the mails in the cowardly and underhanded manner contemplated in his despotic order. In making this declaration we are aware that he himself is but executing the mandate of the pirates who have plundered this nation and who rule it in every department from the pre[illegible] down to the last justice of the [illegible]

If Mr. Meyer imagin[illegible] the Appeal is going to tamely [illegible] it to being plucked feather by fe[illegible] of its rights and privileges he has [illegible]en its spirit and temper.

The Appeal as a [illegible]onent of the International Socia[illegible] movement was not born to be ig[illegible]ously strangled to death.

It came into being and is maintained, not for the purpose of making profit, nor to exploit a party, nor to promote the interests of any set of men, but as the voice of the social revolution, the champion of the working class in the struggle, age-long and world-wide, for emancipation.

It has increased in strength and has grown in influence from the begininng, until now it is read by a million people who believe in its principles, have faith in its integrity, and are in sympathy with its mission.

How now are we going to meet the postmaster general and those of his lieutenants who have declared war against the Appeal? In the same way that we have met every crisis in the past from all of which the Appeal has emerged with flying colors.

Here and now we make our appeal direct to the army of veterans, to its friends and sympathizers, who have carried it through every conflict and who will not falter now when its life is threatened from ambush by those who would not dare to meet it in fair and open warfare.

Here and now we call upon every one of our comrades and friends to put his energy into the circulation and send it upward by such leaps and bounds as will result in the opposite of what was expected from the postmaster general's order.

This is the certain and unfailing way of repelling this attack.

The expectation of the capitalist authorities is that our readers will become discouraged and disgusted when they hear that the paper is no longer to be delivered and that they will then abandon it of their own accord. Instead of this, our friends will show them, and at once, that they are made of sterner mettle and that instead of being driven from the Appeal they will now rally to it with renewed fidelity and prove, as never before, that they believe in it and that they will not allow it to be scourged from the mails by a usurping postmaster general, even though he be backed by the president of the United States.

The effect of the order is already being felt, but the Appeal is on the alert and is checkmating, move by move, every attempt to withhold the paper from its subscribers. Those who fail to get the paper are being supplied with a second and a third copy, and every case of failure to deliver is investigated as promptly as circumstances will allow. Where subscribers insist upon getting their paper it has not been denied them, so far as we have yet been advised. But whatever else may happen, the Appeal is preparing to meet every emergency, and it never had greater confidence in its ability to master a critical situation and win its own triumphant vindication.

But in this situation we must rely wholly upon the army of Appeal veterans. In this we are frank and direct. We are making no apology. We are well aware of the gravity of the situation, and while confident of the outcome, we yet do not deceive ourselves as to what is necessary in the way of a supreme effort to avert the intended disaster and emerge from the ordeal greater in power and wider in influence than before.

This issue of the Appeal is therefore a direct call to each and every one who is with it in this fight to resolve not only to send us at least one subscriber, but to act at once and leave nothing undone to strengthen the Appeal's hands with such a volume of fresh circulation as will enable it to thwart with a giant's strength the designs of the conspirators against its life and to continue with increasing power its struggle for emancipation.

It may be that that $29,000,000 fine has been paid—into the republican campaign fund.

"Labor is prayer," quoted the minister who was addressing a meeting of the working class. Then he added, thoughtfully: "Pray without ceasing."

Edison may be a little off in declaring that four hours' sleep is enough, but surely four thousand years is long enough for the working class to slumber. Day is coming and "it is now time to awaken out of your sleep."

How often has a lifetime of work and self-denial brought only the poor-house at the end, while a life of useless existence and extravagance has been crowned with palaces and servants? And you tell me that there is nothing wrong with the laws of such a nation?

Socialists desire to change the laws of the country, and you denounce them as being trouble-makers. Well, if you do not intend to change the laws why are you going to elect a new president and congress and legislatures this fall? What kind of a game are you trying to play?

Russian Socialists, with suppressed printing plants, distribute more literature than we do in this nation. We can beat them if it comes to denying the mails to us. That surely will put mettle into the army of a million Socialists in this country. It takes just such acts to arouse a nation.

Your master's horses are better housed, better fed and better cared for than you are, you work people. The stables of the rich are infinitely more beautiful and sanitary than the hovels of the poor. But, then, the horses cost money to buy and you poor dupes are had for the mere feeding. I don't blame the horses for liking the system—but you men and women? Why are you less worthy of consideration than horses?

"This paper is denied the use of the United States mail, even when stamped. The masters of your jobs are afraid to permit you to read it. They know why." Say, when this has to be printed over the heading of the Appeal and when editions have to be set up and duplicated in every great city—won't it make propaganda? That will arouse the work people from their slumber. We smile at the efforts of the captains of industry to keep Socialist literature from the people. The little old Appeal will be busy in the years to come. It may not be able to get out regularly each week, but it will get out a-plenty.

THE SITUATION.

Pope Leo XIII., on May 15, 1891, said: "But all agree, and there can be no question whatever that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor. . . . By degrees it has come to pass that workingmen have been given over, isolated and defenseless, to the carelessness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. . . . And to this must be added the custom of working by contract and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself."

A mechanic or a farmer, or even a day laborer, is more useful to any nation than a lawyer or a landlord or a speculator. But who gets the most out of it? Why do you want to pay your most useful neighbors less than your less useful ones? Why, even the gamblers and criminals live better than your honest, industrious folks. Why do you do it. It is you who do the voting that makes this thing. You do not know how to look after your own affairs, and those who look after them do it for their own benefit. Which dresses the best—the women of the idle rich or the honest working girls of the nation? This is your fault. You may claim you have nothing to do with it, but if you do you must admit that your votes might as well not be cast at all. What did your ancestors give their lives to get the ballot for and leave it to you? Did they not think it had something to do for the weal or woe of a people? If there is anything bad in the nation, your foolishly cast vote is the prime cause of it. And this is true, whether you have sense enough to know it or not.

It is self-interest that is driving men to oppose the present system of society, just as it is self-interest that causes men to uphold it. A house divided against itself cannot stand. A majority of people are homeless and propertyless. They have no reason to defend the system. A majority can rule. And besides them, there are the millions who have a little but who see more or less clearly that their hold upon it is precarious, very slender, and that they cannot hold out with any hope of ultimate success for themselves and their children. Ah, Mr. Capitalist, we have you coming and going. You are doing the very things that are needed for your overthrow. Self-interest is the great lever. It is the motive power of the class struggle. Until you can raise human beings without any sense of reason at all you cannot perpetuate a system that keeps the masses making wealth for you to enjoy.

How the bankers laughed at the old Farmers' alliance men when they asked the government to lend them money on good wheat, corn and staples! How they poked fun at lending money on rotten cabbage and potatoes! How they smiled in sarcasm about setting the printing presses to work making money! But look today! The bankers have had their congress set the printing presses to work grinding out money to be lent to them on such bonds as the corrupt Alton deal, bonds on a railroad that has no existence! It makes a difference, you know, who is going to get the money whether it can be turned out on printing presses or not. Who is going to redeem all these hundreds of millions of promises to pay?

Lincoln Steffens, the great magazine writer, interviewed Roosevelt, Taft, LaFollett, Bryan and Johnson. Each of them acknowledge that they do not know any remedy for the ills that afflict the nation. Isn't it time that the people begin to look to the Socialists, who know what is the matter and what will cure it? Will you voters longer hug party prejudice until the nation is sunk too deep into the mire to extricate? Haven't you had enough of private monopolies and panics?

Many talk about the "blessings of poverty," but it is one of the blessings that nobody prays for.

America has the old Roman land system. It is an un-American institution. How is that for an argument?

The postmaster general has been authorized by republicans to put an injunction on a free press whenever he "considers" it desirable.

Capital has no rights. It is an absurd expression. What right has a locomotive or a plow? Can you not see how you have been gizzled by the fellow behind the capital?

Socialists who want to be up-to-date are reminded that the proper way to pronounce it is Tawft. In like manner, if you want to be real stylish, and most Socialists do, you must call the republican policy grawft.

By the way, John, how do you like the prosperity of that gold standard you voted for? Do you see much gold these days? Try to get some and see how plentiful it is. It is like that fool dinner pail you voted for.

On the proposition that campaign subscriptions be made public during the progress of the campaign, the national republican convention voted 880 nays to 94 yeas. It will be perfectly safe for "My Dear Harriman" to again come to front, and for Mr. Carnegie to again "invest" in the congressional campaign.

I never go down town of a morning and see the string of business men coming out of their homes but I think of the spider and the flies. Each man is busy thinking how he can get more prey; each weaves a mental web to catch more profits; each plans how he can get more of the products of the work people. I have been in the game and know it well. The difference between me and the others is that I admit it while they deny it. And most of them do not realize it, either.

Any nation that permits its old fathers and mothers to be sent to poor-houses or to be thrown upon the cold charities of the world, has something radically wrong with it. The best the nation can produce should be at the disposal of our parents in their declining years. The most barbarous nation does not so mistreat its old and infirm. Socialism will provide palatial plenty for its fathers and mothers. I desire this in my old age and you desire it in your old age. But if we do it not to our fathers and mothers, why should it be done to us?

Talking about the full dinner pail, why do the people who produce all food have to eat out of a dinner bucket, while the drones eat at the swell hotels and cafes? Do not men and women who work deserve the best that work produces? Work people built the hotel and their work produces everything that is used in it. But do they get a sight of the feasts their labors have produced? Not on your sweet life. Their whole day's pay would not buy one meal, to say nothing of the other meals and their other necessities. But this should not be mentioned, you know. It might produce a class-struggle! Be deaf and blind and dumb, you work people, to everything except what your masters tell you.

Attention, Mr. P. M. General!

The Somerset County, Pa., Star, a republican paper, says this:

"A little good lemp properly applied to Eugene V. Debs would be a fine thing for the country."

The Appeal reader who sends us the clipping from which the above is taken, writes: "My first impulse was to call the attention of the postmaster general to the murder-inciting article directed at Comrade Debs; but why should I waste postage? Do I not know that the law will not be enforced against republican anarchists, and that the advocacy of assassination is permissible under capitalist law when it is directed against 'undersirable' citizens?"

The Somerset County, Pa., Star, a republican paper, replies to the Appeal's irrefutable logic by calling on the government to suppress this paper and do the job at once.

Twenty-four manila paper-makers were fined a thousand dollars each in New York the other day for illegal combination to skin the public in prices. What is a $24,000 fine to men who have made millions by their action and who will get the millions hereafter just as they did when they violated the law? The result will be to force them to organize one corporation, like the steel trust, and sell to it all their plants; and thus they will be able to do the same thing and not break any law. The law thus forces the concentration of wealth and the more rapid methods of doing it. The faster the property is concentrated the better it will be for the nation, as the people will not always sit stupidly down and let the powers of property rob them right before their faces. Under Socialism the public would own and operate the paper business, would have short hours and good pay for the employes and would sell the paper at the labor cost of production. Then no millions would pile up in the hands of a few men, there would be no incentive for any one to violate the law, there would be no great expense of trials to force men to obey the law, there would be a dollar's worth of labor in every dollar paid for manila paper. But this would be awfully awful, so it would, and the Appeal will likely be deprived of the mails for printing it, as it "can be construed as an incitement to arson, murder and assassination." Rome fell because of the public and private corruption caused by private ownership. But Rome never was so rich, never had such great fortunes as this country. Will you remain political dupes as the common citizens of Rome did? Ignorance and superstition then as now are being used to give the few lordly power over the many who toil and moil and live in want.

It seems that republican tactics of 1896 are again being resorted to. Finding a singular lack of interest at Chicago, it is declared that men out of employment were paid $1.00 each to march in procession in honor of Candidate Taft. They marched all right, but the terms of the contract did not keep some of them from shouting for Debs, which they did with a vim.

Not even in Imperial Germany can a paper be denied the use of the mails. Only in the United States and Russia and China and Japan is that possible. Great is Liberty!

The contest in 1776 was for political democracy. In 1908 it is for industrial democracy.

The republican platform declares both for and against the use of the injunction. The declaration in its favor is unequivocal. But the declaration against it is a "peach" for ambiguity. It declares against the "summary issuance of such orders without proper consideration." The man who issues them is to be the sole judge as to what is proper consideration. In other words, the declaration is merely a claim that the injunction should be well thought out, so that it can do its work.

Russell Comstolk, in November, 1829, delivered an address from the steps of the city hall in Philadelphia, advocating the establishment of public schools, which so delighted his hearers that they nominated him for president. A constable arrested Comstock for disturbing the peace and carried him before a magistrate. Comstock was not to be suppressed and up to the day of the election scattered handbills broadcast over the city of Philadelphia. This incident is taken from McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," Vol. V., page 101.

In 1835, the postmaster at Charleston held up abolition literature because it was, in his judgment, "indecent, inflammatory and seditious." He wrote to Postmaster General Kendall and reported his action. Kendall replied that "the postmaster general had no authority to exclude newspapers from the mail, nor forbid their carriage because of their real or supposed character or tendency." Yet he would not direct the Charleston postmaster to forward the papers! "We owe an obligation to the laws," said he, "but a higher one to the community. If the laws be perverted to destroy the community (slavery) it is patriotism to disregard them (the laws)." But today we pass laws to throttle a free press—a thing which the old slaveocracy dared not do! Oh, liberty! O, freedom! Whither hast thou flown?

It cost four and three-fourths days of labor in the time of the Roman empire to produce a bushel of wheat; seventy years ago it cost three hours labor time; and today with improved methods it costs only ten minutes. This will give you some idea of the progress of production. It also gives you another idea, if you are keen-witted; it shows you that people made a living for themselves and families two thousand years ago, or else they would have starved, even when it took nearly five days to produce one bushel of wheat, while today it takes only ten minutes out of their lives—and yet we have people suffering for bread. As people are today producing bread material in the proportion of 300 times as much as they could then, it follows that they should be able to keep three hundred families on the labor of one man as well as one could be kept then, which you know is not true, and which shows that something must be wrong or else figures lie. If the workers got the benefit of the modern methods of production it would not require more than four hours labor a day for able bodied persons to produce all that the human family could consume in food, clothing, and housing and pleasure. That is just what Socialists are trying to establish. And you who suffer will not listen!

A reader of the Appeal sends us a copy of the Seattle Daily Times, June 19th, with its double-leaded, black-face article inciting to murder, with the suggestion that we submit it to the postmaster-general and demand that the department take action against that publication. The Appeal is not in the sleuth business, and of course will not act on the suggestion of our friend. If old-party papers fill their columns with "indecent" matter it is none of our concern. We are always glad to have our friends send us copies of papers supporting the republican party which contain incendiary material, as we file them away for future reference. They will be interesting when the department opens up its fight on this paper and attempts to read into its utterances a meaning that is not there. Just keep your eyes open, comrades, for violations of the postal rules and regulations and federal laws by old-party papers and send us the sheets. We already have a fine collection of material of this kind. It may be necessary for us to offer it in our defense to the public when the time comes.

There are 80,000 postoffices in the United States. That means 80,000 press censors—less the number of fair-minded postmasters like the one quoted on the first page. It scatters the fight—and makes it harder on the Appeal. It would be easier for us if the fight was concentrated in one place, Washington, for instance. But we accept the situation and will rely on the Army making the most of it. There is this advantage: It gives us nearly 80,000 new readers, as every postmaster will be compelled to read the paper, provided you insist on having the article pointed out to you that is "indecent."

What is known as the physical valuation of railroads is their real cost. In other words, it is what they are actually worth, with the water squeezed out. On a plank submitted by LaFollette demanding the physical valuation of railroads as a basis for fixing railroad rates, the national republican convention at Chicago voted no by a vote of 960 to 28. Taft endorsed this proposition.

A Lansing, Mich., man has solved the problem of what a man is to do if he is starving and unable to get a job, the puzzle that Candidate Taft "gave up" with the words, "God knows." This Lansing man sold his shirt and bought food with the proceeds. That's pretty bad, but not so bad as to sell one's soul for food.

The San Francisco Chronicle, a rabid capitalist paper, recently declared that more than 1,200 children are annually killed in that city by the use of impure milk sold for profits. Could Socialism do worse?

There should be no classes in this country. But every observing man knows there are classes. Socialism is the only organization that has either desire or plan for ending classes.

What incentive is there to work under capitalism, when, if you are either a rich man or a tramp, you can live without work?

When you do too much, the master does you, and you are, under this system of "efficiency," working yourself out of a job.

NOTICE!

Report to us promptly the non-receipt of your paper. We are exercising due diligence at this end and every precaution in our power is taken to insure the correct mailing of the Appeal. If the postmaster refuses to deliver your paper, and claims authority to do so under the recent ruling, we should know it at once.

Things are getting gloriously warm in this country, and the hotter they get the better for Socialism.

The depression, they tell us, is being relieved. It is good policy to get the vote before you cut the wage.

Why be frightened because Socialism is revolutionary? The founders of The American republic were revolutionists.

The negro was, figuratively, whipped at Chicago and Brownsville. But will he vote for the masters who did the deed?

Every sensible man knows something is wrong, and some want to ameliorate matters. But no one but the Socialist even proposes a complete cure.

Half the people have a wholesome contempt for the average court—not for the institution, but for the way it is administered. The judgment of the people, not the injunction of the court, is the supreme law.

The republican platform's lack of a remedy for the enforced idleness of the working class suggests that they are in the same class with the queen of France, who, when told that the people had no bread, innocently inquired: "Why don't they eat cake?"

No man knows exactly how industry will be managed under Socialism, because Socialism is not a scheme for governing others. But it will be managed just as you want it to be. Socialism is nothing but democracy in industry, in place of the present imperial management of it.

Some friend sends the Appeal a long clipping showing the impracticability of Socialism that "makes private property illegal, abolishes competition and makes the state the sole employer of labor." and wants the stuff answered. What's the use? As Socialism will increase rather than abolish private property, as it will not completely end competition but only take it from the field of industry, and as it has no idea of making the state the sole employer of labor, there is really no need to reply to such rot.

"THE TRUTH WILL LEAK OUT."

From People's Banner, David City, Neb.

Postmaster Hall returned Wednesday evening from his trip to Ashtabula, O., where he went to look after the affairs of a brother who died. Mr. Hall reports that Ohio and adjoining states are suffering severely from financial depression, factories everywhere being closed and railroads running with largely reduced forces. Ashtabula is one of the largest ore ports on the lakes, and with the lake season half gone not a vessel has unloaded there this summer. The common laborers who have depended on this work are destitute and living and cooking such scraps of food as they can get in the open. It seems hard for Nebraska people to realize that such conditions can exist at this time.

"AIMED AT THE APPEAL."

It wasn't necessary for that government official to rush into the daily papers and announce in big type that the new postal law and the postmaster general's recent order was "aimed at the Appeal." Bless your dear, old, simple soul, Mr. Postmaster Stocking, the Appeal Army and the general public knew this long ago. And it has set a good many people to wondering what's all the row. This induces them to read the Appeal, and that's all we want. If we can't convince a man Socialism is right, we'll get off the job. In the meantime, every Appeal Army comrade will now get busy. It's a great time for sub-getting. People want to know why the government doesn't like the Appeal. Better tell 'em and then take their subscription to the biggest little paper on earth! 25c per year in clubs of four and over.

"The movement is too real, too tremendous, too intelligent, to be successfully dealt with by misrepresentation. Calling hard names, curses, jeers, pompous airs of indifference—these are not weapons with which to resist a sleepless propaganda which is systematic, orderly, patient, persistent and capable of great effort and supreme suffering, be it death or ridicule, for the sake of its ends."—James Creelman in Pearson's for July.

What has become of the Roosevelt fad of improved spelling? But it amused you for an hour or so at the time, and kept him in the limelight. Do you see anything?

Your father left you an inheritance of a free press—and you have permitted the rich and powerful interests to fasten a censorship on you and your children. Are you not proud of it?

Even in the anti-slavery agitation, with all its bitterness, the government never dared to establish a censorship of the press. But it is done now. Never then did the government take sides against the right of a free press, though locally the papers were destroyed and editors killed. But chattel slavery had to die and wage slavery has to die.

There are many of you Socialists who think you have done your part when you have spent a few dollars a year for literature to awaken your neighbors to the dangers threatening the nation. When the Socialist press is suppressed you will giev ten times as much to circulate the suppressed literature. You are like men who wore the blue and grey—at the time when they could have averted the trouble they did little or nothing, but later were willing to give their lives for the cause. Better load up with literature now, while you can.

While you work, other men are planning and scheming. You haven't the time nor the books and statistics to show what you are doing. But they are not in politics for their health. It is for power and plunder. To have control of the billions of industry of this great nation is a power greater than that of any monarch on earth. It is not for the plunder of public business—that is a small thing compared with the plunder arising from private ownership of the industries. The loot is billions a year. No conqueror ever levied such tribute on any fallen nation. Get wise.

Are not trusts and monopolies larger and stronger today than at any time in the history of the nation? Do you see anything that brings you hope of a reversal of conditions? If laws were not favorable to them could they flourish as they do? Are not the majority of congress owners in one or more trusts? Do you believe they will vote against their own interests? Would you knowingly vote against your own interest. Why don't you vote for a party that will reverse matters and enable the common people to rise up as the trusts have risen up? Never mind what the trust owners will do—you vote for your interests and let them look out for their interests. They need not your help—you need that and need it bad. And you will not find it so easy to get away from them either. You must make a beginning sometime, or remain their abject subjects.

"A little knowledge is a dangerous thing." The aristocracy handed that down for your consumption. They don't want you to have even a little knowledge. It would be unhealthy for their schemes. Just a little knowledge would enable you work people to get out of your miserable condition and live fuller, better lives. Do you believe that ignorance is better than knowledge? Doesn't that sentence say so? Get just a little knowledge and try it on yourself. Could your condition be much worse? Did you ever get anything you did not earn? And could you have lived on much less than you received? Then how could you have been worsted? That sentence is a lie and was coined, like a thousand others, to deceive you that you might be more easily skinned.

The new censorship law is an absolute violation of the Constitution of the United States, which says in as plain words as English admits that "the right of a free press shall not be infringed." Do you think a censorship is an "infringement" or not? The men who are looting the nation are determined to loot it and deprive the people of any means of knowing what they are doing. Let this be an issue. The democrats refused to oppose this traitorous measure. Capitalists control both the old parties, just as they did before the republican party was formed. It was the chattel slave power then, it is the wage slave power now.

Fear of the people has prevented congress from increasing the regular army. Several times this has been attempted, but the nerve of the members failed. But the oligarchy that rules, coward that it is, was not to be balked by this refusal to give it troops to defend its ill-gotten gains. What it could not get directly, it has gotten by indirect action. Direct action is always honest, indirect action always dishonest. When the nation was small and liable to be overrun, it did not have and did not need a great army; but now that it is strong it needs an army to defend it from alleged dangers! Are you so silly that you cannot see through such a flimsy trick? Will you sleep while your country is being openly turned from a republic into a military power? Will you vote this fall for the parties that have permitted this? Have you never read history?

You can be more effectually controlled by having your food supply controlled than ever any chattel slaves were by their masters. The men who control the meat of the nation, or the sugar of the nation, or the iron of the nation, wield a greater power over your lives than any king on earth has over his subjects. And this is because you vote for men who believe in private ownership of the industries. With collective ownership and operation and democratic control of them you would control the things on which your jobs and life depend. The man who controls your job controls your life. You have the form of freedom, but none of its substance. Another not only controls your job, he controls the product you have made and you must buy it from him on his terms. He catches you both ways. With collective ownership you would control them both ways.

An anonymous pamphlet in England is causing a great stir among the elect of that country. It tells of the doings of the rich and mighty that would make a horse ashamed. It is thought to be written by a governess in a noble family. It is proposed to put the author, if found, in an insane asylum—never to inquire into the facts—anything but that. The rich in all nations are less moral than the beasts of the fields. An occasional glimpse into their private lives, here as well as there, prove that they are without shame or morals. They pose as church members, pose as respectable, pose as the salt of the earth—but they are whited sepluchres. And nothing else could be expected. When people have money that costs them nothing, that supplies the physical without time or care, the second law of nature takes the first place and immorality and rottenness is bound to follow. It would follow in any society on earth.

Capitalist Procurers.

Here are some emanations of a capitalist free press that are respectfully referred to the postmaster general, who is official press censor of the republican party; to Anthony Comstock, the guardian angel of capitalist morals, and to the federal judges who protect the mails from objectionable articles. They appear in the Cincinnati Enquirer, that democratic paper edited and owned by John R. McLean, who is something of a capitalist himself:

Acquaintance wanted. A well-to-do southern merchant of 35, who frequently visits the city, would like to meet a small, handsome young lady of 18 to 25 who can appreciate a good time. E 63, Enquirer.

Look here, girls; a nice young business man will be in Cincinnati on March 18, 19 and 20, and would like to meet a nice young lady that has a good form and one that likes theatres and a good time in general; I will show you a good time and will try and make our meeting a pleasant one; I am considered nice-looking and a fine specimen of manhood; I will do the right thing by the right girl; state age and give true description of yourself in first letter, and state where and when you can be seen; I might assist financially. Address Pancier, Cincinnati Enquirer.

But nothing will be done about this public procuring, because **the owner of the paper is in high favor in political and diplomatic circles and uses the money he thus gains fostering vice in giving "breakfasts" at his palatial home, "friendship" to "ambassadors, ministers** and other members of the diplomatic and smart residence circle," as the society columns put it.

Statistics lately gathered in England show that the army is turning out a stupendous number of mal-contents. In a recent gathering of 600 Socialists, over 300 of them were ex-soldiers.

Exact Size Debs Watch Fobs

One 25c

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QUESTION BOX

A Decided Difference.

Is it a fact that a great many persons who dislike the name "Socialism" are as much Socialists as you are, judging of course by these persons having and expressing the same ideas and objections to the defects of our government as Socialists do? About the best example of this is what the July number of the Ladies' Home Journal contained under the caption "The Ideas of a Plain Country Woman." She does not mention Socialism or politics, but stated that the idle gentlewoman who had nothing to do but *keep nice* was maintained at the expense of the poor laborer who cannot find time to "keep nice."—Reader.

YOU have a very limited idea as to what it takes to make a Socialist. Mere objections to the "defects of our government" do not make a Socialist of the objector. There are kickers a-plenty who are as far from Socialism as Satan is from the pearly gates. It takes more than a grouch or a torpid liver to make one an effective opponent of the capitalist system.

The "plain country woman" is probably as far from Socialism as she was from home when she sent her harmless knock against the system to a "ladies'" home journal. The ladies and gentlemen of the land find it a pleasant diversion to read the literature of exposure and disclosure so long as the radical remedy for the things exposed is neither mentioned nor alluded to. The teeth of the metaphorical muck rake are not long enough to disturb those who are hedged about with privilege and protected with the ignorance of their opponents.

What if someone does put the evident proposition in writing that the laborer who has no time to keep self tidy maintains the idle gentlewoman in idle elegance? That only pleases the gentlewoman and confirms her belief that she is of the chosen whom some supernatural power has assigned to grace marbled halls and silken apparel. It is only another way of telling the gentlewoman that she is a lady and reminding her of the gulf that separates her from the unwashed of the scullery.

Had the plain woman told in plain language how the poor laborer could throw off this burden of supporting the idle gentlewoman she would have done something worth while—so much so that the probability is she could not have had it printed in a "ladies'" publication. Parasitic ladies and gentlemen view with complacency a wordy war of criticism, but become very much agitated when some one proposes an attack on their privileges.

Socialists not only say that the industrious worker supports the idle rich; they say further that it has been going on too long and must stop. Furthermore, they show how this end can be brought about and call on all of the un-nice and undesirable to get together and do the things necessary.

No, dear Reader, there is a great difference between those who merely criticise existing conditions and the Socialists, who realize all that but busy themselves more particularly in pointing to the way out and in persuading the backward to move forward.

How Gain Possession.

How would a Socialist government obtain possession of the land and railroads? Would they buy them from the present owners? Suppose the owners refuse to sell? —C. S. D., Mobeetie, Tex.

There will be no Socialist government until a majority of the people make it out of themselves—until they unite on the principles of Socialism and organize a government of themselves, by themselves and for themselves. They will first have to agree on taking possession of the land and railroads before they can agree on the methods by which they will take them.

They may buy them from the individuals claiming them or they may merely kick the claimants out as the colonial fathers kicked King George out something over a century ago, although that titled gentleman owned this country. They may vote bonds upon themselves and their children and their children's children to pay for the land and keep generations of aristocrats and money lenders in opulence for years to come, as they are doing now. I say they may do any of these things because they will have the power to do what they may think best.

What they will do is something that no man can tell until the time of the doing. The question that now confronts us is not how this is to be done, but whether the majority of the people want to do it. Do you think that the life, liberty and happiness of the people are better promoted and conserved by paying tribute to the idle, or by so reorganizing society that the drones will have to get off the workingman's back and go to work? If you decide that the idle rich should be made to go to work, how are you going to make them do it so long as they own the earth and make you pay them tribute for the part of it you use as a producer?

There are those who loudly insist on being shown just how everything is to be operated under Socialism, and condemn the movement because those who understand themselves decline to attempt the impossible. To be consistent such people would decline a passport to heaven unless specific provision were made as to whether they would journey thence by land or by water or by aviation. They would insist upon arrival to a probationary residence of a few years to find out whether they really liked to play a harp in preference to wielding a shovel. But were the fires of hell at the heels of such cavaliers it is likely that they would get inside and make their survey later.

The workingman under capitalism has been scorched and is willing to set his face in the direction of what he wants and needs. He may make many mistakes before he reaches the goal. Some of these mistakes may be made by him as a Socialist and by the whole body of Socialists, but he will never get anywhere unless he starts, the progress thereafter depending upon the judgment of himself and his fellow comrades.

Had Columbus been as conservative as some people of today seem to be he would never have set out in search of the new route to the Indies unless assured of a clear track and unless positively informed as to where and how he was to land upon arrival. But the voyage was attempted, not because the way was mapped and harbors provided, but because he believed that the world was round. He sailed by principle and not by being shown. He proved the principle, although he never reached his destination.

Socialism is setting out to prove a principle to which all science and human experience points as the next stage in the journey of man. Socialists are the pioneers of progress. They know where they want to go and are on the way. To say just what will happen at every stage of the journey is to indulge in idle guessing. Obstacles and problems loom up in front which can be met and solved only in their time and on the merits of each.

The details of Socialist society must be worked out in the orderly process of evolution, and not by any preconceived or prearranged scheme.

A Rich Man's War.

How was the war from 1861 to 1865 a rich man's war and a poor man's fight?—A. C. M., Blair, Wis.

The rebellion of 1861-5 was the climax of the contest over the question as to whether chattel slavery or wage slavery should prevail. The owner of negroes was the possessor of labor power in quantity and therefore wanted labor power to realize a high price. The employers of so-caded free labor were continually buying labor power and therefore wanted it to be as cheap as possible. The owner of negroes wanted food and industrial products at the cheapest price, so he could feed his slaves cheaply and produce cotton and tobacco at the lowest cost. The northern manufacturer wanted a high price for industrial products, since he had them to sell.

Had the rebellion been successful in preserving the institution of chattel slavery it would have been to the advantage, temporarily at least, of the slave owners, since it would have saved to them their slave property and would have permitted them to realize on their investments. But the failure of the rebellion has proven its advantage to the northern manufacturers in the enormous fortunes they have accumulated from the labors of what some are pleased to call free workingmen.

The least consideration of the issues involved shows that they were fundamentally economic. The sentiments and preachments of partisans on both sides were the result of teachings inspired by the financially interested parties. The workingman of the north was the loser in a material way, because by his own effort he brought four million freedmen into competition with himself in the labor market.

It is scarcely necessary to say that it was the working class and the lower middle class who carried the muskets on both sides and who sacrificed life in the greatest number for patriotism and what they were taught to believe was a righteous cause. The outcome of the war was determined by the fact that the northern manufacturers were in line with the forces of social and economic evolution while the southern planters were financially weak and the champions of an industrial system less efficient than that evolving in the north. The rich men of the north whipped the rich men of the south and have gone on accumulating wealth because of the advantage so gained.

The poor man of the north fought the rich man's battles successfully because backed by the northern manufacturers' wealth and machinery, both of which wage labor could produce for the north, but which slave labor could not produce for the south. It is recorded that no man ever became a millionaire in this country by means of chattel slave labor, but thousands have done so by means of exploiting wage workers. The old slavery contained within itself the weakness which destroyed it. It was a worn-out institution and awaited only the onslaught of the new system growing in the north to put it out of business.

In like manner is the capitalist system weakening, and in like manner is the new system of socialized industry appealing to those who need it. But in this latest contest the alignment of the opposing forces is not that of wealthy leaders on each side fighting by proxy for privileges, but is one of economic classes—the property owners on one side and the property producers on the other. On the outcome of this struggle depends not some other form of privilege for the rich in place of the wage system, but the abolition of all forms of exploitation and the establishment of the new idea, with its corresponding political and industrial institutions, that to the producer belongs his product and to the non-producer belongs nothing. Socialism is the first and only fight of, by and for the poor man. The few wealthy persons who join him in the contest do so on ethical grounds and not on the economic grounds which generally determine the attitude of individuals toward social problems.

What Would Debs Do First?

If it were possible for Comrade Debs to be elected next November what would be the first change he would make?—M. J., Point Richmond, Cal.

Inasmuch as the writer is not gifted of omniscience or even the power to prophesy he is unable to give a positive answer to your question; but it is likely that the first change would be a change of socks and shirt preparatory to an invasion of the White house.

When once within the executive mansion, it is likely that he, in person or by proxy, would sweep the sawdust and other pugilistic paraphernalia from the East room and pitch the big stick into the Potomac river.

It is possible that before reaching the apartments of state he might meet in the corridors that pompous person detailed from the United States army to inspect White house linen and pass on the position and precedence of speckeld pups at the feudal functions pulled off from time to time on the premises. Were such a meeting to informally occur in the vicinity of the rotunda there would probably be a formal presentation of Debs' number fourteen pedal protector to the posterior of the flunkey and a quick change of his anatomy from the marbled halls to the sacred grass once defiled by General Coxey and his army.

But all these speculations as to the first thing someone else would do are not to the point. What do you want your president to do? It is for the working class to tell him and tell him in a declaration such as is embodied in the national platform of the Socialist party. A Socialist president would have no other lamp to guide his feet than the expressed will of those electing him.

That will has been tentatively expressed in the platform adopted by the convention that nominated Comrade Debs, which is yet subject to referendum vote of the party membership. If you are a member of the party you will have a voice in determining the acts of your candidate. The thing to do is not to question what a candidate will do, but to be an active member of the party, and, through your membership, instruct him what to do.

Why Debs Was in Jail.

When and for what cause was Eugene V. Debs imprisoned?—M. A., Lindford, Minn.

At the time of the A. R. U. strike, in 1894, when the strikers were getting the best of the railroads, the managers had Debs enjoined from doing everything imaginable, and had him arrested within a few hour on a trumped-up charge of having violated an injunction.

When taken into court on this charge he was denied trial and committed to jail. When the case was appealed to the supreme court of the United States that august body refused to take action on the grounds that in a contempt proceeding the lower court had original and exclusive jurisdiction.

In this action for so-called contempt the judge was at once the plaintiff, judge and executioner. Debs served eighteen months in jail without trial and on no other authority than that of the very individualistic individual who exercised the prerogatives of a federal judge with the facility of a czar.

While in jail two other charges were hatched up, but failed for want of favorable conditions under which to continue the persecution. But the railroads accomplished their purpose and broke the strike through the imprisonment of its leaders.

Government by Injunction.

What is the meaning of the phrase "Government by Injunction"?—W. P., Pittsburg, Pa.

Government by Injunction is an expression coined by some clever phrase builder to designate a convenience which is often used by the captains of industry to discipline their employes when they become rebellious.

On the application of some desirable citizen a judge can issue a writ of injunction forbidding certain undesirable citizens from doing certain things. If the person enjoined is then so much as charged with doing any of the things prohibited he is subject to condemnation for contempt of court by the all-powerful judge. The accused loses the right of trial by jury and is wholly at the mercy of the court.

It was the frequent use of this injunction in this way that brought the expression "government by injunction" into use. It makes an autocrat out of a judge and enables him to do great things in behalf of his friends in case of labor troubles, and it is scarcely necessary to state that the friends in such cases are usually the officers and agents of corporations.

It is only one of the means by which the wealth of the nation asserts and exercises its right to rule. It would be an impossibility where such a thing as a government by the people were in existence. It establishes one-man rule, suspends trial by jury and deprives the workingman of any rights that the master class are theoretically supposed to respect under the law.

If you want to do some effective propaganda work, send a dollar for a dozen copies of the "Question Box" pamphlet, a booklet containing the national Socialist platform and fifty-five pages of questions about and objections to Socialism, with brief answers to each. Endorsed by Comrade Debs and many other active workers in the movement. Sample copy mailed postpaid for a dime by the Appeal Book Department.

CAPITALISM BREAKING UP THE HOME.

A Story of Today.

From "Charity and Commons."

Eleven congested squares in New York have a density of population of 1,200 to the acre. This is a startling statement, and should arouse every patriot to make some estimates for himself. Delaware has a land surface of 1,254,400 acres. The estimated population of the earth is one and a half billions of white, red, brown, yellow and black. Were this billion and a half of the earth's population crowded into Delaware, it would be a little less densely packed than these eleven squares, and scarcely less cosmopolitan in its make-up.

More than half the families of this district occupy but one or two rooms each; and one-sixth of the rooms house four adults each. Apart from Christianity, morality stands aghast at the indelicacy of such barbarous environment. That such conditions prevail in a twentieth century American city seems altogether incredible. These tenements are not models of modern architecture. The men who built and own and derive revenues from them did not consider ventilation, drainage, light, hygiene and the requirements of civilized decency essentials. It is utterly impossible to estimate the moral effect of such surroundings. Only God can know the full reach of the influences for evil that are ever present in these wretched dens of darkness and disease. Can the missionary go into these tenements and preach a gospel that makes complete salvation possible for all men? The development of the lowest type of Christian manhood and womanhood in the midst of such surroundings seems utterly impossible.

The physical effects of this inhuman crowding may be partially estimated. These tenements are veritable houses of death. Of every 1,000 babies born here, from 87 to 92 die before they reach five years of age. Of every 1,000 persons above five years of age, about 25 die every year. The walls, the ceilings, the floors and the furniture of these buildings are steeped in the essence of disease and death. Death and his dark horse hold high carnival here. We stand amazed, appalled, over the gloom and horror of such human environment. There is a faint cry of human life, a feeble struggle for existence in the dark, the wail of bereaved motherhood, the hearse, the grave in the potter's field; and the grim tragedy goes on.

What are your children going to do if this concentration of wealth, this continual accumulation of trusts and mergers is permitted to go on? If you find it hard to get along, how much harder will they find it when the trusts have grown stronger?

THE CRISIS.

BY LUCIEN SANIAL.

X.—Concentration in Mining and Timber Lands.

OF the crude materials used in the various industries (including not only manufactures, but building, railroad construction, telegraphs, etc.), fully two-thirds in value are supplied by agriculture, the mainder consisting almost entirely in minerals and products of the forests.

In the two last named fields there is practically no middle class struggling for existence against gigantic rivals. The capital required for successful operation in either of them is now far beyond the means of small capitalists and mere land-owners.

Every rich deposit, thus far known, of gold, silver, copper and iron among the metallic minerals, and of coal and petroleum among the non-metallic, is held by powerful corporations, which are themselves dominated by a few men. And the enormous incomes which these natural products annually yield to these magnates enable them to dominate also in other fields, such as railroad transportation, many branches of manufacture, and especially finance.

Here, then, stand face to face Proletarian and Plutorat. On one side a body of horny-handed toilers, propertyless and pennyless, yet armed with the weapon of citizenship—a weapon of magical power, but the true value and right use of which have heretofore been unknown to them. On the other side a score of horny-headed multi-millionaires, haughty lords clad in the dazzling armor of capitalist law, which the magic weapon of the proletarians could pierce and shatter at a single blow.

From time to time the respective "interests" of those exploiters on one side and of those exploited on the other side cease to be "identical." They even cease to be "mutual," and the nation looks on, shaken to its center as if a bloody war was impending.

Wherefore such a war? For human freedom and social justice?

No.

For the recovery of that natural inheritance of man which has been confiscated by class decree?

No. From the very nature of the weapon possessed in this country by the dispossessed, a war involving social principles must of necessity be first fought out peaceably, on the political field. Thus, for instance, was Lincoln elected before the guns of rebellion had to be silenced by the guns of abolition.

Is not, then, a battle impending?

No battle; perchance a massacre.

Aye; a massacre of capitalists. Read the papers. Are not the miners arming, storing dynamite, and otherwise committing acts of treason?

Nay; the papers you read are capitalist papers; they lie impudently. To thus lie to the people is their special function. Fearless enough to challenge death every day in the dark recesses of mining infernos, the miners are honest, peaceful men. Even so galling the injustice of capitalist law, they are law-abiding citizens. Chafing under capitalist inhumanity, they are human in the highest degree.

But what have they done that so stirs the country?

They have simply laid down their tools, saying to their masters: "We shall not add another billion to your wealth until we get an ounce more of bread."

And they call this a "strike?"

For all that it does look like war. The courts have issued injunctions. The militia is up in arms. The federal troops are ready to move. The ambulances are in sight. The sheriffs inspect their jails. "It must be, it shall be a battle," saith the mining lord. "Now is the time; Socialism is in the air; ye stipendiaries of my government, show them how you can defend my property rights."

Then come the Pinkertons. Some appear in the garb of starving laborers, anxious to work at the risk of their lives; others, who will duly escape "unknown" after acting their part, are to figure in the newspaper reports of the "battle" as agents of the union, paid out of its treasury to drive the "scabs" away and blow up the mines.

We know the sequel. Bare breasts are fine targets. And we know that on the only day in every four years when the united proletarians can so "strike" with their magical weapon as to end the class struggle forever, with its ignoble farces and horrible tragedies, they have heretofore surrendered that weapon to the political men-at-arms of their lordly masters. But we know also that the light of Socialism is dawning upon the land; that it is penetrating into the deepest and darkest mines; that no man, no class can blow it out; and that it grows brighter with every effort to extinguish it—as we shall see next November.

In the meantime the mining industries, ever so concentrated already, are concentrating still more with a view to the coming international conflict between the capitalisms of the world for universal supremacy. The latest development of this character should be specially noticed here, not only because of its magnitude and significance, but because the people have become so accustomed to similar happenings that this event, when it occurred, did not attract much attention outside of Wall street. Since then it has apparently passed out of the memory of all but a few men and is likely to be neevr inquired into until Socialism is represented in congress.

Shortly before the panic it turned out that Mr. James J. Hill was the owner of an immense iron ore domain, the value of which, according to a precise statement of the New York Times in its financial columns, was four hundred and twenty-five million dollars. When, how and from whom he acquired it, no one undertook to tell, except that in order to perfect his purchase he had helped himself to a loan of nine hundred thousand dollars from the treasury of his Great Northern railway. But—subject of course to the repayment of this comparatively insignificant loan—this iron empire was unquestionably his personal property. Then, by an act of munificence that dwarfed into nothingness any gift ever made by Roman emperors to their favorites, he, Mammon of the Northwest, unloaded upon the stockholders of his railway—and therefore in part upon himself to the extent of his own stockholding—this tremendous burden of wealth without other consideration than the assurance of their worshipful admiration. Lastly came the Steel trust upon the scene as the lessee of that iron empire, which it is to operate in addition to its own widespread possessions of ore lands. And the curtain dropped; and likewise dropped the stock of the Great Northern when the grim panic burst upon the financial stage.

As to the forests, so stupendous has been their devastation—not only by individual and corporate owners for the purpose of immediately converting into money the wealth slowly produced by Nature alone in the course of centuries, but by timber thieves operating on the public domain—that our capitalist government, in the interest of capitalism itself, now finds it necessary to devise means for the preservation of the timber supply. Of course, under the present economic system government is inevitably slow while capitalists are necessarily quick. Stimulated to action by governmental deliberation, various corporations are buying out the most desirable tracts of wood land; some, such as railroad companies, for their own use as large consumers of timber; others, in the timber-sawing industry, for business purposes, and still others, mere speculators, to hold a while and sell at a profit.

Many pages could be filled with illustrations of the process through which the fine portion of our planet known politically as the United States of America, with all its natural wealth above and below ground, has chiefly within the past thirty years been carved into land empires more firmly held under capitalist law and more despotically ruled under capitalist administration by tricky adventurers than were the principalities of the middle ages by fighting barons. To the perfection of this process the present crisis is highly favorable, and the rate at which it is now secretly carried on will be productive of general surprise when the capitalist machine shall have been sufficiently repaired in its financial department to resume its prosperity motion.

(To Be Continued.)

WHO SAVED THE COUNTRY?

I had an older brother in the rebellion and I had a mother who remained at home and sewed on soldier's clothing, working fourteen to eighteen hours a day for barely enough to keep her and me in the coarsest food. She killed herself at the work, and never had a chance to live. My mother, and others like her, did as much to save the country as those in the field—and were starved to death, while at their posts of duty, to feed army contractors. The men who remained at home and the women who did the work of those in the field are as much entitled to honor and pensions as those who enlisted, for without those who were in shop and field producing the needs of the army there could have been no army. All people should be pensioned after they are fifty or sixty—if they have worked.

Government ownership of the trusts is not necessarily Socialism. If the government is a monarchy such ownership is a monopoly.

A Chance to Make Money

I have berries, grapes, peaches and apples two years old, fresh as when picked. Do not heat or cook the fruit, just put it up cold; keeps perfectly fresh and costs almost nothing. Last year I sold directions to over 120 families in one week. As there are many people poor, like myself, I feel it my duty to give you my experience, feeling confident anyone can make $100 around home in a few days. I will mail bottle of fruit and full directions to any of your readers for 21 2-cent stamps, to cover cost of bottle, fruit, mailing, etc. Address Francis B. Turner, 219 Seventh avenue, New York. Let people see and taste the fruit and you should sell hundreds of directions at $1 each.

Texas School Lands

$1.00 to $5.00 Per Acre

Texas has passed new School Land Laws. Millions of acres are now to be sold by the State at $1.00 to $5.00 per acre; only one-fortieth cash, and no more to pay for 40 years, unless you desire; only 3 per cent interest. You can buy 160 acres at $1.00 per acre, payable $1.00 down and 40 years' time on the balance, 3% interest. Greatest opportunity ever offered to farmers and investors. Land better than Oklahoma, Iowa or Illinois. Send 10 cents for Book of Instructions, New State Law and Map of Texas, and I will tell you FREE how to secure list of over 300 million acres of vacant public lands in 25 different States, which are open to homesteads. Address C. C. HOWE, 719 Hartford Building, CHICAGO, ILL.

Kate O'Hare, Vinita, Okla., Says send her 25c or an Appeal sub card for a copy of "Sorrows of Cupid." 7 for $1.00; one hundred copies prepaid ten dollars. For wife, mother, sister, sweetheart.

ESPERANTO

TAUGHT BY MAIL

You must learn it. You will get it *quicker* and *cheaper* from us than in any other way. *Your money back if you are not satisfied.* Write for prospectus.

Chautauqua School of Esperanto, GEO. W. FREEMAN, Pr., Dept. D. Blasdellville, N. Y.

TURN TIME INTO MONEY by learning the barber trade, then use the trade to help you into a more paying occupation. I have a son in Kansas City, who is paying his way to a medical school working evenings at the barber trade. He earns $6.00 to $10.00 per week; when he works regular, $15.00 to $20.00. I taught him the trade. I will teach it to you by giving you the same kind of instructions gave to him. If you will deposit in your home bank $10.00 then notify me and have the bank notify me that the money is mine after I have delivered my complete instructions to you by mail. Alonzo Dyer, Odessa, Mo.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

CLASSIFIED RATES.

10 cents per word for each insertion. Address orders for advertising to Howe-Simpson Co., 140 Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.

REAL ESTATE.

FIVE ACRE TRUCK FARM and town lot, fronting beautiful Copano Bay, Refugio Co., Texas, for $200—$25 down, $5 monthly; no interest. Ideal climate, bathing, fishing, hunting. All year resort. Black land, deep and fertile. Grows oranges, figs, grapes, vegetables. Farmers net over $100 per acre. Send for book let. Burton & Danforth, 910 V-Security Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

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PATENTS & TRADE MARKS—Book sent on request. Beeler & Robb, Washington, D. C.

HELP WANTED.

AGENTS—Portraits 35c, Frames 15c, Stereoscopes 25c, Views 1c, Portrait Pillow Tops 50c, English Art Plates $1.00, 30 day credit. Samples and free catalog. Consolidated Portrait Co., 290-32 W. Adams st., Chicago.

WANTED—First class, A No. 1 subscription solicitor for the Social-Democratic Herald. Must also be able to conduct hustlers' column. State salary expected. 344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.

AGENTS—Automatic Curry Comb, postpaid 40c. Over $5.00 daily or sample returnable. Particulars free. Clean Comb Mfg. Co., Racine, Wis.

WANTED—Agents for Household Articles. Metropolitan Novelty Company, Greenville, S. C.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS.

SOMETHING NEW IN POLITICS—A paper that advocates direct legislation alone as superior to party socialism alone for making the working-class the ruling-class. Do you want a copy? If so, Address The New Democracy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BROTHER—Accidentally have discovered root that will cure both tobacco habit and indigestion. Gladly send particulars. C. Stokes, Mohawk, Fla.

LEARN TO MAKE MIRRORS. Profits immense. Success guaranteed. Part, for stamp. Mechanster, 1835, Peru, Ind.

TOBACCO HABIT CURED or no cost. Nitro Works, Wichita, Kans.

"Spiked the Big 13-Inch Gun"

Thus boasts a government official—meaning of course the little old Appeal. Now, what's the Army going to say to that? Eh? Got us in a pretty bad corner, all right, and the Appeal will need you right now in order to wiggle out. Please go and nab at least a half dozen subs. Explain the situation and you'll get nine of every ten men you meet. The average American is fair and believes in a free press.

Socialism "cast 433,532 votes in the last presidential election, and has been increasing by leaps and bounds ever since. There is every reason to believe that the combined Socialist vote MAY REACH A MILLION THIS YEAR—one Socialist in every thirteen or fourteen voters."—James Creelman in Pearson's for July.

Debs Watch Fob 25 cents, $15 per 100.

The bread lyin'—talk of the full dinner pail.

Perhaps Taft is an asset currency Bill. Or an anti-injunction Bill.

Republicans have developed the class struggle. Socialists will end it.

Read the "Press Censorship Combination" offer of books and send today.

A poor man has a fine chance in this world—to stay poor.—Byron Williams.

If you as a laborer don't want the full product of your labor, your head needs fixing.

How many work people do you see "mentioned" for president or vice-president by the old parties?

Democracy is united—with republicanism. Republicanism is united—with democracy. The amalgamation is a Bill Club.

Regulated individualism! It is an impossibility. If it is regulated, it is controlled and is therefore not individual.

There is an omission in the republican platform. It failed to place the recent floods to the credit of the Grand Old Dirty.

What is the use of holding conventions? It was long ago settled that the nominees of both parties would be Bill and a Bag.

No doubt the republicans do favor individualism among the workers. They are so much easier handled when they do not combine.

Individualism applied to industry will destroy all achievements of invention. Applied to politics, it will destroy the republican party and the government itself.

As the republican party has declared in favor of individualism, it is, of course, opposed to all combinations of capital. The railroads might as well go out of business, because they are not run by individuals.

Hi, hi diddle, the cat and the fiddle, cow meat (in price) has jumped over the moon. But the farmer will not laugh, for that's only half; his price will not go up very soon.

Republicans nominated the originator of the injunction on an injunction platform disguised as an anti-injunction statement. Socialism nominated a man who showed his fidelity to labor by languishing in prison in its behalf.

Socialism demands "the absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage, as guaranteed by the constitution." Republicans passed the Penrose bill, not in an open honorable way, but as a rider to an appropriation bill.

The panic is getting harder every day, more industries are slowing down and more people are out of employment than at any other period in the history of this nation. You are going to get your abdominal fill of voting old party tickets before you are through with it.

In declaring for individualism the republican party has united forces with the democrat, which longs for the good old times. Individual shoe makers and weavers mean an abrogation of the factory system and an ending of all the big industries that protection has fostered.

Republican individualism has developed the Rockefellers, the Harrimans, the Lawsons, the paupers, and the tramps of America. Socialism will develop a race of real men, wherein all shall have plenty and none shall have imperial power over the lives and property of others.

The republican platform is wrong. It was Socialism rather than republicanism that caused the rains to come in due season and led to the development of the latent resources of America, after it began to get a foothold in this country about 1870. If you don't believe this, prove it is not true! It is as easy to prove it for the Socialists as for the republicans.

Comrades desiring to handle the Debs Book on the subscription plan should get their names in at once, so that territory may be assigned to them. There will only be one agent in towns of less than 20,000 population. We find that we are able to furnish the prospectus for 25 cents instead of 50 cents and that will be returned when the agent has sold six copies.

Under the present censorship I could suppress every democratic or republican paper in the land and do it according to the law. But they will not be molested. They are going to use the law to put out of business those who differ with them. That is what the law was passed for. To stifle criticism is to leave the people in darkness of what is going on. Suppose that the men who control the avenues of information should steal the government and sell it to a king—and you never heard anything about it, would you know anything about it?

As Seen by a Republican

APPEAL TO REASON: I am a good republican and a tradesman, drawing $3.50 per day every day I work. Not long ago I made a trip of fifty-five miles on a train. Upon entering the car I took a seat by a prosperous looking individual, and, as travelers will, we scraped up a conversation. After the general topic of the weather, etc., we began to talk politics. He soon let me know that he was a party leader in a small district and was considered in good circumstances. I could tell from his conversation that our party affiliations were the same, but as I had not committed myself, upon his asking me how I liked the general appearance of things regarding the nomination of Taft for president, I asked him "How the devil liked holy water?" He said he didn't believe the devil cared much about it. "Well," I replied, "I do care about the nomination of Taft; that I did not like it, but I believed Debs would beat him easier than he could anyone else, as he was considered as being placed before the public through dictation and the American people did not like dictators, but preferred a republican form of government, and the people choosing their officers instead of an individual choosing them." He said, "I take it you are a Socialist." I lied. I said, "Yes." I simply did not like him and felt that I would like to oppose him, so I took the stand of a champion of Socialism. He tried to talk prosperity to me. I told him it did not exist for the masses. He asserted it did. I told him I received $2.00 per day and that there were six in my family. He considered I was doing well, as $2.00 was fair wages. I drew out a pad and asked him to get up a list of the necessary articles for a week's fare, grocery bill and everything. He tried it and at last said he would have to leave me, as he wanted to see a friend in a car ahead, but would be pleased to talk to me at another time. Every list he made me run over $12.00 per week. I was surprised myself. My arguments had set me thinking. I could not see how it was done, although he had told me I could save money on $2.00 per day. Upon my return home I visited several families. To be exact I visited four. I knew them to be good average representatives of the laboring classes. Two dollars per day were the wages, and each family had six members in it, as I wanted to work out my argument. They very kindly gave me their assistance, as I was very well acquainted with them. Here is the general average of their bills for each week:

Groceries and meat	$ 7.00
House rent	2.50
Car fare	.60
Clothes and shoes	1.05
Fuel	.70
Daily paper	.06
Sunday paper	.05
Total	$ 11.96

Profit per week, 4 cents.

Out of the grocery bill I deducted as follows, not to be used for the table: Tobacco, 15c; soap, 12 1-2c; starch, 4c; coal oil, 12 1-2c; matches, 2c; broom, 3c. Total, 49c, leaving the sum of $8.51 to feed six people three meals per day for seven days; and just think of it: 93 cents for a day; 31 cents for a meal for six persons, giving each person the great sum of 5 1-6 cents per meal, and then hear people talk of prosperity and tell them they can save if they only try! I have often told them so myself, but, great God, where will you cut in to start the saving? I don't see anything on this list not really, in fact, absolutely necessary for housekeeping, except that one poor devil used tobacco, and I think I shall go over and tell him he is robbing his family of a day's grub for one member.

My father was a mechanic before me, following the same line of trade as myself. As I am, he also was a republican. As I, he took some interest in his party. As I have done he also done, "talked prosperity." He in his day received $2.50 per day on which he raised a large family and was unable to save. I receive $3.50 per day—one dollar more than he—and am unable to get ahead. I am as saving as he was. My wife is as saving as my mother was. None of us try to live beyond our station. We are just plain people and try to get ahead. We sometimes do so, maybe two or three hundred dollars. Then sickness or idleness from no work, and it goes glimmering. My experience and that of those of whom I have spoken is the same as all those in the parties of toil. Wages may advance: I receive $1.00 more than my father; my sons may in manhood receive $1.00 more than I, but things will be arranged so that none of us will be in better shape financially, and under existing conditions wages can go on increasing $1.00 per day per generation to the end of time and still our line will always be among those who obey at the beck and call of someone else. We have always been promised something better. The promise is being renewed today, and the promise will always be forthcoming when the old parties need us, but the conditions will remain to the mass in future as they are today. If they are changed the mass must change them, and it is the duty of the mass to do so, and it will never be done by any of the old parties.

My arguments on the train have swallowed me up. I have said all through this letter I am a republican, and so I am. There comes a time in the life of every man when there must be a change, so while I am now a republican, when I have signed this article I will have embraced a new party to do for it all I can, both with my voice, my vote and my pen. Good-bye, old party, good-bye.—W. E. Foster, Fillmore, Cal.

Socialism and the White Plague.

Appeal to Reason: To my mind Socialism is the only remedy for the "white plague." All are agreed that plenty of fresh air is positively required, otherwise there is no hope of combating the disease. Fresh air and perfect sanitary conditions would in time eradicate it, but under capitalism, or individualism, this is impossible for all, and so long as a few or many are forced to live in filth, where they will contract this dread disease, it must spread even to those who can and do have sanitary conditions. Socialism is the only cure.—Dr. S. D. Woods, Connellsville, Pa.

SOCIALIST FABLES.

The Trouble Makers.

GOL DARN YOU, won't you stand still?"

The old Farmer was chasing a nice fat Hen, which he designed for his dinner. The Hen did not appreciate the situation, and under the urging of a Rooster who stood near by, was trying to keep out of the way. She scooted through the fence and then made across the garden where the Farmer could not follow for fear of sinking in the soil recently softened by the rain. The Farmer was Mad. He shied a stick at the Hen, and then turned his attention to the Rooster.

"Oh, you old trouble-maker," he exclaimed, "I'll pen you up or wring your neck for this."

"Why, what have I done?" asked the Rooster.

"You have been preaching discontent, and made all my critters so shy I can't catch 'em like I used to do. You are a trouble-maker, that's what you are."

"Do you suppose you are not a trouble-maker for us when you rob us of our liberty and our lives? Why is it wrong for us to protect our lives?"

"Why, gol darn you," exclaimed the farmer in astonishment. "What do I keep you for? You would be in a pretty pickle if I didn't feed you."

"Oh, I don't know. We might still be able to pick up a living. But you would be a good deal poorer if we didn't lay for you and give our very lives for you. You make trouble for us in slaying us. We make you trouble, innocently, in trying to obtain food and to save our lieves."

EXICITED OVER APPEAL PERSECUTION.

Comrade William D. Haywood has held great meetings in the past month in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and New York. The encouraging feature of his tour is that he has spoken mostly under the auspices of the Central Labor unions. They are always represented on the platform by their delegates. In Chicago and Cincinnati the central bodies adjourned their regular meetings to attend Haywood's meeting in a body. To hear their heavy tread as they march into the hall is music to the ear. The comrades have expressed their delight many times at seeing the hide-bound trade unionists who used to scoff at Socialism applauding wildly Haywood's most radical statements. They predict at least two million votes for Debs with "Injunction Bill" leading the ticket. I say the ticket, for no one takes the democrats seriously, and as a matter of course take it for granted that the two candidates are Taft and Debs. The working class have not "forgot" the A. R. U. strike, Woodstock jail and Phelan. The mention of Taft's name calls for groans and hisses and cries from all over the house, "God knows," "God knows."

Haywood spoke for the United Trades and Labor Council in Cleveland on May 5th. At their regular meeting immediately following the address they voted to ask him to speak for them Labor Day. This body has been extremely conservative in the past, and when you take into consideration that Haywood talked Socialism and nothing else it is significant that they want more of it. When he accepted the invitation I received this reply from Harry D. Thomas, secretary Cleveland United Trades and Labor Council and the Ohio State Federation of Labor:

"Dear Comrade: Your telegram announcing that Brother Haywood will speak for us Labor Day duly received. Wish to express our sincere thanks for complying with our request. Will have one of the finest out-door auditoriums for him to speak in there is in the country and we will guarantee as big an audience as he has had the pleasure to talk to yet.

In Akron, O., Comrade Max Hayes reports that the Employers' association met and formulated strong resolutions denouncing Haywood. They also elected a committee to go into the schools and warn the little children against him, which undoubtedly will make them wish to hear him. Akron has asked for a return engagement.

Haywood had great meetings Friday, Saturday and Sunday in Hartford, Stamford and New Haven, Conn. Debs' name is greeted with a storm of applause in every meeting, and the Taft forces are thoroughly frightened at his popularity.

Everywhere the comrades are determined to make this the greatest campaign in the history of the Socialist party. The feeling everywhere is intense over the attempt to suppress the Appeal. They all say "It is the old story of 'The Liberator' and 'The Observer.'" I was in Alton, Ill., where they murdered Elijah Lovejoy and threw his press into the river. The people there are much excited over the persecution of Comrade Warren. How gladly would the plutes do with him as with Elijah Lovejoy and "The Observer." But they will not dare. The "Observer" had no "Appeal Army." We must keep this case before the people. Think what a loss to our movement to have the Appeal suppressed. They intend to do this if they see us napping. They have already passed the Penrose bill under another name. The next step will be to suppress the Appeal, and they will do it if we do not agitate this question.—Luella Twining.

THE ADAMS TRIAL.

Grand Junction, Colo.—Steve Adams, who is now on trial, will repudiate his alleged confession in which Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, President Roosevelt's "undesirable citizens," were implicated in the murder of Arthur Collins, manager of the Smuggler-Union mine at Pandora.

"One of the biggest sensations of the labor war of two states will be sprung at Adams' trial," said Attorney O. N. Hilton, chief counsel for the Western Federation of Miners, as court opened today. "It will astonish the whole country.

"Adams has been badly treated in the jail at Telluride; men have been placed in his cell to endeavor to induce him to implicate the heads of the Western Federation of Miners. He will repudiate all alleged confessions and maintain their innocence."

"What are you doing?"

"Grafting trees at $2.50 per day."

"That ain't grafting. That's working."

NATIONAL SOCIALIST TICKET.

For President
EUGENE V. DEBS

For Vice President
BEN HANFORD

PARTY NOTES.

The Socialist party has always boasted of its democracy. It's one of the strong points. That's why the sections of the new constitution proposing to take the election of national secretary and executive committee from the membership should be voted down. Democracy may be bunglesome, unwieldy; the people may make mistakes—but this is preferable to minority rule, no matter how safe and sane. Keep this point in mind when you vote on the referendum submitted by the national office and to be voted on not later than July 20th.

A new local was recently organized at Cloquet, Minn., with 21 charter members.

C. F. Hackenberg, box 94, Kammerer, Wyo., has been elected state secretary in place of William L. O'Neill, resigned.

The official vote of Coos county, Oregon for election held June 1, shows a straight vote of 628. Vote in same county in 1904 was 342.

France is taking steps to nationalize her railroads. That will not be Socialism, but it is a concession made in the hope of stopping the rising tide of Socialism.

William D. Haywood will speak in Detroit at Light Infantry Armory, Congress street, between Bates and Randolph, Sunday evening, July 12th. Admission, 15 cts.

John W. Slayton, state secretary of Pennsylvania, is to speak in the Semington Presbyterian church, Pittsburg, Monday evening, July 13th. Subject, "Crimes and Criminals."

Twenty-two workers are now out under the auspices of the national committee. Only 20 per cent of the dues paid in the locals goes toward keeping these comrades in the field.

From Fairmont, Minn., writes Comrade Fuller with the encouraging words that they polled only eight votes for Socialism in 1904, but that it was a foregone conclusion that they would poll not less than 100 this year.

By recent referendum, Comrade F. M. Prevey, 162 South Main street, Akron, O., was elected a member of the national committee, and John G. Willert, 3469 West 54th street, Cleveland, O., was re-elected state secretary.

Stanley J. Clark, of Texas, who is a first class speaker will be available for dates in Pennsylvania between July 25 and August 8. If your branch wants a date let me know at once. His terms are $3.50 and keep for each date. Address John W. Slayton, 204 Sixth street, Pittsburg, Pa.

Comrade W. E. Masterson, of Cristoval, Canal Zone, paid the office a visit a few days ago and reports that the movement is growing in the republic of Panama, and that one can find the Appeal upon almost any reading table. Thus we have but another expression of the international phase of the Socialist movement.

The comrades of Harrison county, Iowa, have nominated the following county ticket: Auditor, J. G. Brundige; treasurer, William Burnholder; clerk, W. S. Newland; sheriff, August Strertzel; recorder, J. O. McElroy; superintendent, J. S. McElroy; surveyor, J. S. Morris; coroner, J. L. Pennington; supervisors, S. S. Beem, Charles Riviers.

Comrade Anna Storck, Lorain, O., who was recently elected as a member of the school board, is waging an up-hill battle with the old party members for the elimination of graft in the conduct of the public schools. The school board is fully aware that they have a Socialist member ever on the alert to look after the interests of the working class.

Socialists of Belgium defeated an effort to rush through parliament the king's program for the exploitation of the Congo, thus doing more in the interest of humanity than the protests of Roosevelt and others have accomplished. The people of Belgium showed their appreciation of the work done by the Socialists by increasing their representation in parliament.

The Chautauqua of Marion, Ind., has set apart one day to each political party. The Socialists, of course, have gladly accepted the opportunity and have secured the services of May Wood Simons, of Chicago, as their speaker for the occasion. This meeting will take place on Saturday, July 18th. A cordial invitation is extended to all comrades throughout the state to be present.

Charters have been granted by the national office to locals in unorganized states as follows: Clifton Forge, Va., 5 members; Rawhide, Nev., 15 members; Dodson, N. M., 6 members; Elkins, N. M., 7 members; Covington, Va., 5 members; Omaha, Neb. (Jewish), 13 members; Grady, N. M., 7 members; Fremont, Neb., 13 members; Laurel, Neb., 11 members; Wayne, Neb., 9 members.

The Wisconsin state convention held in Milwaukee, June 13 and 14, was the largest ever held. The capitalist papers criticized it for lack of discipline, but gave it credit for being large and enthusiastic in the extreme. Comrade Harvey Dee Brown was nominated for Governor. Notwithstanding the operation of the primary law the party will have tickets in the field at many points heretofore uncovered.

The state legislature of Oklahoma adopted a primary law on the 28th of May, which was first published on the 12th of June, and provided that petitions containing one thousand signers of qualified electors, properly sworn to, had to be filed, by minority parties, on June 25th. Comrade Brunstetter, state secretary, reports that they have met the issue, and the petitions for the state and congressional tickets, and for about seventy members of the state legislature, were filed on time.

Socialists of Wyoming have put the following ticket in the field: Thomas Crosbie of Evanston, John T. Hawkins of Robertson and William W. Paterson of Rock Springs, presidential electors; James Morgan, secretary of District No. 22 of the Mine Workers of America, of Sheridan, representative in congress; Dr. Charles A. Ballard, of Laramie, was nominated for judge of that district, and J. H. Ryckman for judge of the Third district, in case it would be decided that a judge is to be elected in that district. C. F. Hackenberg, of Kemmerer, was elected state secretary, upon the declination of W. L. O'Neill to serve longer in that capacity. Claude L. Johnson, of Robertson, was elected national committeeman.

Comrade A. C. Meyer, of Copenhagen, Denmark, member of the Folketing, which compares to our congress, will visit this country for a lecture tour beginning about August 1. Comrade Meyer is a machinist by trade and has been an active advocate of unionism and Socialism since 1876. He is considered one of the best orators in the Scandinavian language, regardless of party affiliations. He has had a wide experience on the party press and is an author of considerable repute. Has been active in athletic and temperance movements, and two years ago represented the Danish delegation in the Olympian games at Athens. He has been a member of the folketing since 1895, each time being re-elected with an increased majority. At the late election his vote outnumbered those of the opposing candidates three-fold. Applications for dates for Comrade Meyer should be filed with the national office at once.

Socialist State Conventions.

The state convention of the Socialist party of Arizona will be held in the City of Globe, August 1.

The state convention of California will be held August 30, at San Francisco.

The state convention of Georgia will be held in the City of Augusta, Wednesday, July 15.

The following states held their conventions on July 4th: Florida, at Tampa; Nevada, at Sparks; New Mexico, at Willard; Tennessee, at Memphis; West Virginia, at Parkersburg, and North Carolina, at Winston-Salem, on the 6th, and Mississippi, at Hattiesburg, June 29th.

The Debs Book.

To Agents and Purchasers: We have been subject to some delay in the manufacture of this book, but hope now to have the prospectus ready for agents in another week or so, and the completed book a bit later. All orders are being carefully catalogued and will be filled in turn just as soon as possible.

We Must Organize.

More and more as the campaign progresses does the need for more thorough organization make itself apparent. We have repeatedly urged action along this line in recent issues and little more can be added to what has been already said. But our organizers, who are doing all in their power, ought to have the encouragement and support of all comrades in organizing places where there is not yet a local in operation.

The work simply cannot be done as it should be done where there is no organization. The sentiment may be ever so strong, the propaganda cannot be efficient, nor can the actual results be secured without organization.

Capitalism is compactly organized and this is the secret of its strength. To combat capitalism successfully on the political field requires thorough organization. It were vain to attempt to make any progress without such organization. A good deal has been done in the past few months but more remains to be done and we earnestly hope that our comrades everywhere will put forth their best efforts to have the number of locals increased and the general organization improved in every possible way so that the party may be in position to exert the full measure of its strength and make the best possible showing when the great battle is fought on election day.

The general outlook is brightening as the days go by and so far as that is concerned there is nothing to be wished for. We have only to do our part in the way of organizing and educating the people. The conditions could not be more favorable, and if we can organize the party so that it shall be in sound working order at every point we shall make a showing this fall that will certainly be a surprise to the nation.

Economic Determinism.

An Indiana glass manufacturer became a prohibitionist some time ago and his name was mentioned frequently in connection with the prohibition movement. The brewing interests of that state, having suffered greatly on account of the prohibition agitation, obedient to the law of self-preservation, held a conference and decided to oppose all interests which were opposed to their interests. Following this conference the glass manufacturer above referred to was served with notice that if he continued his prohibition agitation the brewers would withdraw all their orders for bottles and he could henceforth look for his market in the prohibition movement. That very hour the manufacturer saw a light. He concluded that prohibition was not as good a thing as he had believed it to be; that, in fact, it was fanatical and hurtful to the people, and he is now advocating a more liberal view of the liquor question. His sentiments, in a word, veered to correspond with his material interests. A lesson in economic determinism. Do you see?

THE BUNDLE BRIGADE.

It may remain for the Bundle Brigade to save the day. We may have to organize a house-to-house distribution of the Appeal, and it's better to do it now than to wait. I want to urge every loyal friend of this paper to help, and the bundle is the quickest and most effective way to do this. We must keep the lines of communication open between Debs and the people. The Bundle Brigade can do that very thing. It is four months until election. Get on the list for a big bundle for that length of time. The rates for campaign bundles are as follows:

25 copies,	each week,	4 months	$ 2.00
50 copies,	each week,	4 months	4.00
100 copies,	each week,	4 months	8.00
200 copies,	each week,	4 months	16.00
500 copies,	each week,	4 months	40.00
1000 copies,	each week,	4 months	80.00
2000 copies,	each week,	4 months	160.00

Who'll order the biggest bundle? The following named comrades have joined the Brigade since last report:

Name	State	No
Wm. H. Benson,	Washington	100
J. C. Wesley,	California	50
Cobalt Miners' Union,	Canada	28
Fourth Ward Branch Soc Party,	Pa.	25
Dillon Miners' Union,	Wyoming	20
W. H. Cordill,	Nevada	10
W. A. Minson,	Oklahoma	10
H. C. Bailey,	Oklahoma	10
Wm. R. Adams,	Oklahoma	10
John T. Lewin,	Canada	7
Ant. Bartman,	Montana	6
Ewd. Henry,	Alaska	5
C. Carneld,	Alabama	5
Zeph O'Brian,	Arkansas	5
F. E. Rour,	Arkansas	5
E. C. Cady,	Arkansas	5
H. C. Towner,	California	5
A. B. Mellen,	California	5
A. Whiteley,	Colorado	5
Paul H. Fegus,	Colorado	5
George A. Shaw,	Illinois	5
C. M. Thornton,	Illinois	5
Clinton Holder,	Indiana	5
Val Rockert,	Kansas	5
A. G. Glade,	Michigan	5
R. J. Warn,	Michigan	5
George W. Cook,	Montana	5
Frank Rogers,	Minnesota	5
F. E. Newton,	New York	5
Henry Mathison,	North Dakota	5
J. J. Finn,	Oregon	5
Thomas Moorehead,	Pennsylvania	5
Arthur Hewlett,	Pennsylvania	5
Cloth Weavers' Union,	Pennsylvania	5
Wm. A. Gummer,	Tennessee	5
Eugene Stevens,	Texas	5
E. Jonassen,	Canada	2

BREWER ON THE WAR PATH.

Having recently closed a series of meetings in the north, I am more than pleased to report to Appeal readers the encouraging aspect of the movement where I have been. At Winnipeg, Canada, I had an opportunity of speaking before the local, which is certainly alive and working with that irrepressible ardor which ever makes for the ultimate and triumphant success of Socialism. The following night I held a very large and enthusiastic street meeting. Sentiment is running high in Winnipeg and the boys are hopeful of early success. Out of about twenty meetings held in Minnesota, fully two-thirds were exceedingly successful ones in spite of much inclement weather, and everybody is intensely interested—hungry for relief from the thralldom of capitalism. At Crookston, Thief River Falls, East Grand Forks, Ada and Brainerd, the comrades are full of eagerness and energy, and in at least three of the above towns—Ada, Thief River Falls and Brainerd—they will elect a part of their ticket. At Ada I was entertained at the home of the county attorney, Comrade Brattland, who was elected on a straight Socialist ticket—the only county attorney elected by the Socialists, I believe, in the United States. Thief River Falls expects to send their man, Jas. McCord, to the legislature (in fact, a republican editor confidentially told me he honestly believed the Socialists would carry the entire county), and so it was over the whole state—the most encouraging outlook I have ever been fortunate enough to come in contact with. At Little Falls and St. Cloud, where I organized locals, the comrades started off with a vim and push that will lead them to the front in a very short time. Comrade Nash has evidently been doing some effective work as state secretary, and Minnesota certainly has a movement under way that is destined to do things in the near future.—Geo. D. Brewer.

Get the "pamphlet habit."

ARMY NOTES.

IMPORTANT!

Please do not send letters containing money and orders for literature to individual members of the Appeal staff. It very often happens that they are out of town—which means a delay. Personal mail goes to the home addresses, and the Appeal staff is human—and sometimes forgetful. I just discovered in my coat pocket a registered letter received four days ago. The coat was laid aside on account of hot weather. The comrade will feel angry at the delay, but if he had addressed his letter to the "Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas," there would not have been this delay. Remember, then, send all business letters to "Appeal" and not to individuals.—Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor.

THE BIG TEN.

Name	State	No.
Charles S. Wallace,	Washington	70
W. H. Shook,	Idaho	69
George H. Simmons,	Michigan	42
B. F. Jones,	Canada	31
A. J. Seaman,	Colorado	20
Harry Sampson,	Maine	20
A. M. Bayl,	California	20
L. J. Killion,	Texas	20
W. T. Endsley,	Oklahoma	19
H. B. Cline,	Oklahoma	12

—Read the "Press Censorship Combination" offer of books and send today.

—The Socialist Woman is a monthly magazine for women. With the Appeal one year, 60c.

—The Socialist Woman is here to make Socialists of women. With Appeal one year, 60c.

—And here's Comrade Butler, Vinson, Okla., with an order for note heads and envelopes.

—Socialism is going up against a wall at Wall, Pa., from where Comrade Jacob has recruited a list of eight.

—And why shouldn't we be gay when Comrade Gayman gets four in a bunch from the Michigan burg of Edwards?

—Comrade Scott, one of the Appeal's chief warriors in Minneapolis, Minn., hurried in with a list of twelve to go on with the current issue.

—The Socialist Woman is what you want for that wife who objects to Socialism because she doesn't understand it. With Appeal one year, 60c.

—"It makes me rejoice the way Socialism is taking hold in this locality," writes Comrade Tyler, of Earlsboro, Okla., as he pushes across a list of six new ones.

—Comrade Blackstone, Chester, N. H., thinks there is not enough pamphlets in the field and is having one printed. Of course, the Appeal is doing the printing.

—Don't marry a non-Socialist girl. Order the Socialist Woman one year for that sweetheart of yours. It will fix her right for you. With the Appeal one year, 60c.

—The comrades of the Lipscomb Grain & Seed Co., at Liberal, Mo., are here again. They want bill heads and blotters printed this time and the presses are busy rushing these out.

—An encouraging view of what is good for the Appeal comes from Center View, in old "Missoo," from which place Comrade Kohnie orders a hundred extras and a supply of sub cards.

—"Apply the enclosed $5.00 as follows: $2.00 for the Debs book and the balance in Appeal sub cards," rumbles forth from Newkirk, Okla., and Comrade Cline is the "undesirable" who did it.

—"Every little bit added to what you already have makes just a little bit more" seems to be the sentiment of Comrade Muil, of Fountain, Okla., who gets in with a catch of eight yearlies.

—"For the enclosed $2.25 please add the following to your list of subscribers," is the simple twist worked by Comrade Hoeger, of Detroit, Mich., to get nine new ones scheduled for a year's treatment.

—Orders for the Debs Watch Fob at 25 cents each have reached the surprising sum of four thousand and it is predicted that one hundred thousand of them will be sold before the campaign is over. At wholesale, $15 per hundred.

—Comrade Dupree, of Kemp, Texas, orders eight subscription cards and insists that he can sell them where he cannot take subs on blanks. Every Socialist should always carry a supply of cards in his pocket for convenience sake.

—"I am one of the lesser victims of the 'late panic,' but still in the ring for Socialist propaganda. Send me four cards for the enclosed $1.00 and 50 copies of 651 for the extra 25 cents," writes Comrade Kirk, of Mountain View, Mo.

—Comrade May, of Vicksburg, Miss., brought out a suspicious look from the good eye of the Bull Dog when he said he was only out a little while and snared the list of eleven yearlies, which are now being carefully placed by the Red-Headed Girl.

—Comrade Champieux, Iola, Kans., sends in another club of four to help along the Kansas list. About a thousand Kansas hustlers should take a look at our neighbor, Oklahoma, and then go out and repeat for about three weeks, like the Iola comrade.

—A bundle of ten Appeals for a year and a hundred copies of "You Railroad Men" go to Allentown, Pa., on the order of Comrade Sassaman. "Looks like dat sassy man was gittin' ready to sass de pluters," remarked the Fiji, as he shouldered another sack full of Debs' Girard speech.

—"Echoes of the campaign," said the One Hoss, when he saw the line of comrades waiting to have posters printed. At the head of the line was Comrade Bendure, of Bartlette, Kan., next was Comrade Brunstetter, of Oklahoma City, Okla., Comrade French, of Ragtownville, Ind., and Comrade Wilson, of Richmond, Mo.

—Davidson, of Pittsburg, Kans., seems to feel that his state is lagging a little and lifts the list a notch with a nice little club. The Appeal gang is watching Kansas with bold breath since Oklahoma did her 25,000 stunt, and has the decks cleared for handling the avalanche of subs that we know is sure to open up on us very soon.

—Union men with the spirit of revolt to the degree manifested by Comrade Sloock, secretary of Local 356 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, located in Sandpoint, Idaho, are worthy the honor of being termed "good union men." He says in connection with a list of eight new subscribers, members of the union. Just sent in: "A few of us have been on the right track for a long time, and I believe the most of our membership will head in right this fall—anyway it will pay to keep an eye on us."

—From far-off Culiacan, Sinaloa, Mexico, comes one of these gems in the form of a letter from Comrade B. F. Butterfield, an extract of which we publish herewith: "About last November Dr. F. E. Webster, of this place, induced me to subscribe for the Appeal to Reason, and at the time I did it just to please him, but now I would not let my subscription lapse if it cost me ten times what it does. The Appeal is like a bad habit, I suppose, for it acquires such a hold over a man that he can't let it go. Honestly, when the Appeal comes with other papers, I open the others first, so as to keep the choice for last; but it is no use. I can't read anything else until I have finished every scrap of the Appeal." Another good man gone wrong!

THE AGITATION LEAGUE.

On hand last report	$323.90
Collected since last report	17.90
Total on hand	$341.80

Contributions since last report:

Name	State	Amt.
Lewis Wheat,	Arkansas	$1.00
Charles Baker,	Arkansas	1.00
C. A. Wayson,	District of Columbia	1.00
L. Smith,	California	1.00
E. C. Cady,	California	3.00
C. F. Kirby,	California	.40
L. S. Platt,	Florida	1.00
J. H. Coon,	Idaho	4.00
C. W. Bowers,	Kansas	1.00
S. D. Church,	Massachusetts	1.00
J. Cook,	Montana	1.00
Ed Wardenman,	Missouri	.50
W. Gillan,	Nebraska	1.00
J. J. Bacher,	Oregon	1.00
R. E. Nave,	Texas	.50
Robt. Oversby,	Washington	.25
W. K. Bryce,	Canada	.50

Slightly Damaged Standard Socialist Books at Less Than Cost

We have only a few of them, and to make sure of getting what you want you will need to order at once. This advertisement will not appear again. Here are the books to close out; we give the retail price of each.

Marx's Capital, Volume II	$2.00
International Socialist Review, Volumes III., VI. and VII., cloth bound, each	2.00
Del Mar's History of Monetary Systems, cloth	2.00
Morgan's Ancient Society, cloth	1.50
Untermann's Marxian Economics, cloth	1.00
Evelyn Gladys' Thoughts of a Fool, cloth	1.00
Flint's On the Road to the Lake, cloth	1.00
Vail's Modern Socialism, cloth	.75
Williams' Rational Theology, cloth	1.25
May Beals' The Rebel at Large, cloth	.50
Engels' Feuerbach, cloth	.50
Aveling's The Student's Marx, cloth	1.00
Carpenter's England's Ideal, cloth	1.00
Hyndman's Economic Crises	1.00
Engels' Condition of the Working Class, cloth	1.25
Justice's An Equitable Exchange System, cloth	.50
Bissonette's Bits of Blue, cloth	.50
Chase's Elementary Principles of Economics, cloth	1.25
McGrady's Beyond the Black Ocean, paper	.50
Lydia Richards' Ahead of the Hounds, paper	.50
Ladoff's The Passing of Capitalism, cloth	.50
The same in paper	.25
Waters' Career and Conversation of John Swinton, paper	.25
Marx's Civil War in France, paper	.25
Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire, paper	.25
Lassalle's Science and the Workingmen, paper	.25
Single Tax Debate, paper	.25
Ethel Colson's Story of a Dream, cloth	1.00
Ernest Crosby's Land of the Noonday Night (sheet music)	.25
Jessie Hamblin's A New Woman, cloth	1.00
Jetta, a Story of the South, paper	.50
Carwardine's The Pullman Strike	.25
Goode's The Modern Banker	.25
Hill's Money Found, a treatise on banking	.25
Morton's Rome and Washington	.25
Cole's The Auroraphone, a Utopian Romance, paper	.50
Brenholtz's The Recording Angel	1.00
Burrowes' Revolutionary Essays, cloth	1.00
Raymond's Rebels of the New South	1.00
Allman's God's Children, cloth	.50

Now for the offer: FOR ONE DOLLAR we will mail any of these books to the amount of $2.00 at list prices, and will send the International Socialist Review for six months.

For $2.00 we will send by express prepaid books from this list to the amount of $4.00 and the Review one year.

For $10.00 we will send the Review five years to one address or one year to five addresses, and will send by express prepaid to one address any books selected from this list to the amount of $25.00.

We have a number of slightly damaged books which we do not list here, because there are only one or two of a title, and if we cannot give you the books asked for we will try to substitute something that will be satisfactory. But we do NOT offer new books from our regular list at these prices, and we do NOT sell books of other publishers at ANY price.

Charles H. Kerr & Company,
155 East Kinzie Street, Chicago.

WE SHIP ON APPROVAL
FACTORY PRICES
RIDER AGENTS
ECZEMA
Free Trial
AGENTS
BED BUGS.
OUT OF WORK?
$3 a Day Sure
PATENTS that PROTECT
Asthma

HOW IT GROWS!

Number Subs

Third week in June, 1906.....217,643
Third week in June, 1907.....296,579
Third week in June, 1908 **314,488**

The New Postal Order at Work.

Postmasters throughout the country have not waited for the postmaster general's authority to censor the Appeal. For years they have been quietly at work cutting down our list by notifying us that papers addressed to our subscribers at their offices were "refused" when they had no authority to do so. The following is but one case out of thousands now on file in the Appeal office:

Canadian P. O., Oklahoma—Sir: Your paper addressed to E. M. Beck is not taken out, but remains dead in this office. You will please discontinue the same. Reason: Refused. (Signed) G. W. Martin, P. M.

Four weeks later this card was received:

Canadian P. O., Oklahoma: What's the matter with my paper? I haven't received a copy in four weeks. My subscription has not expired. (Signed) E. M. Beck.

I have thousands of cases like this on hand, backed by affidavits of the parties that they did not give their postmaster authority to discontinue the Appeal. I bundled up these cases and went to Washington and the third assistant postmaster general—laughed! Said he hadn't done anything to the Appeal yet—but he would get around to it later! This was a year ago. In the meantime the postmasters were busy.

I print herewith the total number of subscribers put on our list for one year past:

1907.		1908.	
July 6	8507	January 4	7214
July 13	6564	January 11	7560
July 20	9180	January 18	7339
July 27	6531	January 25	7281
August 3	5597	February 1	7118
August 10	4700	February 8	7262
August 17	6532	February 15	8139
August 24	7932	February 22	7909
August 31	5116	February 29	8480
September 7	4923	March 7	8694
September 14	5488	March 14	10854
September 21	6452	March 21	10379
September 28	10196	March 28	9368
October 5	7042	April 4	9252
October 12	6362	April 11	8892
October 19	5332	April 18	8644
October 26	7667	April 25	9396
November 2	5266	May 2	9669
November 9	6590	May 9	11096
November 16	5802	May 16	12078
November 23	7410	May 23	9815
November 30	8614	May 30	7246
December 7	7767	June 6	6196
December 14	8856	June 13	6376
December 21	8859	June 20	7421
December 28	8461	June 27	7035
Total			402462

It makes a grand total of 402,462. We have 314,488. That means 87,974 subscriptions lost. Suppose we say that half of them are genuine stops, changes, etc., you will see how this unlawful action of postmasters is crippling the Appeal. It isn't so much a loss of the one subscriber—but the average man objects to being "beat" and it makes him mad when, after paying for the Appeal, he fails to get it. They class the Army comrade who took the subscription and the Appeal as "fakirs," "skinners," etc. Scatter 50,000 of these people over the land in every community and it creates a wall of opposition it's hard to overcome.

But, bless you, we're not disheartened. In spite of these underhanded methods the Appeal is gaining and getting stronger every day.

We grow by opposition! So bring on your censors, Mr. Republican Administration!

Just look over the following table of subscribers. It's an inspiration to the Appeal Army and the toiling millions. If you can extract any consolation from your work you're welcome to it!

State.	Off.	On.	Total
Oklahoma	378	887	23213
California	515	558	20388
Texas	338	522	19783
Pennsylvania	364	408	18649
Missouri	482	239	16738
Ohio	361	416	16066
Kansas	308	260	15952
Illinois	301	241	12626
Washington	300	290	11985
Indiana	241	186	10843
Arkansas	151	188	10065
Michigan	230	181	9327
Minnesota	241	211	9041
New York	167	172	8717
Iowa	291	121	8566
Colorado	104	230	7582
Oregon	177	119	7329
Nebraska	108	105	5633
Massachusetts	132	134	4985
Wisconsin	77	120	4715
West Virginia	70	79	4525
South Dakota	56	47	4142
Kentucky	77	66	4097
Montana	114	67	4067
North Carolina	53	66	3940
Florida	83	91	3852
Canada	69	148	3660
Louisiana	77	76	3625
North Dakota	35	117	3524
New Jersey	64	84	3429
Tennessee	60	46	3113
Alabama	46	67	2891
Utah	34	104	2839
New Mexico	38	41	2637
Idaho	87	59	2479
Arizona	43	33	2195
Foreign	10	10	2104
Maine	39	15	1724
Virginia	52	14	1556
Georgia	38	44	1456
Maryland	16	10	1381
Connecticut	26	10	1350
Wyoming	19	16	1316
Mississippi	26	21	1224
Nevada	36	31	1067
New Hampshire	17	30	871
South Carolina	8	7	732
Vermont	13	19	688
Alaska	5	1	636
Rhode Island	4	12	622
Dist. of Columbia	14	2	309
Delaware	....	14	233
Totals	6505	7035	314488
New subs for week ending June 27			7035
Expirations for week ending June 27			6505
Gain for week			530
Total			314488

There is no use of getting hot about it, but Uncle Sam is operating a federal ice plant for the convenience of his mob of destroyers in the Philippines. He might operate one for you farming and laboring jaspers, if Mr. Sherman, the republican vice-presidential candidate, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., did not want to corner it for themselves. To be sure, this is a trifle hard on the thousands who have to swelter because of lacking the price under republican prosperitee, but it is individualistic and therefore sacred.

My Prayer: Don't let me rest complacent while there is a human unsheltered or unfed, or a soul in misery.

"The average Socialist is as much opposed to the bomb thrower as he is to the capitalist."—James Creelman in Pearson's for July.

The Power of Privilege.

History tells how a king in times of old granted a monopoly of selling salt to the people of certain districts, and how they who had the legal right to sell salt always oppressed the people. When the American forces took charge of Cuba General Wood found that the right to haul all meats into the city of Havana was a monopoly granted by the King of Spain two hundred years ago to a family; and that family put up a big fight when Wood refused to recognize their right to charge the people what they pleased.

Wood gave the agents of that family to understand that the American idea was different from that, and that anybody who would might haul meat from the slaughter houses into the city. You can see where Wood was right and where it would be the worst form of oppression to grant special privileges to any one to control the needs of a people. But what you can't see, is that just such special privileges are possessed by individuals all over this great nation, and that people are oppressed just as much as when kings gave special privileges to their favorites for helping them in their intrigues.

The salt industry of the United States is practically a monopoly of the Standard Oil company; so is copper; so is sulphur; so is oil; so is electricity; so is iron; so is gas; and what other necessities no one knows, as it covers its workings with secrecy as much as possible, like it does in oil when it organizes fake companies. Then you know the meat, the flour, the sugar and every widely used product, is in the hands and control of monopolists. It makes no difference to the people who are skinned whether this privilege is granted by a king to pay favorites for their help in satisfying his lusts, or whether it is granted by a law that permits a man to get hold of all he can, while it is a known law that the greater the aggregation of wealth the surer it is that it can drive from the market the smaller fellows.

You will say the cases are not parallel, but they are. The power, whether granted by a king or by law, to oppress the people, has the same effect upon the people. But I will show you a parallel to the Havana incident that exactly parallels it. The king of Spain gave the exclusive right to haul wagons over the streets carrying meat. Do we not give the exclusive right of hauling street cars (wagons) over the streets carrying people? And when the water supply of a community is granted to a corporation, is that not a parallel to the selling of salt—for people cannot live without water and in large places cannot get it unless of the water corporation? You see that if you could get the beam out of your eye, you could see the mote in the other fellow's.

The oppression in some other country you can see, but you have grown accustomed to the oppression you suffer, and do not realize its character. How foolish, you think, the Russians and the Turks are to support their rulers—but they look over here and see how foolish you are to support richer men and greater corporations, than they support. Will you never get wise to the game that is played on you?

Starvation Wages.

The United States census report recently issued, shows that in certain lines of industry the weekly earnings of children amount to $1.84, of women $2.26 and of men $5.23. The figures which go to make up this bulletin are secured from 123,703 establishments throughout the country, some 63 per cent of all manufacturing concerns having employes.

We submit that this is an appalling exhibition of industrial conditions in the United States. That children should have to enter the factories at all is in itself sufficiently discreditable, but that they should be exploited of their tender tissue and their very lives in return for such a pittance is monstrous and can be characterized fittingly by no other term. But it is for the very reason that childhood is so cheap that it is given preference, and this adds another count to the Socialist indictment of the capitalist system.

One dollar and eighty-four cents per week!

Bear these figures in mind and when you hear the republican spell-binder expatiating upon the great wealth and prosperity of the country, ask him if it is not a fact that children are working in American factories, as shown by the census report issued by the government, at $1.84 per week.

Two dollars and twenty-six cents per week!

This is the wage paid to women in the factories of the United States; not all of them, but a large number of them. If it were the wage of but one single women it would be sufficient to condemn the system responsible for it.

Five dollars and twenty-three cents per week!

This is the wage of man, the husband and father, the provider and head of the family. That a human being can be found so helpless and so hopeless as to accept such a paltry pittance for a week's expenditure of his vital energies, his very life forces, is possible only where labor is still slavery and when nothing is cheaper than those doomed to everlasting toil.

To a man who has even a vague conception of what should constitute his dignity and self-respect the offer of such a wage would be an insult to his manhood. But it is accepted, and gratefully accepted, by multiplied thousands who in the capitalist system, supported by the republican and democratic parties, must either be satisfied with this and eke out an existence which ends at the pottersfield, or in despair and desperation make their exit through the back door of suicide.

Think of this on election day!

Capitalistic influences upon the marriage institution are certain to prove fatal to it. The hearts of those united along commercialized lines are soon divided and their souls dwell apart. They may not be exposed to the stigma a divorce court places upon them, but their marriage is nevertheless a failure.

Sample of Debs Watch Fob received It is a hummer. Send me for the first order 100 of them If possible we will appoint a reliable comrade to take charge of sales in each local and allow him the 10 cent profit on each fob sold. —Jos. MacLachlan, State Secretary.

Child slavery belongs to capitalism. There will be none under Socialism.

And now the Junior Bill club will go into session at Denver and see if it can't frame up a better trap for labor than the other Bill club did.

And now Tom Lawson is to the front with an offer to raise a campaign fund for the democrats of half a million dollars. The news is not surprising, since several months ago he announced that he had quit the cause of the people and intended to work the game for all it was worth.

It now appears that private yachts of rich guys are being used by the vice syndicate in smuggling into America the young women of foreign lands who are enticed to America under the operation of a largely capitalized Sin Company, for immoral purposes. Oh, this individualism and profit system is a great thing!

"It is only fair to say that the free love idea is not taught or defended. It is seldom even referred to, in the regular Socialist propaganda in the United States. Indeed, with the exception of a few minor elements, it may be said that this doctrine which would destroy the family as the unit of society, is personally abhorrent to the great mass of Socialists in this country."—James Creelman in Pearson's for July.

The poor-house and the soup-house are capitalism's boast; they represent its virtue. But they will become unnecessary under the reign of justice that Socialism will inaugurate.

Depressions that put out of employment millions of men are inevitable features of capitalism. They come under both democratic and republican administrations, but they will not be known under Socialism.

At a meeting of the Catholic Total Abstinence Society of Chicago, June 28th, Miss H. O'Connor, the secretary, expressed the opinion that, if the government had a right to blow up the forts of the enemy in time of war, or if the city had a right to blow up buildings in time of conflagration, the people should have the right to eliminate the saloon by the same unconventional means. Certain Catholic priests have charged Socialists with being anarchistic and planning the destruction of property, but who ever heard of a Socialist using language like that? Of course, this is not the sentiment of either the Catholic church or the temperance movement, as a whole, yet Socialists are often held, under equally unjust assumptions, as sponsors for fool propositions made by half-baked capitalists.

It is now considered "the thing," if rich, to identify yourself with the laboring class by putting your children to work and advertising the fact. President Roosevelt's son, Teddy Jr., has gone to work for the steel trust at $1.75 per day, and this makes the republican party a step-daddy to the working class. H. F. Guggenheim, son of the multi-millionaire, has gone to work in his father's mines in Mexico at $1 per day, and this squares the capitalist class with the working class. At least, it ought to do so. But it happens that, owing to republican depression, the Guggenheim interest cut wages, and, through some oversight, young H. F. was included in the reduction. He promptly struck. Somehow class interests are getting mixed up under this republican era of good feeling. It is quite probable that Teddy Jr., if he keeps on associating with the laboring class, may see where his economic interest lies, and become a Socialist.

Socialists, Attention!

We should profit by the mistakes of our opponents. We can make this new censorship law one of the greatest aids to our cause. If there is anything that will arouse a man or woman, it is to feel that some one is trying to censor what they read or dictate what they shall think. Just show a man that the postmaster has withheld his paper, tampered with his mail, and he is at once all attention. The greater part of our readers are non-Socialist. They are the men we desire to enlist in our Cause. They don't care anything about the paper now, as a rule; but just show them that the paper you have induced them to subscribe for has been withheld from them as something they should not read—and you have done more to awaken them than the paper could if read. Keep a list of every subscriber you send in and make it your business to ask him if he gets his paper. If not, show him the new censorship law. You have turned the trick. We will get the paper to him some way, and then he will read it and one copy thus presented will do more good than fifty-two when he is not caring anything about it. This should be worked for all there is in it. It is the best condition that has ever been presented for our propaganda. The more the local postmasters refuse to deliver the paper the better it will be for us. We will send the workers a complete list of all the subscribers at their office, and you will know what to do. Appoint comrades to see each subscriber and find out about delivery. First class mail will also be used to reach you. We must be growing when they exhibit such fear of our literature.

"WORSE THAN THE APPEAL."

The Olympia, Wash., Daily Recorder is moved to remark that the effort of the Seattle Times to incite to murder is worse "in principle than anything that appears in the columns of the notorious Appeal to Reason." Thanks, Brother Recorder, we appreciate your remark. Many of your readers are not familiar with the Appeal and they will take your statement at its face value, but it is safe to say that there are at least five million American men and women who know that you absolutely lie when you intimate that the Appeal ever directly or indirectly made a statement which can be construed as an incitement to do anything more dangerous than vote the Socialist ticket.

Orders for the Debs Watch Fob at 25 cents each have reached the surprising sum of four thousand, and it is predicted that one hundred thousand of them will be sold before the campaign is over. At wholesale, $15.00 per hundred.

Strange Little Stories From History

Early Suppression of Papers.

McMASTER'S history tells about the sending of anti-slavery papers to the Charleston, S. C., postoffice in 1835, and of the indignation it aroused. The Patriot, a newspaper, denounced it as a monstrous abuse of the mails, and said some means of prevention ought to be adopted. The people were ready to seize the postoffice and destroy the papers, but were persuaded to disperse. Yet at night the postoffice was entered, and the offensive papers were taken out. The following evening they were burned, in public. Then the city council appointed a committee of twenty-one to receive the next mail that should arrive, accompany it to the postoffice and arrange with the postmaster to not distribute anti-slavery papers. This was done. The postmaster reported the situation to Postmaster General Kendall at Washington. In reply that official declared that he had no authority to exclude newspapers from the mails, nor forbid their carriage because of their real or supposed character or tendency. Yet he would not direct the local postmaster to forward the papers. "We owe an obligation to the laws," said he, "but a higher one to the communities in which we live, and if the former be perverted to destroy the latter, it is patriotism to disregard them. Entertaining these views, I cannot sanction, and will not condemn, the step you have taken. Your justification must be looked for in the character of the papers detained and in the circumstances under which you are surrounded." A Richmond editor said: "The law is defective, and to supply its omission until congress meets, the people and the postmasters must act upon their own responsibility." A New York paper, the Post, which criticised the action, was deprived of government patronage, and postmasters annoyed it by delaying the delivery of the paper as long as possible. A public meeting at Richmond called on the postmaster general to deny abolition papers the use of the mails. At Charleston the city council offered $1,000 reward for the apprehension of anyone distributing abolition literature. Amos Dresser was given twenty stripes at Nashville for having abolitionist literature in his possession, and an Englishman, charged with being an abolition agitator, was hanged near Lynchburg.

Developing Mexico by Peonage.

A great deal of American capital is going to Mexico these days for investment. That one of the chief reasons for this is the condition of the labor market appears from the following printed in a booklet designed to attract capital to Mexico:

The abundance of good, vigorous peon labor is one of the most attractive features connected with any of the industries of the republic. In the centers of population in the larger cities of Mexico the peon laborer receives from $1 to $1.25 per day. In the interior, however, 87 1-2 cents a day is the prevailing scale.

Dividing this by two, or the ratio value as compared with United States money, the Mexican farm hand receives 40 cents a day, while the laborers in the city earn from 50 cents to 62 1-2 cents a day.

The Mexican peon will do just as much work as the average laborer in the states. He is quick to learn and under the eye of intelligent direction will do a vast amount of work. He is able-bodied and as hard as a rock. His requirements are few. He lives chiefly on frijoles and tortillas, and he takes a keen interest in learning everything the "gringo" (American) shows him.

There is no danger of strikes or labor troubles, as the laws of Mexico are rigid and protect fully the rights and interests of the employer.

We Agree with the Times.

For once the Appeal agrees with a capitalist paper. In a recent issue the Los Angeles Times says editorially:

The way in which to *scotch the Socialist serpent* is to encourage public debates of Socialism and the social question. Let the voters hear both sides. If there is anything in the newfangled ideas, which the Socialists claim are making converts in all parts of the country, the public is entitled to know it. If, as we *suspect*, the entire Socialist program is *visionary* and *vague, a dazzling and iridescent dream*, it is the duty of all speakers who can make this plain to the American people to do so, and to *"do it now."*

The Appeal is heartily in favor of these debates. Indeed, the Socialists have been trying to bring them about for years. But the capitalists always refused to debate, and the Times man will find that they will still refuse. Capitalist speakers realize their own weakness, if they are sufficiently informed to be at all influential on the platform.

The page of reasons why the Army will vote the Socialist ticket in No. 651 is the most remarkable document ever printed by any paper in this country. Imitation, they say, is the sincerest of flattery. The efforts of the republican campaign committee to duplicate this page is pretty good evidence that it struck home. It ought also to convince you, without any further argument, that you need a bundle of 651 to distribute among your republican friends. Ask them to write a reply to the statements made on that page and send it to the congressional campaign committee, Washington, D. C. That aggregation will pay $150 for the best reply.

WILL IT COME TO THIS?

The editor of the St. Louis Mirror, commenting on the press censorship and the subserviency of capitalist publications, says:

"I am inclined to believe that the time is about here when we shall have to return to the day of the pamphlet, if we are to have any such thing as free utterance of heretical opinion."

I'm not ready to admit that the Appeal is to be suppressed, but nevertheless it is just as well to be prepared—so we ought all to get the "pamphlet habit." And to make it easy, I've selected a bunch of our best literature. All good titles—and enough variety so that you will have no trouble in fitting every man's mind. The entire list sells, postpaid, at $1, and consists of the following:

10 copies "The Issue," by Eugene V. Debs, retail value	$ .50
10 copies "A Conversation With You," J. A. Wayland, value	.50
10 copies "Socialist View of the Labor Question," value	.50
10 copies "Parable of the Water Tank," Edward Bellamy	.50
10 copies "Introduction to Socialism," N. A. Richardson	.50
10 copies "Methods of Acquiring Possession of Our Industries"	.50
10 copies "Suppressed Information," Fred D. Warren, retail value	1.00
100 copies "Your Photograph," J. A. Wayland, retail value	.50
100 copies "A Word to You, Ye Masters," Fred D. Warren	.50
10 copies "Catholic Church and Socialism," Father McGrady	1.00
275 pieces of literature of a retail value of	$6.00

Just enclose a dollar bill at our risk and mention the "Censorship Combination."

Step out of the full dinner pail class into the Socialist republic, and organize your own job.

The only thing which the old party politician really "views with alarm" this year is the evident growth of Socialism.

Puppy parties, the waste of wealth and the idiocies of rich society are features of capitalism. They will become obsolete under Socialism.

The idea of old age pensions is gaining ground rapidly in England. It may be yielded as a compromise in order to prevent the full emancipation of the worker. But, like all compromises, it will not mark the end of demands.

Socialism is the party which scares others into doing things. There would be no concessions to labor in either of the old party platforms if they were not afraid of Socialism in case they fail to do so.

"Socialism has ceased to be a vague and picturesque clamor of German, French, Italian and Russian immigrants, eloquent of European despotism, but unrelated to the free, brave civilization of the great American republic. IT SPEAKS TO AMERICANS. It has American orators, writers, teachers, preachers—native born, native bred Americans."—James Creelman in Pearson's for July.

In spite of the republican demand for injunctions that have been "well considered," the fool dinner pail injunction is still doing business at the old republican stand. Since Bill Club No. 1 met, Justice Bischoff, of New York, has issued an injunction restraining the police from interfering with pool selling at the Gravesend horse races, and distillers of Ohio have secured an injunction forbidding federal officials from labeling their product alcohol when it is alcohol. Both of these injunctions are to keep the law from being enforced, and one to keep the truth from being told.

There is nothing like a war to temporarily end a financial depression, and it looks like the republicans, desperate at the situation just before election, are hunting for an opening for war. **Not only is a fleet sent to the Philippines, but U. S. marines are dispatched to Panama under the guise of securing a fair election, but really, it would seem, to over-awe President Castro, of Venezuela, who will not permit American capitalists to run over him. Besides these things, AMERICAN SOLDIERS ARE NOW IN MEXICO, protecting American "interests" in that country.** Thus the American army and navy have actually invaded two foreign countries and a third foreign water. What does it mean?

Who Is a Monkey?

The wealth of this country amounts to about $5,000 for each family. It is a known fact that the industrial capital, I mean that invested in machinery to work with, averages about $1,000 for each worker. That is, a plant that employs 1,000 men will cost about $1,000,000. If the people were justly related to this total wealth each family would have $1,000 to furnish the tools of employment and $4,000 for the home and its equipment. This without any rent, interest or profit to pay. And when the children grew up they would have as much or more, as the means of production and dwellings are steadily increasing. You would not have to save anything for your children—they could marry and begin living just as comfortably as anyone.

We have enough wealth, but it is not rightly related or adjusted to the people. Follow this farther and make it impossible for anyone to have an income unless he does some useful work of brain or brawn for society, and you would have the push of desire for plenty of food, clothing and pleasure behind every being to make him work. "Who will not work, neither shall he eat." There could be no poverty under such conditions. A few could not accumulate the necessities of all and again produce a condition of poverty and unearned luxury. If one would not work, he would have no income, and everybody would know it, and if he lived in idleness he would have to steal, and everybody would know that, too.

This is not dividing up property—it is **concentrating** it so it cannot be divided up. We have the dividing up system now. A majority of you work people have no homes and no tools to work with. You have the votes with which you can elect Socialists to arrange that you all have homes and tools. Do the other parties offer you as much for your votes? Do they usually pay you more than two dollars or a drink? You do the voting and electing and they get the good houses and the machines out of your votes. How much longer do you want to be monkeys for them?

Orchard's Sentence Commuted.

On the first day of July the Idaho state board of pardons commuted the sentence of Harry Orchard, under sentence to hang on the 3d, for the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg, to imprisonment for life.

The reader will remember that the Appeal predicted this outcome long ago, when the officials of Idaho and Colorado, the mine owners' lawyers and the Pinkertons, Hawley, Borah, Gooding and McPartland, swore by all things holy, in public and in private, that Orchard would pay the penalty for the twenty-six murders to the commission of which he repeatedly confessed.

The Appeal then made the assertion that Orchard had been promised immunity in payment for his perjured testimony calculated to hang Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone and other leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, and thereby destroy the miners' union. And the kidnaping conspirators have done just what the Appeal said they would. Orchard will not hang. Let us also venture the further prediction that he will not long remain in prison. Notwithstanding his hypocritical profession of desire to die on the gallows in expiation of his horrible crimes, it is only a question of time until this arch fiend will be turned loose to again prey upon honest men for the benefit of his kid-gloved pals. Keep your eye on Orchard and on his friends.

A Hymn of Capitalism.

Of all my Father's family
I love myself the best.
If Providence will care for me,
The devil may take the rest.
—Spirit of Truth, Hot Springs, Ark.

Some Beautiful Stories

J. E. Miller, Blanchard, Okla., writes as follows:

I have an important question for you to answer. Is Debs responsible for the assassination of 600 persons in Ft. Worth, Texas, in 1886? There is one R. E. L. McClain of this place who makes this charge to crowds on the street and declares that he personally knows it to be true. The same statement is also made by a republican postmaster. If you will print your answer on posters and send them here we will have them put up.

We have never heard of this assassination. Perhaps some of our Fort Worth comrades can throw some light upon the subject. If Debs is guilty of this wholesale slaughter he should undoubtedly be exposed, but it seems strange that Taft did not reach him with an injunction before the crime was committed.

H. L. Bowman, Supply, Okla., supplies the following, addressed to Candidate Debs:

I was talking with a neighbor a few days ago and he said you was a very rich man and that you had beat the union out of $60,000 when you went with Coxey to the white house at Washington. Of course it is a lie, for if it was the truth Wayland and Warren would have put you in with Roosevelt and Orchard, but I want a private denial for my own use.

We fear that our friend Bowman has been sadly imposed upon. Knowing Debs as we do we are safe in saying that he would not stoop to making way with such a trifling sum as $60,000. It may be possible, however, that the money was used to have the White house lawn mowed so that Coxey would not get on the grass.

Joe Collard, Deer River, Minn., sends the following:

On handing a copy of Number 652 to a customer of mine, he had the following to say: "If I did not know Debs so well I would probably believe as you do." He then went on to tell of Debs' renting some kind of a mill or factory in Chicago some years back and getting a lot of poor suckers to buy the shares and pocketing the money, then skipping out with the proceeds.

If Debs has ever been in the mill or factory business, or has ever sold shares of any kind it has not come to our knowledge. The capitalist who gives the information should by all means furnish the details and our comrades at Chicago should get at the bottom of this shady affair. The only concern in Chicago Debs ever had any interest in, so far as we know, had steel bars in the windows.

M. R. Brant, Goldfield, Nev., writes:

It is reported here that you are an ex-convict and also that the miners of the anthracite coal regions during the first strike went from some town there to Washington to shoot you for having betrayed them. It is also reported that you have been mixed up in several crooked deals and that you are a downright crook. Now, I would be much obliged if you would write me a letter denying these reports so that I can make proper use of it.

The report as to the shooting of Debs is slightly in error. It was the coal police of the corporations who threatened to shoot him, instead of the miners. As to the crooked deals, no denial is made of any story circulated by Pinkerton detectives.

Sid Delaney, Oneonta, N. Y., makes the following inquiry:

Is it true that Debs has been drawing a large salary in the Socialist party and that he has become rich out of that party?

These are a few of the silly, stupid, idiotic lies that are told about Debs since he has been nominated. They are not worthy of attention and we shall not stultify ourselves by denying them. We shall, however, make an exception of the last one in the list, as it has been asked by others, and many of our own comrades are apt to be misled by the lying reports of those whose living depends upon that kind of self-degradation.

To begin with, Debs has never drawn a cent of salary from the Socialist party. A bit of history may be of interest to those who want to know the truth. In June, 1897, at the last convention it ever held, the American Railway Union became the Social Democracy. Debs was elected chairman of the national executive board, and under the constitution his duties consisted mainly in traveling over the country, lecturing and organizing branches. For this service his salary was fixed at $100 per month and traveling expenses. Debs served in that capacity a year, until the convention held in June, 1898. He traveled constantly and organized branches of the Social Democracy, now the Socialist party, but he drew so salary. During the last six months of the year he drew nothing for expenses. During this time he lived upon money he borrowed and went into debt to cover his traveling expenses.

When the convention met in Chicago in June, 1898, the Social Democracy became the Social-Democratic party, and later the Socialist party. Debs had completed his year as chairman of the national executive board and had refused re-election. As he had not drawn a dollar of salary the party owed him $1,200 for salary and $374.24 for railroad fare, making a total of $1,574.24. Debs presented no bill and made no demand. The amount has never been paid, nor any part of it. Debs has never asked it, nor would he receive it.

During the year above referred to a number of sympathizers who attended the Debs lectures contributed, some of them in large amounts, in a few instances $100 each. Most of these were intended for Debs' own use and the contributors insisted that they be so used. In every instance these contributions were turned into the party treasury and not one dollar retained for personal use.

Some other facts of similar nature and having a like bearing might be added, but enough has been said to cover the point of inquiry. The salary to which Debs was entitled, and which he had earned by hard work and under great difficulties, was never drawn, not a single dollar or penny of it, and during the time he so served he paid his railroad fare, hotel bills and other expenses from his own personal means.

This is how Debs has been drawing a large salary and growing rich out of the Socialist party.

Big navies and expensive armies belong to capitalism. They will be unnecessary under a sane social system.

Republican War Cry.

(Official Deformed Spelling.)

Bully for Taft!
Injunction Taft.
Who laft and laft
As he steered the craft
On the rocks of graft.
But the toiler daft
Had his wages haft
When the dope he quaft.
And voted for Taft
That drones might graft.
Oh, bully for Taft!
—J. D. Guerin, Harrison, Ida.

The Standard Bearer.

When the Christian Socialist conference was first announced the New York papers spoke rather patronizingly of the Socialist preachers, intimating that they meant well but did not quite know what Socialism really means, and, as if to frighten them, raised the question of their relation to Debs and the revolutionary Socialist party. Our answer was to bring Debs to the platform at our greatest meeting as the candidate of the Christian Socialists who as individuals are a part of the Socialist party. The effect was startling to the public generally and tended to convince them that Christian Socialists are not mere sentimentalists but that they mean business also.

For more than twenty minutes Debs stood facing a sea of tumultuous enthusiasm. The audience stood up, many on chairs, waving hats, handkerchiefs and cheering in every key and tongue. It was a tremendous demonstration, and Debs responded with a magnificent speech, intensely, dramatically, logically proclaiming Socialism and incidentally declaring his "unqualified approval of the Christian Socialist Fellowship."

What an amazingly brave, loyal, loving, intense personality he is! If the white-hot flame of his soul were not divine it would consume him. And his great heart conquers all, as Riley sang

And there's Gene Debs, a man 'at stands
And jest holds out in his two hands
As warm a heart as ever beat,
Betwixt here and the Jedgment Seat.

When Debs' hands close on your own and his warm, magnetic eyes meet yours affectionately, and his rich, firm voice speaks your name with loving warmth and cheer there is nothing left for you but to surrender wholly without terms. Doubtless he is by far the best loved man in the Socialist and labor movement of America.—Edwin E. Carr, Editor Christian Socialist.

How They Vote.

At the general June election in Oregon nineteen measures were submitted to popular vote in accordance with the provision for direct legislation now in force in that state. Twelve of these were adopted and seven rejected, and the disposition made of the several proposed laws shows how the people vote on the laws governing them when they have the opportunity.

By a majority of 3,580 they approved a liberal appropriation for the state university, but rejected the appropriation for the building of armories by a majority of 21,341. The provision for the impeachment and recall of unsatisfactory public officials carried by a majority of 28,379, while free railway transportation for certain public officers lost by a majority of 30,550. The bill providing for instruction of the legislature by popular vote as to its vote for United States senator carried by 48,506, while the proposed increase in the salary of members of the legislature lost by 49,228. By a majority of 23,727 the power of indictment was taken from district attorneys and placed with grand juries, and the lawyer-inspired increase of supreme court justices from three to five in number was defeated by 20,348.

By means of the one vote which registered the will of the majority and made it law with reference to the foregoing, the people of Oregon also changed the time of their general elections from June to November, provided for proportional representation and limited the expenses of candidates for office, besides approving several other measures of local consequence. Equal suffrage and single tax were defeated, as was the bill giving municipalities power over gambling, saloons and industries.

While the limitations of direct legislation are well-known to all Socialists, it is interesting to note that when the people of Oregon got the opportunity, to say for themselves what they wanted they readily voted their money for educational purposes and refused it for military purposes. They supported the act which virtually makes Oregon's United States senators elective by popular vote, thereby moving a little closer to the real democracy which Socialism seeks to perfect. They brought the power of indictment closer to themselves and took part of the power from individual officials which individuals are prone to abuse; and they assert their intention to remove undesirable public servants without waiting for them to do their worst through the long years of a fixed official term.

While direct legislation does not and cannot of itself emancipate the working class, it does equip each workingman with a more effective ballot whereby he can the better wage the battle in his own behalf. It permits him to participate to some extent in public affairs, and thereby educate and prepare himself for the greater privileges and responsibilities that will fall to him when the working class through Socialism comes into full political and industrial power. No wonder the Tafts and Teddys look upon the innovation with distrust, for it is the beginning of the many to take charge of their affairs and dispense with the services of those petty politicians who rule men and nations in accordance with the idea that a public office is, and of right ought to be, a private snap.

Monopoly has entered the building line as it has others. In the big office buildings in the cities the upper floors rent for as much as the ground floors a block away. Thus a great capitalist can get ten to thirty first floor rents on the same lot. This destroys the value of the other property to the extent that much business is done on the one lot that otherwise would be done on a whole block. The whole social structure has undergone great changes in the last few years, and old methods and ideas are no good. What the end will be depends on how soon you fellows wake up to the real conditions.

DOES IT REPEAT?

Please send me another box of your Appeal Cigars. They are fine.—J. Dietzch, Chicago.

"I carry seven or eight brands of cigars, but think in short time the 'Appeal' will beat them all," writes W. H. Neblick, Calvin, Okla.

Send 500 more cigars at once, also figures on larger quantities.—J. H. Budde, Devil's Lake, N. D.

Send me 250 more Appeal cigars. Am having a good run on them, and sell two Appeals to every one of the other brands in my house.—J. L. Maitrejean, Pt. Arthur, Texas.

BOX OF 50 APPEAL TO REASON CIGARS PREPAID TO ANY ADDRESS ONLY $2.00.

GIRARD MFG. CO., Girard, Kans.