

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. FULLNESS THEREOF BY ALL THE PEO-

The Federal Government and the Chicago Strike

Eugene V. Debs' Reply to Grover Cleveland's Magazine Article.

N THE July issue of McClure's Magazine, ex- dead. I have to mention his name, and this of President Grover Cleveland has an article on itself is sufficient. "The Government in the Chicago Strike of 1894." That there may be no mistake about the meaning of "government" in this connection, it should be understood that Mr. Cleveland has reference to the federal government, of which he was the executive head at the time of the strike in question, and not to the state government of Illinois, or the municipal government of Chicago, both of which were overridden and set at defiance by the executive authority, enforced by the military power of the federal government, under the administration matter. He was not required to testify, nor to apof Mr. Cleveland.

CLEVELAND VINDICATES HIMSELF.

THE ex-president's article not only triumphantly vindicates his administration, but congratulates its author upon the eminent service he rendered the republic in a critical hour when a labor strike jarred its foundations and threatened its

It may be sheer coincidence that Mr. Cleveland's eulogy upon his patriotic administration, and upon himself as its central and commanding figure, appeared on the eve of a national convention composed largely of his disciples who were urging his fourth nomination for the presidency for the very reasons set forth in the article on the as the side of labor has never yet reached the peo-Chicago strike.

HIS KNOWLEDGE SECOND-HAND.

HOWEVER this may be, it is certain that of his own knowledge ex-President Cleveland knows nothing of the strike he discusses; that the evidence upon which he acted officially and upon which he now bases his conclusions was ex parte, obtained wholly from the railroad interests and those who represented or were controlled by these interests, and it is not strange, therefore, that he falls into a series of errors beginning with the cause of the disturbance and running all through his account of it, as may be proved beyond doubt by reference to the "Report on the Chicago Strike" by the "United States Strike Commission," of his own appointment.

WHAT WAS THE CHICAGO STRIKE?

S IMPLY one of the many battles that have been fought and are yet to be fought-in the d'Alene, Cripple Creek and Telluride recall a few wide struggle for industrial emancipation.

President Cleveland make a personal investiga-

Did he grant both sides a hearing? He did

In his fourteen-page magazine article what workingman, or what representative of labor, does he cite in support of his statements or his official acts? Not one.

I aver that he received every particle of his information from the capitalist side, that he was prompted to act by the capitalist side, that his official course was determined wholly, absolutely by and in the interest of the capitalist side, and that

THE OBJECT OF FEDERAL INTERFERENCE.

F ROM the federal judge who sat on the bench as the protege of the late Geo. M. Puliman, to whose influence he was indebted for his appointment-as he was to the railroad companies for the annual passes he had in his pocket—down to the last thug sworn in by the railroads and paid by the railroads (p. 340 report of strike commission) to serve the railroads as United States deputy marshals, the one object of the federal court and its officers was not the enforcement of law and preservation of order, but the breaking up of the strike in the interest of the railroad corporations, and it was because of this fact that John P. Altgeld,

CLEVELAND OWITS REFERENCE TO JUDGE WOODS.

HE late Judge Wm. A. Woods figured as one of the principal judges in the Chicago affair, issuing the injunctions, citing the strikers to appear before him, and senteneing them to jail vithout trial; but President Cleveland discreetly omits all reference to him; and although he introduces copies of many documents, his article does not include copies of the telegrams that passed between Judge Woods, from his home at Indian pol's, and the railroad managers at Chicago before he left home to hold court in the latter city.

Judge Woods had the distinction of convict

PULLMAN'S CONTEMPT OF COURT.

D URING the strike the late George M. Pullman was summoned to appear before the federal court to give testimony. He at once had his private car attached to an east-bound train and left the city, treating the court with sovereign con-On his return, accompanied by Robert Todd Lincoln, his attorney, he had a tete-a-tete with the court "in chambers," and that ended the pear in open court. The striker upon whom there fell even the suspicion of a shadow of contempt was sentenced and jailed with alacrity. Not one was spared, not one invited to a "heart-to-heart" with his honor "in chambers."

A CHALLENGE TO CLEVELAND.

N REVIEWING the article of ex-President Cleveland I wish to adduce the proof of my exceptions and denials, as well as the evidence to support my affirmations, but I realize that in the limited space of a single issue it is impossible to do this in complete and satisfactory manner; and as the case is important enough to be revived, after a lapse of ten years, by Mr. Cleveland, and ple, I am prompted to suggest a fair and full hearing of both sides on the public rostrum or in a series of articles, and I shall be happy to meet Mr. Cleveland, or any one he may designate, in such oral or written discussion, and if I fail to relieve the great body of railroad men who composed the American Railway Union of the criminal stigma which Mr. Cleveland has sought to fasten upon them, or if I cannot produce satisfactory evidence that the crimes charged were instigated by the other side, the side in whose interest President Cleveland brought to bear all the powers of the federal government, I will agree to publicly beg forgiveness of the railroads, apologize to the ex-president and cease my agitation forever.

THE CAUSE OF THE PULLMAN STRIKE.

"HAT Mr. Cleveland knows nothing about the Chicago strike except what has been told him by the railroads and their emissaries, that he has not even read the report of his own strike commission, is apparent from the very beginning of his economic war between capital and labor. Pitts- article. He says, "The strike was provoked by a burg, Homestead, Buffalo, Latimer, Pana, Coeur reduction of wages." This is not true. The fact is that although wages had been repeatedly reof the battles fought in this country in the world- duced the employes did not strike. They appointed a committee to meet the officials and ask why, if When the strike at Chicago occurred, did their wages had to be reduced, the high rents they were obliged to pay the Pullman Company were not correspondingly lowered. Failing to secure redress, they called upon Mr. Pullman himself. He promised to investigate. They returned happy. The following day the committee were discharged and thereupon all the employes laid down their tools and walked out of the shops. That is what provoked the strike and the report of the strike commission proves it.

THE COURT'S PARTIALITY TO THE RAILROADS.

T IS easy for Mr. Cleveland and others who were on the side of the railroads to introduce no more thought or consideration was given to the copies of documents, reports, etc., for the simple other side, the hundreds of thousands of working-reason that the federal court at Chicago compelled the telegraph companies to deliver up copies of at stake, than if they had been so many swine or sheep that had balked on their way to the sham- of our convention and other meetings of the Amerof our convention and other meetings of the American Railway Union, including secret sessions, but the federal court did not call upon the railroads to produce the telegrams that passed among themauthorities, nor the printed proceedings of the General Managers' Association, for public inspection and as a basis for criminal recommendation.

HAD THE STRIKE WON.

N EVERTHELESS, there is available proof sufficient to make it clear to the unprejudiced mind, to the honest man who seeks the truth, that the United States government, under the ad ministration of President Grover Cleveland, was at the beck and call of the railroad corporations, acting as one through the "General Managers' Associ or Uneago, were not in harmony with President Cleveland's administration and protested against the federal troops being used in their state and city for such a malign purpose.

This is the fact, and I shall prove it beyond doubt before this article is concluded.

America, we find:

"Walker, Ed vin, lawyer, removed to Chicago in 1843; as represented several railroads as general solicitor since 1860. Illimois counsel for C. M. & St. P. R. R. since 1870; also partner in firm of W. P. Rend & Co., minerica, we find:

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That was the part of President Cleveland in the Chicago strike, and for this achievement the railroad combine and the trusts in general remember him with profound gratitude and are not only willing but anxious that he shall be president of the United States forever more.

A PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE ACTION.

ing the writer and his colleagues without a trial and of releasing William W. Dudley, of "Blocks of Five" memory, in spite of a trial.

Judge Woods is dead, and I do not attack the latter guide our nation safely and surely in the ex- way Union, representing the employes. Perfect

And yet President Cleveland serves the corporate masters and serves the corporate masters and yet President Cleveland serves the corporate masters and yet President Clev

sisting wholly of trained and successful corporation lawyers, affirmed the proceeding and President Cleveland says that they have "written the concluding words of this history.'

Did the supreme court of the United States write the "concluding words" in the history of chattel slavery when it handed down Chief Justice Taney's decision that black men had no rights that the white man was bound to respect?

These "concluding words" will but hasten the overthrow of wage s lavery as the "concluding words" of the same supreme court in 1857 hastened the overthrow of chattel slavery.

ercise of its functions which represent the people' trust." The word, "people's," is not only super flous but mischievous and fatal to truth. Omit that and the ex-president's statement will not be

CLEVELAND'S FIRST MOVE.

HOW did President Cleveland begin operations In the Chicago strike? Among the first things he did, as he himself tells us, was to appoint Edwin Walker as special counsel for the gov-

Who Was Edwin Walker?

"An able and prominent attorney," says Mr Cleveland.

Is that all?

Not quite. At the time President Cleveland and his attorney general, Richard Olney, desig-

APOSTROPHE TO LIBERTY.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

sown with stars the fields of ether and decked

the earth with countless beauties for man's

enjoyment. It does not matter that air and

ocean teem with the wonders of innumera-

ble forms of life to challenge man's admira-tion and investigation. It does not matter

that nature spreads forth all her scenes of

beauty and gladness and pours forth the mel-

iled, man is a slave, and the world rolls in

space and whirls around the sun a gilded

prison, a domed dungeon, and though

painted in all the enchanting bues that infi-

nite art could command, it must stand forth

a blotch amidst the shining spheres of the

sidereal heavens, and those who cull from the

vocabularies of nations, living or dead, their

flashing phrases with which to apostrophize

Liberty, are engaged in perpetuating the most

stupendous delusion the ages have known.

Strike down liberty, no matter by what subtle

and infernal art the deed is done, the spinal

cord of humanity is sundered and the world

him liberty, and he becomes an inhabitant of

a new world. He looks abroad and beholds

life and joy in all things around him. His

to communion with all that is noble and

higher order of intelligences, and walks forth

redeemed from animalism, ignorance and su-

perstition, a new being, throbbing with

Turning for a moment to "Who's Who in

W HAT is the significance of such an appoint-

be in doubt a single monent? Does it not be-

dicate clearly that the railroads controlled the gov-

of the General Managers' Association by appointing as special counsel of the government their own

attorney to prosecute the striking employes and

use the powers of government to crush them into

submission? Can there be a shadow of doubt

WHY THE MAILS WERE OBSTRUCTED.

about it in the mind of any candid man?

ernment, that President Cleveland did the bidding

ment under such circumstances? Can it

glorious life.

AND ST. PAUL RAILWAY.

America," we find:

beautiful and feels himself allied to all the

Strike the fetters from the slave, give

is paralyzed by the indescribable crime.

ies of her myriad-tongued voices for man's

octation. If liberty is ostracised and ex-

es not matter

It does not matter that the Creator has

less, cannot even move a mail car, simply because their employes have quit their service and left the premises in a body. Note also that the employes were willing to haul the mail trains, and all other trains, refusing only to handle Pullman cars until the Pullman Company should consent to arbitrate its disagreement with its striking and starving employes. But the railroad officials determined that if the Pullman cars were not handled the mail cars should This is how and why the mails were ob-

tructed and this was the pretext for federal inerference. In a word, President Cleveland, bedient to the railroads, took sides with them and supported them in their conflict with their employes with all the powers of the federal gov-

COMMISSION'S REPORT VS. CLEVELAND.

TO BEAR out these facts it is not necessary to go outside of the official report of the strike commission, which anyone may verify at his pleasure. The only reason I do not incorporate the voluminous evidence is that the space at my command must be economized for other purposes.

It is thus made clear that President Cleve land and his cabinet placed the government at the

service of the railroads.

Edwin Walker, their own attorney, made the agent of the government and put in supreme command of the railroad and government forces What an unboly alliance! And what a spectacle and object lesson.

Upon Walker's representations Cleveland acted, upon Walker's demand the federal soldiers marched into Chicago, upon Walker's command the great government of the United States obeyed with all the subserviency of a trained lackey.

SUPPOSE CLEVELAND HAD APPOINTED DARROW:

SUPPOSE that President Cleveland had appointed Clarence S. Darrow, attorney for the American Railway Union, instead of Edwin Walker, attorney of the General Managers' Association, as special counsel to the government!

And suppose that Darrow had ordered the of-

fices of the General Managers' Association sacked, the books, papers and correspondence, including the unopened private letters of the absent officers packed up and carted away and the offices put under the guard of federal ruffians, in flagrant violation of the constitution of the United States, as was done by order of Walker with the offices of the American Railway Union!

And suppose, moreover, that the American Railway Union, backed up by Darrow, agent of the United States government, had sworn in an army of "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts" (see official report of Michael Brennan, superintendent of Chicago police to the Council of Chicago) to serve the American Railway Union as deputy United States marshals and "conservators of peace and order!"

And suppose, finally, that the expected trouble had followed; would anyone in pos of his senses believe that these things had been done to protect life and property and preserve law and order?

That is substantially the case that President Cleveland is trying to make for himself and his administration out of their participation in the Chicago strike.

THE RAILROADS THE REAL LAW-BREAKERS.

THE implication that runs through Mr. Cleveland's entire article is that the railway corporations were paragons of peace and patriotism, law and order, while the railway employes were a criminal, desperate and bloodthirsty mob, which had to be suppressed by the strong arm of the government nated Edwin Walker, upon recommendation of

No wonder the ex-president is so dear to the the railroads, as special counsel to the government, for which alleged service he was paid a fee that amounted to a fortune, THE SAID EDWIN WALKER WAS ALREADY THE REGULAR trust that uses the government and its officers and soldiers to further its own sordid ends. Let us consider for a moment these simple COUNSEL OF THE CHICAGO, MILWAUKEE

questions:

railroad corporations or the hard-worked railroad employes? What railroad corporation in the United

States lives up to the law of the land? Not one. What body of railroad employes violates it?

BRAZEN DEFIANCE OF THE LAW BY RAILROADS.

THE railroad corporations are notorious for their brazen defiance of every law that is designed to curb their powers or restrain their rapacity.

legislators, corrupt courts, debauch politics and ment to protect itself in the exercise of its func-

And yet President Cleveland serves the cor-

quiet and order prevail, as I shall show, but the beyond all cavil the capitalist class character of railroads are beaten to a standstill, utterless help- our present government.

THE STRIKE COMMISSION'S REPORT.

N OW for a few facts about the strike. It began May 11th, 1894, and was perfectly peaceable and orderly until the army of "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts," as Superintendent of Police Brennan called them in his official report to the Council of Chicago, were sworn in as deputies by the United States marshal at the command of Edwin Walker, attorney of the General Managers' Association and special counsel to the government. Let us quote the report of the strike commission, consisting of Carroll D. Wright, commissioner of labor, who served ex-officio; John D. Kernan, of New York, and N. E. Worthington, of Illinois, two lawyers, appointed by President Cleveland.

Let it be noted that the railway employes, that is to say labor, the working class, had no representative on this commission.

From the report they issued we quote as fol-

A. R. U. LEADERS ADVISE AGAINST STRIKE. .

IT IS undoubtedly true that the officers and directors of the American Railway Union did not want a strike at Pullman and advised against it .* * *" (p. XXVII). Yet the people were told over and over and still believe that Debs ordered the strike.

RAILROADS SET THE EXAMPLE.

IT SHOULD be noted that until the railroads set the example a general union of railroad employes was never attempted." (p. XXXI.)
"The refusal of the General Managers' Asso-

ciation to recognize and deal with such a combination of labor as the American Railway Union seems arrogant and absurd, when we consider its standing before the law, its assumptions, and its past and obviously contemplated future action." (p. XXXI.)

(p. XXXI.)

"* * the rents (at Pullman) are from 20

Chicago or

to 25 per cent higher than rents in Chicago or surrounding towns for similar accommodations." (p. XXXV.)

STRIKE COMMISSION CONTRADICTS CLEVELAND. HE strike occurred on May 11th, and from

that time until the soldiers went to Pullman, about July 4th, 300 strikers were placed about the company's property, professedly to guard it from destruction or interference. This guarding of property in strikes is, as a rule, a mere pretence. Too often the real object of guards is to prevent newcomers from taking the strikers' places, by persuasion, often to be followed, if ineffectual, by intimidation and violence. The Pullman Company claims this was the real object of these THESE STRIKERS AT PULLMAN ARE ENTITLED TO BE BELIVED TO THE CONTRARY IN THIS MATTER, BECAUSE OF THEIR CONDUCT AND FORBEARANCE AFTER MAY 11TH. IT IS IN EVIDENCE AND UNCONTRADICTED THAT NO VIO-LENCE OR DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY BY STRIKERS OR SYMPATHIZERS TOOK PLACE AT PULLMAN, AND THAT UNTIL JULY 3D (when the federal troops came upon the scene) NO EXTRAORDINARY PROTEC-TION WAS HAD FROM THE POLICE OR DISORDER." (p. XXXVIII.)

This paragraph from the report of Mr Cleve-

land's own commission is sufficient answer to Mr. Cleveland's article. It is conclusive, erushing, overwhelming.

DEPUTIES STARTED THE TROUBLE.

HERE was no trouble at Pullman, nor at Chicago, nor elsewhere, until the railroadiron heart of the railroad trust, and every other United States deputy marshals were sworn in, followed by the federal troops.

Governor Aligeld, patriot and statesman, knew it and protested against the troops. Mayor John P. Hopkins knew it and declared

Who are the more law-abiding, the predatory that he was fully competent to preserve the peace of the city.

SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE CALLED THEM "THUGS."

M ICHAEL BRENNAN, superintendent of the IVI Chicago police, knew it and denounced the deputy marshals, Edwin Walker's hirelings, the General Managers' Association's incendiaries and sluggers, as "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts."

These were the "gentlemen" President Cleveland's government pressed into service upon requisition of the railroads, to preserve order and pro-The railroad corporations have their lobby at tect life and property, and this is what the ex-Washington and at every state capital; they bribe president calls "The power of the national govern-

The railway employes are a body of honest, useful, self-sacrificing, peace-loving men, who never have and never will be guilty of the crimes committed by their corporate master.

corporations played their trump card by an appeal attempt any defense, for they knew that their actration. To this appeal the response came quick good his assertions. as lightning from a storm cloud.

PEACE FATAL TO MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION.

D EACE and order were fatal to the railroad corperations. Violence was as necessary to them as peace was to the employes. They realized that victory could only be snatched from labor by an appeal to violence in the name of peace.

First, deputy marshals. The very day they were appointed the trouble began. The files of every Chicago paper prove it. The report of the strike commission does the same.

That was what they were hired for, and their character is sufficient evidence of their guilt.

Second, fires (but no Pullman palace cars were lighted), and riots (but no strikers were imphicated)

Third, the capitalist owned newspapers and Associated Press flashed the news over all the wires that the people were at the mercy of a mob and that the strikers were burning and sacking the city.

Fourth, the people (especially those at a distance, who knew nothing except what they saw in the papers) united in the frenzied cry "Down with anarchy! Down with the A. R. U.! Death

DISTURBANCES STARTED BY DEPUTY MARSHALS.

The first trouble instigated by the deputy marshals was the signal for the federal court injunctions, and they came like a succession of lightning flashes.

Next, the general offices of the American and communication destroyed. (Later Judge Grosscup rebuked the federal satraps who committed this outrageous crime, but he did not pretend to bring them to justice.)

Next, the leaders of the strike were arrested, not for crime, but for alleged violation of an in-

Next, they were brought into court, denied trial by jury, pronounced guilty by the same judge who had issued the injunction, and sent to jail from three to six months.

THE "CONCLUDING WORDS NOT YET WRITTEN"

The supreme court of the United States, consisting wholly of trained and successful corporation lawyers, affirmed the proceedings and President Cleveland says that they have "written 3 of this history.'

hen it handed down Chief Juscision that black men had "no white man was bound to respect?" These "concluding words" will but hasten the

The railroad corporations would rather have

destroyed their property and seen Chicago perish than see the American Railway Union triumphant in as noble a cause as every prompted sympatheic, manly men to action in this world.

PEACE OVERTURES TURNED DOWN.

The late Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, came to Chicago with telegrams from the mayors of over fifty of the largest cities urging that there should be arbitration. (p. XXXIX., report of strike commission.) He was turned down without ceremony and afterwards declared that the railroads were the only criminals and that they were responsible for all the consequences.

On June 22d, four days before the strike against the railroads, or rather the boycott of Pullman cars, took effect, there was a joint meeting of the railroad and Pullman officials. (p. XLII., report of strike commission.) At this meeting it strike. This is perhaps more credit than the exwas resolved to defeat the strikers, wipe out the president expected to receive. His own commis-American Kallway Union, and, to use their exac words, "That we act unitedly to that end."

This was the only joint meeting of the kind that had ever been held between the officials of the railroad companies and the Pullman Company. They mutually determined to stand together to defeat the strike and destroy the union.

Now, to show what regard these gentlemen have for courts and law and morals, this incident will suffice:

RAILROAD OFFICERS PERJURE THEMSELVES.

When the officers of the American Railway Union were indicted by a special and grand jury and placed on trial for conspiracy, the general managers of the railroads were put on the witness stand to testify as to what action had been taken joint railroad and Pullman meeting above described, and each and every one of them perjured himself by swearing that he had no recollection of what had taken place at that meeting. Sitting within a few feet of them, I saw their faces turn scarlet under the crossexamination, knowing that they were testifying falsely, that the court knew it. and that every one present knew it, but they stuck to their agreement and uniformly failed to remember that they had resolved to stand together, the railroads agreeing to back the Pullman Company in defeating their famishing employes, and the Pullman Company pledging itself to article he quotes approvingly the letter written to stand by the railroads in destroying the American Edwin Walker, special counsel of the government

forget all about it, and to this they swore in a fed- (railroads?) were vigorously asserted in Chicago,

the Chicago dailies of that time contain the same country.

say about law and order, the vaunted guardians morals and good citizenship.

them, told them to their faces that there was not Beaten at every point, their schemes all frus-an honest official among them and that he would trated, outgeneraled in tactics and strategy, the not trust one of them out of his sight, they did not to the federal judiciary and the federal administrator was on the inside and in position to make

THE DEPUTIES AS VIEWED BY THE COMMISSION.

I must now introduce a little evidence from report of the strike commission bearing upon the United States deputy marshals, who were sworn in by the railfoads "to protect life and property and preserve the peace!

Page 356: Superintendent Brennan, of the Chicago police, testifies before the commission that he has a number of deputy marshals in the county jail ARRESTED WHILE SERVING THE RAILROADS AS UNITED STATES DEP-UTY MARSHALS FOR HIGHWAY ROB-BERY.

Page 370: Ray Stannard Baker, then a reporter for the Chicago Record, now on the staff of McClure's Magazine, testified as follows, in answer to the question as to what he knew of the character of the deputy marshals: "From my experience with them it was very bad. I saw more cases of drunkenness, I believe, among the United States deputy marshals than I did among the strikers.

A NEWSPAPER REPORTER'S EVIDENCE.

Pages 366 and 367: Malcomb McDowell, re porter for the Chicago Record, testified: 'The United States deputy marshals and the special deputy sheriffs were sworn in by the hundreds about the 3rd and 4th of July, and prior to that, too, and everybody who saw them knew they were not the class of men who ought to be made deputy marshals or deputy sheriffs * * * Ir Railway Union were sacked and put under guard regard to most of the deputy marshals, they seemed to be hunting trouble all the time. * * At one time a serious row nearly resulted because some of the deputy marshals standing on the railroad track jeered at the women that passed and insulted them. * * * I saw more deputy marshals drunk than I saw strikers drunk."

These were Edwin Walker's justly celebrated guardians of the peace.

Page 370: Herold I. Cleveland, reporter for the Chicago Herald, testified: "I was on the tracks of the Western Indiana fourteen days. * I saw in that time a couple of hundred deputy marshals. I think they were a very low, contemptible set of men.'

DEPUTIES HIRED AND PAID BY THE RAILROADS.

Now follows what the strike commissioners themselves have to say about the deputy e court of the United States marshals, and their words are specially commended ling words" in the history of to the thoughtful consideration of their chief, President Cleveland: "United States deputy marshals, to the number of 3,600, were selected by and appointed at request of the General Managers' Association, and of its railroads. They were overthrow of wage slavery as the "concluding words" of the same supreme court in 1857 has tened the overthrow of chattel slavery.

gers Association, and the railroads and acted in the double capacity of railroad employes and United States officers. While operating the railroads they assumed and exercised unrestricted United States authority when so ordered by their employers, or whenever they regarded it as necessary. They were not under the direct control of any government official while exercising authority. This is placing officers of the government under control of a combination of railroads. It is a bad precedent that might well lead to serious consequences.

THE GOVERNMENT SERVES THE CORPORATIONS.

Here we have it, upon the authority of President Cleveland's own commission, that the United States government under his administration furnished the railroad corporations with government officers, in the form of deputy marshals to take the places of striking employes, operate the trains and serve in that dual capacity in any way that might be required to crush out the sion charges him, in effect, with serving the railroads as strike-breaker by furnishing government employes to take the places of striking railroad men and arming them with pistols and clubs and with all the authority of government officials.

Page after page bears testimony of the disreputable character of the deputy marshals sworn in to the number of several thousand and turned loose like armed bullies to "preserve the peace."

The report of the strike commission contains 681 pages. I have a mass of other testimony, but for the purpose of this article have confined myself to the report of Mr. Cleveland's own commission.

HOW THE STRIKERS WERE DEFEATED.

Hundreds of pages of evidence are given by impartial witnesses to establish the guit of the railroad corporations, to prove that the leaders of the strike counseled peace and order, that the strikers themselves were law-abiding and used their influence to prevent disorder; that there was no trouble until the murderous deputy marshals were sprung upon the community, and that these instigated trouble to pave the way for injunctions and soldiers and change of public sentiment. thereby defeating the strike.

CONFIRMED BY CLEVELAND

President Cleveland unwittingly, perhaps. confirms this fact. On page 232 of his were dumfounded when they were, one after the article he quotes approvingly the letter written to other, put on the stand. Eighty-six witnesses nd regular counsel of the railroads, by Attorney That is what their own record shows they General Richard Olney as follows: "It has seemed

That is the point, precisely the point, and and acts of incendiarism.

These are the gentlemen who have so much Mr. Clevelad admits it. It is not the "obstruction of the mails," nor disorder, nor the violation of law that arouses Mr. Cleveland's government and prompts it to "vigorous" assertion of its powers, but the "demonstration," that is the strike against the railroads, and to put this down, not to move the mails of restore order, a mere pretext, which was fully exposed by Governor Altgeld, was the prime cause of federal interference, and to "make it a failure everywhere" all constitutional re-straints were battered down, and as a strikebreaker President Cleveland won imperishable

STRIKE LEADERS EXONERATED BY COMMISSION.

Particular attention is invited to the following, which appears upon page XLV.:

"There is no evidence before the commission that the officers of the American Railway Union at any time participated in or advised intimida tion, violence or destruction of property. THEY KNEW AND FULLY APPRECIATED THAT AS SOON AS MOBS RULED THE ORGAN-IZED FORCES OF SOCIETY WOULD CRUSH THE MOBS, AND ALL RESPONSIBLE FOR THEM IN THE REMOTEST DEGREE, AND THAT THIS MEANS DEFEAT."

And yet they all served prison sentences. Will President Cleveland please explain why? And why they were refused a trial?

IN WHOSE INTEREST WERE CRIMES COMMITTED?

Read the above paragraph from the report of the strike commission and then answer these ques-

To whose interest was it to have riots and ires, lawlessness and crime? To whose advantage was it to have disrepu

table "deputies" do these things? Why were only freight cars, largely hospital recks, set on fire?

Why have the railroads not yet recovered damages from Cook county. Illinois, for failing to protect their property? Why are they so modest and patient with their suits?

The riots and incendiarism turned defeat into victory for the railroads. They could have won in no other way. They had everything to gain and the strikers everything to lose.

The violence was instigated in spite of the strikers, and the report of the commission proves that they made every effort in their power to preserve the peace.

When a crime is committed in the dark the person who is supposed to be benefited by it is sought out as the probable culprit, but we are not required to rely on presumption in this case, for the testimony against the railroads is too clear and complete and convincing to admit of doubt.

IMPRISONED WITHOUT TRIAL

If the crimes committed during the Chicago strike were chargeable to the strikers, why were they not prosecuted? If not, why were they sentenced to prison?

The fact that they were flung into prison without evidence and without trial and the fact that the supreme court affirmed the outrage seemed to afford Mr. Cleveland special satisfaction and he accepts what he calls the "concluding words" of the court as his own final vindication.

JUDGE TRUMBULL'S OPINION.

The late Senator and Judge, Lyman Trumbull for many years United States Senator, chairman of the senate committee on judiciary, supreme judge of Illinois, author of the thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States. personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, and, above all, an honest man, wrote: "The doctrine announced by the supreme court in the Debs case places every citizen at the mercy of any prejudiced or malicious federal judge who may think proper to imprison him."

President Cleveland doubtless understands the import of these aminous words. Let the peo--the working people-whom the ex-president regards merely as a mob to be suppressed when they peaceably protest against injustice-let them contemplate these words at their leisure.

When the strike was at its height and railroads were defeated at every turn, the federal court hastily empanneled a special grand jury to indict the strikers. The foreman of this jury was chosen specially because he was a violent union hater, and he afterward betrayed his own capitalistic colleagues in a matter they had entrusted to his integrity.

The jury was empanelled, not to investigate, but to indict.

A "Tribune" reporter, who refused to verify a false interview before the jury, and thereby per-jure himself, to incriminate the writer, was discharged. 'The Chicago "Times" published the par-

An indictment was speedily returned, "To the penitentiary," was the ery of the railroads and their henchmen. A trial jury was empanelled. Not a juror was accepted who was of the same political party as the defendants. Every possible effort was made to rush the strike leaders to the state prison.

THE FAILURE OF THE PROSECUTION.

After all the evidence of the prosecution had had created. been presented they realized that they had misera-bly failed. Not one particle of incriminating testimony could the railrolds produce with all the sleuth hounds they had at their command.

Next came our turn. The general managers were dumfounded when they were, one after the were in court to testify as to the riots and fires. Assistant Chief Palmer and others members of the fire department were on hand to testify that when railroad yards they caught men in the act of cut-I have copies of the court records, including result would be to make it a failure everywhere of deputy marshals. Other witnesses were policecaught these same depeties instigating violence

THE JURY DUMBFOUNDED.

The jury had been packed to convict. When our evidence began to come in their eyes fairly bulged with astonishment. There was a perfect transformation scene. The jurors realized that they had been steeped in prejudice and grossly de-

The general managers testified that they did not remember what had taken place at the joint general managers' and Pullman meeting. Their printed proceedings were called for. They looked appealingly to Edwin Walker. The terror that overspread their features can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Their proceedings would expose their mendacity and convict them of conspiracy and crime. Something must be done and done quickly. Court adjourned for lunch. When it reconvened Judge Grosscup gravely announced that a juror had been suddenly taken ill and that the trial could not proceed.

THE SUSPICIOUS "ILLNESS" OF A JUROR.

The next day and the next the same an-nouncement was repeated. We offered to proceed in any of the several ways provided in such exigencies. The prosecution objected. The cry, "To the penitentiary," had subsided. To "let go" now the order of the railroads. Not another session of court must be held, for their printed proeedings, the private property in the strong box of each manager, and full of matter that would convict them, would have to be produced. All the proceedings of the American Railway Union had been produced in evidence by order of the court and the court could not refuse to command the railroad officials to produce the proceedings of their association. These proceedings were brought in at the closing session of the trial, but by order of the court the defendants were forbidden to look into them, and Edwin Walker, the government counsel, watched them with the faith'ul eye of a trusted guardian.

We were not allowed to examine the proceedings of the General Managers' Association, notwithstanding our proceedings, telegrams, letters and other private communications had been brought into court by order of the judge, inspected by Edwin Walker and others, and printed in the court records for public inspection.

It was at this point that the court adjourned Come vote for Debs—for the old times' sake,

and the inror was taken ill.

Ten years have elapsed. He is still ill and we are still waiting for the court to reconvene and the trial to proceed.

GOVERNMENT REFUSED TO GO ON WITH CASE.

Every proposition to continue the case was fiercely resisted by Edwin Walker, special counsel of the government and general counsel of the rail-

Clarence S Darrow objected to Mr. Walker's appearing in that dual capacity, representing at the same time the government and the railroads, the supposed justice of the one and the vengeful spirit of the other, but Judge Grosscup overruled the objection.

The trial was postponed again and again, the interest in it gradually subsiding, and many months afterward, when it was almost forgoiten, it was quietly stricken from the docket.

JURORS GRASPED DEBS' HAND:

When the remaining eleven jurors were dis charged by the court, Edwin Walker extended his hand to them, but they rushed by him and sur-rounded the writer and his co-defendants, grasping their hands and assuring them, each and every one of them, that they were convinced of their innocence and only regretted that they had been prevented from returning their verdict accordingly. The details appear in the Chicago papers of that time.

At the very time we were being tried for con spiracy we were serving a sentence in prison for contempt, the program being that six months in jail should be followed by as many years in penitentiary.

For a jury to pronounce us innocent in sul stantially the same case for which we were already serving a sentence would mean not only our com plete vindication but the exposure of the federal court that had, at the behest of the railroads, sentenced us to prison without a trial.

And so the trial was abruptly terminated on count of the alleged illness of a juror, and they could find no other to take his place.

These are the facts and I have all the docu mentary evidence in detail and only lack of space prevents me from making the exhibits in this ar-

If President Cleveland or the railroad managers doubt it, I stand ready to meet them face to face in discussion of the issue upon any platform

THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL BATTLE IN HISTORY.

The Chicago strike was in many respects the grandest industrial battle in history, and I am prouder of my small share in it than of any other act of my life.

They had produced the fabulous wealth of the Pullman corporation, but they, poor souls, were compelled to suffer the torment of hunger pangs in the very midst of the abundance their labor

A hundred and fifty thousand railroad employes, their fellow members in the American Railway Union, sympathized with them, shared their earnings with them, and, after vainly trying in every peaceable way they could conceive to touch the flint heart of the Pullman Company, every overture being resented, every suggestion denied. every proposition spurned with contempt, they determined not to pollute their hands and dishonor their manhood by handling Pullman cars and conolved to do, and a little later they concluded to to me that if the rights of the United States they were trying to extinguish the flames in the tributing to the suffering and sorrow of their brethren and their wives and babes. And rather the origin and center of the demonstration, the ting the hose, and that these men wore the badges than do this they laid down their tools in a body sacrificed their situations and submitted to perse testimony, to prove this, and the files of all else, and to prevent its spread over the entire men who were ready to testify that they had cution, exile and the blacklist; to idleness and poverty, crusts and rags, and I shall love and honor these moral heroes to my latest breath.

There was more of human sympathy, of the esence of brotherhood, of the spirit of real Christianity, in this act than in all the hollow pretenses and heartless prayers of those disciples of mammon who cried out against it, and this at will shine forth in increasing splender long after the dollar-worshippers have mingled with the dust

Had the Carpenter of Nazareth been in Chicago at the time he would have been on the side of the poor, the heavy-laden and sore at heart, and he would have denounced their oppressors and been sent to prison for contempt of court under President Cleveland's administration.

President Cleveland says that we were put down because we had acted in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law of 1890. Will he kindly state what other trusts were proceeded against and what capitalists were sentenced to prison during his administration?

He waited ten years to cast his aspersions upon the honor of John P. Altgeld, and if that patriotic statesman had not fallen in the service of the people, if he were still here to defend his official acts, it is not probable that the ex-president would have ventured to assail him.

A TRIBUTE TO GOVERNOR ALTGELD.

Reluctantly indeed do I close without the space to incorporate his burning messages to President Cleveland, and at least some brief extracts from his masterly speech on "Government by Injunction."

His memory requires no defense, but if it aid I could speak better for him than for myself. He pever truckled to corporate wealth, he did not compromise with his conscience, he was steadfast in his devotion to truth and in his fidelity to right, and he sought with all his strength to serve the people, and the people will gratefully remember him as one of the true men, one of the great souls, of his sordid age.

The Chicago strike is not yet settled, and its "concluding pages" are yet to be written.

VOTE FOR DEBS.

WRITTEN FOR THE APPEAL BY EDLIS B. HARRIS, A veteran of the industrial war of 1804

For the memory that will not fade, For the comradeship they cannot take

From the hearts of men that are not afraid; For the noble faith that knows no night, For the courage that will do or die, For the conscience God cannot indict, And the loyalty no gold can buy.

Come vote for Debs-for the old-time days When the poltroon turned, once more the tool, And sought to drown the voice of praise With his wolfish velp, in the cry of fool; When the blacklist followed like a thief, Nor paused because of child and wife, But leered at hunger's tears of grief, And cried, "Allegiance or your life!"

Come vote for Debs-for the by-gone years, When recreants the way would show, And men, assailed by women's tears, Still elenehed the hands and answered, "No," Though torn with silent grief, they stood, Nor would acknowledge a defeat; Still waved the flag of brotherhood, And damned the miscreants in retreat.

Come vote for Debs-we are with him still, In comradeship that will not yield; Oh, see, our flag waves on the hill And legions march on to the field. The clarions call along the line In battle cry, and beat of drum, From farm, from factory and mine Oh, see, the comrades come! They come!

To victory! March on! March on! The first entrenchment's not the last, But ere another decade's gone The final outwork will be past; And these, the dispossessed of earth Come to their own, when Pluto falls, While pacans of their joy and mirth Shall echo from the castle walls.

Come vote for Debs-for the old times' sake, For the memory that will not fade, For the comradeship they cannot take

From the hearts of men that are not afraid; For the noble faith that knows no night, For the courage that will do or die, For the conscience God cannot indict, And the loyalty no gold can buy.

************ Unionism and Socialism

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

A Topic of More than Ordinary Interest A Book of Extraordinary Power

Written by the man who kept the banner of Unionism affoat during the great A. R. U. strike; who bears the standard of Socialism during the present campaign, and who, because of his intimate relations with both ends of the subject, has produced the greatest book of the campaign.



Order plenty of the book and give it the widest ing the days before the national election.

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Popular Personally,

A Character Sketch of Eugene V. Debs

Disliked for Doctrines. Greatly Misunderstood. copy of "The Struggle for Existence"

HE greatest living scientist, Alfred Russell Wallace, writing from Parkstone, Dorset, England, last March, paid the highest possible tribute to a Terre Hautean when he said: "Eugene Deba is a great man. With a few more such to teach and organize the people the cause of justice must prevail."

It has only been a few years since the name of Deba was aynonymous with anarchy, according to the popular conception, and daintly scented men felt tainted in his presence. Today he is a candidate for president of the United States. He has lectured in almost every college in the country. He has attained a remarkable personal popularity in conservative Boston. He has averaged a speech a day for the last ten years and has come to be understood. However much men may disagree with his policy, they can not help but love the man. And in Terre Haute, where he is best known, the name. Gene Debs, "is spoken with an affectionate inflection on the "Gene."

That, the readers of the Star mighthave a better acquaintance—a fairce acquaintance with this unusual and interesting man, a representative of the paper spent three delightful hours at Mr. Debs' charming home on North Eighth street the other afternoon. There was nothing on the outside of the house to suggest a spirit of anarchy or disorder. Vines half hid the porch flowers bloomed beside it. A canary lad of the door made the give in a conservative Boston." How do you account for your popularity in conservative Boston." How do you account for your popularity in conservative Boston." Was larged the herculean mature of the task that beba assured him that he had, and was prepared for anything that might could always stand to have those I dated that broke my spirit. Can vou stand that broke my spirit. Can vou will be dead in two was at heart a Socialist. He realized the herculean mature of the task that Deba had set himshelf to do.

"Have you the courage?" he asked. Deba had set hi

There was nothing on the outside of the house to suggest a spirit of anarchy or disorder. Vines half hid the porch, flowers bloomed beside it. A canary bird outside the door made the air larity in conservative Boston?" was asked.

In the silvery made the age.

And in the Bherry, while awaiting the Book are paid survey of the made the minimum of the Book are paid and the Bherry, while awaiting the Book are paid array of the most problem of the Berry, while awaiting the Book are paid array of the read that the Book are paid array of the most problem of the Berry, while awaiting the Book are paid array of the read that the Book are paid array of the read that the Book are paid array of the read that the Book are paid array of the read that the Book are paid array of the Book are paid as a paid a large of the Gook and the Book are paid as a state of the Gook and the Book are paid as a state of the Book and the paid are paid the state of the Book and the Book are paid as a state of the Book and the paid are paid the book and the paid are paid as a state of the Book and the paid are paid as a state of the Book and the Book are paid as a state of the Book and the paid are paid as a paid as a state of the Book and the paid are paid as a paid as a state of the Book and the paid are paid as a paid ast

For thirteen years Mr. Debs was secretary and treasurer of the Grand Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. In 1884 he was elected to the legislature.

And how did you become a Social was asked.

The working class is the rise days to are fond of the drama, I believe?

The was asked.

The working class is the rise days and regard the the legislature.

The working class is the rise days in the appraision of the appraision of the working class is the rise days. The working class is the rise days will be appraision of the appraision of the working class is the rise days. The working class is the rise days will be appraision of the working class is the rise days. The working class is the rise days will be appraision of the working class is the rise days. The working class is the rise days will be appraision of the working class. The working class is the rise days will be appraision of the working class. The working class is the rise days will be appraision of the working class. The working class is the rise days will be appraision of the appraision of the working class. The working class is the rise days will be appraision of the working class. The working class is the rise days will be appraision of the working class. The working class is the rise days will be appraision of the working class. The problem is the problem of the race.

The work and select.

The working class is the rise with vialized by the amined to the problem in the appraision of the working class. The problem is the problem of the race.

The work and select the days and restrict the problem of the appraision of the working class. The problem is the problem of the race with when the interest is marked and moral graph, and the line is work and the interest when the problem of the work with the problem of the work with the problem of the warming with the problem of the working class. The problem of the appraision of the working class, the area of its activity wides, it grows in strength and its problem of the appraision of the working class. The problem of the appraision of the working class. The problem of the appraision of the working class, the area of its activity wides. It grows in the problem

Patron of the Drama.

"How do you dissipate?" was asked. "You are fond of the drama, I believe?"

A'\$2.50 BOOK FREE.

Following are the names of the comrades who sent in the largest number of subs on the dates set opposite their names, and according to agreement, a

August 11-Ben Johnson, National Military Home, Kans., 50.

August 12-J. E. Nesbit, Edelstein, August 13-Al Pierson, Jacksonville,

August 14-A. G. Sechrist, Lawton,

August 15-A. Demgaard, Arlington, August 16-Z. T. Albright, Bessemer,

Ala., 34.

August 17-H. Anckerman, Piqua. O.,

given to gestures. He speaks all over so to speak—with his bands, arms, body. His eyes are wonderfully ex-pressive. And, whatever he may be politically, he is a charming, fascinat-ing and very lovable man personally. "Sorry I have no cigar to offer you,"

he said apologetically, as the reporter was leaving. "We'll have one next time. Well, it's goodbye and good luck, and come again."

How the Present Socialist Party Was Inaugurated.

From "The American Movement," by Eugene V. Hebs.]



lose but your chains.

Old Party Union Man-Can't let you. As a union man, I must keep

Will You Heed the Lesson, Mr. Workingman?

F. D. WARREN.

VERY student of social questions will read with interest Comrade Debs' reply to Geveland's recent magazine article. From the standpoint of the laborer, Geveland's revival of an industrial incident, long since supposed to have passed out of the public mind, comes at a fortunate time.

the report of the strike commission ap-pointed to investigate the causes which led to the difficulty, it will not be dif-ficult for you to decide in your own mind in whose interest the government is being conducted.

this pretty well, as his union has up against the government, the courts and the federal soldiers.

The non-union man does not realize the significance of this unanimity of opinion of the leaders of the two dominant political parties.

The capitalist is particularly solicit outs about the welfare of the non-union man. Capitalistic manufacturing associations and citizens aliances have been formed for no other purpose but to promote the welfare of the non-union worker. The capitalist is so exercised over the non-union man's welfare that he is circulating millions of pieces of literature in order to prove how wecked are the unions and how auxious he is to give the non-union man a job so that he can be the non-union man a job so that he tan protect and support his wife and babies.

When we recognize that there exists to day, an industrial war, on one add standing the allied capitalist interests, the said of the order of the capitalist interests, the said on the other, the organized working and one leader has been forced to the ranks is thugs to kill!

And yet it was these and clevelind ordered out his thugs to kill!

What is the lesson, my brother work ingman, that you learn from this chapter for a booklet. Over 100,000 sold and The Army is calling for more.

You can't miss it in using this one. It appeals to every human with the least bit of gray matter under his hat. Without dould, the most ancessful propaganda will, into the Pollman strike he was sold with the real minimal and curring associations and citizens, who hoped to wreat better conditions from the capitalist of the industrial and trust development of the literature in order to prove how wecked are the unions and how auxious he is to give the non-union man a job so that he capitalist interests, including the literature in order to prove how wecked are the unions and how auxious he is to give the non-union man a job so that he capitalist interests, including the literature in order to prove how weked are the unions and how auxious he is to give the non-un

inovement is full of promise—to the capitalist, of struggle and conquest; to the worker, of coning freedom.

"It is the break of dawn upon the horizon of human destiny and it has no intuitations but the walks of the universe."

"What party strife or factional turminations are necessary to the condition of on care. We know only that the principles of Socialism are necessary to the cuanty true happiness of all classes and to the type true happiness of all classes and that its historic mission is that of a conquering movement. We know that day by day, nourished by the appirations of the working class and that the recognized working men, we will understand why the capitalist on the ranks is president Donnelly of the Meat Working class and that its historic mission is that of a conquering movement. We know that day by day, nourished by the appirations of the work ing class, the area of its activity widens, it grows in strength and in when the capitalist not not not contain the present of the condition of the working class are necessary to the cuanty of unorganized working men. White we have been of the working class and that its historic mission is that of a conquering movement. We know that day by day, nourished by the missry and vitalized by the aspirations of the work ing class, the area of its activity widens, it grows in strength and in the present of the monumino man a job so that the isometry and support his wife and babies.

When we recognize that there exists that there exists. That has been ten years ago. Since that time labor leader after lababies.

The latest addition to the ranks is president Donnelly of the Meat Working class, the submission. A few years ago it was the leaders of the western labor movement.

To capture the powers of government the victory was won, he despised them as of yore.

During the French revolution, the rising class, the present class, the present class, the present class, the present class and that there exists what if the working class the field victorious it must be in babies

the victory was won, he despised them as of yore.

During the French revolution, the rising middle class, the predecessors of the present enpitalist class, loved the proletariat and urged him to revolt against the aristocratic masters. When the victory was won the proletariat found he had a new task master, in finitely waves and races exacting than

only we would find the positions reconvention. A man committed to the same tactics was nominated by that political party.

The judicial decisions of that individual, while serving as judge on the surpreme bench of New York, is one long list of opinions favoring the capitalist as against the working man.

More significant still, is the publication by the capitalist papers of an article highly laudatory of Cleveland's acts during the strike of 1894, written in 1895, by Theodore Rooserelt, and published in the Forum magazine.

"It was a most fortunate thing that the action at Washington was so quick and so curphatic. The president and the attorney-general acted with equal wis down and courage, and the danger was averted."

These are Mr. Roosevelt's words and there is no room for doubt as to what Mr. Roosevelt will do when a similar cocasion arises.

After reading Comrade Debs' article every statement of which is verified by the report of the strike commission aptithe report of the strike commission aptithe commendatory remarks.

The strike leaders were thrown in jail and wonder the strike was broken. The wonder is that they stood up so conduct themselves as to be easily the report of the strike commission aptithe report of the strike commission aptithe commendatory remarks.

The strike leaders were thrown in jail and wonder the strike was broken. The wonder is that they stood up so conduct themselves as to be easily with unbroken ranks—that they would so conduct themselves as to be easily with a position of the few and the world is now on the verge of another similar epoch—the contralization of wealth into the hands of a few with the capital stripers and the governmental issue of money midded through without hom will be solved, and in though the capital wis the greatest industrial struggle in America; it was organized thost the country by having the lealance of powers in 1908.

When the provided hands are succession of the country by having the capital with the country by having the country by having the country b

titled to the commendatory remarks of the strike commission. Says the being only too evident as the dist known to the hands of a few commission in its control of the strike commission. of the strike commission. Says the being only tee evident as the dial hand commission in its report to Cleveland; point to a near crisis."

"Such manly, dignified and conservative conduct in the midst of excitement and threatened staymatic.

is being conducted.

The average union man understands this pretty well, as his union has been up against the government, the courts and the federal soldiers.

The non-union man does not realize

What is the lesson, my brother works the constraint of the courts and the seson, we brother works the constraint of the courts and the seson, my brother works the constraint of the courts and threatened starvation is worthy of the highest type of American citizenship."

When you think of the potent possi-bilities of a united working class in pos-session of the Washington government, of the state governments, of the muni-cipal governments, a vision of "good such as never before experi

This is a small item, but, as you read it, remember that most

During the month of September only, for every club of ten yearly subscribers ten copies of that great propaganda booklet, "In troduction to Socialism," will be mailed to you free.

Provided you mention this offer and request same, or, if desired, one copy of "Introduction to Socialism" will be mailed to

Understand, this does not apply on clubs of less than ten yearly subs; also that the books will not be sent out unless rePREDICTS SOCIALIST TRIUMPH.

Astrologer Reads in the Stars of Coming Events-Roosevelt to be Elected

rium will begin. Uranus rules the bigher mind, and the vibrations from this planet develop the immense growth of the so-called new thought.

Students who search diligently will surprised to find that the little planet Merenry rules the mind and, as I raises is the bigner octave of Mercury, so Uranus rules the bigher mentality. Now. Mercury is the Buddha in the Hindu religion, and in every religion it has its corresponding name, such as Krishna and Christ, so that Mercury and the mind and Christ are synonymous. Christ, then, is the present cycle, is the higher mind, which becomes universal after 1914, and the 144,000 elect will enjoy the millermium, as they will be in harmony with the prevailing elements during that period. "Another factor which is remarkable

is that Uranus governs Socialism, and with its approach Socialism grows day

by day.
"The part that the United States plays during this most important era in the world's history is represented by the 'man child' from the woman who fled into the wilderness, who will rule Suppose that the capitalists, the government and the judi-the government and the judi-poseed in breaking down this ter favors a Mars man, who will also by force of natural law, have the sup port of Socialism, as such a man

mind, comes at a fortunate time.

Cleveland clearly points out the capitalist position and the action that will always be taken by a government controlled by capitalist interests.

His action, ten years after it occurred, was endorsed by the late democratic convention. A man committed to the same tactics was nominated by that political party.

The individual controlled with a full belly? He would scarcely be human if he so renained.

He would find that the same causes and abuses which prompted his brother before him to organize would lead him over the same road.

Then the old fight would be renewed, only we would find the positions reversed.

The political party.

The individual controlled with a full belly? He would scarcely be human if he so renained.

Socialism will have great weight in the coming election, but President Roose velt will be elected and will have his hands full of important work during his next term, as the issue between capolist. During his next term, as the issue between the same tention, and have great weight in the coming election, but President Roose velt will be elected and will have great weight in the coming election, but President Roose velt will be elected and will have great weight in the coming election, but President Roose velt will be elected and will have great weight in the coming election, but President Roose velt will be elected and will have great weight in the coming election, but President Roose velt will be elected and will have his hands full of important work during his next term, as the issue between capolist and above in the coming election, but President Roose velt will be elected and will have great weight in the coming election, but President Roose velt will be elected and will have great weight in the coming election, but President Roose velt will be elected and will have great weight in the coming election, but President Roose velt will be elected and will have be w con over the same road.

Then the old fight would be renewed, ratio only 'we would find the positions retained that But to neither the union or the non-without loan will be solved, and in this without loan will be solved, and in this solution of the non-without loan will be solved, and in this solution of the solved.

This is the book that starts 'en-toward the Socialist camp. Plain as primer, yet remarkably comprehensiv for a booklet. Over 100,000 sold an

At the Stock Yards.

He Will Vote for Debs.

Clear Around the Globe.

Comrade A. Dve. of Aukland, far away New Zealand, writes: "I am a common cierk, and do not take the Appeal, but a friend regularly lends me his copy, which I is turn, hand to another who regards it with intense interest and

passes it on to another. The people here are taking to Socialism with an carnestness that is surprising."

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

William Mailly, National Secretary Socialist Party, 269 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.

Debs' Dates.

From the New York Sun.

MANCHESTER, N. H., Aug. 13.—
Walter H. Lewis, a music composer of this city, puta in his spare moments studying the stars, and having looked them over carefully he predicts the millennium at the end of ten years and the election of Rocsevelt. Mr. Lewis has decided that the Russo-Japanese war is the beginning of the "great wars" mentioned in the prophecy of Daniel in the looked in the prophecy of Daniel in the looked in the prophecy of Daniel in the covering China, which will be the real bone of contention. China is the head of the "dragon," and it is ominous that the dragon as the national emblem, and the tail is about to sweep all Europe into line, on one side of the other, back into the month of the 'dragon' campleting another great evele, so that, with the entrance of the mystic planet Uranus into his own sign. Aquarus, the millenting will begin. Uranus rules the higher mind, and the vibrations from at Haverhill, Mass., and return west blrough Massachusetts, Connecticot, New York, New Jersey and Pennsyl-

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GINSENG \$25,000 made from one-baffer Family grown in Garden or bar-line and per our booklets. It is still a pill with the contribution of the contribution of the McDowell Glasseng Garden, Soplin.

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GAA PAA a Socialist weekly for Sw weglans and Dunes; 30 cents a year sample copy. Address Gan Pan, Girar SOCIALIST STICKERS—200 for 26c eight kinds. Sample set with booklet explaining our co-operative plan of supplying books at cost will be mailed free if you mention the Appeal. CHARLES H. KEKR & CO., 24 Fifth are., Chicago Comrade Lohre of Chicago, Ill., says: "I have been distributing papers in the stock yards district, but there is none I like to hand out so well as the Old Appeal. You dish it up so plain that any one can understand."

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K. EFF, MONEY IN COMMON SENSE PUBSE.

Rest patented: over a million seld; geneand closes with a till make change with geneson; no chape, buckles or seams. Price 35, 80,
The and \$1.06. Vict kid and morroen tenther. Send
50 cents for sample of best seller and wiselessing
prices to Commisse JOHN G. ZOOK, Little, Pa-Just ten ten-cent subscriptions for one of the Appeal histories. Surely that is easy enough for all to be able to get one. If you keep up your present gair, and all the Socialists keep at it with sleeves up, we will elect in 1908, and, then, "On to Washington."

A SOCIALIST REVIEW OF REVIEWS. The August COMRADE contains more service able reading matter than any other Borlaits monthly. Fine group picture of delegance to Nocialist National convention, Many other Husers toom and cartoons. Beautiful over. In cents in cents a year of you subscribe before high! I THE COMILABLE II Cooper Square, New York, N. J.

SPECIAL WATCHOFFER I jewel Hampden movement, fitted in a 20-year Dueber gold filled case, beautifully hand engrared, indy's state with a 20-inch b-year hiled chain, gold slide set with 2 pearls and opal, all in more plush once for \$11.50. Wonderful bargain. Sent pre-paid on receipt of price or C. O. D. with privilege of examination. Send for my outside. A. B. CONKLIN. \$1.8. Clark St. CHICAGO

A letter addressed to "The Editor"
says: "I have been a democrat all my
life, but the surrender of the party to
the trusts disgusted me and I at once
began to feel about for a place to light
—I shall vote the Socialist ticket this
fall. Send me a 8's worth of the DebsHanford posters."—Geo. Hirschman
Morristown, N. J. Special West Bound

Tourist Excursions To Colerado and Utah

> The MISSOURI RAILWAY.

Season of 1904 via

After reading this copy of the Appeal hand it to your neighbor or shopmate.

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RANS 33 CITT, MO.

On to Washington

COMING NATION

On to Washington

Ten Years Ago and Today.

N 1894 occurred the great strike of the American Railway Union.

Ten years later occurred the strike of the American Labor Union

The plan of organization of the American Labor Union of today is modeled after the form of the American Railway Union.

Both organizations believed that "An injury to a single member is an injury to all.

The members of the two organizations and their affiliated bodies acted in concert. The A. R. U. strike ten years ago was won by the employes.

The Colorado strike, ten years later, was won by the miners. In both instances the workingmen's organizations were defeated by the employment of troops-in the one instance by federal soldiers, in the

other by the national guard. In both instances the strike leaders were jailed and denied a trial by

In both cases the striking workingmen were bitterly assailed by the public press-denounced as anarchists, law-breakers, criminals and men without principle and honor.

But there is a yet more striking resemblance between the two in-

Ten years ago Theodore Roosevelt was a magazing writer of promi-

He wrote for a magazine of large circulation over his own signature He denounced the members of the American Railway Union as criminals of the "most dangerous" class. He commended the prompt and vigorous action of the president of the United States-Cleveland.

Ten years after the date on which Roosevelt wrote, a close personal friend of the president-Walter Wellman-was sent to Colorado to write of the troubles in that state.

He is presumably an unofficial representative of the United States

He calls the A. L. U. leaders criminals of the most dangerous class, and charges them with all the crimes on the calendar.

Now note: While Reosevelt was writing of events of which he had no personal knowledge, the government printing office at Washington was at work on the report of the U.S. strike commission, appointed by Cleveland.

This report makes Roosevelt a liar!

While Wellman was writing of events of which he had no knowledge, the district court of Colorado was handing down a decision which cleared the union miners of the trumped-up charge of dynamiting the Sun and Moon transformer house at Idaho Springs, Colo.

The decision of the district court makes Wellman a liar. In both instances Roosevelt and Wellman were paid to lie. Roosevelt, I believe, lied unconsciously.

Wellman lied maliciously and with intent to deceive the public. Ten years ago the public servants (?), elected by the votes of the workingmen, violated the laws which they had sworn to administer.

This the U. S. strike commission proves by stating on pages 37-38: "It is in evidence, and uncontradicted, that no violence or destruction of property by strikers or sympathizers took place at Pullman, and that until July 3rd (the date when the federal soldiers appeared on the scene) no extraordinary protection was had from the police or military against even anticipated disorder.

Roosevelt said these men and women were the worst type of crim-

Cleveland, in violation of his oath of office, ordered the soldiers to intimidate peaceful men!

Ten years after these events men elected in Colorado violated their outh of office by ordering the soldiers to shoot men innocent of crime.

This is proved by the court records in the cases of men tried on charges of conspiracy—and dynamiting.

Judge Steele, of the Colorado supreme court, says, after listening to every fragment of evidence which could be produced by the mine owners and citizens' alliance, that Peabody exceeded "the power vested in him

Wellman said these miners, discharged by the court after due protess of law, were anarchists, criminals, and that the citizens' alliance did right in deporting them.

The strike commission said it was the railway managers, in 1894, who were the law-breakers-that they maintained an unlawful combi-

The courts of Colorado, in declaring innocent the union men charged with the crime of dynamiting, place the responsibility for this crime on the mine owners and citizens' alliance.

No other interest could have been served by violence.

ization of the Social Democratic party-now the Socialist party.

mentation of the Socialist vote. men concentrating their energies at the ballot box, for the purpose of

capturing the powers of government.

Union "are unclean," because they have political aspirations.

Though Wellman's mass of falsehood be scattered by the millions, it will not fool the workingmen of this country.

Into their hands have been placed the real facts in the case. It has not required ten years to get an impartial hearing.

Ten years ago not a single publication of national circulation told

The working class today has a champion in the Appeal to Reason which dares to print the truth, and which has the facilities to reach a million readers.

The working class today has a champion in the Appeal to Reason which dares to print the truth, and which has the facilities to reach a million readers.

Workingman who desires to work whether the owner wants him to work same sum, no matter how paid, so the cost of operating would be equipment to let's have it in fact, but not closed to any willing workman. How would that suit the judge?

It should be five times as great. FRED D. WARREN.

1,011 comrades have registered for "A History of Appeal to Reason and Coming Nation" up to the time of going to press August 20th. On account of shortage of space it will be impossible to print the names of these comrades this week

There are yet many thousand Army comrades who have not regis tered for one of these books. I fear many of them do not fully realize that this is the last chance they will ever have to get a copy. Time waits for no one; if you want this book you'll have to get a move on.

Once upon a time a certain man watched and waited at heaven's gate for a thousand years. For one little moment he closed his eyes, During that brief period of time St. Peter opened and closed the gate. The man awoke to face another thousand years of weary watching. Ladies and gentlemen, the gate closes September 1st; don't close your eves until you get those ten three-month subs and register for a copy of

Several comrades have written me that they want one of thos books, "A History of Appeal to Reason and Coming Nation," but fail to send the necessary ten three-month subscribers.

How often must I reiterate that no one, not even the writer of these lines, can have one of these books without adding ten three-month subscribers to the list, and thus help make it possible for the Appeal to start its representative "On to Washington?"

Every copy of this book printed will represent ten new names added to the list, the only exception being seven copies reserved for Comrade Wayland and his family

Later: Since writing the above, Comrade Wayland informs me he does not ask for any copies except on the same condition that other comrades get theirs and will not accept any copies that he does not earn. He has already got in one list of ten three-month subs and the dollar to pay for them. E. N. R.

Important!

It has been decided to continue until October 1st the special rate of 10 cents on three month subscriptions.

You will, however, not be entitled to a copy of the "History of the Appeal," on clubs of ten three-month subs, as in August, for the simple reason that no more of these books can be had after nough have been printed to send a copy to each comrade who has sent a club of ten three-months subscribers during the

Remember, you must mail your list in August. It doesn't matter if the letter reaches us in September, providing you mail it this month and it bears the August postmark. Step lively now.

The ambition of the founder of the Appeal has been to issue the paper at a yearly subscription rate of ten cents. This, of course, can only be made possi-ble by an enormous circulation. When the Appeal was established in 1805, in Kansas City, a rate of 50e was con-sidered phenomenally low, and no paper had ever been printed at that rate, except the Coming Nation. I found that at 50e the circulation of the paper was retarded, and discovered by a trial that 25e would augment the circulation to a point where it would sustain itself at the reduced rate. I believe that if we the reduced rate. I believe that if we can reach a point where the paper can be put out at ten cents per year, that a million circulation can be reached—in fact, there is no reason why a circulation of two millions can not be attained. When the Appeal first started there was, to my knowledge, no paper in the country with a circulation exceeding 100,000. Today they are common, The Appeal stands third in point of circulation and is a wonder in the journalistic field—the common comment among newspaper men is: "How can it be done;" The Appeal is primarily an agitator and is intended only to arouse and excite desire on the part of the reader for something more advanced. If you believe that the circulation of the Appeal is primarily an agitator and is intended only to arouse and excite desire on the part of the reader for something more advanced. If you believe that the circulation of the Appeal is promotion of the Appeal is primarily an agitator, and something more advanced. If you believe that the circulation of the Appeal is promotioned in the common for lacking confidence in the control of the whole people, or a majority of them. As all in dustries would be owned and operated by the whole people, or a majority of them. As all in dustries would be owned and operated by the whole people, or a majority of them. As all in dustries would be owned and operated by the whole people, or a majority of them. As all in dustries would be owned and operated by the whole people, they could find no place to apply their labor except by the consent of the whole people, they could find no place to apply their labor except by the whole people, or a majority of them. As all in dustries would be settled by the whole people, the whole people, or a majority paper men is: "How can it be done?"
The Appeal is primarily an agitator, and is intended only to arouse and excite desire on the part of the reader for something more advanced. If you believe that the circulation of the Appeal among the producing classes of this country will hasten the day when men will wake up to a realization of their power and help in the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, you should ask your neighbor to subscribe A million subscribers will arouse the curiosity of the unthinking and lead them to investigate. It's big things that count in this world.

Bell: Everybody would know what they were to receive, would know the cost of what they had to buy, would know the cost of what they asked for without abliteration or deception, and would not have any reason for lacking confidence in humanity. The present system is so complex that nobody knows all about it.

UNDER SOCIALISM the factories, mills and places of employment will be made as beautiful and pleasant as the skill of the architects and the capital of the nation can provide. Labor is bad enough at best, and it should be done under conditions and relations that will make it a real pleasure if possible—and it is possible to do

out of business. Success to you."—E.
S. Allen, Hudson, N Y.

M. Griffith, without food for three days, stole a "full dinner pail" out of the street car barn in Milwaukee and was sent to the work house for thirty days, though he had applied twenty times for work. He was a workingman out of a job. Had he been a rich man and had stolen a house or a farm or a railroad he would have been elected to some fat public place. Well, so long as the working class yote for the system they have no one to blame but themselves for their miserable condition. Don't you think so? "Vote to own your own job by voting for Socialism.

Now and then one rups aggregate the pople will be put to making things the people will be put to making the pople will be pople will be put to making the pople will be pople will be put to making the pople will not be the ruin of the people will not the town will not be the ruin of the people will not the pople will not the po

A Newark, N. J., judge has officially declared for the "open shop." All right. Now let every shop be "open" to every workingman who desires to work.

There may be something in this rein-carnation theory, but I really ean't see what the average workingman wants with two or three lives be doesn't seem will do it freer under Socialism, for they will do it freer under Socialism, for they will be more bonored for the doing of

EUGENE V. DEBS,

month of August. The plates will be destroyed as soon as the edition is off.

You only have a few more days to get in on this. You should not fail to see that every member of your family gets a copy of this rare booklet. It is the

able to erect the best, and the people will own them. And there will be no working with crude or obsolete machinery, for it will be to the interest of all that each worker shall be supplied with the best appliances that have been discovered.

He Discovered Himself.

"I picked up a copy of your Appeal to Reason a few days ago, and was surprised to find that I had always been a Socialist and didn't know the name of it. I published a paper for many years, but the news company drove me out of business. Success to you."—E. S. Allen, Hudson, N.Y.

M. Griffith with

excarsions by rail and water will be going all the time, and the people will have time and means to enjoy them. We have the people and the material to make and operate them, and why not enjoy what we are able to have? Instead of doing useless and harmful things the people will be put to making pleasurable things for theuselves.

UNDER SOCIALISM

oree let the Appeal establish its news bureau in Washington City and this country will be stirred as it has never been stirred before. When that time comes Colorado capitalists will not be the only ones engaged in damaing the Appeal. Hurry up that list of subs and let's start that capitalist "damn" machine running.

The people of this country, victimized in time of strike, are groping for a solution of their trouble. The more they are goaded the more quickly they will find it. Every time President Baser opens his mouth he makes new converts for the radical solution. Record-Herakl.

There may be something in this rein.

There may be something in this rein lives today for the public service. They lives today for the public service. They

UNDER SOCIALISM

There are one thousand assubers of the "Army" lixing within the borders of kansas. Every one of them will read this item How many of you will go out NOW and got from one to four subs. The Appeal now has 11.00% subscribers in Kansas; do you see how easy it would be to make it 40.000 And do you know what that would mean that Socialism would sweep Kansas politically of everything in sight in 1006. Do this thing today and hold this thought in your minds "Every other comrade in the state is deing exactly what I am doing setting subs today."

all the best talent for music that is discovered in the children will be carefully cultivated, for it will be carefully cultivated, fo all the best talent for music that discovered in the children will be car

"ON TO WASHINGTON."

Someone says the people cannot run the factories. Well, who runs them today? Do the lower order of animals, the vegetables or the minerals operate them? Those who teach the people that they cannot run the industries in their FOR VICE PRESIDENT,

BENJAMIN HANFORD,

Of New York.

UNDER SOCIALISM

the destruction of a city by fire or flood would be a mational calamity and loss, but not an individual loss, except as people were killed or maimed and suffered. The nation would at once put the people into as good homes and shops elsewhere as they had, and none would feel any financial loss or worry.

UNDER SOCIALISM

UNDER SOCIALISM

there's will be no makeshifts of houses for living or industry. The nation is able to erect the best, and the people will own them. And there will be no working with crude or obsolete marworking who them interests are very anxious to runt the low can scratch the cover off all these pleaders for private capital and you will line they belong to the grafters, the parasites and live on the labor of the common people without ever giving a single hour of PRODUCTIVE labor in return. Compare your living and income with their's and see.

UNDER SOCIALISM

there will be less changing of locations by the people. One place will be just as good as another, so far as opportunity is concerned. People will be able to travel as much as they desire, or can change locations for health or other reasons, but the incentive of bettering one's self financially will not be a factor in such moves.

Jos. Leiter, the millionaire, who never gant, silver-spoon life, says: "I will kill every man in Illinois before I'll give in to the strikers." He "owns" the cola mines at Ziegler, Ill., where many hundred men—practically slaves—dig a fortune out of Mother Earth's free gift to man and hand it over to him. Of think that these men have been so man and hand it over to him. Of to think that these men have been so wrongfully trained that they will suf-fer this and then VOTE the old party tickets to have their miserable con-dition continued! That they will strike and starve and are kept so blind that and starve and are kept so blind that they will not vote to own the mines! What sorrow and misery and crime this What sorrow and misery and crime this old world contains and gives to the working class because they are too ignorant to know the real source of their misery! The angels must look down and weep at their ignorant help-lessness. In what, are they different from the poor rabble of Russia or Turkey or Egypt—having the power to change all this, yet too ignorant, kept purposely so by their political and rechange all this, yet too ignorant, kept purposely so by their political and religious masters, to change it? No power but that which the workers possess can free them. If a majority will vote the capitalist tickets, they must forever remain bound to serve the capitalists. A vote this fall for Socialism will be a vote for Freedom.

> Walter Wellman, a friend of the president, has been investigating con-gitions in Colorado. He advises the appointment of a commission to inves tigate the situation, and report at the next session of congress. "This would remove the investigation from the field of politics, so far as the present cam-paign is concerned at least," How afraid these gentry are that these labor troubles will get into polities. Anything to keep labor out of polities. Let's see, Cleveland appointed a commission to investigate the cause of the Pullman strike in 1804. After waiting ten years Cleveland rises to make a few remarks on the Chicago strike. He would years Cieveland rises to make a few remarks on the Chicago strike. He would have but little trouble in convincing the public that he was right, were it not for this strike report, which occupies a very large place in the present edition of the Appeal. If you read this issue of the paper, and do not grasp the fact that capitalism uses the same methods no matter whether there is fact that capitalism uses the same methods, no matter whether there is a republican or democrat in the chair, you will miss the lesson it intends to

One of the Social Democratic party—now the Socialist party.

Now and then one runs across a commade getting subs for Socialist party.

One of the Socialist vote.

Now and then one runs across a commade getting subs for Socialist party.

One of the Socialist vote.

Wellman gasps with horror at the bare suggestion of the working the concentrating their energies at the ballot box, for the purpose of turing the powers of government.

He says the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor of "are unclean," because they have political aspirations.

Now and then one runs across a commade getting subs for Socialist party.

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UNDER SOCIALISM

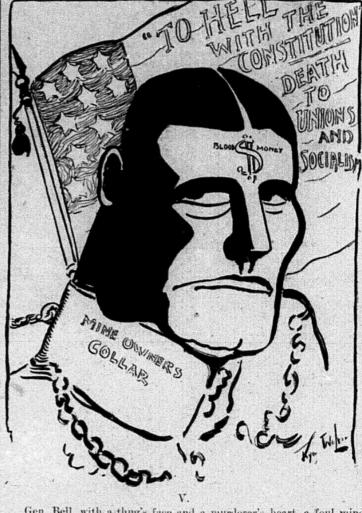
when any department of public industry meets a machine for a given purpose, the thore genius of the nation will be income the individual could produce agents and asking them if they are of ever have been members of the Order of Railway Telegraphers, and is dropping alone, and this surplus is nearthy all taken by the class who do nothing when we have a machine for a given purpose, the whole genius of the nation will be industry more distribution who rather seems to view the task as an exceptional view of the nation will be industry meets at the part of the Air and they are of the Air ployes of the public department of trans-portation and earn their living? If the railroad men will insist on voting for the capitalist parties they deserve no sym-pathy if they got it in the neck. When the working class control the politics Socialism will make the railroad m masters of their jobs masters of the

Socialists do not solicit your support because you do not like this, that or the other candidates on other tickets-it asks your support because Socialism will be better for you than the election or defeat of any other candidates on any other tickets. If Socialism will be better for you than the present system, you want it: if it will not be better for you do not want it. And that is all there is of it. Are you willing to

Courade A. M. Dewey, author of The Ideal Republic," sends ten three-months suts for an Appeal History.

*************** A 20c Book for a Postal Card.

Colorado as Seen by Cartoonist Ryan Walker



Gen. Bell, with a thug's face and a murderer's heart, a foul mind. and as illiterate as a Digger Indian, a personification of the human brute, came upon the field.

The slave, for daring to think, daring to act, must be given a taste of Russian brutality. Sherman Bell takes orders only from "God and Governor Peabody," and, as God isn't near at hand, Peabody does the ordering, at the dictates of the Mine Owners' Association. Sherman Bell, whether in citizen's clothes or a soldier's uniform, is the paid official of the Mine Owners' Association.

And here's where another chapter starts.

The Value of Social Labor.

What is social labor, social products, and social value that Socialists talk glibly of?—A Reader,

I will try, but I may not be able to make it clear to you. Let us take for example a pair of shoes. Formerly one worker produced the shoes from raw materials-tanning his leather, making his thread, and tools-without the assistance of any other person. There was no social labor in that operation. The next step was a division of the labor, another doing the tanning. This increased the total output of shoes a little more than that of two men, working as the one described, who did both tanning and shoemaking. That increase of products was social labor. Both were benefited. Further division of labor was made when one person made one part of the shoe and another another part, thus becoming more expert, which greatly increased the output per person employed, and this was additional social product or value. When the machinist came along and added his labor to the production of shoes, as represented by the modern factory, the social produets were something like twenty times as much as the individual method. What Socialism contends is, that inasmuch as labor today, through its associated efforts, produces ten to twenty times as much as was formerly possible, that the workers should have that many times as

atively crude tools or machinery, and much of it doing things that should not be done-things that are not only worthless to society but actually injurious. Socialism would give to each worker the same products as if he were at once the most skilled workman in every craft followed by man and the working class control the polities they will have the grip on the men who now rule over them with the hand of a tyrants. This is a great free country when men are refused employment because they belong to a labor union or a church not to the liking of their masters.

For example: A workman would produce wheat or iron or clothes, socialism will make the cultural men. had the most improved tools to work with in each calling, for he could

which would be the property of society (the public) and he would receive as evidence a certificate that he had performed a given number of hours for the public and was entitled to products to that extent; other men doing the same thing would always keep the public supplied, and he could go to the public and select the things he wanted of the various kinds and character to the extent of the time represented by the labor expended on such articles. This would balance the books like a ledger. It would be this way: I would produce for society 2,000 hours in a year, leaving 115 days for my personal pleasure, and I could go to society and get, at any time, goods that had in their construction 2,000 hours of human labor, directly and indirectly,

Do I make it piniu?

This right to work and receive the FULL social value of their labor would be open to every citizen, and none need lack work who had a want, and there would be no need of charity or anxiety for the future of any person, either for themselves or their children. For those who would not work should not be permitted to consume what others had produced. Statistics prove that this plan will produce more than \$2,000 worth of present-priced products for a year's service at eight hours per day. I would prefer to have this guarantee for myself and my children than to have a million dollars under the present system, which million is likely to take wings and fly away at any time. We do not believe that we will love our home and our family less under this condition that we do now; we do not believe we will degenerate into brutes because we can supply all our wants and be removed from the fear of want; we do not believe that men will deny the goodness of the Creator because they prefer to live in peace and helpfulness with each other rather than in competition and strife; we do not believe that men will cease to sing who can sing; and strife; we do not believe that men will cease to sing who can sing; that they will cease to paint and write and play and teach who have the ability. We believe that if men are put under good conditions they will be better than if placed under bad conditions. Perhaps you do not beheve these things. Then we honestly differ, but both of us cannot be second size of the second second right. Which is right?