

Total number of subscribers June 24th 314,891
Number of copies sold for week ending June 13th 372,500
Edition Printed Last Week

Established Aug. 31, 1895
FIFTY CENTS A YEAR
Six Months 25 Cents
Clubs of Four or More 25 Cents
J. A. WAYLAND
Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second class mail matter.
FRED D. WARREN, Managing Editor.

This is Number 653
Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., June 27, 1903.

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an advocate of International Socialism, the movement which
favors the ownership of the earth by ALL the people—not by a
PART of the people.

Socialism Rampant.

The most glowing reports which could be put in words would fall to do justice to the Socialist situation in the middle and eastern states through which I have recently traveled. I was astonished and delighted at every point. Four years ago the sentiment was weak and sporadic. This year it is spontaneous, widespread and so intense that it cannot be described.

Within the past few months there has been a marvelous change in the entire status of the Socialist movement in the United States. In places where it was a lambent state, it has burst forth like a conflagration.

In New York, where I have often been before, I have never seen or felt such burning and consuming enthusiasm. It has a vital and thrilling spirit which hitherto had been lacking. It held one fast in its grip from the moment one came within its influence. What was equally gratifying was the spirit of comradeship among the leaders, some of whom had heretofore been the heads of belligerent factions. The harmony which now prevails in New York and in the east generally, is the consummation of the battles of the past. Here and there, the reason for the change is the same as in the rest of the country. The Socialist movement is largely dissipated in factional warfare.

Every patriot who raised his voice against a king or tyrant was denounced as a traitor, a rebel and an anarchist. Can you not see how the same tactics is employed by privilege today to prejudice you against those who would make you free from capitalist tribute?

The reason that the owners of trusts and monopolies do not vote the Socialist ticket is because it is not to their interest to vote it. Their interest lies in voting the old party tickets. Those who are robbed by the trusts should be wise enough not to vote the same tickets as those who rob them.

Trusts have not only raised the price of products, but they adulterate the products, thus cheating both ways. And the people keep right on whooping it up for the parties that have controlled the government while trusts were growing. Wonder if they think that the parties that have fostered trusts will destroy them?

When I was a boy I worked very hard and had very little to eat and little to wear. I thought I was lucky to have anything. Now I know that the proprietor I worked for was very lucky in having such a fool as I was to work for him and keep him up without any labor on his part. And I did that, without any assistance. Since then I've changed places. You're the fool! Why not get wise?

The fellows who are howling about Socialists being against government have themselves so little confidence in government that they are unwilling to have the government provide postal banks or own the industries. The Socialists are willing to have the government own and operate all industries while the republicans and democratic party patriots are unwilling to trust the government with anything. Which is most opposed to government? Which are really the anarchists?

Congress was expected to make short work of the panic by providing a remedy. Have you seen the remedy yet? Are you so stupid that you do not know that panics are the rich men's chances for greater fortunes? Congress did not enact a single measure for the relief of the people. It passes a banking act that will enable the bankers to get more money to lend and get more interest. But how does that help? Is paying more interest a relief to the people? What are your brains for?

The glorious Fourth! Make it mean something by putting in the day for Socialism.

Kings lol in luxury from the tail of the many—so do capitalists. What is the difference to you whether you produce is used by kings with titles or kings without titles?

As well expect the saloon men to vote the prohibition ticket as to expect capitalists to vote the Socialist ticket. Capitalists know what parties are safe for them. That is more than the work people know.

The work people who vote the old party tickets are like the slaves who told their masters what slaves were, planning to run away. They are enemies of their class and of their own interests.

One-fourth of the wages go for houses rent, on an average. To own four houses is the same as owning one man who will work for you for nothing and board himself. What is the use of slavery? Are you so blind you cannot see anything?

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SWITCHMEN FOR DEBS.

From Journal of the Switchmen's Union.
Debs has done more than any one living mortal to advance the cause of organized labor. For a quarter of a century he has been in the thickest of the fray and at no time or place did he ever falter for one moment in his duty as he saw it. It was Debs, more than Sargent, Hannahan or any other man connected with the Locomotive Firemen, that made the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen what it is today. It was Debs who organized the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen, now the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. And, Mr. Switchman, do you know that Debs lent all his aid and energy in organizing the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association? This being true, don't you think he is a very near relation of ours?

Don't you, yes, all union men, feel as though we owed a debt of gratitude to the man who was ever ready and willing to fight for our cause?
We hear you say yes, a thousand times, yes!
Ben Hanford, the running mate of our incomparable Gene, is a life-long union man, and at this very moment carries a paid-up card in Typographical Union ("Big Six") in New York City.

President Gompers and executive officers of the American Federation of Labor tell us to vote for our "friends." The history of the republican party and the democratic party proves they are both inimical to the interests of organized labor.

What, then, are we to understand by Mr. Gompers' advice?
Are we to understand that we must go to the camps of our enemies seeking friends?
Certainly we are not such a silly lot of asses.

Here we have Debs and Hanford, two bona fide union men, who have struggled with us all their lives, men who have lain in the trenches with us; men who were always first to answer the bugle call to arms when our rights were assailed, and, above all, men whom all the gold of the Rockefellers, Morgans and Vanderbilts could not buy.

Now, then, Mr. Switchman, what are you going to do next November? Are you going to the polls dressed from head to foot in union-made clothing with a SCAB ballot in your hand for Injunction Bill Taft?

Or are you going to cast a UNION ballot for UNION men?
Remember this, you have been getting exactly what you voted for, although you didn't want it.
Vote for what you want, and if you don't get it, keep voting until you do get it, and you will never throw your vote away.

The only time you throw your vote away is when you vote for something you don't want.
A vote for Justice and Liberty is never thrown away.

Dependent at Sixty.
The Fidelity Mutual Life Insurance company of Philadelphia, in a circular letter sent from Boston dated June 4, makes this statement: "Carefully compiled statistics prove that most people at the age of sixty are dependent on others for their support." Certainly a very brilliant prospect for most of mankind! And remember this is a testimonial to the beneficence of capitalism as well as I do that there is sufficient food and clothing, comfort and luxuries in the world to supply every individual. You know that the natural resources of the United States are unlimited. You know, also, that the supply of labor is unlimited. Socialism comes to you and proclaims that this unlimited supply of labor applied to our unlimited resources will provide every man and woman and child with everything needed. You know also that there are many in want today, and you have the testimony of capitalism that before you have reached the days of physical uselessness you will be dependent on charity or your near relatives. Why not make an investigation of the causes which bring about this undesirable condition? If you will make such an investigation the Socialist knows full well that you will accept his principles and join this movement, which will reverse this condition.

WITHIN FIVE MINUTES

after you read these lines you will meet a man who can be induced to subscribe for the paper. Ask him to put his name down for a year's subscription. If he doesn't happen to have the change, lend him a quarter. He will pay it back after he reads the paper a few weeks, or I miss my guess. Repeat this operation five times before the day ends, and let me know the result.

Let the majority veto forever the one-man veto.
A laborer is known by the capitalists he "keeps."
"God knows" Taft! But does Taft know you?
The Bill Club is a big stick, designed for beating labor.
Injunction Bill Taft! Every workingman ought to vote for him, because he loves 'em so!

Capitalists would not abolish the working class. They would enslave it and so perpetual classes.
Serfs gave one-third of their time to the lords without pay, and tenants today give one-third of their crops to lords without pay. Sky, serfs, can you see anything?

The press dispatches do not report whether the \$15,000 donated to W. J. Bryan's Nebraska campaign fund by Tom Ryan, the political culture, was paid in the white metal or whether on this particular occasion, rather than raise a row, Mr. Bryan accepted "cross of gold" certificates.

Standard Oil has again been convicted in the court at Buffalo, N. Y., for violating the interstate laws. Same old crime and same old reason—the private profits that it produces. If the oil business were collectively owned industry, who would profit by such law-breaking? I did not hear of the postmaster at Buffalo being arrested for giving lower rates of postage to one party than another. Do you see the point?

Here is an extract from a letter from a railroad man "I had never heard of such a thing as Socialism until last October. I had before that time been working for the P. & E. Co., Pittsburgh, but left them for the superintendent's office of the P. & E. R. R., and there one of my fellow employees talked Socialism to me and I subscribed for the Appeal. Now I wouldn't be without it. It made me think since first reading it I have been wondering 'Why? Why? Why?'"

The Britt (Iowa) Tribune, a republican paper, says an editor of the Appeal ought to be hung. This incitement to murder begs no protest from the administration. Reverse the statement and let the appeal print the same sort of a remark against the republican editor of the Tribune, and the postmaster general would instantly issue an order excluding the Appeal from the mails and criminal prosecution would be started without delay. You might write the postmaster general asking why this discrimination.

The government printing presses are working night and day on the new wild-cat currency. A dispatch from Washington announces the upward of four million dollars each twenty-four hours is being manufactured out of pure watered stock. Mr. Harrison can take the bonds he issued against a railroad that was never built to Washington and Mr. Roosevelt will order Mr. Cortelyou to hand him over twenty-five per cent of their face value in new, crisp, national bank notes. The limit is five hundred million dollars. Hades of Jerry Simpson and Tom Wilson!

German Socialism made but little progress till the government began putting Socialist editors in jail. That was the prelude to breaking into parliament. Editor Freeman Knowles, of the Deadwood (S. D.) Leader is now in jail in Rapid City, S. D. He refuses to pay a fine of \$500 assessed against him and proposes to stay in jail until "they carry him out through the key-hole." Knowles is a veteran of the civil war and faced belching cannon and glittering bayonets on many a battlefield and he is therefore not to be frightened by any 2nd politician of the Washington variety.

If the Press Is Free

Republicans sure have the nerve. Not only are they running the originator of the labor injunction on an anti-injunction platform; not only do they declare for individualism after having been in power during the formation of the entire trust system; but they also vociferate loudly in favor of a free press after having just made it possible for "individualism" in the person of the postmaster general to suppress any paper he may please, without trial and without opportunity to appeal, either to him or the courts. Here is an expression of Senator Alfred J. Beveridge in the Saturday Evening Post:

Alarm after alarm has been sounded for the safety of free institutions; but let no man fear for liberty as long as there is free speech and a free press. The profane and the profane sources from which flow all the streams of civil and religious liberty that bless the American people. Corrupt politicians can be dealt with, if the press is free.
The miracles of greed can be punished, if the press is free.
The violence of criminal agitators and the reckless force of those whom they arouse will be harmless, if the press is free.
The wild theories which flow from disaster and with which self-seeking demagogues try to delude the people fall harmless on instructed ears, if the press is free.
The violence of the criminal agitators of the people cannot continue in office, if the press is free.
Sound legislation in the interests of the people is certain to be enacted in the end, if the press is free.
That conscious dishonesty known as "graft" will be healed, if the press is fearless and free.
A free press is more necessary to our liberties than the Constitution.

Now, that sounds nice. But the trouble is actions speak louder than words. When the Penrose bill, providing for the destruction of a free press, came up disguised as a rider to an appropriation bill, Senator Beveridge failed to raise his voice in opposition to it and the republican house and senate passed it by viva voce vote, in such a way that none would have to go on record in the matter. It is all a piece of hypocrisy. By free press republicanism means a press that is free to laud it and the infamous system of robbery and murder which it represents. But it is ready to suppress all criticism and exposure of its infamy and hypocrisy. By individualism it means unrestricted opportunity for the masters to act, and the suppression of opportunity for ninety per cent of the people. The republican party stands for the systematic robbery of the people for perpetual poverty for the many, for hypocrisy and deception for the few. It is the most criminal political organization that ever existed on the face of the earth.

For the First Time!

For the first time in the history of States it finds a place in the platform of the dominant political organization.
This is a tremendous stride forward. It means that there is to be no more a mere guerrilla warfare.
The fight is now in the open.
It is Socialism against the field.
The democratic convention will follow the republican party and take its stand on the side of individualism as against Socialism.

There will be no other issue discussed during this campaign if the Socialists and their sympathizers take an aggressive stand. With the Socialist press and its nearly one million circulation and our five thousand speakers we can compel a public discussion on all occasions of Socialism versus individualism.
"This is a consummation devoutly to be wished." It has been brought about by years of persistent work and self-sacrifice. Politically speaking, we are on the border of the promised land. Individualism is branded with the word "failure." It now remains for Socialism to take its place as the dominant factor in the nation's affairs and reopen the mills, the mines, and shops and bring back to hollow-eyed men and women the ruddy glow of health and the sparkling eye of anticipation.

Socialism is the hope of the working-class world. It accepts the responsibility joyously. We renew our faith in the certainty of victory.
The challenge thrown down by this mighty movement has been reluctantly accepted by the republican party and its ally, Bryanism, and the issue will be fought to a finish on the political and industrial fields of the world.
Are you ready, comrades!

Why? Why? Why?

What do you mean by prosperity? Why are men who work more prosperous one time than another? Is it the difference in the amount of wealth they produce? Are not men producing each day twice as much wealth now as they did before the panic of 1873 hit them? Then why are they not twice as prosperous? Are men producing (I mean those who are permitted to work) less wealth today than they did a year ago when you were howling about the prosperity? Then why are they not more prosperous? Why are wages being cut down when better machines are being used and more wealth produced for each day's labor? Are you incapable of thinking on the subject for two minutes? Do you not know that when men are in want after they have worked that they have been robbed? It will not do to assert that they wasted their substance, for if that were true how comes it that they did not waste it last year, and that everybody begins just now to waste it? The facts are that when men are prosperous they are getting more of what they produce, and when they are not prosperous they are getting less of what they produce. Plenty means prosperity, scarcity means depression. The rich are not less rich—they are richer. You working men are poorer because you just let the rich make the laws and direct your thinking by controlling your reading matter. Don't blame the rich—you are the only cause that needs the kicking, because you won't use your own brains. There now.

The latest is that Hades is paved with old party planks.

"My policies" seem to be to defeat the coming of social order.

How can there be "equality of opportunity" as long as one man works for another?
And now the capitalist farce, rehearsed at Chicago, is to be put on the boards again at Denver.
Judging by the platform, it was probably Roosevelt who made the earth and to whom its fullness belongs.
Socialism would regulate the individual for the public good. Individualism resents regulation, always.
Capitalist philosophy is merely "Take care of the capitalist and permit him to take care of you." He'll do it, too.

The public will watch with keen interest the action of Postmaster General Meyer in dealing with the Seattle Daily Times.
The issue is, as Mark Hanna predicted it would be, between the Bill Club and Socialism, between individualism and social order.
The platform bears unmistakable evidence of having been written by Roosevelt. Nobody else would have praised him so highly.

Politicians these days all imagine they are dictionary makers, and are specially commissioned to define Socialism. But they confute each other in that their definitions do not agree.
The price of sugar is not only increased, but the quality is being badly adulterated. It takes one-half more sugar now to get results than it did before. But I suppose you think it would destroy your individuality and reduce you to a dead level if society produced pure sugar and you could buy it for one-half what you now pay, wouldn't it? You are such wise guys that it would be too bad to destroy your individuality!

Just now the army and navy are talking about the sentence of enlisted men for speaking to Emma Goldman and for writing to Socialist papers. Remember that enlisted men are practically kept in prison but have the privilege yet of reading any mail sent them. If you know the address of a single enlisted man bundle up some Socialist literature and send it to him. Do it, and do it now. It will be the best use you can make of it. The army and navy is being honeycombed with Socialism.

White men are going south and taking the jobs of the negroes in the cotton fields! How is this for prosperity and the good news? The whites to a level below the negroes of long ago, for the negroes tried to get away from the cotton field slavery and the whites are begging to get into it. But the whites are such wise Solons! They believe in capitalism! They would not have their government provide industries, from which the fiscoes could not make a profit! No sir-ee!

The Burlington railroad has just issued a 300-million-dollar mortgage, bearing 5 per cent for fifty years. This means a debt upon the nation, which you and your children must pay. It means that you must have that much less wages, because increase in rates increases the price of goods and that means your wages buy less. In fifty years the interest will be \$750,000,000—a nice sum for the few families who will draw it. And when the interest is all paid the people will own the debt just as much as they do now.

Wild-cat currency! All the bankers have to do now to get money is to deposit some worthless railroad and other securities, and have the government act as the printing presses to work to print them bank notes! How about that wonderful gold-standard trick they played on the people? It was nothing short of treason when the farmers of twenty years ago asked the government to lend them money on good wheat and corn at 2 per cent interest, but the bankers can get money on any old fake bonds without any value behind them. Glorious gold standard! Do you see any gold nowadays? You suckers are easy.

The Tacoma, Wash. News calls the attempt of the Seattle Times to inspire murder in the hearts of its readers. The postal authorities are not looking for such a violation of their "securities," and have the government who dominate affairs at Washington the murder of one man is an insignificant affair. Within the past four weeks there have appeared in the columns of the old party press more vicious incitements to do bodily harm than ever appeared in the New Jersey anarchist paper suppressed at the instance of the administration. It is the papers that advise workmen to use their ballots against their masters which the individualists of the republican party fear.

The republican literature committee, with millions at its disposal, is offering a beggary \$150 for reasons why workmen should vote the republican ticket. One hundred and fifty dollars looks pretty big to the average workman, but I doubt if the committee receives a hundred essays, and I'll make the prediction that none of them will be published. When the Appeal asked its readers to write one-hundred-word articles, showing the faith that was in them, we offered no reward or prize. Nevertheless we were deluged with communications from every state in the union. It required nearly two months of work on the part of our entire staff of editors to look them over and make a final selection. The Socialist knows why he is going to vote the Socialist ticket. He can give you his reasons, off-hand. Ask the next democrat or republican you meet to give you five reasons why he is going to vote an old party ticket and watch him stutter and fumble with the English language.

The Floundering Enemy.

Now that the lines of battle are being drawn on Socialist grounds, the most important thing for the enemies of Socialism to do is to get together on the meaning of Socialism. Unless they do so, they are likely to be jabbing at each other and to defeat themselves without the Socialists having to raise a hand in the fray. For instance, the New York Journal says: "The big apartment house is real Socialism, the great country club is real Socialism, the public parks and the Atlantic liner, seven hundred feet long, are all Socialism. The real Socialists are those who want to make society better. They would like for the people to do for the benefit of all what the private individual cannot do. That is exactly what the venerable and able John D. Rockefeller is doing. He, head of the great system of industrial feudalism, the forerunner of decadent human society, has the power of thousands of men, because he has collected together a thousand millions of dollars."

Compare this with the official declaration that the "republican party stands for a wise and regulated individualism. Socialism would destroy wealth, republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take, republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn."
Then the Wall Street Journal, commenting on Samuel Gompers' statement that there are now, under republican rule, 2,000,000 unemployed people in the United States, says: "It is an intolerable situation that in a country like ours so many men should be out of employment for so long a time. There ought to be work enough for everybody who is willing to work. . . . These men can be put to work in no other way than through the restoration of business confidence and an spirit of mutual good will and concession."

About all one can gather from these extracts, and many others that might be made, is that the supporters of the present order do not understand Socialism or how to meet the conditions that have been brought about by their regulated individualism; but that is enough to defeat them. Individualism will not win a battle.

Vote When You Can.

At the recent election in Oregon nineteen proposed laws were submitted to referendum, part of which were initiated by the legislature, assembly and part by petition. A "selection" reporting the result of the election in Seaside precinct takes exception to Socialists voting on these measures, and writes: "I claim that no Socialist has anything to do with those amendments on that day so!"

Does the comrade think that he and other Socialists can further their struggle for political power by refusing to exercise the political privileges they now possess? Is it better to put and suit because you cannot at once abolish capitalism than to make such protest as you can against capitalist legislation?
One of the provisions so proposed provides for an amendment permitting women to vote on equal terms with men. Have Socialists nothing to do with a measure that would enfranchise the women of the working class? While the comrades in other lands are battling for suffrage are we to ignore measures providing for extension of the ballot to the women of the proletariat?

Another measure voted upon was a proposed amendment to the constitution providing for the recall of public officers. Is an act that so extends the control of the electorate over those it elects of no consequence to us who are seeking to establish democratic control of politics and industry?

Whether the comrade agrees with me that equal suffrage and the right of recall are, or whether he believes in the working class, or whether he believes in measures to be detrimental to the Socialist movement, it remains that each of them is either desirable or undesirable; and by voting on them he exercises an influence either for or against them according to his own estimate. If he refuses to thus participate in public affairs to the extent of the power he has he is only a step from the repudiation of all political action, which means the repudiation of Socialism.

Let us be sane, comrades. Do not be a nonentity when you have the opportunity to say "Yes" or "No," and say it with effect, on public measures. While the outcome of such voting may be of little consequence compared with the ultimate purpose of the Socialist movement, they are nevertheless of consequence to every citizen, and especially to the proletariat, who must be educated in democratic methods of government that exercise of the ballot gives.

Think! Think! Think!

Where did you get the ideas that control you? Who put them in your head? What did they put them there for? Would men, if they could, give horses the sense of knowing their power? Would horses remain enslaved if they knew their power? And would you men be enslaved if you knew your power? You are kept ignorant so those who use you can profit from you. You must be made stupid by drink and hard work until you are but little above the beasts of the fields. At election times the fellows who have been profiting off your degraded condition will smile at you and extend the glad hand and tell you what a great people we are, what a free country we have, how you are the equal of a king and how you should vote them into a fat place. And that is how they keep you where you are, and how they continue to rule. You are controlled by ideas just as the Mohammedans are; just as the Buddhists; just as the Chinese; just as are the run-of-the-mill, degenerated people of the abyss. When you begin to think there will be one more link broken in human slavery. The lowest man must be made to use their brains, but enough can be made of them. Will you be one of them? Will you assert your god-hood?

COLLEGE SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society has just completed the third and by far the most successful year of its existence.

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Socialist campaign buttons, the best, \$2.00 per 100; \$15 per 1,000.

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A Hundred \$3.00 A Dozen 1.00 A Sample Copy .10

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

CORRESPONDENCE.

An Easy Proposition.

Appeal to Reason: Perhaps it is because the republican party leaders cannot give a good reason why a workman should vote for the republican party that they offer a reward to the workman.

Wants to Help.

Comrades of the Appeal: In your issue of June 6 we read a letter from M. A. Richardson.

A Twenty-five-Year Sub.

Dear One Ross: In the May 30th number of the Appeal to Reason, under the Appeal Army heading, "By the One Ross," I find reminiscences of the past.

Disfranchising Workmen.

Have you ever thought about the manner in which thousands of workmen are going to be deprived of the privilege of voting this year?

SOCIALIST FABLES.

A certain individualist who had made his pile of money had both a wife and boy who displayed an inclination to knock it over.

THE REGULATED INDIVIDUALIST.

A certain individualist who had made his pile of money had both a wife and boy who displayed an inclination to knock it over.

INDIVIDUALISM IS IMPERIAL.

Just what is meant by the phrase, "wider and regulated individualism," in the republican platform appears in a comment of one of the delegates from New York, as reported by the newspaper correspondent, Walter Wellman.

MISS WILLARD A SOCIALIST.

There has been some dispute as to whether the late Frances E. Willard, president of the W. C. T. U., and who was affectionately regarded by the American people as "the first lady of the land," was a Socialist.

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POSTPAID AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE PRICES

A Hundred \$3.00 A Dozen 1.00 A Sample Copy .10

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

AGITATION LEAGUE.

On hand last report \$248.30 Collected since last report 441.20

Total on hand \$689.50

The man who wrote the republican national platform, Attorney General Ellis of Ohio, announces that the republican party will conduct a vigorous campaign of education against Socialism.

THE DEMANDS MADE ON THIS FUND ARE CONSTANTLY INCREASING.

Much of the ferment which is now apparent is due to systematic work on the part of the league, made possible by the small contributions from comrades, many of whom are not in a position to openly work for the movement.

NAME. STATE. AMOUNT.

Table with 3 columns: Name, State, Amount. Lists donors and their contributions.

BUNDLE BRIGADE.

Last week there were sixty-one bundles placed on our list with a total of 453 papers.

SPEAKERS' DATES.

Table with 2 columns: Name, Date. Lists speakers and their dates.

THE COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS, TELEGRAPHS, AND OTHER PUBLIC UTILITIES.

The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and other public utilities is a question of national importance.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The improvement of the industrial condition of the working class is a question of national importance.

THE EXTENSION OF SUBSISTENCE TAXES, GRADUATED INCOME TAX, AND A GRADUATED ESTATE TAX.

The extension of subsistence taxes, graduated income tax, and a graduated estate tax is a question of national importance.

THE EXTENSION OF THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN AND THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

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THE EXTENSION OF THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN AND THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

PARTY NOTES.

The state convention of Idaho will be held in the city of Lewiston, beginning July 1st.

By recent referendum Jesse Selby, 312 1/2th street, South Great Falls, Mo., and C. McHugh, box 742, Butte, have been elected members of the national committee.

A MASS CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALISTS OF MICHIGAN WILL MEET AT SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS, 93 CANAL STREET, GRAND RAPIDS, JULY 1ST.

A mass convention of the Socialists of Michigan will meet at Socialist headquarters, 93 Canal Street, Grand Rapids, July 1st.

MILWAUKEE COMRADES ARE MAKING AN EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY IN POLAND.

Milwaukee comrades are making an effort to establish a Polish Socialist party in Poland.

THE NATIONAL OFFICE, SINCE LAST REPORT, HAS GRANTED CHARTERS IN ORGANIZED STATES AS FOLLOWS:

Table with 2 columns: State, Number of members. Lists states and member counts.

LOCAL LOS ANGELES IS PREPARING TO CONSIDER VIGOROUSLY THE ACTION OF THE CITY COUNCIL IN REFUSING TO GRANT A CHARTER TO THE POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

Local Los Angeles is preparing to consider vigorously the action of the city council in refusing to grant a charter to the Polish Socialist party.

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NATIONAL SOCIALIST TICKET.

For President EUGENE V. DEBS

For Vice President BEN HANFORD

THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

Adopted at Chicago, May 10, 1908.

The Socialist party, in national convention assembled, in entering upon the campaign of 1908 again presents itself to the people as the party of the workers of the United States.

WE ARE AT THIS MOMENT IN THE MIDDLE OF ONE OF OUR INDUSTRIAL BREAKDOWNS.

We are at this moment in the middle of one of our industrial breakdowns that periodically occurs in the life of the nation.

THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY TAKEN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR AS A WHOLE UNCONSIDERABLY AS THESE OTHER BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT.

The Congress of the United States has already taken the interests of labor as a whole unconsiderably as these other branches of government.

THE WORKING CLASS OF THE UNITED STATES CANNOT EXPRESS ITS OPINIONS THROUGH THE PRESENT FORM OF REPRESENTATION.

The working class of the United States cannot express its opinions through the present form of representation.

NO LONG AS OUR CONSTITUTIONAL AND EXECUTIVE OFFICERS REMAIN IN THE HANDS OF THE RULING CLASS.

No longer as our constitutional and executive officers remain in the hands of the ruling class.

POLITICAL PARTIES ARE BUT THE EXPRESSION OF CLASS INTERESTS.

Political parties are but the expression of class interests.

IN THE MAINTENANCE OF CLASS GOVERNMENT, BOTH THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES ARE EQUALLY GUILTY.

In the maintenance of class government, both the democratic and republican parties are equally guilty.

AS MEASURES CALCULATED TO STRENGTHEN THE POWER OF THE RULING CLASS IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO INCREASE THE POWER OF RESISTANCE AGAINST CAPITALIST OPPRESSION.

As measures calculated to strengthen the power of the ruling class in such a manner as to increase the power of resistance against capitalist oppression.

WE DEMAND:

- 1. The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and other public utilities.
- 2. The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale.
- 3. The improvement of the industrial condition of the working class.
- 4. The extension of the right of suffrage to women.
- 5. The initiative and referendum.
- 6. The extension of subsistence taxes, graduated income tax, and a graduated estate tax.
- 7. The extension of the right of suffrage to women and the initiative and referendum.
- 8. The extension of subsistence taxes, graduated income tax, and a graduated estate tax.
- 9. The extension of the right of suffrage to women and the initiative and referendum.
- 10. The extension of subsistence taxes, graduated income tax, and a graduated estate tax.

VELVET COFFIN FOR DOG.

In a white velvet coffin, over which was draped an American flag and the private yacht flag of C. O. Iselin, lay the body of Fuzzy, a pet Pomeranian.

THE APPEAL HAS ARRANGED FOR A LARGE QUANTITY OF "GOD KNOWS" BUTTONS.

The Appeal has arranged for a large quantity of "God Knows" buttons.

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ARMY NOTES.

WE AND AFTER INVESTIGATION THAT THE REQUIREMENTS UNDER THE SECOND CLASS RATING PRIVILEGE IN CANADA ARE SO BURDENSOME THAT IT WILL ACTUALLY COST US MORE IN POSTAGE THAN THE PRESENT PLAN OF PREPARING PAPERS BY UNITED STATES MAIL.

We and after investigation that the requirements under the second class rating privilege in Canada are so burdensome that it will actually cost us more in postage than the present plan of preparing papers by United States mail.

THE BIG TEN.

Table with 3 columns: Name, State, No. Lists names of the Big Ten.

CONRADE NORRUP, OF KIBBIE, MICH., SENDS A LIST OF FOUR AND TELLS ABOUT IT IN RHYME AS FOLLOWS:

Conrade Norrup, of Kibbie, Mich., sends a list of four and tells about it in rhyme as follows:

THREE MORE FROM CONRADE MOORE, OF ASHEVILLE, N. C.

Three more from Conrade Moore, of Asheville, N. C.

CONRADE FULLER VISITED THE APPEAL LAST WEEK AND LEFT AN ORDER FOR 2,500 CIRCULAR LETTERS.

Conrade Fuller visited the Appeal last week and left an order for 2,500 circular letters.

CONRADE TYLER, OF HOXBURY, MASS., CAPTURED FOUR, AND BEFORE HE COULD SHIP THEM OUT TWO MORE, MAKING IT HALF A DOZEN.

Conrade Tyler, of Hoxbury, Mass., captured four, and before he could ship them out two more, making it half a dozen.

CONRADE WILSON, OF ST. LOUIS, IS OF THE OPINION THAT THE APPEAL TO REASON IS A MIGHTY GOOD THING FOR A CERTAIN FIVE REPUBLICANS WITH WEAK WALLETS.

Conrade Wilson, of St. Louis, is of the opinion that the Appeal to Reason is a mighty good thing for a certain five republicans with weak wallets.

CONRADE JONES, OF LEWISTON, MONT., IS OF THE OPINION THAT THE APPEAL TO REASON IS A MIGHTY GOOD THING FOR A CERTAIN FIVE REPUBLICANS WITH WEAK WALLETS.

Conrade Jones, of Lewiston, Mont., is of the opinion that the Appeal to Reason is a mighty good thing for a certain five republicans with weak wallets.

CONRADE C. H. HARRINGTON, OF BURLINGTON, Vt., ANNOUNCES THAT HE STANDS READY TO PAY FIVE DOLLARS A YEAR FOR THE APPEAL TO REASON.

Conrade C. H. Harrington, of Burlington, Vt., announces that he stands ready to pay five dollars a year for the Appeal to Reason.

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DIVIDED THEY VOTE.

THE WHISKEY HAS BLOWN AND EACH MAN TAKES HIS PLACE.

The whiskey has blown and each man takes his place. To toll for the world at a death-dealing pace.

VICTIMS OF CAPITALIST METHODS.

During the year 1906 nearly 7,000 men were killed or injured in the coal mines of the United States.

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HOW IT GROWS!

Number Subs Second week in June, 1906... 215,235 Second week in June, 1907... 296,579 Second week in June, 1908 314,891

Dear Sir:—As I am perplexed in regard to the Appeal to Reason, and believe I am a Socialist, I want you to send me the Socialist platform.—W. F. Stratton, Clayton, Kansas.

Appeal to Reason: Through the kindness of a friend, I have been receiving your paper for the past few months and have learned to love the cause of Socialism. I admire the paper for its truthfulness regarding our present "social" prosperity.—Oscar Ahlgren, Pittsburg, Ga.

Appeal to Reason: I am now sixty years old and have always been a republican. The Appeal was first sent to me by a good friend in Richmond, Ind., three years ago, but it made no impression upon me until I read about the kidnapping of Mayor Harrison and Peter D. I did not suppose I could ever be anything but a republican until I began studying why the leaders of the republican party did not refute your statements if what you said concerning them was untrue. I am glad to tell you that I am with you and am working for the good and better of my democratic neighbors will vote for Debs this fall.—W. T. Walker, DeWitt, Ark.

Here are three letters taken from one mail last week. I could fill this column with similar ones, but these will be sufficient to make clear to you what I have repeatedly said in the past. There are millions of men who are ready to join our movement as soon as they understand what Socialism means and what it will do for them. The comrades who penned these letters quoted above are no different from the hundreds you meet every week. It were criminal on our part should we fail to take advantage of the striking opportunity which present industrial conditions furnish. The mental unrest, caused by the distressing industrial situation, is favorable to the extension of our propaganda.

After all, it is not much of a thing to do to ask your neighbor to subscribe for the Appeal, but multiplied ten thousand times each week means a half-million subscribers at the end of a year. The simple act of taking a single subscription is thus magnified into a tremendous political force. But your failure to do your part of this work each week weakens the Appeal to that extent.

Maybe you get tired of this continual urging on my part, but I assure you there is no other way to keep this machine going, so far as I have discovered. About one-half the Army need no urging. They do their part from a sense of duty and self-interest. An occasional prod will keep another fourth at work, but it takes a club and sometimes a brick-bat to keep the last quarter of the Army employed. And it is on this last section that we absolutely depend for our existence. Cut the Appeal receipts twenty-five per cent and we wouldn't last two weeks.

You know better than I do what squad you belong to. Suppose every member of the Appeal Army who reads these lines resolves himself into a committee of one to stay with the first group of loyal Appeal workers and put the paper in a position to do double duty between now and election.

Circulation of Appeal to Reason by States.

Table with 3 columns: State, Off. On, Total. Lists states from Alabama to Wyoming with circulation figures.

Capitalist papers gave the Socialist convention a six line notice as their estimate of its importance. Then the republican platform gave Socialism a longer reference than it gave the democratic party. Capitalist views evidently changed rapidly as to the relative importance of the Socialist movement.

The late congress appropriated over a billion dollars? That is another Big Lie.

How the Belgian Working Class Became Socialists.

BY ROBERT HUNTER.

IN 1885 a hundred workmen representing 69 groups came together in Brussels to discuss what they should do. It was a remarkable gathering, which ended in the formation of the Belgian Labor party. To the thought of everyone the condition of the workers had become unbearable, and the longing for unity among the working class was profound. They were sick of dogma and intellect, and came very near excluding that grand old man Cesar de Paeppe. They gave no thought to program and the Socialists themselves, with the exception of two or three, agreed that it was better to leave the word Socialist out of the title of the party.

They had reached a stage more fundamentally revolutionary and more full of danger for capitalism than ever rested in any thought, any dogma, or in any statement of what the future society should be. They intended to unite the working class, no matter what the individuals believed or what the men were. And they wanted the stupid and backward elements as much as the advanced and more intelligent elements. In this memorable year something more profound than doctrine agitated the souls of the workers, and unionists, mutualists, Socialists, democrats, republicans, rationalists, Catholics, Protestants, revolutionists and positivists came together and formed a class party. It was a union of oppressed against oppressors, a union of workers against capitalists, a union of exploited against the exploiters. They did then precisely what they are now doing in England.

It was the birth of a party determined to free itself from all political alliance or connection with capitalist parties. The members did not say they were Socialists; they simply said, "The working class of Belgium is organizing itself politically against its exploiters, and that means in the end that they intend some day to take Belgium into their own hands and administer it in their own interest. Some of the Socialists were dissatisfied, but they all freely and generously assented to the decision of the congress. But whatever their opinion was at that time it certainly came later in accord with that of Cesar de Paeppe, who wrote not long afterwards: "What more immense and at the same time more simple and precise. Why add the words Socialist, collectivist, communist, rationalist, democratic, republican and their limiting epithets? He who says Parti Ouvrier is a Party of Class, and since the working class constitutes itself into a party how could you believe that it may be anything else in its tendencies and principles than Socialist and republican!"

In seven years after the formation of the Labor party a complete Socialist program was adopted, showing that when the working classes once unite themselves against their oppressors they must become increasingly conscious of their only worthy aim, which is Socialism.

THE MYTH OF A FREE PRESS.

From an article by William Marion Reedy, Editor of the St. Louis Mirror, before the Missouri Press Association.

The independence of the press is a fake. In every city the papers may appear to fight one another upon the surface, but in every case they have a business combination to shut out the news coming from the established daily papers in any city are as much a trust as the steel trust or the Standard Oil while the Associated Press is another national trust—and it is exceptionally rare that anyone can break in upon the combination and fight it; and if one does it must be solely through the possession of financial support, great enough to fight to a finish the established newspaper ownership of the community, controlling and owning carriers, newsboys and news-dealers absolutely. Of course when a newspaper so backed succeeds in establishing itself, it is not to be expected that the paper will take up the cause of the people against the interests of the men of great wealth who have put their money into the new journalistic enterprise. The newspapers of any city will always be found a unit when there comes any matter in which the public service interests and the interests of the advertisers are a unit.

At the height of the recent—perhaps we should say the present—panic, the daily papers were as dumb as parrots before the lawlessness, the brazen effrontery, and the sublime nerve of the consolidated banks in refusing to give the depositors their own money, and in issuing promises to pay, which had no more validity than the rankest counterfeit. In St. Louis, when one newspaper ventured to utter a feeble chirp on the subject, in one edition, the office was jammed and crammed with great advertisers, ordered there by the banks, to protest against further criticism of the lawless action of the bankers. There was no pretense that what the bankers were doing was right, but the newspaper had to modify its tone.

I am inclined to believe that the time is about here when we shall have to return to the day of the pamphlet, if we are to have any such thing as free utterance of heretical opinion. With the great daily newspapers controlled by the men and interests whose sole desire is the perpetuation of the present status, with the great organs of public opinion openly fighting or secretly betraying the popular movements for a return of this nation to the principles of democracy, it would seem to be a matter of but a short time when it will be impossible for any man or set of men, devoted to a principle antagonistic to the wishes of our more and more consolidated aristocracy to secure publicity for their ideas. The daily newspaper is gradually drifting into such a state of intellectual ossification under the influence of the restrictions put upon it by the wealth interests of the community in which it is published, that the irruption into one of their offices of a man with an idea is almost enough to create a panic. There is no longer an attempt made to speak honestly for the people. Every great subject is considered first in its relation to the existing private interests, and lastly in relation to its bearing on the public welfare.

Strange to say, Wall street says she is not alarmed.

A Political Miracle.

It would appear that the day of miracles is still here. Skeptical as we have been of the camel and needle tradition, we are bound, in view of recent startling developments, to admit that there is some ground for belief in this amazing story which has been handed down for centuries to the children of men. We are even willing to agree that the camel in this particular case was not of the broadway species, with the single hump, but the more advanced and modern bac-trian variety above whose elongated woolly pedals nature ordained that two humps should caper.

What has caused this transformation in our belief, this revolution in thought, this putting aside of distrust and suspicion in miracles, and accepting them as "cross my heart" truth?

You never could guess. Whom do you think? No one but William Jennings Bryan. It's a strange story, a truthful one—and a miracle.

It all took place about two years ago, when Mr. Bryan was the senatorial candidate of the democratic party of Nebraska. No account of the incident appeared in the Commoner, the paper owned and edited by Mr. Bryan, but this can be excused upon the ground that the miracle was worked with such consummate skill that Mr. Bryan, upon whom this "divine" magic was performed, did not discover that he had been the victim of its mischievous pranks until he read it in the New York World the other day.

You understand, of course, that miracles can not be performed without spiritual or material assistance; the miracle is only the thing which has been wrought and not the dynamic power which produces it.

In the case of Mr. Bryan, the power behind this pesterous miracle that escaped his ever vigilant eye, was not spiritual; on the contrary, it was material, decidedly material, and had Mr. Bryan's oily factory nerve been in ordinary working order he would have discovered the culprit in the very act, for the performer of this miracle was no other than Mr. Ryan, Tom Ryan of New York, the pirate who plundered the Metropolitan Traction company, Tom Ryan, millionaire and corrupt politician, whose fingers have looted the immaculate ermine of the judiciary and turned it black as a raven's wing; whose predatory wealth has corrupted legislative bodies and whose very breath is foul with leprosy.

What was the miracle performed by this adroit politician who has debauched politicians and polluted politics? It was this: when William Jennings Bryan was rushing over the state of Nebraska, frothing in denunciation of political corruption and pleading that the names of political donors to campaign funds be made public, this man Ryan, capitalist corruptionist, slipped \$15,000 into the pocket of Mr. Bryan to pay his campaign expenses, and not until two years later, when the New York World told him about it, did he discover the trick.

The brother-in-law of Bryan admits having gone to New York for the money and acknowledges that \$5,000 of it was used to issue a special edition of 96,000 of their fusion paper, which was distributed gratuitously to the voters. What became of the other \$10,000 deponent saith not, but the people can draw their own conclusions.

Think of Mr. Bryan, the commoner, parading a reform platform and with resonant voice pleading for the purity of the ballot and in thunder tones declaiming against the influences of predatory wealth, while the spacious pocket of his own campaign manager's swallow-tail, bulging with Tom Ryan's \$15,000 corruption contribution, bumped his nether extremities—but not his conscience.

It matters little if Mr. Bryan returns this corruption donation or not, the offense will not be mitigated. The Appeal has repeatedly cited the fact that the same corrupting influences dominate all capitalist parties under whatever name, and this incident of Mr. Ryan and Mr. Bryan adds further proof to the truth of our indictment.

Capitalism and corruption are synonymous terms.

To Deny Them the Mails.

The tip given by the Appeal that on July 1 a concerted effort would be made to shut from the mails all papers that are owned, controlled, published or printed by the administration was well founded, as the following association press dispatch will show. It will be observed that it follows the republican policy of individualism, because it leaves the fate of every paper in the land at the mercy of one man, and that without trial or appeal. As this individual cannot be held amenable for his acts and is not dependent on even the votes of the people, there is nothing to prevent him denying the mails to any paper against which he may have a grievance, personal or political. Tomorrow it may be the Appeal. The next day it may be another Socialist or labor paper. Such individualism closely approaches absolutism. But it is what the republican party boldly declares itself as favoring, and we can only avoid the action of the king, who can do no wrong. Below is the press dispatch to which reference has been made:

Washington, June 17.—All publications with anarchist tendencies will find it impossible to make use of the United States mails for their distribution in the future. Postmaster General Meyer has issued an order directing postmasters to put into effect the amended section of the postal laws and regulations which bars the use of the mails to these publications. On recommendation of the postmaster general an amendment to the postal laws is included in the postoffice appropriation bill. This amendment provides that "in case of a character tending to incite arson, murder or assassination" shall be included under the section of the law which prohibits conveying or delivering of all matter of an objectionable character.

If the social operation of industry is good, then the social ownership and control of it would be good. If political democracy is better than imperialism, then industrial democracy will be better than individualism in industry.

Industry is not now an individual work, but a social work. The only thing that is causing complaint is the individual management of it and the individual appropriation of its proceeds.

It is only as men work socially that they have ever been able to accomplish great results, whether in politics or industry.

Socialism is the great constructive force of this generation.

Strange Little Stories From History.

1.—Fighting the Machine.

The father of Andrew Carnegie was a factory laborer in Scotland some seventy years ago. When the machine began to make his job insecure he made speeches against the new industrial order, and led a mob that smashed the machine. Naturally, he landed in jail. It is a curious turn of the wheel of fortune which makes his son one of the richest men in America, whose wealth has been acquired because of the building and perfecting of the machine, in this, the iron age. Andrew Carnegie does not oppose the machine, as did his father, because it has paid him; his economic interest forbids. But he does oppose the new industrial order that at this time is imminent, an order which involves the social use of the machine. Like his father, he is filled with prejudice and misconceptions, fearing the new order will ruin him and wreck the world. But that new order will come, in the natural line of development, despite all opposition to it, just as the machine came years ago when commercial necessity had made it desirable, and, instead of decreasing production and making a few rich and the many poor, the new social order will increase production and make the many rich.

A Gronlund Manuscript.

Through the courtesy of A. B. Edler, of Salt Lake City, we have come in possession of the manuscript of an article written for the North American Review by Laurence Gronlund in 1893, but never published. The article was written in June of that year in answer to an attack on Socialism by William H. Mallock in a previous issue of that Review. The article will appear somewhat mild and conservative at this time, but it will still have interest for our readers on account of having been written by one of the pioneer Socialists and for the further reason that it will indicate by contrast the progress that has been made in Socialist criticism during the fifteen years since the article was first written.

This article recalls the fact that Gronlund, who was the author of "The Co-operative Commonwealth," and is known to all old Socialists as a pioneer in the movement, was at that time almost vainly seeking to secure a hearing for the Socialist philosophy, whose little voice was then known except to the very few, who were looked upon as cranks.

The further lamentable fact is recalled that while Gronlund was going from place to place lecturing on Socialism where he could obtain a hearing, he was literally suffering for food and payment. During the years which followed this sturdy apostle preached his doctrine under difficulties which now seem impossible. Extremely modest by nature, Gronlund suffered in silence and kept on as best he could rather than ask for aid or make his wants known where there was even the rare Socialist who would have helped him. It does not seem possible, and yet it is true, that this great soul slept on a park bench for the want of the price to pay for a bed, and that he oft-times suffered hunger pangs because he lacked the money with which to pay for food. This was an awful price to pay for his convictions, but Gronlund paid it and made no complaint.

It was while he was undergoing such privations amidst abundance that his health was undermined and later, when he finally obtained employment on a great daily paper which began to cater to Socialism, he wrote to a comrade: "You do not know how often I was on the very verge of suicide." But the needed relief came too late. The health of the pioneer was shattered beyond repair and he soon died in what should have been the very flower of his manhood, furnishing another shining example of the truth that men who seek to serve the cause of human progress must do so at the price of their lives.

The unpublished article in answer to Mallock, follows:

Mallock Corrected.

Editor North American Review: June, '03

Wm. H. Mallock, in an article in the June number of this Review, entitled "Who are the chief wealth producers?" gives his well-known criticism of the old Socialist doctrine, "Labor creates all wealth" (or more accurately, "Labor creates all values") with the assertion that "a minority produces the entire wealth of the richer classes and a part, that is yearly larger, of the wealth of the poorer classes," and that "so far as the few from being plunderers of the many; that the many, economically speaking, are the mere pensioners of the few;" it being the "ability" of employers and managers, their "inventive ability and ability of enterprise," which creates the greater part of wealth, which "affects simultaneously the labor of many men, multiplying the result."

Now I, as a Socialist, agree in this criticism and at the same time contend that Mallock is wholly mistaken in supposing that this mortally wounds the cause of Socialism, or in the least impedes its onward march. I have a long time ago that the wording of this doctrine is misleading by insinuating that it is manual labor alone that creates values, and that profits consequently, are altogether robbery. While the doctrine in this form, undoubtedly, has accomplished splendid results, like those we today witness in Germany, yet it is not tenable, since it entirely ignores the efforts of managers in directing labor to advantageous ends. A factory may one year be bankrupt; next year a new manager changes the wares a bit to suit the taste, say, of African savages, and thereby makes the business flourish, so that it furnishes steady employment and good wages to the workmen and still leaves a profit of \$100,000; surely, those Socialists who say that "everyone is entitled to all the results of his labor" cannot very well deny that such a manager is, under our present system, entitled to these profits. But now comes Mallock's blunder. He says: "This very small majority—that possesses the natural monopoly of this world—corresponds, broadly speaking, with our wealthier classes." No, no, not at all! It is precisely the mischief of our present system, that ability is divorced from wealth, that it is dependent on wealth, and by itself absolutely impotent; and it is in my eyes the greatest merit of Socialism that it will give ability its due prominence in so-

ciety, and that it alone can do it. Our trusts, indeed, are the forerunners of Socialism, because they increasingly differentiate capitalist managers from the capitalists of our trusts often have no other connection with production but that of receiving for dividends, i. e., they are becoming a useless, functionless body, a rudimentary organ, industrially, while the manager is a salaried private employe, like any other. It is thus evident that consideration for the social welfare will soon compel us to stop the supply of profits to such a useless organ, and convert the manager into a salaried public functionary—which, surely, will not hurt his efficiency. The next merit of Socialism will be, that it will reward these managers, this "able" minority, more with honor and power and less with money. All present motives (save only one) will persist under Socialism, and become vastly increased and more powerful; the exception—money rewards, will be curtailed, i. e., they will be measured by the rewards for common labor, not as now by the fortunes that can be "made in business."

And, lastly, thereby it will be the merit of Socialism that it will abolish the idle persons who inherit wealth from forefathers who may have been "able." There will be no need of abolishing the right of inheritance, for the honest and poor that then will attract the "able" will naturally be personal. I say, that Socialism is pre-eminently the cause of the gifted and cultured, and I am convinced that it has been aimed at by God throughout all history.—Laurence Gronlund, Author of "The Co-operative Commonwealth," etc.

Individualism vs Socialism.

The republican party stands for a woe and repudiated individualism.—Republican National Platform.

The first sentence of this declaration is a contradiction. When individualism submits to regulation it is no longer Individualism. "Laissez faire!" Let alone! This has been the cry of Individualism from its beginning. When the republican party, its chief exponent today, makes the positive announcement that Individualism needs regulation, it admits that its blessed system is wrecked beyond repair. Only the ruins remain. These ruins are to be seen on every hand; in the long line of empty freight cars; the closed mills and factories; the smokeless chimneys, standing like blackened sentinels on a deserted battlefield; the seven miles of idle coast-wise steamers; the 3,000,000 men out of work and the 5,000,000 wives and children hungry and hollow-eyed; all these and a thousand more sadly reminders give testimony to the failure of Individualism—the Individualism the republican party declares it stands for!

Socialism would offer an equality of possession which would soon leave no one anything to possess; republicanism would give each man a property, which ensures to each his share of a constantly increasing share of possessions.—Republican National Platform.

The equal opportunity which the republican party offers through its system of Individualism is the equality of opportunity typified by a Harriman at one end of the line and a dollar-a-day section man at the other!

It is the equality of opportunity typified by a Standard Oil at the top and a sand-bagged independent operator at the bottom.

It is the equality of opportunity with a beef trust in Chicago and a mortgaged farm in the great southwest.

It is the equality of opportunity with a pampered scion of the Vanderbilt family on Fifth avenue at one end and the nameless walf in an east-side tenement house at the other.

It is the equality of opportunity with a Mr. P. Palmer on Lake Street boulevard at one end and a ragged washer-woman in Custom House place at the other.

Your mind will conjure up other pictures typical of the equality of opportunity which we find under the beneficent reign of the Individualism of the republican party.

Socialism would destroy wealth; republicanism would prevent its abuse.—Republican National Platform.

A Wall street authority announces that the loss sustained by industry and commerce during the past eight months reaches the enormous total of \$2,000,000,000 (two billion dollars). And yet in the face of these startling figures the republican party announces that Socialism would destroy wealth! And in the same breath it announces that republicanism will prevent its abuse! This instantly conjures up in the public mind the revelations of the doings of the frenzied financiers; of the sand-bagging of competitors; the starving of employes; court decisions paralyzing union labor; corrupted legislatures; a purchased congress; a supreme executive. If any abuses of any kind have been prevented by the republican party, there is no record to prove it.

Socialism would give to each an equal right to take; republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn.—Republican National Platform.

Go tell this, Mr. Republican, to the three million jobless men who are anxiously waiting for the shops to open and for the mines to resume!

SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

The other day, being somewhat dry, I went into the place of Big Business, where they peddle the Spirit of the Age, and took a class-conscious note of the following desirable Capitalist Comedy: "What'll you have?" asked Big Business of Man O'Money, who stood at the head of industry with his friend, Th Child. "I'll take a cotton-mill," replied Mr. O'Money. "What's yours?" asked Bis of Th Child, whose wondering eyes looked wistfully to the silent skies as if seeking a solution of the Riddle of the Universe, viz., Why does a Workingman vote a Redemocratical ticket? "Here! Business is business! Be brief," swore Mr. M. impatiently, as he gave Th Child a cut in wages. "Yes," added Business, "Cough up, little angel; what's yours?" "Consumption," replied Child, with becoming brevity. "It is so ordered," said Business, drawing a warrant on the undertaker.—Franklin Henry Bryant.

Under the present order only a few have private property worth mentioning. Under the coming social order every body may have private property.

The Ignoramus and His Epithet.

HOSE editors who persistently refer to the Appeal to Reason as an "anarchist sheet" might get a new and more accurate idea of the paper and its purpose if they could only sit at my desk for a day and read the numerous letters written to the Appeal by anarchists.

These anarchists are vehement in their criticism of the Appeal and Socialism. They regard Socialism as synonymous with slavery for the reason that Socialists believe in political action, whereas anarchism teaches that the state should be ignored, political action repudiated and the evils of class governments overcome not by the abolition of classes, but by the abolition of all governments.

The anarchist has no use for the ballot, but believes in what he calls "direct action." Instead of capturing political power with the purpose of using that power to get what he wants, his plan is to pay no attention to government or its institutions. He is as violently opposed to the principles of Socialism as are those other rank individualists of the republican and democrat parties.

Socialists, radical republicans, anarchists and radical democrats are all more or less conscious of the evils that are every day becoming more apparent in the present social system; but there is a wide difference between adherents of these four as to the causes which have produced these undesirable conditions and as to the remedy required to right them.

The radical democrat is quite sure that the republican party has brought all these ills upon society, while the radical republican is equally positive that democratic politicians, co-operating with certain individuals on Wall street, New York, have brought all these calamities upon the nation through the defeat of what are called Roosevelt's policies. The anarchist stoutly maintains that rulers and government are now, as ever, the authors and agents of oppression, and that the individual can be free and happy only when all governments and all authority, either vested or delegated, are overturned.

But the Socialist censures no individual, no party and no government for the things that are. To do so would be like blaming the maker of a worn-out broom because that once clean-sweeping instrument is no longer fit for service. Institutions that are now a burden, because of the change undergone by other things, were once serviceable. As hideous a thing as slavery came to be before its overthrow, there is no doubt that at one time in the far past the organization of industry on the basis of slavery was better for all concerned than the cruder form of society that preceded it. In like manner feudal society made possible a further development though it subjected millions to a serfdom scarcely more endurable than slavery. Then the capitalist system, with its wage labor and widened commerce, opened up even greater possibilities for the worker as well as for the exploiter.

But, as the previous systems wore out and were abolished, so has the capitalist system worn out, and is therefore destined to be discarded. It has fulfilled its mission in its wonderful organization of industry into col'tive and co-operative production. But it has outlived its usefulness and must give way to the new system which will combine collective ownership with collective production to form a more effective co-operation.

It is very evident when we look at political affairs in the light of history that the greater number of public evils are but once-good institutions that at first admirably served their purpose but are now no longer equal to what is required by twentieth century people. This is true of governments as well as of industry. Both must be altered to meet the new demands made on them by new conditions; and political action is a logical means of getting economic results.

Socialism is the political expression of the industrial system that is to be. Capitalist parties are the political expression of the dying capitalist system. Anarchism is a utopian scheme without foundation in history or in the evolutionary process. It is rebellious rather than revolutionary, and is kicking against the inevitable rather than striking for what is practicable. It is against Socialism and Socialists are against it. Between the two there is no possibility of harmony in regard to the remedy for existing evils, and the ignorant editor who tries to cast odium upon a Socialist publication by calling it anarchistic only puts himself in that class who resort to epithets for lack of ability to meet the issue with argument.

According to the Wall Street Journal, "one-eighth of all the money and one-seventh of all the bank deposits of the country are in the banks of New York." It is thus available for investment in trust enterprises and under the operation of the new currency bill this stock may become the basis for the issuance of bank notes. With these notes they may buy more trust stock, and so on, ad infinitum, and all with your deposits. The republican party prides with pride to this great system.

DEBS' GIRARD SPEECH.

50c Per Hundred.

The orders for Debs' great speech, delivered in Girard following his nomination for president, continue to roll up in a highly satisfactory manner. It is admitted by even our enemies that this statement by Comrade Debs is the clearest and most concise exposition in the English language of the Socialist philosophy. I feel that we would be making a great mistake if we did not bend every energy at our command to put that speech in the hands of each voter in the nation. In our newspaper form it can be handed out at the very low rate of fifty cents per hundred copies. Number 65 contains, besides the speech, other very carefully selected matter which is just as timely today as when issued four weeks ago. The page of reasons why the writers will vote the Socialist ticket is in itself a broadside. The platform is printed in large, clear type, making it easy to read. Those of you who have ordered and have distributed copies of No. 65 should come again. We can easily push this edition to five million copies. That will break all the world's records.

The Army Code.

Frank W. Adams, a private in 139th company, Coast Artillery Corps, U. S. Army, N. Y., has been sentenced to six months at hard labor and sixty dollars fine because he "turned in the ranks and looked in a sneering manner at First Lieutenant R. P. Glasburn." Adams had been ordered by Lieutenant Fulton not to move the butt of his rifle to the front when along came Lieutenant Glasburn and ordered him to do that very thing. Poor Adams was in a quandary. His look of perplexity was construed by Glasburn to be a sneer and he was sentenced to the penitentiary for six months. Not a pleasing prospect for the young man who enlists to defend his country! Few young men could be induced to join either the army or navy if they understood what they were going up against. It is under Article 62, Regulations for the Army of the United States of 1895, that such sentences are passed. Article 62 reads as follows:

All crimes not capital and all disorders and neglects which officers and soldiers may be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, though not mentioned in the foregoing articles of war, are to be taken cognizance of by a general, or a regimental, garrison, or field officers' court martial, according to the nature and degree of the offense, and punished at the discretion of such court.

Humanity Under Capitalism.

St. Louis, June 11.—After kissing his two little daughters John Hendrickson sent them into another part of the family home today. Then he sent a killed himself and neglected which officers and soldiers may be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, though not mentioned in the foregoing articles of war, are to be taken cognizance of by a general, or a regimental, garrison, or field officers' court martial, according to the nature and degree of the offense, and punished at the discretion of such court.

Just the same under Roosevelt as under Cleveland and McKinley. You work people vote for and your votes elect those who believe in the system that produces thousands of such cases, besides cases where human nature resists the same impulse. How often have you felt the impulse to perish and rid yourself of the vexations and worries of life! And then to think it's all unnecessary and merely caused by the unnatural conditions under which man is forced by his political ignorance to exist! Elect Socialists and see how quickly the whole system will give way to one more in harmony with human nature, and this old world will be brought into a sunshine of happiness it has never yet known. Under harmonious conditions no man or woman could be unhappy or in want.

"THE SORROWS OF CUPID."

This book, by Comrade Mrs. Kate O'Hare, should be in the hands of every mother and daughter in the land. It is not only well written, but it tells in the plainest, coarsest words things to which the average woman has never given any attention, and yet which are of vital interest. I know of nothing that will more interest the women and influence them to become active in the propaganda than this work. Give it to your wife and she will see that her neighbors read it. It is a work that will live, and Comrade O'Hare has contributed something worth while to the literature for uplifting the race. And you men can read it with pleasure and profit. Price, postage paid, 25 cents. Order it now.

The National Prosperity Association set apart June 1st as re-employment day, but it was not a success, because the few who could afford to hire, these hard times, refused to lay off their men on May 28th, that they might re-employ them on June 1st.

Exact Size Debs Watch Fobs One 25c 100 \$15.00. Advertisement for Debs watches and fobs with an image of a watch.