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Theodore Roosevelt and the Socialist Movement

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

WHEN the press announced recently that "the difference between the square deal and Socialism" was the text of a "characteristic" speech by President Roosevelt at the unveiling of the Underhill monument at Matinecock, L. I., Socialists knew what to expect and when they read the speech and beheld in fancy the Don Quixote of the white house assailing another windmill they smiled with mingled amusement and contempt. President Roosevelt is known as an exceedingly "characteristic" gentleman and he is never quite so "characteristic" as when dealing with Socialists and the Socialist movement, and the reason for this is that they, of all others, can see through him and his bourgeois "square deal" policy without the aid of cathode rays.

Being a capitalist in both the economic and the ethical sense and inflated by his egotistic idealism, it is quite natural that he should oppose democratic tendencies and set his face against equal freedom as a social ideal, but he has gone farther than this, and in his "characteristic" and unbridled individualism, which brooks no opposition, has conceived a violent hatred for Socialists which defies all restraints and violates all proprieties, as when he publicly denounced workingmen about to be tried for their lives as "undesirable citizens," an astounding violation of official dignity without a precedent, and which shocked the moral sense of the entire nation. Thousands of other men were under arrest, but not noticed by the president—they were not Socialists.

On every possible occasion Mr. Roosevelt vents his spleen against Socialists and like the true capitalist functionary he is, warns his countrymen against their pernicious philology. He has the distinction of being the first president to write Socialism in his message to congress, as he also has the distinction, such as it is, of naming his own successor and also writing Socialism in his political platform.

When President Roosevelt some years ago interposed his authority as president in the anthracite coal strike and appointed a commission which ultimately settled the strike in the interest of the coal barons, he explained to congress in his next ensuing message that he was prompted to such action by the conviction that it was the only way to head off Socialism, showing that he was faithful to his trust and that he guarded sedulously the private ownership of the anthracite mines, even though the miners and their families were verging upon starvation.

When he recommended his railroad rate legislation to congress, in which he yielded point after point to the railroads until there was nothing left but the echo of the ignorant multitude who were applauding his supposed bravery in bearding the railroad lion in his den, the burden of his plea was "the Socialists will get you if you don't watch out."

So Socialism must come in for some credit, even among its implacable foes, for if the settlement of the anthracite strike was a great achievement and Roosevelt's railroad policy is an inestimable boon, as they vociferously claim, it is due entirely, according to the president himself, to Socialism, or, rather, the fear of Socialism.

The president's latest outbreak occurred at the commemoration of the

death of an Indian fighter named Underhill, who died some two hundred years ago. What he had to do with Socialism there was no attempt to explain, but it would have seemed grotesque, to say the least, if any one, save Roosevelt alone, had led a furious attack on modern Socialism in dedicating a monument to a dead Indian fighter, especially one of the middle ages.

In the course of this funeral oration President Roosevelt said:

"We have made this country what it is partly because we have measurably succeeded in securing in the past, equality of opportunity. That is very different from equality of reward."

"I believe emphatically in doing everything that can be done, by law or otherwise, to give every man the chance of employment, of work, of interest, of a chance to achieve it, a measurable equality of opportunity, to show the stuff that is in him."

"But when it comes to reward, let him get what, by his energy, foresight, intelligence, thrift, courage, he is able to get if the opportunity opens."

"There can be no grosser example of privilege than that set before us as an ideal by certain socialist writers—the idea that every man shall go into the common fund what he can, which would mean what he chooses; and should take out what he wanted."

"The theory is that a man who is vicious, foolish, a drag on the whole community, should take what is not his, what he has not earned; that he should rob his neighbor of what that neighbor has earned. This particular socialist ideal will be to enthrone privilege in one of its grossest, crudest, most dishonest, most harmful and most unjust forms. Equality of opportunity to reward service—yes, I will do everything I can to bring it about. Equality of reward—no, unless there is also equality of service."

"If the service is equal, let the reward be equal; but if the reward depends on the service, and mankind being composed as it is, there will be inequality of service for a long time to come, no matter what the equality of opportunity, in the interest of the doctrine of equality of a lawless and destructive individualism than by the doctrine of equality of a decaying Socialism."

"As society progresses and grows more complex, it becomes more desirable to do many things for the common good by the common effort. No artificial line can be laid down as to where and when such common effort by the whole community should be stopped or supplemented by private and individual effort."

"Each case must be judged on its own merits, and the reward to the private or corporate fortune of vast size is turned to a business use which jeopardizes the welfare of all of the small men, then in the interest of the collective and common power of the community must be exercised to control and regulate, for the common good, this business use of vast wealth; and while doing this we must make it evident that we frown upon envy and malice and that we frown upon arrogance and oppression."

Yet in spite of all Mr. Roosevelt and his party of grafting individualists have done "to keep the avenues of occupation open"—and they have been in absolute power for years—millions of workingmen are in compulsory idleness and suffering in the pangs of starvation, and when in their agony and despair they turn to Roosevelt and his individualistic regime and implore for escape from the pitiless lash of the hunger-whip; when they ask in the name of mercy what is to become of them, they are complacently told that "God knows!" and that while they voted for Roosevelt they must look to God for means of rescue from their unhappy fate.

"God Knows."

Mr. Roosevelt feels inexpressibly outraged because Socialists are not satisfied with the way he and his capitalist party have kept "the avenues of occupation open," but if instead of being the well-groomed president of the ruling parasites, pampered like a prince, he had to tramp through weary months in vain search of a job to finally find his place in the bowery midnight bread-line, he could, perhaps, understand that his is not the only point of view and that the millions who are exploited without mercy and abandoned to "God knows" what fate, are finally driven to do something

for themselves; and that this is the genesis of the Socialist movement and explains its phenomenal growth and why it is class conscious and revolutionary and must finally conquer, though every capitalist were a Rockefeller and every politician a Rockefeller.

Does President Roosevelt believe that the present condition of things under the capitalist rule of the republican party is the best that "it is humanly possible to achieve" and that industrial evolution has exhausted itself in producing capitalism? Or does he omit the working class entirely in calculating the possibilities of human achievement?

If capitalism can do no better in the way of providing "equal opportunity for each man to show the stuff that is in him" than it has already done, it has proved a stupendous failure, for not only have millions no opportunity at all, but other millions are slain in their babyhood, while still other millions are denied proper sustenance from their infancy, cheated out of their growth, robbed of their vitality and exploited of all the means that enable the human being to rise above the deadline of defeat, despair and degradation.

Armed of Ide.
The commissioner of labor of the State of New York reported recently that thirty-five per cent of the organized workers of that state, as shown by the reports of their unions, were out of employment. President Yoakum, of the Rock Island system, has made the statement within a few days that four hundred thousand railroad employes, twenty-five per cent of the entire number employed on the railroads of the United States, were idle since the "panic" set in last October.

It is estimated that almost if not quite six million, or twenty per cent of all the wage workers in the country, are out of work. This number may or may not be approximately correct and there is no way to verify it for the United States government, although it squanders millions of dollars in supporting information and statistical bureaus of all descriptions so as to retain an army of ward-healing politicians in office, very discreetly refrains from furnishing any statistics upon the vital question of the unemployed. It is worthy of note in this connection that Mr. Taft's voluminous letter of acceptance contains no hint that there is a grand army of men and women begging for work in the United States, with no hope of finding it.

The census bureau has recently issued a report which shows that in certain industries the weekly earnings of children is \$1.84, of women \$2.26 and of men \$5.23. These figures will be found under the head of "the earnings of wage earners" and are secured from "123,703 establishments throughout the country, some 63 per cent of all manufacturing concerns having employes."

Is It Worth While?
Does Mr. Roosevelt maintain that these hapless victims of industrial servitude have "equal opportunity for each man to show the stuff that is in him"? Is it worth while to argue with him that these children are having all the "stuff" ground out of them for the benefit of the capitalist class and that there is nothing left of them when they are grown except the empty shell if they survive at all?

What has Mr. Roosevelt to say of a system based upon such brutal exploitation in which even babes, millions of them, are fed alive to Mammon? Is it because Socialists protest that this brutality and crime

is an impeachment of capitalism and a rebuke to civilization that Roosevelt so furiously denounces them? And is it because they propose a reorganization of society upon a basis of co-operative labor freely performed by free men, thus putting an end to Big Stick rule, and its countless iniquities, that he has branded Socialists as "undesirable citizens"?

If Mr. Roosevelt, instead of spending his time in spectacular self-exploitation, will look about him he will see enough of all that is corrupt and menacing to society, for which his administration is responsible, without going out of his way to denounce the Socialists.

It was not a Socialist who, as governor of New York, signed the bill which made possible the gigantic railroad robbery known as the "Alton deal"; it was not a Socialist who was elected president by the hugest political corruption fund, put up by the trusts and corporations, in the history of American politics; it was not a Socialist president who invited one he afterward denounced as a thieving magnate to come around to the white house in the dark of the moon to help him write his message.

Not the Socialists are they who maintain lobbies to debauch legislation, who steal franchises, rob the people, subvert the public will and conspire in every conceivable manner to rob honest labor and keep the common people in subjection.

Reward of Toil.
Mr. Roosevelt talks glibly about "reward" as if the idle capitalist class honestly earned its colossal private fortunes. Not satisfied with insulting Socialists by imputing to them certain theories they do not hold, he resorts to downright mendacity when he says:

"There can be no grosser example of privilege than that set before us as an ideal by certain socialist writers—the idea that every man shall put into the common fund what he can, which would mean what he chooses; and should take out what he wanted."

There is not a word of truth in this charge. It is pure fabrication, and is inspired by cold-blooded malice. Who are the "socialist writers" engaged in exploiting this ideal? Mr. Roosevelt cannot name a single one who is recognized as an authority on Socialism. The Socialist party in the United States has recently adopted a platform and a program in which its principles, policies and purposes are clearly set forth. Let this authoritative statement of the party as to its attitude and intent be examined and it will be found that there is not the slightest justification for the president's deliberate misrepresentation.

If President Roosevelt deems it necessary to resort to such undignified, to say nothing of indecent methods, of castigating the Socialist movement and obstructing its rapid progress he must be hard pressed and his intelligent readers among non-Socialists who may be temporarily deceived will not be slow to rebuke his presumptions upon their credulity when they learn the truth.

"If the service is equal, let the reward be equal," proceeds the president as if he were saying something that anyone, let alone Socialists, had ever disputed. It is precisely because the reward is not equal for equal service rendered that Socialists are opposed to capitalism. The figures above quoted prove conclusively that they who do the actual work in the present system, the work that is useful, are treated as menials and starved into inanity and premature graves. Millions of these victims, though dumb, and resigned,

Working the Farmer.
Only twelve years ago, when the farmers showed a disposition to go off into populism, republican papers and orators were positively abusive of the "hayseeds." Here are two expressions in illustration, taken from republican papers in 1896:

"Populist vermin."—N. Y. Press, July 30.

"The populists propose repudiation and anarchy for existing laws."—New York Tribune, July 11.

cry to heaven against the cruel injustice of the present system which dooms them to bitter poverty and finally to death by slow torture.

Panic and Paralysis.
In contemplating the present situation and its countless horrors confronting one upon every hand under President Roosevelt's administration I recall the "panic" of 1893 which the republican platform, adopted in 1896, charged upon the incompetency, dishonesty and unfitness of the democratic party. If the democratic party was responsible for the "panic" of 1893, and there is no doubt about it, then the republican party is responsible for the "panic" of 1908. There is absolutely no escape. It was when the republican party came into power and increased the tariff to its highest levels and adopted the gold standard that the promise was made and the assurance given that prosperity would henceforth be perpetual in the United States. The "full dinner-pail" campaign of 1904 is still remembered.

In 1900 the republican slogan was "Let well enough alone." In 1904 "Stand pat." But in spite of it all "prosperity" has suddenly vanished; there is a larger number of idle workers in all its history. The republican party is and has been in absolute control and what is its answer? "God knows!" and that is why the president froths at the mouth in denunciation of the Socialists and exhibits his impotent rage because they propose to put an end to this outworn and rotten system and reorganize society upon a rational basis and in harmony with the forces underlying it and determining the course of its development.

Rule of Beak and Claw.
Mr. Roosevelt, like every other self-sufficient individualist, believes in the supremacy of beak and claw, of fang and hoof. The very thought of a time coming when they will rule no more is abhorrent to him and arouses him to furious denunciation. This is as far as Mr. Roosevelt has risen in the scale of civilization and that is why he is the bean ideal of the ignorant masses under the dominion of capitalism.

It would be horrible, according to Mr. Roosevelt, if a time ever came when a giant could not have the whole feast and the dwarf only the crumbs. The giant's strength is to be forever rewarded and the dwarf's weakness to be everlastingly punished. The president would set a beautiful example at his own table if he made practical application there of the ideals (?) he expresses in his violent distribe against Socialism.

What would Mr. Roosevelt say if men today proceeded to make distribution of rewards upon the basis of physical strength and muscular equipment? Would he not be the first to say they ought to be shot and order out the soldiers for that purpose? What better moral justification can be plead for the distribution of rewards on the basis of superior mental capacity? The time will come when the human being will rise somewhat higher than the beast in this regard, but it will never be under the sway of capitalism which Mr. Roosevelt is so eager to buttress against the assaults of Socialism that he is driven to the most flagrant misrepresentation.

Let it not be inferred that I am now assuming to define the attitude of the Socialist party in respect to the rewards of labor or the distribution of wealth. The Socialist platform is clear enough upon this

point and there is no excuse for misunderstanding. Each worker is to receive his socially due share of the product, the entire product, and when the time comes the workers themselves will establish a basis of reward and remuneration to suit themselves. To presume to say what that basis will be, or rather what it will not be, and then condemn it is nothing less than vulgar impudence, quite characteristic of the present occupant of the white house.

Equality of Reward.
When Mr. Roosevelt charges Socialism with demanding "equality of reward" he is, as wide of the mark as he is of every other vital proposition he discusses in his memorial tirade. There is absolutely nothing in the Socialist platform or its program that warrants the assumption that it stands for "equality of reward." Personally there are Socialists who take that position and it is eminently to their credit, seeing that they are men of exceptional capacity and who, in the grab-all game, could, if they would, rake in the spoils, but who are too decent to do it. This, of course, Mr. Roosevelt is wholly incapable of understanding.

But with all this, Socialism, as a movement, has nothing to do and will have nothing to do until it comes into power and as the people themselves will then rule in the purest and completest democracy yet evolved it is entirely probable, Mr. Roosevelt to the contrary notwithstanding, that they will distribute the wealth equitably among those who produce it.

Clipping the Claws of Individualism.
But blindly and venomously as Mr. Roosevelt is opposed to Socialism he is yet driven to the extremity of making some concession to it. He would not have done this a year or two ago, but he is compelled to do it now, and in a year or two more he will be compelled to make still further concessions, calling as it may be to him. In his closing paragraph he says: "In the interest of true individualism, the collective and common power of the community must be exercised to control and regulate for the common good this business use of vast wealth," etc.

Precisely! It will not do to admit, even for the sake of "individualism," that the trust pirates shall have absolute sway. Mr. Roosevelt is too adroit a politician to take such a position. He must in some manner placate the people who are being eaten up and so he invokes the "collective power" to curb the individual will.

But when he curbs individualism it is no longer individualism and such curbing means the application of another and an entirely different principle to personal rights and social relations.

It is only quite recently that Mr. Roosevelt and others like him have begun to talk about "curbing individualism" and about the exercise of the collective power for the collective good. It is distinctively a socialistic principle that Mr. Roosevelt would apply and a socialistic power that he would invoke to protect society against the ravages and barbarities of the very individualism of which he has been and is yet such a strenuous advocate.

Periodical Tirades.
As the industrial and social development proceed Mr. Roosevelt's complications will increase and his entanglements multiply. He has lost none of his vindictiveness for those who disagree with him and especially for Socialists, who know him, but he is at last compelled to turn to the "collective power" to

extricate him from the meshes of the brutal individualism of decadent capitalism.

The answer of Socialists to Mr. Roosevelt is that his periodical tirades are the most convincing proof of the progress of their movement. Each attack of the president is another certificate of approval and another voice of encouragement.

Socialists are not visionaries nor are they dupes and blind followers. They are students and investigators and they understand from a scientific interpretation of history the laws underlying society and the trend of its development. They not only hope for Socialism and believe in it, but they know it is coming. With them it is not a matter of speculation, but a certainty.

Capitalism is hurrying to its doom. The capitalists cannot save it. They cannot even manage it, nor prevent it from breaking down and exposing its corruption and decay; its impotence and other symptoms of advancing dissolution.

"Collective Power."
The "collective power" to which Mr. Roosevelt himself must at last turn will have to be invoked more and more to prop up collapsing capitalism, but this can at best prolong it, for it is as certainly doomed, having fulfilled its mission, as the feudalism which preceded it and from which it sprang.

Yes, capitalism and its merciless votaries and mercenary menials has about run its course and every sane mortal on earth ought to join in heartfelt gratitude. In a hundred years hence its history will be an extension of the period of barbarism and its ideals, if such they may be called, reflected in the slavery and suffering, the sorrow and despair, the blood and tears of its countless victims, sparing neither babyhood nor old age, will be regarded with unspeakable abhorrence by civilized human beings.

Lewis H. Morgan foreshadows in his "Ancient Society" the coming civilization.

Triumph of Socialism.
"Since the advent of civilization the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners, that it has become, on the part of the people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property, and define the relations of the state to the property it protects as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of its owners. The interests of society are paramount to individual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. A more properly career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending."

This is Socialism and it is going to triumph in the United States of America, and all the world.

The only thing the poor man can lose by the coming of Socialism is drudgery and trouble.

Bryan is an imperialist. He favors individualism, which is the same as monarchy in industry.

There has never been recovery from an industrial depression except through a war or the opening of a new frontier.

The most successful flying machine so far produced is republican prosperity. It has been up in the air over a year now.

The word Pacific means peaceful. The United States has suddenly discovered that it requires three fleets in the Pacific ocean in order to keep it peaceful.

It is reported that the republican campaign committee has headquarters at No. 2 Wall Street, and Mr. Taft is said to have a brother who has offices at No. 40 Wall Street. Evidently the g. o. p. is getting next.

QUESTION BOX

Party Ownership. Who owns the republican party? Who owns the democratic party? Who owns the socialist party?...

Another work. They know that if the wheat grower doesn't work for them, or if he doesn't in some way permit them to absorb a liberal part of what he produces, they will have to go to work and soil their immaculate robes of state with the grime of honest toil.

RED SPECIAL ON THE WAY

Chicago, Aug. 31.—When the Red Special made its appearance at the Chicago depot, thousands of social revolutionists gathered from all directions, cheered continuously. Even the representatives of the Chicago capitalist press were present with pencil and camera to picture the great train and its decorations.

Imperial Capital.

After capitalism had failed to establish an emperor and through him dictate its policies, there appears evidence that it began a systematic effort to establish an "industrial imperialism."

The Grand Old Army.

Loneliness on the Farm. The president is taking measures to relieve the loneliness of the farm, remarked Pop Weasel as he entered the country store.

Hypocrites and Demagogues.

The opening of the campaign will mark the harvest time for political hypocrites and demagogues. A vast army of these will be turned loose to befuddle the people, as they have done in the past, and keep them wrangling over dead issues that would be of no consequence if they were alive, as to keep them voting in the same old way, for the same old promises, and with the same old results.

FRUITS OF THE SYSTEM.

Mother and Children Turned into the Street by Landlord. A woman with a month-old babe clasped in her arms and two older children lying beside her slept last night on the asphalt pavement in front of No. 181 Orchard street.

Socialists Making Big Success

COMRADES, THIS IS IMPORTANT TO YOU. Our big irrigation system is nearing completion and hundreds of acres are now being prepared and will soon be planted to commercial orchards.

Adrian Irrigation Company

424 MOHAWK BLOCK, SPOKANE, WASH.

Pocket Library of Socialism

- 1. Woman and the Social Problem. May Simons. 2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. Hays. 3. The Social Basis of the Industrial Revolution. Hays. 4. The Social Basis of the Industrial Revolution. Hays. 5. The Social Basis of the Industrial Revolution. Hays.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers

SOCIALIST MARKET PLACE.

HARDY HOLF FOLD CLOTHES PINS something entirely new. Best either a dealer or put on his shelf. It is a new way of doing things. It is a new way of doing things. It is a new way of doing things.

GIRARD MANUFACTURING CO., Girard, Kansas.

The New Question Box

and THE NEW PLATFORM as revised. An attractive 64-page pamphlet, with colored covers, containing all the popular questions and objections with brief, pointed answers, by Frank M. Eastwood, editor of the Question Box department in the Appeal.

HOW IT GROWS!

Number Subs Fourth week in August, 1906 . . . 242,883 Fourth week in August, 1907 . . . 383,514 Fourth week in August, 1908 336,402

Now don't get excited over that order from Washington to smear the white battleships of the Yankee navy with the war color of dirty drab. There's more worth while in the way the skirmishers of the Appeal Army put on the war paint and made a killing without firing a shot or scratching a soldier.

How does that 10,289 gain of subscribers look to you boys and girls who did it? I know that you haven't time to talk about it for you are of the kind who never stop to weep over things in the way of or about over things done.

Yours is the work that is winning the world for the workers. Others will be with you because of what you have done, and together you will march shoulder to shoulder toward peace and plenty for all. Let those who are now ready to join this band make use of the form at the bottom of this column to order a bundle for distribution.

Circulation of Appeal to Reason by States.

Table with 4 columns: State, '00, '01, Total. Lists circulation data for various states including Oklahoma, California, Texas, etc.

New subs for week ending Aug. 22, 15,780 Expiration for week ending Aug. 22, 10,329

Thieves Cry "Stop Thief!"

They tell you Socialism would destroy the home, to keep you from noticing how capitalism is destroying the home. They tell you Socialism would take away your farm, so you will not be on the lookout while capitalism is taking it away.

FOR THE BIG CAMPAIGN. APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kans. Find enclosed \$ for which send to the address below copies of the Appeal to Reason for two months.

Socialist Fables.

The Fly's Footstool. A certain Fly, which had long wanted to get a footstool on the earth, one day stepped on some fly paper and got it. In order to escape from a situation, which he did not find altogether satisfactory, he put all his feet down on the paper and by a violent effort pulled the one leg loose.

Strange Little Stories From History.

There is an item (a part of the un-written history of the Rebellion) which may be of some value to the cause. Admiral D. D. Porter told me this. On the evening of January 9, 1861, the day the steamer "Star of the West" was fired on in Charleston Harbor, S. C.

Grand Army Invitation.

Due to the courtesy of General Isaac B. Sherwood, Chairman of the Committee on Invitations, Mr. Debs has been invited to attend the Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic to be held at Toledo, Ohio, August 31 and September 1st and 2nd.

How the cohorts of monopoly tremble before the threat of Taft! Hearings is for him. Rockefeller is for him. Morgan is for him. Rogers is for him. Schiff is for him. And Satan is for him.

Cowards and Poltroons.

There are those, and their number is almost legion, who profess to be in sympathy with the oppressed and whose mission it is, according to themselves, to consecrate themselves to the service of humanity. Among these there are many to be found in labor unions and in their ranks one would readily imagine that they were the very salt of the earth.

The rank and file of the working class has been deceived and betrayed long enough by cowards and poltroons and should no longer submit to their corrupt and degrading domination but should subject the words and acts of their leaders to the severest analysis and hold them to an accountability which will make treachery and betrayal in the future impossible.

Military Debauchers.

What is coming over the defenders of the rich? At Atlanta, Ga., two companies of soldiers, who were being sent to the scene of the coal strike, got into a rumor among themselves and began insulting citizens on the platform at the depot. The police were sent for to restore order, and for a time it seemed uncertain whether the military or civil authorities would come out on top.

Proletarian Pointers.

A class conscious working man is the noblest work of Socialism. The other day I saw the wretched and sexless victims of the sweat-shop. Oh, the life they live; the death they die!

What Does It Mean?

It is becoming evident that something important is in the air. Just what it is, is not yet clear, but there are some recent movements that are at least suggestive. In all probability there will be a war within four years, because it will be impossible to raise the depression that has settled over industry by any other means.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST TICKET.

For President EUGENE V. DEBS For Vice President BEN HANFORD

Fairbanks On Roosevelt.

When vice-president Fairbanks delivered his address at Excelsior Springs, Missouri, a few days ago, he was supposed to speak on the late President McKinley. He did make some references to McKinley but at the same time he delivered an elegant roast to his official colleague, President Roosevelt, without mentioning his name.

He comprehended their evils and knew fully the delicacy and difficulty of the task of destroying the evils of our vast and cruelly unjust industrial system without unduly injuring legitimate or wholesome enterprises.

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There are two lines in which it will be possible to move for a new frontier. One is the far east, involving a war with Japan, with the trade of the Pacific as the prize. The other is Mexico and Central America, involving a much easier war, with a nearer frontier as the prize.

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Republican Votes for Debs

I am forty-nine years old. Have been a republican all my life until now. It is no use to give reasons. They are many in number. I could fill several pages. Will vote for Debs, you bet, with a hearty good will.—Comrade Hobson, Neosho, Mo.

Republican Votes for Debs

I voted for Roosevelt four years ago. I had read one Appeal to Reason just before election, and had set me thinking so I subscribed for it and studied Socialism. I knew there was something wrong with the old parties and have found out what the remedy is, and am going to vote for it.

Republican Votes for Debs

Every time I sit down to write why I intend to vote the Socialist ticket so many reasons come bumping up that it would take a whole edition of the little old Appeal to publish them.

Republican Votes for Debs

About two months ago I subscribed for your paper, because solicited to do so by a good patron of mine. The subscription being purely to favor him for I was certain I cared nothing for such literature as even less for such a party.

Republican Votes for Debs

The American navy is being painted a war color. Officers of the United States army are raising a fund of one million dollars to defend Capt. Haines, who is accused, not only of murder, but also of unnamable social delinquencies while in the service.

Republican Votes for Debs

The Harriman lines have ordered immediate construction of 7,000 cars, the Wisconsin Central of 2,500 cars, the Chicago and Alton of 1,000 cars, the Frisco of 1,000 cars and Atlantic Coast lines of 2,000 cars.

Grosscup the Deadhead.

Judge Peter S. Grosscup who is on the federal bench at Chicago ought to be promoted to the supreme court of the United States. He has a record of such brilliant service to the corporations and trusts that he is preeminently entitled to that consideration.

Grosscup the Deadhead.

Grosscup was first appointed district judge through the personal influence of the late George M. Pullman. He at once began to render his justly celebrated corporation decisions and was soon promoted to the circuit bench where he has since distinguished himself with his decision setting aside the twenty-nine million dollar fine against the Standard Oil Company.

Grosscup the Deadhead.

The truth about Grosscup is that he is a mercenary, judicial hireling and has gotten rich and is now a capitalist as the fruit of his strict attention to duty as a federal judge.

Grosscup the Deadhead.

A few months ago 52 people were killed on a rotten interurban line and some other capitalists own and he was indicted as one of the board of directors for manslaughter, but he will not even be fined.

Grosscup the Deadhead.

It will be remembered that some time ago it leaked out that Grosscup, the judge of corporations in general and the railroads in particular, had private cars placed at his service and freely used them for himself and friends.

Grosscup the Deadhead.

It is industrial monarchy that has made the overcrowded city and the lonesome farm. Socialism will bring a new social order that will relieve both the congestion and the stagnation of modern life.

Signs of the Times.

The facsimile letter from Grosscup demanding transportation is as follows: My Dear Mr. Pickard: Please see Mr. G. W. Kretzinger and say that if Mr. Wells has come to light that Grosscup is being done to light office business in free transportation over the railroads for himself, family and friends.