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# Appeal to Reason.

"LIBERTY EDITION"

EUGENE V. DEBS, Editor

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J. A. Wayland

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FRED D. WARREN

This is Number 692

they are not dead to every senti-ment of manhood and deaf to every

Not only are these forces of op-

pression working within national boundary lines, but they have spread

over all other nations, and now operate on an international scale. This

is one of the results of capitalist

development. American capitalists

have over a billion dollars invested

in Mexican railroads, mines, smel-

ters and other industries; they have

multiplied millions invested in Rus-

sian bonds and in the bonds of other

despotisms and monarchies of the

old world. Likewise, the capitalists

of Russia, England, Mexico and other

nations are the owners of millions of

acres of land and billions of invested

intrigues between the United States

and Russia and the United States and

Mexico for the capture and return of

they are criminals and hounded to

mained quiescent under these mon-strous perversions of the fundamen-

shake off the vampire? Is there any

ish conditions except our own craven cowardice? Are we to remain as in-

ert as clams until the last drop of

b'ood has been drained and the last

Behold Antonio Araujo, Flores Magon, Antonio Villarreal, Librado

Rivera and Manuel Sarabia, the Mexi-

can patriots, who, for more than fif-teen months have been festering in

for the heinous crime of having at-

tempted to emancipate their country-

Mi\*chell and Frank Morrison, leaders

of the American Federation of Labor,

sentenced to jail for the atrocious

crime of having in cold blood men-tioned the name of a capitalist!

Behold Jan Pouren, the Russian

refugee hunted down and thrown into

an American prison by the American

police, under orders from the Rus-

ian czar for the monstrous crime of

having objected to the starvation, ex-

Behold M. R. Preston and Joseph

Of the men here named who are

in jail or penitentiary, or out tem-porarily under bail, five are Mexican

patriots, cultured, educated gentle-men, battling bravely to ameliorate

the awful conditions of their robbed and enslaved fellow beings; one is a

who protested against the butcheries of the czar and fled to an asylum to

of prominence, who, had they been

have brought them to prison doors,

florid phrase for the acts which

These eleven men should and shall

which their names are associated is

It is your cause and my cause and

their conviction.

cause of the people.

peon slavery.

Behold Samuel Gompers.

bastiles of our boasted republic

from the filth and squalor of

spark of liberty extinguished?

essible excuse for the present slav-

principles upon which their re-

This is the secret of the diplomatic

wealth in the United States.

political refugees.

public was founded!

appeal of their vanishing freedom.

ARISE, YE HOSTS OF LIBERTY! by every man, woman and child who would preserve the little liberty there The advance of capitalism to plu-

remains in the United States before the last spark of it has been totally ple of their liberties until but few extinguished. The national congress and Let the courts which have constate legislatures, reinforced by victed and imprisoned these men be eral, state and county judges, have, by statute and decree, so buttressed denounced in the name of that liberty which the founders of this republic capital upon the one hand and so fought and died for, and handed down enjoined and restricted labor upon to their children. the other that a situation confronts the people which must alarm them if

Let us unite all our forces, what ever differences there may be, until these men are liberated.

Let us hold a thousand indignation meetings and in swelling numbers vow we shall not retreat until these liber-

Let us rally this very day, a million strong, resolved to do our duty and blot out our disgrace; to arouse the sleeping hosts and stir the nation from center to circumference with our protest of indignation and our demand for liberation.

#### THE CONSTITUTION AND THE INJUNCTION.

The first section of the third article of the constitution provides that: "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and

The second section of the same article defines the extent of power vested in these courts, as follows

"The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising, etc." They used to be patriots and lion-ized; under the American flag; now Congress may, or may not, create these inferior courts; but once created. the constitution vests in them the And the American people have re-

equity jurisdiction. Now, everyone knows that the injunction is part of the object-matter of jurisdiction; and congress can not take away this part of the juris-Is it not time to awaken from this diction without infringing on the powhideous nightmare? Has not the pluers of these courts vested in them by tocracy gone far enough? Is it not the constitution. about time to rise in our might and

If it should be said that, while congress can not take away this injunction jurisdiction it may regulate and restrict it, the answer would be: (1) The grant of the equity jurisdiction covers all matters coming under this jurisdiction and that it is the exclusive province of the court to determine what matters are so included; (2) An attempt on the part of congress to determine when an injunction should issue and when not, would be an encroachment on the in dependence of the judiciary and a taking away from this department of the government a part of the power conferred on it by the constitution.

Hence, any anti-injunction law passed y congress would be unconstitutional. Judging from its past inclinations, this is the line of argument which it is most reasonable to suppose the supreme court would adopt.

This point of constitutional law has

not yet been raised but it will "jump (like the Knox matter) when the time comes to apply it.

President Compers and his associates will have to bore away down below the injunction before they come to bed-

ile, torture and assassination of men, women and children in his native The injunction will never be abrogated nor greatly modified under the class rule of capitalism. Never so long as the capitalist class owns the means Smith, labor unionists, in felon's smith, taoor unionists, in reion's stripes, in the penitentiary at Carson City, Nev., for the shocking crime of having protected a friendless working girl and slaying, in self defense, the employer who had wronged her.

Behold Fred D. Warren under of production, and as a consequence confrols the government, including the judiciary, will it relinquish the injunction; one of its most effective instru-

The quicker the workers realize this the better. Solidarity of the working class alone will solve the problem. The economic and political power of labor will both have to be developed and brought into play against the capitalist system before the deadly injunction can ever be dislodged.

# sian peasant, honest to the core, HARRIMAN, RAILROAD KING.

The conquest of Harriman is little less than phenomenal. He is marching light of his life shone on, and will, like across the railroad world in seven league boots. All are now compelled Through the centuries the hours of to acknowledge his supremacy, even freedom have been told on time's dial have brought them to prison doors, and the remaining one is a Socialist editor who has fearlessly denounced the crimes of the plutocracy and loyally served the cause of right and of the wizard is sufficient to secure six o'clock; that the night is passing control. Harriman is now on the board of directors and will soon be "the be set free. The only crime with

finally superceded. Old Commodore men who were great may seem so no Vanderbilt, if he knew it, would turn ber of others of lesser prominence in his grave. With a strained suite but the glory of that Day of Liberty, who are in jails all over the country, who are equally innocent, is the railroad king. He did not so proclain and bless all things. railread king. He did not so proclaina him until he had to.

Harriman is undoubtedly a great the sentence of these men is your genius in the organization and manipudisgrace and my disgrace. But for lation of railroads. His methods are our cowardice the capitalist courts the methods of his kind, neither better would never have dared to convict nor worse. When he resorts to piracy because he hath anointed me to preach them. It is therefore your conviction it is because that is the game and he good tiding to the poor, to heal the is not a whit worse than his competiupon you and me and there tors.

is but one way to remove it and there is by rising as MEN all over this country and issuing our united protest in terms that will shake plutohow the system works and how the peoratic courts to their foundations.

Let the names of these eleven men are not opposed to Harriman's prople are worked, but beyond this they be committed to memory by every gram. He has proved himself unionist, by every wage worker, and king of the railroad world

# LIBERTY FOR THE IMPRISONED REFU

The American People Demand Justice for Magon, Villarreal, Sarabia, Rivera and Araujo,
The Persecuted Mexican Patriots.

# THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM SHALL BE PRESERVED INVIOLATE!

The cases of the Mexican patriots in United States prisons is at this hour the most important that confronts the American people. Its significance grows out of its relation to the life and death struggle between the capitalist exploiters and the exploited workers of the United States and Mexico. The case in its present aspect resolves itself into an international conspiracy. Mexico is to be exploited with peon labor to the profit of American capitalists. Diaz is to keep the hordes of peons in subjection. Fabulous fortunes are to be amassed and the booty divided among the brigands. Patriots who protest are to be imprisoned or shot, and if any escape to the United States the federal authorities there are "to take care" of them. Peon slavery is to be maintained in Mexico at all hazards and the working class of the United States is to be reduced in due time to that foul and beastly state.

Magon, Villarreal, Sarabia, Rivera and Araujo are five of the leading patriots in revolt against this infernal conspiracy. Diaz, the despot from whom they escaped is bending all his energies to get them into his cruel clutches. If he succeeds the closing chapter in their heroic struggle will be written in their own blood.

The authorities of the United States are in criminal collusion with the Diaz administration. The great exploiting capitalists control both governments and both are bent upon the suppression of revolt against the hellish peonage of the Mexican masses. Of the five patriot-refugees above named, one, Araujo, is already sentenced and is serving his term in the United States military prison at Fort Leaveaworth, Kansas. Another, Sarabia, is out under bail pending trial, while the three others, Magon, Villarreal and Rivera, are held "incommunicado," having been refused bail, at Los

Angeles. When they are to be tried no one knows. They have already been in prison over a year and the administration at Washington has lent all its powers to prevent their release.

We shall not at this time repeat the long list of cutrages to which these staunch patriots and many others like them have suffered. These have already been graphically set forth in all their harrowing details by the Appeal's own special correspondent, after thorough personal investigation. We are here concerned only with the duty—stern, imperious, uncompromising—which confronts us—the duty of rescuing these patriots from the clutches of their persecutors and would-be murderers.

These men are heroes and humanitarians in the loftiest sense. For this very reason the price of the despot they defied is upon their heads. They are one with Partick Henry "Give me Liberty or vive me Death"

These men are heroes and humanitarians in the loftiest sense. For this very reason the price of the despot they defied is upon their heads. They are one with Patrick Henry. "Give me Liberty or give me Death."

These brave revolutionists, the hope of their crushed and despairing people, have sought asylum beneath the American flag, and here they are entitled to the protection of American law. They came as hosts of other refugees have come to seek refuge from the tyrant's avenging wrath, and every liberty-loving citizen should welcome them with open arms. Instead of this we see them pursued by Mexican spies and cut-throats and conniving with them, to our shame, the very authorities whose duty it is to protect them, hounding them to prison cells, cutting off their communication with the outer world and secretly pletting to deliver them to their savage and bloodthirsty executioner.

The blood of every American not dead to every sentiment of liberty must burn with shame and indignation. These patriots are our sacred charge and their release our solemn responsibility.

Let the workers of the nation and the patriots of the republic arise in protest all over the land! Let it not into history that these infamous outrages chronicle the eternal cowardice and shame of the present generation.

Not only must the sentiment of revolt spread like fire, but it must be organized and take definite form to accomplish its end. Happily this is now under way. A permanent organization has already been instituted. John Murray, specially commissioned by the Mexican patriots to represent them and given full authority, is at its head. He is the incarnation of the hour, the very man for the place, and has established himself at the Socialist national headquarters, 180 E. Washington St., Chicago. Ill. Miss Jane Addams, the famous reformer and humanitarian, has been chosen treasurer of the movement and all defense contributions should be directed to her at Hull House,

The Socialist party, through its national committee, has pledged its unqualified support to the movement; the American Pederation of Labor, in its annual convention, has taken the same action, and President Gompers recently filed with President Roosevelt the Federation's petition and protest, embracing a comprehensive and masteriy review of the cases and demanding the release of the prisoners.

The burning issue of the hour is the liberation of these Mexican revolutionists imprisoned in American jails. There is not a shadow of justification for their outrageous persecution under the American flag.

It is the infamy of international capitalism and its aim is the international slavery of the working class.

If the hidden forces operating as the mainspring of this damnable treachery were visible to the American people indignation would flame forth at white heat, and the whole nation would seethe with revolt. Oh, the atrocious crime, the burning shame, of hounding humanitarians, punishing patriots, and imprisoning liberators in the great American republic!

American republic!

There is but one way to deal with this case, and that is to demand and insist upon the IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE of the prisoners. Let that constitute the issue and let it be made so hot that the United States confederates of Diaz, the Mexican Nero, who draw salaries for serving the American people.

will not dare to carry out their treasonable conspiracy.

Magon, Villarreal and Rivera, like Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, are refused trial. The reason is the same. Were they guilty of crime they would long ago have been convicted. The fact that the government does not dare to try them, but is waiting for a favorable opportunity to smuggle them over the line to Diaz, is itself prima facia evidence of their innocence.

Let us put it up to the federal authorities squarely and with such emphasis as to jar them loose from their official dignity and cold-blooded indifference.

When are these men to be tried? We, the people, want to know. We have a right to know.

We do not propose to see patriots who have sacrificed all but life and are ready to sacrifice that in the cause of liberty, rot in American bastiles to further a criminal conspiracy of American and Mexican capitalists to crush labor with an iron heel and reduce the whole working class to the filth and rags of Mexican peonage.

Hundreds of refugee liberation leagues should be organized and set in motion the machinery of agitation. Thousands of agitators should leap from the ranks in public places to tell the story of Mexico's crime and America's dishonor. Thousands of dollars should be contributed to the legal defense fund.

The issue involved is as much American as it is Mexican, so far as the outcome is concerned. Defeat would mean disaster here as well as there, while victory will not only vitalize the drooping spirits of the Mexican people, but will animate with fresh zeal the hosts of labor who are fighting the battles for emancipation from plutocracy in the United States.

in the United States.

# THE DAY OF LIBERTY.

The world has never seen the Day of Liberty. But in the darkness that but how prevailed every land has been lighted with constellations made of hearts that ments in crushing organized labor and loved and lighted all. America has this keeping the wage-slaves in subjection. When the injunction as now used olutionary darkness there was a gloriof having offered a reward for a fugi-tive from justice charged with murof these lives reaches and cheers us to this time.

When the darkness seemed deepest : few years ago, there were Brown and Garrison, Lovejoy and Lincoln, Whit-man and Whittier, whose light shone unremittingly. Men who desired the darkness of slavery and oppression have ever sought to quench these lights of liberty, but they have not been able; for, though they may have slain the man, the the stars, forever shine when all is dark

and the day is at hand.

The stars that made the darkness bearable may be quenched in the light The Vanderbilt railroad dynasty is that shall reach all the earth, and the longer when all men are free and great

Do you not in your soul hear the singing of the morning birds?

ONCE the weary man of Galilee said: The spirit of the Lord God is upon me broken-hearted, to set at liberty them that are bound," and the pharisees of that day tried to cast him from a prec-Shall the new day dawn in the United italism has come into dominance in they are too materialistic. And Jesus States, and shall it emanate from the America, men worship gold, and seek said that, because of this message, light of your brain and the fire of your only the liberty of exploiting the proending poverty and of making all man-

to give one's life to the cause of free-dom. It is something to be a man; infinitely better it is to be a

free man!

fought to maintain their independence, courts of the country names and In recent years the Filipinos declared crimes are soon forgotten. Ramsey, their independence and it from their hands.

of the free and the home of the brave." when human beings were held as chattels. Today they sing, "sweet land of liberty," and deliver up political refu-

You have not truly lived, though you ered and have expressed the best that was in you to express. You have not lived, unless you heart has said, "All creatures shall be free."

# THE OLDEN DAWN.

world, and the dawn of a better day came from the west! The opening of this vast territory was the opening of prison doors to the dopressed and broke up the stagnation and brutality of the tima thule of industrial and social de feudal system. For several centuries America remained the hope and refuge of the poor. It was the new frontier that brought better things and a hope for the world. But now the frontier

racy which we begun; if we will con-tinue to revolutionize all things; if we shall assimilate the world into a real, organized brotherhood, it can be done. Socialism is the completion of this work. It is industrial democracy, an enlargement of the American ideal. It is a compeletion of the revolution in in-dustry which was effected by the ma-

# RAMSEY'S CONVICTION.

W. W. Ramsey has been found guilty by a jury of his peers.

This announcement would ordina ily attract scant attention. In the In olden days the thirteen colonies thousands of daily convictions in the America a few days ago, was president of one of the large banking houses of Pitts AMERICANS used to sing, "the land Conneilman John F. Klein, who in the free and the home of the brave," burg, Pa., and in that capacity bribed tain profitable deposits of the city

Besides being the president of a large banking house, Ramsey was a "business man of great capacity." exclusive social circles he was an illuminating star, An active worker in the church, he prayed loud and long on Sunday for the salvation of his soul, and skinned suckers and bribed those he could not skin during the rest of the week.

About town Ramsey was known as It was the discovery of America that a "big gun," an eminently "desirable gave an outlet to the cramped old eitizen. The small fry took off their world, and the dawn of a better day hats in his presence, while the larger ones showed him the greatest deferopening of ence. He was a ripe capitalist; he believed that capitalism was the ulvelopment and that Socialism was 'dangerous" and "incendiary."

upon him.

He fell victim to the rotten system he religiously worshiped.
In capitalism it is often but a step from riches to ruin; from the throne of a conquerer to a convict's cell.

According to Felicia Hemans, refu ipice because of the message. Now, dustry which was effected by the ma-when the Socialists preach the hope of chine. It is a complete organization of ending poverty and of making all man-society in the interest of all.

Chicago, Feb. 26.—League has engaged Darrow to fight Aurojo's and all other Mexican cases. John Murray, Sec'y.

Clarence S. Darrow, the famous Chicago lawyer who defended Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone has been retained in the Mexican cases. as will be seen by the above dispatch, and will be the chief counsel of the defense. Fred D. Warren, managing

editor of the Appeal has just returned from San Antonio, Waco, and other Texas points, after a week of personal investigation.

The flashlight will now be turned into the dark holes of this damnable conspiracy. something doing.

The next issue will contain a thrilling chapter.

#### A DOG STORY.

In his elever article on "Dogs and Liberty," Robert Hunter credits Mr. on the face." Compers with an illustration which was used by an organizer of the A. so far as we know, was its original vite the sluggers to congregate there author. The point in the simile is the capitalist papers would howl with that you can kick a cur dog with imounity; that he shows no sign of reentment, but with his tail between us legs, slinks away. With the bull dog, however, it is different. When ite lies on the walk, curled up like a pretzel, blinking one eye, you respectfully describe a semi-circle as you pass him by.

The bull dog commands respect; the ur invites kicks. The former resents njury; the latter takes what he gets, thankful it is not worse. The bull log fights to maintain his rights; the or displays his streak of yellow. The ne seizes his assailant like a steel and the other lets out a yelp nd hikes for cover.

During the year 1803 the railroads inaugurated a systematic reduction of wages, the feeble protests of the craft brotherhoods being entirely ignored It was then the A. R. U. was organized and this dog story was told to illustrate the difference between the And right here let it be remarked that whatever may be said of the A. R. U. strike, it effectually stopped the reduction of wages in the railway ser-

Mr. Gompers repeated the with gusto and with evident admiration for the bull dog, although its moral was lost upon him and failed utterly to influence his official acts.

In all the years of his leadership, sad to say, Mr. Gompers never made the enemies of labor walk the semi-For years he pleaded with congress for a few stale crumbs, but the leaders of that capitalist cabal, Cannon et al, made no tracks that led around the circuit. On the contrary, these enemies of labor, representatives of the capitalist class, not only did not go out of their way to pass Mr. Gompers, but kicked him in the face with hobnailed shoes.

There is a point in this simple tale as Hunter remarked. worth thinking over," and if Mr. Gompers will give it due consideration the blinking eye of that bull dog may become his beacon light.

# SOCIALISM AND WOMAN.

The following fine passage is quoted from the brilliant Franklin H. Went-

worth:

It has now come to pass, without any initiative on our part, that every effort made toward freedom on the part of women today is branded as Socialism by the unsympathetic press.

Whether we will, then, or whether we will not, the cause of woman's emancipation is to be pisced upon the shquiders of the Socialist. Capitalism puts it there: we have no other choice but to assume the sacred burden. I, for one, am proud and gind that it should be so.

To fight for man, to fight for liberty, is joy indeed; but to feel, thrilling through every nerve, that every hlow we strike for man is at last a blow for women, too; this throws about our quest the quickening light of romance and chivalry and turns the class-conscious workman fighting for his cause into a Gaishad, a Parsifal, a knight of the Holy Grail!

This is a gem of true eloquence with-

This is a gem of true eloquence with out a flaw. Wentworth is at his best in the thick of the fight for the freedom of man, woman and child. He scorns to think of liberty that does not include woman as well as man and

doors opening to reeve him. He is for all humanity. It is for Socialist to with thought and disgraced; his hopes are blasted and his ambition the theoret, to again be the place of sunrising of a better age.

It is possible for America, however, to again be the place of sunrising of a better age.

It is possible for America, boyever, to again be the place of sunrising of a better age.

The climate of the place of sunrising of a better age.

The climate of the place of sunrising of a better age.

The climate of the place of sunrising of a better age.

The climate of the place of sunrising of a better age.

The climate of the place of sunrising of the place of sunrising of a better age. The stigma of a convict is of barbarous cruelty and discrimination and that the time has come to recognize her right to a place side by side with man in every struggle that makes for progress and a higher civilization; side by side with him in the enjoyment of every right and every opportunity necessary to her complete development, and side by side with him in all the seats of the temple of honor.

> PREJUDICE never advanced a step in a housand years.

EXTRA COPIES OF THIS EDITION will be mailed to any address at the rate of 50 cepts per 100; 200 copies, \$1; 1,000 copies, \$5.

# ROOSEVELT'S PLUG UGLIES.

President Roosevelt has all but urned the white house into a bullfighting arena and prize ring. He has made it the headquarters of prize ighters and is the first and only present to enjoy that distinction.

It will be remembered that he sent telegram of congratulations to Fitznmons when that slugger pounded another into insensibility. Now comes the report that he gives special reeptions to the brutes that hammer ich other's faces into blood pudngs. We quote as follows from a Washington press dispatch:

For three days each week President Roosevelt has been taking box-ing lessons from Prof. (?) Billie Sixmith, a former prize fighter, otherwise known as Jimmie Murphy. Battling Nelson recently had a talk with the President concerning his grow-ing corpulency. During the week From now on there will be John L. Sullivan and Jake Kilrain omething doing. sm. Then Sixsmith came. Sixsmith is smaller than the president, more wiry, quicker of foot, harder of muscle. Still he has no walk-over. Frequently the president lands with both fists-one on the stomach, the other

And so on ad nauseam. If a Socialist president were to convert the as far back as 1893, and who, white house into a prize ring and inindignation and charge in chords that othing else could be expected from Socialist and from putting the brutal lower class into power.

But as to Roosevelt having turned he white house into a prize ring this only bears additional testimony to his being the most unique and fearless president the country ever had,

# BEGGING FOR CRUMBS.

In every state capitol where the legis-lature is in session there is to be found a small army of walking delegates, representatives of organized labor, petitioning and begging for relief from wrong and injustice.

As the legislatures of the respective states are in session from two to four months the salary and expenses account of this labor lobby mounts high into the thousands of dollars, all of which comes from the pockets of the rank and file of organized labor, and from

which little or no good is derived. In opposition to the labor lobby is the apitalist lobby, the representatives of the capitalist class, whose influence is so powerful that no bill detrimental to corporation interests can be passed. These latter gentlemen are keenly alive shrewd, cunning, alert and unscrupulous. It is their particular business to guard they have succeeded is evidenced in part at least by the miserable laws upon the statute books relating to labor

The capitalist lobby, ever vigilant, has from the start been a success; the labor lobby, measured by results, a complete failure. The few crumbs guidgingly doled out are scarcely worthy of men-

The capitalist lobby issues its der upon the legislature; the labor lobby fimidly begs for recognition. The capi-talist lobby is shown every courtesy; the labor lobby poodles in fear and trembling. The one controls legislation; other is completely ignored

Such is the pathetic spectacle to be witnessed at our state capitols and there

The capitalists, united by class-inter-ests, are a unit. They are powerful through the weakness of the working class. On election day they support the candidates of their class. They well un-derstand that the working class divide, some voting for republican, some for democratic candidates, and that they, the capitalists, can not lose and that the workers can not win. The capitalists, united by class-i the workers can not win.

Candidates elected on capitalist tickets are the henchmen of capitalist interests and that is why legislative bodies sit up and take notice when a capitalist lobby issues its command.

When the toilers cease to crawl, when they become intelligent enough to stand erect, recognize their class interests, assert their manhood, send their own representatives to legislative halls, then it gations to the state capitol to serve as foot-mars for rotten and corrupt capitalist politicians to wipe their feet on.

I will be as harsh as truth and as un-Ramsey reached the pinnacle of success only to find the penitentiary doors opening to receive him. He is for all humanity. It is for Socialists to with moderation. No, no! Tell a many doors opening to receive him. He is isher; tell the mother to gradually ex-tricate her babe from the fire into which moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest-I will not equivocate I will not excuse—I will not retract a single inch—and I will be heard. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.—William Lloyd Garrison in The Libera-

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

# DESPOTIC POWER OF SUPREME COURT down, and beaten, by the officers of the United States court. The county rose that "the supreme court is the citadel and pursued the ruffians. They escaped into Greene county, where they turned and forever gone; but that court, true

Make Plutocracy Triumphant.

BY IMPPERSONIAN.

The constitution which defines specifically the power of this court, ne grants, implies or contemplates the exercise of the tremendous power of declaring null and void an act of congress claring null and void an act of congress.

The members of the senate and of the house and the president, who must all concur in the enactment of a law, are sworn to support the constitution. Are the nine supreme court judges more conscientious in observing an oath than consignation of the president? Are they abler men or are they better informed than the assembled representatives of the security.

Attorneys Hays as follows:

I observe that the case of Marbury vs. Maddison has been cited in the sure trial, and I think it material to stop at the threshold the citing of that case as a unit of the should be glad, therefore, if, in noticing the case, you could take occasion to express the determination of the executive attra-judicially and against law, and that the observe that the case of Marbury vs.

I observe that the case of Marbury vs.

Maddison has been cited in the Burr trial, and I think it material to stop at the threshold the citing of that case as a unit of the case, you could take occasion to express and the president? Are they about the case, you could take occasion to express the determination of the executive. than the assembled representatives of the nation? I think not. The three branches of the government are co-ordinate, and congress has as much right to annul a legitimate decision of the court by legislation as the court has to set aside an act of congress by its dic-

If we look upon the partisan vote of the supreme court in the Tilden-Hayes presidential contest; at the appointment of two attorneys of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., to that bench to give the greenback decision in favor of the railroad company; at the majority of one which reversed the will of the people in the income tax law; at the same power of one man which set aside as null and void the employer's hability act; at their sustaining injunctions in criminal cases, which every lawyer knows was an outrageous violation of all precedent and existing law-if we consider these things, the supreme court will not appear to be elevated above the ordinal, level of mankind in virtue and intellito be elevated above the ordinary

It is not possible for us of the pres ent commercial times to conceive of the storm of indignation which broke loose that court-or rather John Marshall for he was the court-first declared an act of congress unconstitu-tional and void. Unfortunately, the decision in this first case, Marbury vs. Madison, was purely negative-the refusal to grant a mandamus-and there was nothing for President Jefferson or congress to resist. But the claim had been made by the court of the right to exercise the veto power and the prece-dent established. Nothing since the dent established. Nothing since the the country. Everywhere, except in the monarchico-federalist circles, a great wave of revulsion rolled over the country. Learned judges pronounced the de-cision a usurpation; state legislatures took the matter in hand to see what could be done to curb the unbridled audacity of the courts; John Randolph submitted an amendment to the constitution providing that, "the judges of the supreme court and all other courts of the United States shall be removed by the president on the joint address of

both houses of congress.

In 1807-1808, motions were made in both branches of congress to amend the constitution so that all United States judges should hold office for a term of years, and should be removed by the president on address by two-thirds of both houses. This proposition, though lost, was supported by the legislatures of Pennsylvania and Vermont, by the house of delegates of Virginia and one branch of the legislature of Tennessee

In 1831 a final struggle was made in congress to change the tenure of federal judges from life to terms of years. The attempt failed; but the measure had fir rters in the house.

Today, a corrupted press and a ser vile population bare the near and the the knee before a court as if in the presence of the anointed of God on

And Jefferson, the great sepublican how did he comport himself? He bent all the powers of his massive intellect and untiring energy to defeat the machinations of the supreme court. He writes to Jarvis:

You seem to consider the judges as the nitimate arbiters of all constitutional questions; a very dangerous doctrine, indeed, and one which would place us under the despotism of an eligarchy. The constitution has arracted no such tribunal, knowing that, to whatever hands confided, with the corruption of time and party its members would become despots.

Again, speaking of the Judges he Bays:

They have, with others, the same pas-sions for party, for power, and the privi-ieges of their corps. Their maxim is: "It is the business of a good judge to extend his jurisdiction:" and their power is the more dangerous, as they are in office for life, and not responsible, as the other func-tionaries are, to elective control. Again he writes:

The great object of my fear is the federal judiciary. That body, like gravity, ever acting with noiseless foot and unlarming advance, gaining ground step better, and holding what it gains, is engulfing insidensity the appeals of the process. step, and holding what it grains, is the ing insidiously the special governments into the jaws of that which feeds them. He weites to Mr. Ritchie:

The judiciary of the United States is a subtle corps of cappers and miners, constantly working underground to undermine the foundations of our confederated fabric. An orinion is huddled up in conclave, perhaps by a majority of one delivered as if unanimous and with the client acquiescence of lazy and timid associates, by a crafty chief justice (Morehall) who sophisticates the law to his mind by the turn of his own reasoning.

Again he says, in 1801:

They (the federalists) have retired into the juncture as a stronghold. There the remains of federalism are to be preserved and fed from the treasury, and from that battery all the works of republicanism are to be beaten down and destroyed.

Again he writes in 1807:

And it is unfortunate that federalism is still predominant in our judiciary depart-ment, which is consequently in opposition to the legislative and executive branches and is often able to buffle their measures. he speaks of "the ravenous hatred Marshall bears to the government of his country and the cunning and sophistry within which he is able to enshroud himself."

"His twistifications," he tells Mr. "in the case of Marbury, first case above mentioned, in the day, the sheriff of Clark county in which the supreme court declared an undertook to serve a habeas corpus with an analogous object in view, been act of congress unconstitutional and upon them. He was fired upon, knocked in progress in more recent times? Sen-

void), in that of Burr, and the late Yazoo case, show how dexterously he (Marshall) can reconcile law to his per-sonal biases."

During the trial of Aaron Burr, Jefferson wrote to United States District Attorneys Hays as follows:

Thus, Jefferson not only repudiated the usurpation, but declared he would not submit to it.

Jefferson retained these views into old age. In a letter to Justice Johnston in 1823, he criticises the Marbury case at length.

Again he writes:

No veto power, ancient or modern, ever existed so formidable as this American irre-sponsible judicial veto. And such, too, were the opinions of

Mr. Madison, as Marshall' writes and deeply deplores. How pitiable, how contemptible, are those who claim to be Jefferson's disciples today! They have the maxims

of the great republican on their lips, but his heart and spirit is not in them. Does one of them dare attack the courts as Jefferson did? Not one. They quail in their presence and are as cowardly before them as hares before hounds.

Ye have the Pyrrhic dance as yet. Where is the Pyrrhic phalanx gone?

Base degenerates! There is nothing that can arouse them to the manhood of the old strain.

Of course, you know that the feder alists-at least the great leaders who controlled the party-Gouverneur Morris, John Adams, and Hamilton, were monarchists. They looked upon the ilton derided it as "a rope of sand." The question was, how to work monarchy and absolutism into it. They found a plan. The constitution must be construed that way. And so John Adams put John Marshall on the supreme court bench to do the job. And he did it. He was not learned in the law nor read in history Nor was this necessary for the work in hand. But he had an indomitable will, knew exactly what he had to do and a United States court. They went fur-how to do it. He was incorruptible, and ther, and held that, the territories being so was Torquemada, the inquisitor general of Spain. And no low-browed lesuit ever pursued the end in view more ruthlessly than did Marshall.

But even in those days of reaching after monarchy a sedition low was nec essary; now, a policeman may arrest a man and lock him up for "inflamatory language" without law. Nor did the a man charged with a criminal offense of his right to trial by jury by the hocus pocus of the injunction. archy itself dared not go these lengths, I was stunned. The reaction in the United States has made progress. In their greed for gain and their indifference for the rights of others than their individual selves, the people no longer heed the vital truth

And now do you ask what is the remedy?

I suggest the remedy proposed by Jefferson. Let congress pass a joint resolution declaring that no court has 1856, as follows:

ing them for usurpation of power:

I deem it indispensable to the continua-tion of this government that they (the indees) should be subjected to some prac-tical and impartial control.

The method proposed by Jefferson for court was:

By a strong protestation of both houses of congress that such doctrines advanced by the supresse court are contrary to the constitution; and, if afterwards, they re-iapse into the same heresies, impeach and set the whole adrift. So mote it be.

I shall now take up a period beginning fifty years later in the overt acts of resistance to the processes of the United States courts to enforce the fugitive slave law.

Upon a habeas corpus issued by Parker, a judge of the state of Ohio, a girl, an alleged fugitive slave, was discharged from the custody of the United States marshal. The girl was again arrested by the marshal on another warrant. The public was strung to the highest pitch of excitement and an outbreak was in prospect. The marshal was arrested and lodged in jail by the state court for a contempt. He the United States circuit court on a in their minds and hearts. habeas corpus. Here was a square clash was the excitement that either party might appeal to the military power with-

out a moment's warning.

Other cases of conflict between the we sets of courts followed in Ohio. One known as the "Greene County Rescue Case," put the state on fire. In May, 1857, a deputy marshal, with a Writing to President Madison 1810, number of assistants, refusing to show his warrant, kidnaped four citizens of Champaign county. A writ of habeas corpus was sued out and placed in the fands of the sheriff. He pursued the kidnapers, but before he could reach creating a court which would pronounce them, they had escaped into Clark county, beyond his jurisdiction. Later critical moment should arrive. Has not

into Greene county, where they turned loose their victims. The kidnapers were arrested and committed to jail at Springfield for the assault on the sheriff. United States Judge Leavitt discharged them.

Grier, a justice of the United States supreme court, stormed and threatened

If any tuppenny magistrate or any naprincipled interfoper can come in and cause
the officers of the United States to be arrested whenever they please, it is a sad
affair. If habeas corpuses are to be taken
out after that manner, I will have an indictment sent to the United States grand
jury against the person who applies for
the writ or assists in getting it, the lawyer
who defends it, and the sheriff who serves
the writ.

Governor Chase of Ohio replied with the following defiance to Judge Grier's threat in his annual message to the legislature:

The process of the United States comust not be slighted or resisted; but long as I represent the sovereignty of state, I will see that the process of the courts shall not be interferred or resisted, but shall be fully enforced.

The governor of Ohio was followed and sustained by his own state and by the states of Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, all of which states passed "personal liberty" bills in defiance of the proscesses of the United States courts. Under these laws the alleged fugitive slave must have the benefit of the habeas corpus and a jury trial; he was to have counsel at the expense of the state; must be identified by two witnesses the marshals were not to be allowed the use of the state jails; the assistance of the state officers was absolutely forbid-

The effect of these laws was almost prohibitive. With no assistance from the state authorities, plastered over with writs, with no jail in which to lodge their prisoners, faced by able lawyers and unprotected from the "mob," marshal was in sore straits to enforce the process of his court. And; in addiconstitution as a worthless thing. Ham- tion to this, in the event of an unfavorable verdict, he was heavily fined and imprisoned for attemping to reduce a free person to slavery. In the Higginson case it cost the United States a hundred thousand dollars to return a fugitive slave.

On March 6. 1857, the famous Dred Scott decision was handed down by the supreme court. The court held-two of the nine judges dissenting-that Scott, untiring energy and perseverance, and a being a slave, and, hence, not a citizen powerful native logical intellect. He was not entitled to bring an action in equally open to all the people, and slaves being recognized as property by the constitution of the United States, the slave owner had the same right to take his slave there and be protected in his ownership as the man from the free state had to take his horse and be protected in his possession; that congress could not deprive the slave owner of judges of that time dream of depriving this right; and that, therefore, the Missouri compromise was unconstitutional and void. This decision sustained every claim made by the south. The north

There are grounds for believing that this opinion was concocted by the majority of the supreme court and the proslavery leaders and sympathizers. Abraham Lincoln charged it and so did that, "Eternal vigilance is the price of dence of Alexander H. Stevens reveals the influences at work to obtain a dictum from the supreme court in favor of the southern contention.

Mr. Stevens writes, December 16,

resolution declaring that no court has any jurisdiction to declare an act of congress unconstitutional and void. If a judge should violate this law let him be impeached, convicted and removed from office, and some one put in his place who will obey the law.

Here is what Jefferson says relative to controlling the judges and impeach—

1850, as follows:

I have been urging all the influence I can bring to bear on the supreme court to get them to postpone no longer the case of the Misourir restriction. But to decide if they decide it as I have reason to be decide the second in the misouries of the power of the people in their trivial legislatures. It will be in effect a rea adjudicate.

Mr. Stevens knew from secret information all about what the court was doing and how it would decide. He

On New Year's day, 1857, more than two months before the decision in the Scott case was delivered, he writes in anticipation of it as follows: From what I hear sub rosa, it will be according to my own opinion on every point, as abstract political questions. The restriction of 1820 will be held to be unconstitutional. The judges all writing their opinions, I believe, seriatim. The chief justice will give an elaborate one." And so he did, and all squared exactly with Mr. Steven's anticipation. Mr. Stevens' "sub rosa" is significant.

Great Jawyers, like Fessenden, were scathing in their criticisms of the court. In a thousand pulpits prayers were offered up to save the country from the iniquitous decisions of judges. The nunciations. And the people of the free states, those in the mills and shops and on the farms. All that was said by the representative anti-slavery men was by the state court for a contempt. He only a putting into articulate speech was discharged by Judge McLean of and language what they felt profoundly ent generation has been educated differbetween the two courts, and so intense ently, thanks to the press, the pulpit, the politicians, the universities, the col-leges, private and public schools, and current popular literature. In accord with this teaching they grovel on their

bellies in the dust before a court like a Thibetan before the Dalai Lama. The judges of the supreme court are appointed by the president and confirm by the senate. For many years the advocates of slavery had elected the presidents it named, and controlled the sencreating a court which would pronounce the proper word of command when the a like procedure, under another power,

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas,

Hear what Horace Greeley said about it the day after the decision was handed down. He writes in a Tribune editorial as follows:

From this day forth, in the inexorable groun this day forth, in the incrorable against of imparial history, the court ill be marked as a self-degraded tribunal, and from this day forth it will be one of e great and leading aims of the people—the free states to obliterate the ahame—trecord and undo what it has done. What is been done will be undone. If there such a thing as eternal justice in the liverse, that foundation must crumble and land early all who recome uron it into

He continues:

He continues:

If the action of the court in this case has been atrocious, the manner of it has been no better. The court has rushed into politics voluntarily, and without other purpose than to subserve the cause of slavery. They were not called, in the discarge of their duty, to say a word about the subject. But they were in bot basts to enter the service of slavery. They volunteered their service of slavery. They volunteered their services. They at once violated their rules, sacrificed principle, and disgraced the judicial character. They harried upon infancy.

In another editorial, of March 23, he writes in the same tone. He pronounces the decision a usurpation and despises the "poor spirited parasites" who would submit to it. "We propose," he says, "to revolutionize the revolution. We design o prosecute countervailing measures to the usurpation which shall be sufficiently radical and effective to accomplish

Mr. Bowles, of the Springfield Re publican, one of the great men of those times, wrote:

times, wrote:

The majority of the court rushed needlessly to its conclusions, and are justly open to the suspicion of being induced to promounce them by partisan and sectional influences. The people are the court of last resort in this country. They will discussed review the action of the supreme court and, if it presents itself, as a practical question, will vote against it.

Let us now enter the halls of congress nd see what took place there.

Mr. Seward, speaking of collusion beween the pro-slavery leaders and the which "by chance or design" was before the United States." Have there been similar "approaches" in more recent come tax bill, the employers' liability act, and criminal injunction was before were no better than other men; and we know, from recent revelations touching men in high places, what some "other men" are.

Mr. Seward continues:

Mr. Seward continues:

The day of inauguration came. The supreme court was present. The president announced, vaguely indeed, but with self-satisfaction, the forthcoming extra-judicial exposition of the constitution as authoritative and final. The chief justice and his associates cemained silent. The senate too, were there. They took were silent, sithough the promised issurpation was to subvert the authority over more than half of the empire which congress had exercised without inferruption for more than seventy years. The pageant ended. On the 5th of March the judges, without even exchanging their silten robes for courtiers gowne, paid their saintations to the president. Doubtless the president received them as gracioc-jly as Chrales I. did the judges who had at his instance subverted the statutes of English liberty. On the 6th of March the supreme court dismissed the negro suitor, Dred Scott, to return to his bondaze. The new president of the United States having organised this formidable judicial battery at the capitol was now ready to bogin his active demonstrations of intervention in the territory. The supreme court of the United States to accent the principle that one finan can own other men; and that they must guarantee the inviolability of that false and pernicious property. The people of the United States to accent the principle so unconstitutions! pernicious property. The people United States never can, and they will, accept principles so unconstitutional and so abhorrent. We shall reorganize the court, and this reform its political sentiments and "ractices, and bring them into harmony with the constitution and the laws of nature.

Thus spoke Mr. Seward, the acknowledged chief of the anti-slavery forces, and his speech has the genuine Jeffer-

sonian ring. On the 9th of March, Mr. Hamlinafterwards vice president with Mr. Linattributes his information to a secret coln-following the path blazed out by source.

Mr. Seward, and speaking of the suked as follows:

We make the laws; they interpret them but it is not for them to tell us what are the limits within which we shall confine ourselves in our action. Of all despotisms upon earth, the despotism of a judiciary is the worst.

Mr. Hamlin anticipated a time in the future when this pretentious and arrogent court would be bitted and bridled and a halt called to its licentious usurpations. He continues; "While I am no prophet, I can read when coming events cast their shadows before. We are to have the power; we are to restore the government to what the fathers made it; and the court will come back to its original basis. But why quote Jeffer-son," he said, "he is obsolete on the other side of the chamber."

Mr. Hamlin, in these observations, expressly and explicitly repudiates the doctrine that the supreme court has any authority to declare an act of congress unconstitutional and void.

Glorious old Ben Wade, the Mirabeau of the senate, who always struck straight out from the shoulder, ex-pressed himself in the following lan-

So far as I have heard them, those who yield to the decision of the supreme court seem to suppose that it is obligatory on everybody, and that the senate of the United States, like poor Dred Scott, are barred, and thrown out of court; that the president of the United States and the house of representatives and every department of the government are ignored and no better off than poor Dred Scott. I deny the doctrine—the most dangerous what could be admitted in a free country—that these Judges, holding their offices for life, reposing with total immunity, have any right to decide the law of the land for any denartment of the government. Sir, you would have the most concentrated lire-snonsible despotism on God's earth if you would have the most concentrated lire-snonsible despotism on God's earth if you give such an interpretation to the decisions of that or any other court. No, sir; each department must act for itself. I stand here elothed with the same power to proclaim what the constitution is upon the passage of any law that comes before un as that or any other court. I follow my own luterpretation of the constitution; I am bound to do it; I have sworn that I would; and I beg of the senate never to So far as I have heard them, those yield to the decision of the supreme

yield to the arbitrary doctrine that the supreme court can hind the other depart-ments of the government; that we must yield to the decision which they make.

But I forbear to quote. It would recuire a volume to make an exhaustive compilation of the literary remains of jurists, statesmen, authors, editors, and other distinguished men, who have denied the right of the supreme court to exercise the "judicial veto." The south stood by the supreme court in those days because it was the ally of slavery; the money power stands by it today, because it is the ally of capital. It was just half a century from the

time Jefferson began his attacks on the supreme court to the revival of these attacks on the Dred Scott decision. Another half a century has elapsed since that decision to the present time. But we hear no protests today when the usurpations of the supreme court have wider scope and a deeper import than ever before. We have lost our breed of noble bloods. The attorneys of the Standard Oil, of the railroads, and of the trusts, have taken their places. Both houses of congress are as dumb as oxen. And the people? They are as quiet and submissive as sheep under the hands of their shearers.

The republican party came into exisence a short time before the Dred Scott case was determined. But nothing contributed more to its growth and expansion than this decision. Mr. Lincoln had said: "The country canno endure part slave and part free.'

This was in direct opposition to the dictum of the supreme court. Mr. Hamlin, as we have seen, repudiated the decision with indignation. The platform of the republican convention of 1860, which nominated Lincoln and Hamlin, denounced the doctrine that the constitution of its own force carried slavery into the territories, and this was repudiation and denunciation of the decision in the Dred Scott case. In a word, the republican party openly avowed and declared itself in opposition and resistance to the supreme court. And on this ground it elected Mr. Lincoin president. The south, alleging that apreme court in the Dred Scott case the republican party was revolutionary which "by chance or design" was before in refusing to submit to the decision that tribunal in the interim between and in organizing and coming into Buchanan's election and inauguration, power in direct opposition and resissays of the president elect: "Before tance to it-seceded. Could the quescoming into office he approached, or tion of the constitutional right of a state was approached by, the supreme court of to secede have come before the supreme court, it would undoubtedly have held with Buchanan, that the federal govtimes; say, for instance when the in- ernment had no constitutional power to coerce a state. The civil war was fought and the union saved on republican printhe court? Mr. Jefferson said judges ciples and in opposition to the supreme court. That was the hey day of the party's glory. But, how have the

De Tocqueville saw in the supreme court with its judicial veto, which can not be overruled like the veto of the president, but is absolute and enduring -he saw in this court the rock of great est danger to the American ship of state. He says:

The president who exercises a limited power may err without causing great mischief in the state. Congress may decide amiss without destroving the union, because the electoral body in which congress originates may cause it to retract its decision by changing its members. But, if the supreme court is ever composed of imprudent men or bad citizens, the union may be plunged into anarchy or civil war.

Eleven of the twelve judges of the realm, servile parasites and creatures of the king, declared in solemn conclave that James II had rightful authority to exercise the "dispensing power" and to set aside the laws of the kingdom at his will and pleasure. The people of England reversed this decision, plucked the crown from his Må jesty's brow and gave it to another, ex-pelled the would-be despot from the country, and made an end to the house of Stuart.

Hoc-oportet recordari.

# WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

Socialism is merely another name for industrial democracy. This means that the people shall have full control of ininstead of that control being exercised by capitalists, as it is today. Socialism, therefore, is merely an extension of popular rule and of the principle for which the American revolu-

tionists fought in 1776.

Now, the rule of industry involves two things. The first is, the ownership of industry. So long as the capitalists own the machinery of production and distribution they will necessarily con-trol it. On the other hand, when the people own this machinery, they will control it.

In addition to the ownership of the



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Tis Life, speaking without words, in everything, Demanding right to be itself, unhampered, And realize all possibility. That lies in life.

Even the plant loves freedom, And, given sunlight and a chance to grow, Becomes a thing of beauty. Even the beast Will wander wild and hunted, though it come By this necessity to worse than brute, For love of freedom. Even enslaving men, In mastering, are only seeking freedom From that which hinders them. So th' masters have Been jealous of their bite upon the veins
That they sucked empty. In their love of freedom
To do their will, they have enslaved the world,
And kept the general life from proper height. But did the many, burdened that the few Might have no burden, lose their love of freedom? Ah, no! In every age and land there have been some Who thought so much of life and what a man Might be in life, that they would risk their lives To bring life opportunity. These are, Though often slain and hindered, the choice souls Who nearer than all others, showed the world How infinitely sublime and beautiful A life might be.

Come, join the ranks of such, And, with the hindering tushes of the vampires That live on others still upon your throat, Tear at the hindrance, crying, "Liberty!" What power, what infinite power, shall be found In social life struggling for right to live! And, though you perish in the demon grip, You thus shall be so free in mind and soul That you shall reach a life half as sublime As free life would be, and shall, being yourself, Be living even in death, and always loved By all life's lovers. -Charles Lincoln Phifer.

SURPLUS PRODUCT. Socialists say much of the surplus roduct. By this they mean what the

machinery of production and distribution by the whole people—that is, collec-tive ownership, which precludes all dividing up-there will necessarily come more perfect organization of society than prevails now, so as to admit of popular rule. This involves the co-operative principle as against the competi-tive, with the elimination of duplications and waste such as prevail today. The idea is illustrated in the postal service, which, being one, takes the place of the many private carriers who formerly did the carrying of the mail. But another thing is involved in the

idea of collective ownership of the machinery of production and distribution It involves a job for every person. Even today the man who owns a busines himself a place in that business and the same principle will apply when every adult person owns an interest in industry.

A second corollary, or thing which follows as a matter of course, is that all profit-taking will cease. It always does when the public conducts industry. Even should there be a profit, it would have to be returned in the form of dividends to the whole people which would annul the profit. This is a necessary condition of public ownership Following this comes another corol

ary. If every man is able to employ himself, and receives his full social pro duct, without having to render to anyone else any interest, rent or profit, i will mean that every man will be able to make himself considerable private property. It is a mistake to suppose that the Socialist means that this private property shall be divided. He means that each man shall retain all the private property he may be able to make by his own efforts (without exacting a ribute from anyone else), and to spen his earnings just as he pleases. result will be much more private property for the masses, for the workers than they are able to obtain now when they have to pay tribute to the idle owners of the machinery of production and distribution.

It is a mistake to suppose that Socialism has a rigid system which it wants to enforce on the people. On the contrary, it merely wants to set them free from the rigid system of capitalism, and let them rule as they may see fit to rule. Coming back to the first proposi-tion, it wishes merely to etsablish an industrial democracy and deliver them in this way from the domination of in-dustrial emperors and lords of the land, or landlords.

HOW FREE ARE VOID

How free are you when you don't know where your next meal is coming from?

How free are you when you cannot have a home without paying some one for the use of his house! How free are you when you are

dependent on another for a job and dependent on the job for your life? How free are you when you cannot

get a chance to farm without paying some one else a rental for the privi-How free are you when you may be enjoined and jailed for expressing

an opinion not in accord with the rul-ing class interest? How free are you when you have to be careful what you say in the interest of your position? This may apply even to professional and busi

ness men. Freedom of the Working Class. Forty-seven years ago Abraham Lin-coln issued the Emancipation Procla coln issued the Emancipation Procla-mation setting "all" slaves forever free and yet the wage-slave is still in bond age. When every man is a Lincoln to himself and to his fellow-workers then will the slaves of the working class be also free.—Victor Benedict.

How can there be an houest profit How can one receive a full equivalent for service rendered so long as he does not get his full product and so long as he makes idlers rich?

worker produces over and beyond what he gets. To illustrate, no man can afford to hire another to do a work unless the employer makes a profit on that work. This profit, and all profit, is what the Socialist means by surplus value. He claims that it is a tribute rendered to the owner of the machine, of the land, or the house, for the use of that property, and that it is an im-moral exaction, just as the ownership of the slave involved an immoral exaction. He recognizes that "business" cannot be conducted under the private ownership of these needful things, without this tribute, so he does not attack the individual capitalist as a guilty man. But he holds that the tribute is only a wrong, must be ended in the overthrow of the system.

Believing the tribute to be a wrong he cannot compromise on letting it re-main. This is why he cannot fuse with any party that would merely ameliorate conditions, or tolerate any teaching that would justify the robbery of the peowould justify the robbery of the peo-ple, which has made them poor and ignorant. As well expect a man to be willing to assent to murder so long as it was done in an artistic manner as to ask the Socialist to compromise on the matter of surplus value-the tribute exacted of the worker.

The Socialist sees a very simple and practical way of ending this tribute. If the people owned the machinery of production and distribution collectively it would cease to be a possibility.

The New Declaration.

The Declaration of Independence for the working class was written in 1848. It is the Communist Manifesto. The working class it speaks of are all who work with hand and brain in field and factory, in shop and office. Its message is not clouded by mystic and secret formulas, which can only be interpreted by experts. It stands with both feet on the ground. Its appeal is simple and to the point: Working men of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a world to gain!"

Economic Determinism.

-Ernest Unterma

In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social ofganization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up plained the political and intellectual history of that epoch.-Karl Mars and

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# DIAZ INVADES UNITED STATES TO CAPTURE REFUGEES FROM MEXICO...UNCLE SAM BECOMES A SLAVE DRIVER

BY CRUECE M. SHOAY. Correspondent Appeal to Res

freedom of press and speech been stiffed by Diar; his blood-stained hand has reached across the border into the United States and with the consent and assistance of the authorities here he has repeatedly silenced Mexican papers that have dared to criticize his rule. Moreover he has caused the imprisonment without bail bers of Mexican editors who fled to this country for protection. Practically, this is the only tangible thing that so far has been produced against Magon, Villarreal and Rivera -they persisted in publishing a weekly paper, "Regeneracion," in which they pointed out the evils of the Mexican government, and demanded

Filipe Jauragui, a printer, was pur-sued to Chicago by Diaz's blood hounds and several times he narrowly escaped assassination because of his criticisms of the Mexican tyrant. Charged with violating the neutrality laws of the United States by reason of his publishing a paper in the Mexi-can language, in Waco, Texas, An-tonio de P. Araujo, editor of "Re-forma, Libertad y Justicia," was arrested in the Texas city, September 14, 1908. At first he was taken to San Antonio and kept several weeks, but finally he was hurriedly tried and sent to the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan.

#### The Case of Col. Guerra. In the latter part of November, of 1908, Col. Encarnacion Diaz Guerra,

an alleged revolutionist, was captured by Deputy United States Marshal Joseph Priest, at Wilburton, Okla., and taken to San Antonio, Texas, where he is now confined. Col. Guerra is a fine looking, dignified old gentleman nearly sixty years of age. For many years he was engaged in the mercantile business at Del Rio, Texas, where he was regarded as althy, and one of the solid men of town. By his friends and neighors Col. Guerra is said to be the embodiment of honor and integrity his hand ever outstretched to help home was always open to oppressed Mexicans who fled to the United States for refuge. Finally he was prevailed upon to join one of the liberal clubs that was being organized among the Mexicans along the Rio Grande, and to the extension of the propaganda he became a frequent con-

During the raid upon the Mexican military post, Las Vacas, June 26, 1908, Col. Guerra was absent from his home hunting and fishing upon Devils river, forty miles north of Del Rio, a fact which he can readily establish. However, the Mexican government had long wanted to eliminate him from active participation is the revolutionary propaganda, and his absence from Del Rio at the time of the Las Vacas raid furnished a basis upon which to prefer a charge. Learning that an effort was being made to extradite him to Mexico where he would be shot for treason Col. Guerra closed his business an departed from West Texas. During the following months he was tracked by Mexican spies and United States marshals from point to point until he was finally located in Oklahoma and taken captive.

As a result of his admitted sym pathy for the cause of Mexican free-dom Col. Guerra's flourishing busi-ness has been ruined, his home life broken up, his property wasted, and he himself thrown into fail. At the present time he is uncertain of the future. He does not know whether he will be sent to serve a term in the United States penitentiary or veloped business that is in a measure a Porfirio Diaz. He is merely being detained in jail, and no one seems to know the reason why-

# Slave Catchers for a Tyrant.

So many Mexican revolutionists have been apprehended in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California and sent back to Mexico during the last several years that the United States marshals and state rangers have come to regard it as a part of their official duties to capture the enemies of Diax'and return them across the Rio Grande, to be dealt with according to Mexican custom. Border papers, all of which are more or less influenced by the gold of the Mexican dictator, have rereceatly, owing to the spread of the Socialist idea, that the iniquitous pro-ceeding has been denounced.

Repeatedly newspaper men in Los Angeles, Tucson, El Paso, San Antonio and Laredo have declared to the writer that the apprehension of Mexican writers and refugees by state and federal authorities and the return of the prisoners to Mexico was a damned outrage that ought to be

Diaz Confiscates Property of Oppo-

When a Mexican revolutionist leaves Mexico he is compelled to leave behind him all of his earthly possessions. These are confiscated by the "Jefes Politicos," if they amount in value to but little; if the amount in value to but hous, wealth of the fleeing patriot runs up into the fundreds of thousands, as is into the fundreds of thousands, as is into the hundreds of thousands, as is frequently the case, Porficio Diaz takes charge and duly apportions the spoils among his more prominent heachmen. In several of the coun-

tries of Europe today are sojourning in poverty and obscurity Mexicans who were formerly rich in their own land, but who were forced to flee for their lives by Diaz and leave behind them their wealth. Antonio Villar-real, in the Los Angeles jail with Magon and Rivera, comes of a wealthy and prominent family in Lampazos, Mexico. His entire immediate family was virtually driven from their birth place and forced to seek refuge in the United States-

Forced to Flee and Property Stolen With his father, Prospero, two sisters, Andrea and Teresa, and young brother, Prospero, Jr., Antonio Villarreal reached Laredo, Texas, with other members of the liberal party, in the spring of 1904. Later they went to San Antonio, where they remained until they finally removed to St. Louis, Mo., where the junta of the liberal party was established. All of the members of the Villarreal family are highly educated and their very appearance indicates that they have seen better days. Though Antonio is in jail, and his father, brothers and sisters are steeped in pitter poverty, none of them would think of renouncing their propaganda or deserting the cause to which they have consecrated their lives. In St. Louis they experienced great difficulty in securing the actual necessaries of life, and the sisters, who in their own country had been reared in luxury and ease, with servants to do their bidding, were driven to seek employment as dish washers and scrub women. The story of the sacrifices of the two heroic young women, their descent from high social standing in Mexican society to the position of menials in an American hotel kitchen and their voluntary championship of

#### Story of a Brave Little Woman.

the eves.

the cause of Mexican liberty, is one

that touches the heart and brings

tears of admiration and homage to

Andrea Villarreal Gonzales, as she calls herself-taking, as is the Mexican custom, her mother's name instead of her father's-is twenty-seven years old, and a graduate. In Mexico her poems have attracted much attention, and her essays on liberty, printed in every Mexican revolutionary paper, have been the inspiration of the liberal movement. She is a little slip of a creature, pretty and chipper as a cricket, and in her eyes burn the unquenchable fires of resolution that compel respect. She is tender as a dove and as commanding as a lioness. Her hair is long and black, her forehead is high thoughtful and her features are perfect. All aglow with enthusiasm at the prospect of an early revolution in Mexico, which will result in the establishment of free government, she is ever ready to discuss the conditions that prevail in that enslaved and outraged country, or lend assitance to any proposition that will effect the liberation of her oppressed countrymen.

#### COUNTRY EDITORS AND FAC-TORIES.

This is the time of the year when the country editor talks of factories for his town, and tries his levelest to boost the little capitalist. Poor man! He is a pathetic figure, behind the times, and pleading for an antiquated and impossi-ble condition. Hanging on by his eye-brows himself, he is ready to do anything in his power to aid a small capi-talist who will "start something" and provide an opening for the idle in his few more paltry jobs of printing for himself.

local monopoly and hence be able to exist in comfort, but a majority of them are hopeless themselves and looking toward a forlorn cause to save them and their towns. The city office and the federal government are taking their job work; the daily and specialized weekly are absorbing their news fields; the tendency of trade, manifesting in the rural route and department stores, is absorbing the business of the little town, and in doing that narrowing his field, and the only hope toward which the country editor and little town can sook is the small factory.

To secure this economic necessity forces them to a willingness to sell themselves body and soul to anyone who may have a little capital to invest. But

may have a little capital to invest. But this is a foolish hope. The days of the small factory are over. Except for this is a foolish hope. The days of the small factory are over. Except for brick plants, cauning factories and concrete works, there are precious few small factories being built now. When they are secured for the small town, it is usually at the expense of concessions which rob the town of all its benefits; and, besides, a few years will make all manufacture a matter of big machinery and then the factory which was hoped would build up the little town, proving ineffective, will be left idle and the capital invested in it lost.

When the parcels post comes and trustification proceeds a bit farther, and the farmer is connected by telephone with the big city, then the little town will die and the country paper will be no more, except a memory and a romance of the past. The country editor ought to be bright enough to see this. If any man in the world ought to be an enemy of capitalism for the things it has done to him, it is the country editor.

EXTRA COPIES OF THIS EDITION

A Call to Freedom BY A. CHANNING BLAIR, LODEZ, COLO.

BY A. CHANNING Bleats, burning low,
The first of Freedom, burning low,
Shame our beleved land,
And men are called, as long ago,
For human rights to stand.
The burle sounds, our banner waves. The bugie sounds, our banner waves. Take up the cry, "Set free the slaves!" Greed's minions sit in places high,

And serve at Mammon's call;
The poor are shackled, led to die,
And at his feet they fall.
O bugle, sound! O banner, wave!
O freemen, cry, "Set free the slave!" In prison cells our patriots groan,

Who not a wrong have do And foreign powers sway and own The land of Washington. So, bugie, sound, and banner, wave, and let us once more free the slave.

WHAT SOCIALISM WILL DO.

Socialism will free the world from

Socialism will free men from worry about making a living.

Socialism will free the world from war, for Socialism is co-operation.

Socialism will free the world from child slavery, which is maintained solely for profits.

Socialism will make you free to express yourself. Now you are under ulers and bosses.

Socialism will end the pursuit of political refugees, because it will make the world a brotherhood.

revolutionary forefathers. Socialism will so free you that you may be able to go to college, travel,

or develop your particular talent. Socialism, by freeing mankind of material need, will enable them to develop their intellectual and spiritual natures.

Socialism will, by freeing men and women of economic necessity, make it possible for all to marry and have lecent homes.

Socialism will free the earth of the ourden of debt, because when everyone can make a living by work and the industries are operated collectvely there will be no occasion to go in debt.

Socialism will largely end that phase of the profit system known as prostitution, because under it any woman can make a good living at work and will be enabled to redeem herself from a mistake in life.

Socialism will free the world of the nonsense of fashion, which destroys individuality by making all dress alike and burdens thousands to keep in vogue. How? By destroying the profit system. Fashions are devised only that more profits can be made out of fools from the sale of more

# ANNE FERRY SMITH

An Appreciation by Francis M. Elliott. I have searched the Socialist press in vain for some appreciation of the work of Comrade Anna Ferry Smith. It seems to me something worse than sacrilege that this lofty soul should pass to the great beyond with no word of commendation from those who alone of all the world could appreciate her worth. Her work for humanity began before most of us were out of our swaddling clothes and her entrance upon the stage of Socialist activity antedates by many years our earliest conception of economic liberty.

her presence intimately long ere her noble personality had dawned upon our mental horizon. She was one of the grand apostles of human liberty, whose presence may be divinely discerned far out upon the frontier of human progress in every age of man. Her impulsive, combative, celtic nature led her everywhere the combat raged the fierctst, and th battle cry of freedom was ever upon the lips of this noble woman. Her life was a credit and an inspiration to her sex and to all mankind and when I view in perspective her magnificent struggle I am ashamed of my own Socialism is a program far more paltry sacrifices for and contributions complete than was the program of our to the cause which she so nobly served. No words that we can utter, no

The interior of capitalist jails knew

sentiment that poet's pen can portray, will serve to adequately express the actual worth of her lofty soul to human progress. She lived to see fulfilled her last longing wish and that was to know the outcome of the political struggle of 1908. More than two years ago she told me that if she could only live to see 'Gene Debs nominated and the campaign of last year concluded she would lay down the burden of life uncomplainingly. Poor, dear soul, her wish was grati-With what commingled feelings of pity and regret she heard the dis appointing results of that contest, we may never know. Suffice it that she did not long survive the fulfillment of her wish.

Like the calm that follows the tempest at sea her great soul sank peacefully into eternity. May she rest in peace and may we have forever with us the inspiration of her spiritual pres ence!

[When the death of this grand old conrade was announced Engene V. Debs prepared an extended review of her life and tribute to her memory. Unbappilly the manuscript in some mysterious manner disappeared after it reached the editor's deek. This beautiful tribute here paid to our departed comrade is richly deserved. Contrade Anna Ferry Smith was one of the most rugged and tearless of the pinners in the struggle for liberty. She served the cause loyally through some of its most trying periods and her honored name will be freeze associated with the cause of freedom.—Editor Appeal.]

#### Come, Then, Together, All! BY ALPRED BUDDEN

Come, then, together all:

This is no time to dally:
Can you not hear the trumpet call,
The call to the final rally?
Fing out the standard to the wind,
The rad, red fing of old;
We fight the battle of humankind,
'Gainst the powers of greed and gold.

Come. then, together all.

This is no time to lotter;
Can you not see our comrades fall
By the hard of the cruel exploiter?
Filing down the gauntiet to vice and shame,
The mailed hand of truth;
We fight the hattle in freedom's name,
Gainst the powers of wrong and ruth.

Come. then, together all,
This is no time to faiter;
Our comrades, stand in felon's stall
Or swing on hempen halter.
Fling out the challenge across the land;
The fee is brought to bay;
Close up the ranks for the final stand;
Victory shall crown the day.

"A FRIEND OF MAN."

He was a friend of man and he lived in house by the side of the road.—Homer. As far back as Homer's time the "friend of man" was so rare that he attracted the attention of the ancient

In the struggle for animal existence, first with nature, then with the greed of the ruling class for power and pelf, the opportunity for man to live the "golder rule" has been limited indeed. A system which develops ignorant selfishness, in which tooth and claw are essential to success, and the unscrupulous propsper, while the industrious-those who perform every useful function of societynot only éke out a beggarly existence but are looked upon as the "lower" class, is not conducive to the development of the higher and nobler qualities of human nature.

The friendship of man today is largely commercialized, filled with exthe heart and soul play but minor parts. The prospect of financial advantage fans passing acquaintance into seeming love, but it is spurious, not genuine, and will not stand the test of time.

The beautiful precept of Christ, "love thy neighbor as thyself," is mouthed from hypocritical pulpits but competitive system it finds no place. In reality it is only a byword. There can be no love where men are fiercely warring for trade, for jobs, for animal ex istence; where the flower of hope is blighted, where the eye sees only misery and suffering of those who have failed and fallen and can no longer resist their brutal conquerors.

The time is coming, comrades, when co-operation will succeed competition; when man will no longer against man in the degrading struggle for existence. Then the virtues will find expression, and map will develop those higher qualities which dignify his being; he will cultivate the good and beautiful things in life, sing the song of love and fill the world with joy. The flower of joy will blossom in his heart and he will build his house by the side of the road and be "a friend of man."

# SOCIALISTS ON LIBERTY

Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Liberty, Equality and Fraternitythese are the holiest of all words; they are the marrow of all gospels and the fulfillment of all revelations.-Edwin Markham.

Liberty.

Liberty is the winged ideal of the soul. Who heeds her call shall never sleep. Whose lips have felt her kiss shall nevermore be silent.

know the throb and thrill of Universal Love. -Kate Brownlee Sherwood.

Free Speech and Free Press.

The Appeal is one of the greatest bulwarks the American nation has today to protect it in the preservation of free speech and a free press. Every Amercan who has any regard for the traditions of his country should not only be a subscriber to the Appeal, but an active agent in getting others upon its subscription list .- Gaylord Wilshire.

Socialism and Liberty.

"Liberty"-A word expressive of the strongest aspiration of man.

A mere sound in the past, vague, yet magical, making heroes of the meanest, who fell fighting for what they meant by it.

But a fact at last, surely, tomorrow, under Socialism!

For under Socialism alone-sum total of human progress-liberty must and can be.-Lucian Sonial.

Higher Ideal of Liberty. "We proposed to give all a chance;

and we expected the weak to grow pectations of material gain, in which stronger, the ignorant wiser, and all better and happier together." So said Lincoln, fifty-five years ago. His words are our words, crying, as he did, for a higher ideal of human liberty, a broader conception of human brother-hood, a world from which slavery, injustice and opression shall be forever eliminated.-Hildegarde Hawthorne.

Liberty for All. The admonition of Walt Whitman "Liberty must be subserved, whatever occurs!" was never more urgent than at the present moment. Socialism will Spirit shall not be Free while his Body fail in its mission if it is not libertarian is in Slavery and Want. Not till every to the core. Liberty for Pouren! Liberty for the Mexican refugees! Liberty for Gompers! Liberty for Freema Knowies! And liberty for Emma Goldman and her little band fighting bravely for free speech in San Francisco! Leonard D. Abbott.

Liberty and Life.

Liberty is the fulfillment of the aspi ation of the human heart to enjoy the fullest life as intended by nature and for which nature has so abundantly provided-for which all the real poet have sung, all real authors have writ-ten and all real heroes and heroines of the world's history have struggled and sacrificed. And the next step in its fulfillment is the economic indepen dence of the workers of the world through Socialism .- D. C. Coc ...

King's Scepter in Voter's Hand.

When the savage becomes civilized he loses his liberty. If he recovers it, he's fit to have it. If he doesn't he ing constitution of the United he's fit to have it. If he doesn't he isn't. Maybe this ought not to be so, isn't. Maybe this ought not to be so, but it is so. Civilization has ever been but it is so. Civilization has ever been he scaffold of the free, and no man has a remedy in the calling of a convention conquered his executioner. paraphrase Napoleon's remark: every American voter's hand is a king's scepter-and those who are fit to be free will win back their lost freedom with it. -Allan L. Benson.

What is Liberty?

May the report of the "Liberty Edi-tion" be so loud and clear that it will he heard around the world. May might-be glorious land, stir the slug-gish brain of the giant Labor, and awaken him to a realization that he is only liberty he has, is submitting to the master's will or starvation.

What is liberty? Free earth, free air, free water and omnipresent opportunity for everybody to use all nature's resources.-F. M. Cassidy.

No Battle for Liberty in Vain-

Abraham Lincoln, more than any other, transformed the negro from a chattel into a man, placed the black race upon an equal footing with the white, and, with his martyrdom, sealed the heritage of achieving a common salvation. No battle fought in the name of liberty has ever been in vain. The best in humanity has always been fulfilled, the social horizon has ever been widened, until with the Socialist movement, there is the happy confluence of the love of freedom that tolerates neither defeat nor compromise and the consciousness that the shackles must be struck from all the world's oppressed .-Joseph E. Cohen.

The International Bond of Brotherhood. What we call Mankind has never been

barriers between man and man. It has already welded together forty million human beings into one grand union en-circling the earth, and it is busily weavinsatiate hands the destinies of the shall become a heaven and humankind ing the bond of brotherhood of all men. come the most effective and popular of land for which our fathers died. One as gods fit for the ultimate liberty of Forty million men and women of all all issues, and the Socialist party should awful, implacable human octopus, en- immortality.

Takes to be destinies of the shall become a heaven and humankind ing the bond of brotherhood of all men. come the most effective and popular of a working percent it.—Frederick Upkom Adoms

in joyous harmony across the seas and mountains in all parts of the globe. They are engaged in the same struggle, they are animated by the same hope and inspired by the same ideal-the world-wide commonwealth of man. There is something inexpressibly sublime in this bond of international brotherhood. It is the realization of the dream of the prophets of all ages; it is the proof of the irresistible force of our movement-it is the pledge of our Who runs to catch her lighted torch victory, comrades.-Morris Hillquit.

shall never be afraid.

Who plights to her high troth shall rise Economic Freedom and Individual Rights.

In the days of its youth the capitalist class was revolutionary. It came into the world with the historical mission of developing individual rights. In France and in the United States it spoke much of free press, free speech, freedom of contract, trial by jury and similar rights.

Today as the capitalist class finds itself on the defensive against the rising ranks of the workers it is rejecting all these ideals of its youth. Freedom of contract has come to mean only the opportunity to become a wage slave, freedom of press, of speech and of an assemblage are to be tolerated only when they do not interfere with class nterests. The working class must now take up

not only its own historic mission of gaining economic freedom for the race, but also the further task of fighting for these individual liberties. Capitalism has betrayed its own his

toric mission. The workers must therefore carry the double burden.-A. M.

Free Bread and Free Men. There are about one and one-half billion human beings on the earth.

Mostly Slaves and Serfs-though many of them know it not. Some of them think themselves Lords and Mastersbut they are really Slaves and Seris also, though they know it not. Until all of those 1,500,000,000 are free, none shall be free. Until then, none has a right to be free. Bread shall make them free. When Bread is free for every human being, then shall true freedom begin. Socialism will mean Bread. Free Bread means Free Men. Free Women, Free Children. Man's material need of every one of those one thousand five hundred millions of human beings has been freely supplied can any one of them stand erect and truly say that his soul is his own. Socialism is Freedom for All. In working for the freedom of all others we shall find freedom for ourselves. In the struggle for bread, in the work for Socialism, in the battle for true freedom, the most powerful weapon is the Free Press. And the Appeal to Reason, in lighting for a Free Press for itself, is lighting for freedom for all, and every issue brings nearer the day of Free Bread for all—the day when all the peoples of this earth shall be free.—Ben Hanford.

Liberty and the Constitution.

Years of study and thought have-forced on me the conviction that no real liberty, no possibility of an actual democracy, to say nothing of that scien-tific co-operation for which Socialists are striving, is possible under the exist-

a remedy in the calling of a convention for its revision. It is a remarkable thing that no faction or party, seeking to institute sweeping and fundamental reforms, has ever attemped to insolute this method of procedure. It is less difficult to call such a constitutional convention—assuming that the majority of the people are convinced that there is need of radical changes—than it is to bring about the adoption of a single amendment.

The constitution of the United Seeking

amendments. It contains generic de which must be torn up by the and the only possible way to bring about is by the manner provided viz: the calling of a constitutional

The Socialist party such a constitutional convention, will be on safe ground in doing so, will draw to ourselves that vast is of the people which at last is trobbery will draw to ourselves that vast is to tion of the people which at last is resiring that every form of robbery as extortion of which the masses are witims is justified by judicial construction of an antique document which purpose was designed for the express purpo of subjecting the producing majorito the domination of a wealth fortification.

to the domination of a wealth fortified minority.

I have written on this subject for years, have been reviled and harshly criticized, but now have the satisfaction of knowing that the thoughtful people of the nation have come to understand that the document they have been taught to revere is the greatest obstacle in the way of economic and evolutionary progress—which means liberty. I hope in the near future, to offer a book which will throw a clear light on the original purpose and actual effect of our majority-thwarting constitution, and I hope that it will help in forcing this most important of all issues to the forc. What hope has Socialism for the installation of its program under the existing constitution and its judicial construction? It would be powerless against the courts even with every half of legislation in its control. If we do not like

lation in its control. If we the rules of this game the step is to move to change. The time is at hand when the

# THE REPUBLIC OF MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD

Liberty! Millions of children in cotton mills, glass works, mines, coal reakers, shops, slums and streets. Millions of the little ones whom the compassionate Christ bade suffer to come unto him, mulcted of home influence, of education, of play-time, of all the sacred rights of childhood. Millions of baby slaves, underfed, dwarfed, crippled in mind and body, that their young lives may be coined money for the modern into blood Herod. Millions of small, neglected mounds in the potters' field, covering handfuls of pathetic, mammon-murdered dust that under righteous cor ditions might have grown into noble womanhood and manhood: of the coming mothers and fathers of free and independent Americans rendered by inhuman toil and civic cowardice unfit to become parents. Millions of immature grist for the hard Millions of future criminals, cripples, lunatics and paupers for our splendid prisons, our charity hospitals, our great asylums, our glorious poor houses. Millions of useful lives sacrificed in the administration of undeserved and unjust punishment. fellow humans, neglected and ruined in their plastic infancy by the shameple. Millions of treasure squandered to buy the pound of cruel repression and ineffective cure, which ought to have been used to purchase the pre-

ventive ounce of a truly great nation's wise and loving care for the children of the commonwealth.
Liberty! Millions of women, unwomanly rags," working at health-breaking, heart-crushing tasks for a pittance no man would accept, their families uncared for, their homes the hells of the tenements, their lives a pitiable protest against the infamy of man's inhumanity to woman. Mil-lions of our mothers, our sisters, our wives, our daughters in sweat shop and slum, in dive, dance hall and brothel. Millions of young girls in department stores and shops, standing on wearied, aching feet for ten and twelve hours, and selling honor the difference between starvation wages and the food and clothing they must have to keep even that poo

means of earning a livlihood.

Liberty! Millions of men toiling nderground, laboring at the pit's mouth, sweating in fierce heat, strain-ing over throttle and lever, and facng danger and death with brave and tired eyes for barely enough to keep soul and body together, to the enfor barely enough to keep that we may have light and heat, to les, \$1; 1,000 copies, \$5. the end that we may touch hands with

of our dear dead, and to the wicked end that "to him that hath shall be given, from him that hath not shall be taken away even that he hath." Millions of strong, willing workers in the unnecessary and menacing army of the unemployed—the surplus laand exploiter buys the cheapest "com odity " in this cold world, the toil of

fellow human whose heart is sick with the hunger-fear. Millions of our kin, broken in their prime by over-arduous and ill-requited tasks callously thrown upon the scrap pile of a commercial civilization. Millions of "hands" wasting their energies is the senseless war of strike and lock-out, of boycott and blacklist, while their families become prey to the wolf of want. Millions of potential bread winners in the clutch of needless poverty in the richest country or and receivers of "the uncarned incre- lized by a lessening handful of oli-ment") lost in the insane game of garchs, who manage the vast, looted murderous competition, which, if used in honest and sensible co-operation, greed and not for public service.

could be made to bear fruit a thou-

Liberty! Millions of acres (the na tion's patrimony, the people's herit-age) denuded of their forests, their coal, their oil, their metals and their water, that Dives may have more for conspicuous waste and vulgar osten-tation. Millions of farms groaning under morigages, that Shylock may have his pound of flesh. Millions of fertile spots held by greedy speculators, by privately owned railroads, or by millionaire landlords as game-pre-serves, while millions of the plundered common people, who could earn generous competence on the fearful bu generous competence on the soil, rot gested cities, breeding the fearful just revenge of the slum, pestilence, crime and revolt.

Liberty! One-tenth of one per cent of the people owning over sev-enty per cent of the people's wealth. A hundred men—five score "Christian gentlemen"—controlling the "property interests" of a nation. Organized, predatory, lawiess, criminal wealth debauching courts, corrupting politics, financing elections, huving legistics, financing elections, huying legis latures and seats in the senate, pros-tituting the press, robbing the state, maintaining shameless lobbies, enmaintaining shameless lobbies, en-slaving a free people. Half a dozen narrowly intelligent, specialized money-changers (Oh, for a Christ!), de void of conscience, patriotism or the love of humanity, holding in hard, insatiate hands the destinies of the

Liberty! An androcracy which dis

franchises the better and more intela ligent half of its population, forgetting that if "taxation without representation is tyranny" for noble, god-like man, it is doubly tyrannous for weak and helpless woman. Liberty! A democracy for men only

which places the mothers that bore and reared them upon a political equality with callow youth, the idiot, he lunatic and the criminal.

Liberty! A republic that elects its chief magistrate and senators by in-direction, that has not the right of initiative or referendum, that may not change its representatives by sovreign recall, and that has no means of enforcing the will of its people by imperative mandate.

Liberty! A federation of states cation, except by letter, are monopo-

Liberty! True liberty, whose every right walks hand in hand with an obligation, whose every privilege keeps step with a duty, and whose highest law is the Golden Rule. And this liberty is a thing that can never be until it has been conceived in economic justice, born in social honor, and bred in political equality of opportunity.

Liberty! Liberty! Liberty! Great
white, uplifting liberty that marches
shoulder to shoulder with justice,

truth and love; that damns the sordid creed of have and get, and glories in the splendid gospel of the gift; that dowers all with freedom of mind, body and estate; that lovingly admits the universal motherhood of God and the sisterhood and brotherhood of the race; and that lives the truth, that none is free until every human soul has equal opportunities, a square deal

and a white man's chance.

O, Liberty, eternal, beautiful, divine liberty! We lift our hearts, our more than a loose collection of human heads, our hands to thee, for thou art the hope of the justly generous soul, have combined to split the human famthe dream of the poet, the vision of the prophet of the golden time that is coming with hastening footsteps, of the nobler day that is dawning even now, of the glory and the splendor of tomorrow, of "The Republic of Man, Woman and Child," of the "natural" as well as the "artificial" parliament of nations, of the comradehood of humanity, and of a freedom so perfect and untrammeled, that un-der its gracious benison the earth

country for which Abraham Lincoln laid down his generous life.

# Prisoners of Plutocracy

Ricardo Flores Magon, Mexican patriot, jali, Los Angeles. Antonio I. Viliarreal, Mexican patriot, jali, Los Angeles. Librado Rivera, Mexican patriot, jali, Los Angeles. Manual Sarabia, Mexican patriot, under bali, pending trial. Antonio P. Araujo, Mexican patriot, penitentiary, Fort

Samuel Gompers, American labor leader, under ball pen-ding decision. Frank Morrison

ding decision. Mitchell, American labor leader, under ball pending

decision. M. R. Preston, American labor leader, penitentiary at

Carson City, Nev. Joseph W. Smith, American labor leader, penitentiary at Carson City, Nev.

Fred D. Warren, American Socialist Editor, under ball pending trial.

#### WEAKNESS OF SOCIALISM.

one about which you never hear. The weakness lies in the apathy of the people. Socialism depends for success on votes, which requires an aroused populace, and so long as the people are prejudiced and careless, Socialism must of necessity have a hard row to hoe

Capitalists recognize this fact. They also recognize the strength of Socialism. They do not attempt to answer its logic. They do not defend the system of exploitation which they maintain. All this they know is just as the Socialist says it is. But they do seek to foster prejudice against Socialism, to confuse the people as to its meaning and purpose by carefully prepared half-lies, set th by the teachers and paid beneficiaries of the rich.

The way for success in this line has been prepared by them through cen-turies of training. The people have been taught in schools supported by capa struggle for life that has developed in them the worst them the worst passions and pulses. They have been kept from de-velopment and worked to exhaustion until they are, in many cases, incapable of real thinking.

Because the people are in this condition capitalists are able to hoodwink them, and Socialists have difficulty in getting them to understand their true Yet capitalism, with all trained ignorance and prejudice, has a more fatal weakness than the weakness of the people, on which it relies for support. It is a failure. It will be compelled to reduce the people more and more to a condition of helplessness. It will find itself with a larger and larger army that it has robbed and ruined and that it is smable to provide for. These will not stand with it. They

will become Socialists. The and more alert of the people will them-selves become Socialists. Many of the capitalists, even as they are now, will come to see the justice of the Socialist cause. So, losing on all sides, and depending for power on their dependents, while they can provide for fewer and

fewer, they will wage a losing fight.
The very weakness of Socialism will in the end prove the weakness of capi-talism and lead to its overthrow.

# GROWN UP CHILDREN.

If you had the understanding of Morgan, Rockefeller, or Edison, you would not be living the life you are. I mean to say by this comparison that you are what you are because of your conception of things-or lack of

You send your child to sche broaden its concept of life. And in channels of instruction the schools do this. But whatever is withheld from the child it does not see and has no

You are nothing but a child of more e you doing to broader your views? There are many vital sub-jects that you are ignorant of. You should go to school—that is, you should study as widely and deeply as you pos-

Of the most vital importance to men engaged in producing for a world-wide market is the study of economics. It is as essential as the study of the technics of production itself. Most of you who read this paragraph have little or no idea what is meant by economics. and you will be surprised, if you ever get hold of the right book, how much it can teach you that you should have

known before.; Knowledge is power and the lack of

\* (is why we have collossal fortunes and Socialism has a weakness, but it is great poverty. Somebody is ignorant Whom do you think it is? And wouldn't it be good advice to the ignorant to get wise to the situation? Of course, you could not at once change things benefit you if you had knowledge, it would help you over many a hard road and enable you to explain to others and thus increase the number and power of those who are down and help them

to act together for the common good The stupid boy does not sense he is ignorant and he can be taken advantage of without knowing it. You millions are in just that condition. Some of you dimly perceive that you are being skinned but you don't know the process, nor how to prevent it. And until you do you will be victims of the

Economics will explain all this to you Those who profit by your ignorance will make all manner of fun of your reading economics; for they have an interest in keeping you ignorant. You are not as wise as you imagine.

#### WE SUMMON YOU.

We summon you to do and dare for righteousness. What shall it matter though you may heap up treasures that are but sand and trash? What does it matter though on the mountain top you stand alone and glory in the vision of fame with its lifted horizon? Unless you shall give your life to serving that all life may be free, you have missed the better part, you have lost your soul. This is a crisis in the world's affairs that is far more serious than that of revolutionary days. At that time, the contest was confined to two countries Now the contest is with a world-wide capitalism, and the enemy is not beyond the seas but rather has its strongholds right at home. Then, if the colonie failed they would still have had a great frontier on which the patriots could have moved and been free. Now, if we fail, there is no frontier, and we shall become more and more dependent on the money power. You look back and think you should like to have been a Patrick Henry, a Benjamio Franklin or even a minuteman or a Paul Revere But what are you going to be and do now, in this greater crisis, in this last stand for liberty, this first stand for full freedom? There is now a chance for heroism as never the world saw. We you to do the work that shall make this jewelled ball a place of free-dom and joy, and shall banish the tooth and claw from the earth. You are not called to work for money-a very sordid, unworthy motive, but for your chil dren and the good of the future. are called to uproot the weeds and sow flowers and grain. You are called do what you honor the great of old for doing. You are called. It is opportun-

James Otis thundered in this hall when the king did but touch his pocket. Imagine, if you can, his indignant elo-quence, had England offered to put a gag upon his lips,-Wendell Phillips in Faneuil hall.

a universal love?

When legislation rivets a chain to the feet of a free citizen, enslaving him in spite of the rights of nature. eternal justice rivets the last links of that chain on the tyrant's neck .- St. Just.

The liberty of expressing opinions is Knowledge is power and the lack of the same as thought itself, and is in-it gives others power over you. That separable from it.—John Stuart Mill.

# YOU ARE INVITED

to subscribe for the Appeal to Reason. It is published in the interest of international Socialism—which means universal brotherhood and peace—and has the largest circulation of any Socialist paper in the world.

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question.

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### AMENDMENT REJECTED.

The amendment to the anti-trust thich has been pending in con gress since the last session, has been reported upon adversely by the com-mittee on judiciary of the senate, and this disposes of the matter for session. Commenting upon this acpress says: "This adverse report is probably the most important legal coment that has emanated from the judiciary committee in a number of years, as it constitutes a direct an swer to the proposition that there shall be interjected into the anti-trus law provisions which will authorize leniency to be granted by the inter state commerce commission and the commissioner of the bureau of corporations, in certain cases, including railroads and organized bodies, such as farmers' associations and labor or ganizations.

This is the bill prepared and intro duced by the civic federation. At the hearing upon the bill Seth Low, of New York, and Mr. Gompers, of the F. of L., made elaborate arguments in its favor. But in spite of all this the amendment has been rejected and the bill is now dead. The anti-trust will continue operative as it is and as it has been construed by the capitalist courts.

Of course, the railroad and other great corporations will continue to do practically as they please, but la bor unions which have been con strued as trusts under this law will doubtless be made to feel its restrictive and prohibitive provisions more than ever before.

We have in this action by conress another evidence that upon all vital propositions and in all essen tial respects it is a capitalist body and it is utterly vain for the work ing class to expect anything at its hands except legislation impairing its efficiency, and destroying its useful

All the organized bodies of the ountry have urged the passage of this anti-trust law amendment so as to exempt labor unions from its provisions as construed by the supreme court, but the committee reported adversely and the bill is defeated just

The present anti-trust law is en tirely agreeable to the great corporaand the courts will never construe it to their detriment. It was never intended in the first place to apply to labor unions, but such has been the progress of the federal in diciary toward plutocracy that this law is now invoked chiefly to paralyze labor unions and place working men more completely at the mercy of corporate power.

There is in this action of congress on this most important measure auother object lesson for the trade un ionists who in the last election supported a capitalist party instead of

# MULTIPLY YOURSELF.

An alert and wide-awake comrade at St. Louis recently copied an article of about 250 words from the Appeal, signed his name and address to it and sent it to the St. Louis Post Dispatch asking space for it in the people's col-The article was accepted and pub lished and received the benefit of the Post Dispatch's hundreds of thousands circulation. This is a clever method of multiplying the power of ( r propa-ganda. If each comrade would take a like interest the daily papers would soon be filled with matter relating to Social

Almost every paper accepts contribu tions from its readers, if they are brief and to the point, written clearly on one side, typewriter preferred, and the name and address of the writer accompany the manuscript. The latter need not be published but is required by the editor as evidence of good faith.

ity knocking at your door, the greatest opportunity man ever had. Are yes and take this occasion to repeat it. If, ready for it, to take it and make you you see a short article in the Appeal that strikes you conv it and send it to that strikes you, copy it and send it to your local paper. You are at perfect liberty to use anything in the Appeal.

us multiply ourselves indefinitely by making all the papers to which we have access vehicles of the Socialist propaganda.

Only a small minority read the Socialist papers. The great majority must be reached before we can have Socialism. This great majority reads capitalist papers and not Socialist papers. Therefore we must contrive to have Sorialism discussed in their columns.

This is important enough to merit careful consideration. We urge it upon all our readers to make it their business to see that the people's columns of their papers are furnished from the Socialist point of view. Remember that brevity is essential and the shorter the article the surer its acceptance. Every issue of the Appeal contains a variety of matter which is specially adapted to the purpose herein sug-

"Luxury at present can be enjoyed only by the ignorant. The cruelest man living could not sit at his own feast unless he sat blindfolded. Raise the veil boldly! Face the light! And if as through tears, go then forth weeping."

"Perfection is everywhere; get it out who can. In any marble slab there dwells a Madonna, and any one may find her by simply knowing the parts to chip away and the parts that should remain."—James Whitcomb Riley.

"What sights there are in a drop of Six months water—that ocean for an observer! What centuries in a second—that in—What centuries in—what

How can the people rule when they are to petition congress? If they ruled they would comm

century is the fact that there is still overty in the world. "AMERICA," said Emerson in his day means opportunity." Does America

"WORKERS of the world, unite," said Marx. "Liberty and union, now and for ever, one and inseparable," added Daniel Webster.

day?

"Give me liberty or give me death," vas the sentiment of Patrick Henry, In this day the workers will not even rote for liberty.

FIFTY years ago America had the fin est forests in all the world. They have been destroyed for the benefit of the few in the name of profits.

CHARLES DICKENS, in 1858, said there were no tramps or unemployed people in America. Capitalism has manufac tured a great many since then. THE republican party began with the

ery of: "Free soil, free press, free speech, Fremont!" Now it seeks to suppress free press and free speech. Before the war it used to be said that America was the home of the oppressed of all the world. Now we put the Rus-

A score of years ago America was indignant over landlordism in Ireland. Today America pays to foreign landords five times as much as Ireland ever paid.

CASKET girls, prostitutes, when given

nan and Mexican refugees in jail.

liberty at New Orleans, became true wives and mothered respectable families. THE noblest aspiration in the world oday is the purpose to free mankind

of material want and of exploitation There has never been a nobler religious mpulse than that, "We must hang together or we shall ang separately, remarked Benjamin

Franklin in 1776. In these days the

they are jailed separately. ENGLAND emptied her penitentiaries, nd out of this material, in America, that was then really free, Oglethorpe built a colony possessing the highest rirtue and abounding wealth.

Less than half a century ago buffaloes, wild horses and wild cattle ranged the wild west by the millions. They have been "absorbed" in the inerest of profits and are no more.

AMERICANS fought for liberty at Lexngton and Lundy's Lane. But they fought for territory at Mexico City and Manila-and that territory has been ecklessly given to big corporations.

THEY used to sing that though John Brown's body lay mouldering in the grave his soul went marching on. But oes it? Are we struggling for a higher liberty than we had half a century ago!

In early days Americans who opposed he revolution were called tories and were despised. In these days they are capitalists and eminently respectable in opposing the greatest movement of the

FIFTY years ago millions of men were marching shoulder to shoulder, singing the song, "The battle cry of freedom," the song. nder capitalism, we are gripping each other's throats, and the battle cry is "money."

THOMAS PAINE, speaking of the day when the patriots were struggling for independence, said: "These are the times that try men's souls." A greater crisiis upon us today. Are you ready to sacrifice and struggle as did your revolutionary forefathers?

AMERICA fought a bloody war over the fugitive slave law, which compelled is the application of democratic rule to a fleeing refugee to be returned to his Now we return Mexican peons and refugees to their death at the hands of the worst tyrant of modern times, and nothing is thought of it.

# MEXICAN RELIEF FUND

John Murray, well known in newspaper circles and a Socialist of the highest standing, is acting as the special representative in this country of our Mexican comrades, now cerated as refugees, and of the liberal party which they represent in Mexico, whose mission it is to defeat the Diaz dictatorship and emancipate the people from peonage and pauperism. This party is not seeking to de

with matter upon current happenings stroy but to establish the republic The constitution and laws are entirely acceptable to the people and the liberal party is simply seeking to make the constitution effective and put the laws into operation.

> To accomplish this most worthy end funds are needed and bonds are being issued and disposed of through Comrade Murray who may be ad-dressed in care of the National Office, 180 E. Washington street. Chicago.

Miss Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, is the treasurer to whom yet the light of the eye can only be the proceeds of the bonds are paid over and to whom relief contributions for the legal defense fund should be sent.

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#### LET US ORGANIZE

The late national campaign demon

strated the necessity for more thorough organization. We have often THE great disgrace of the twentieth appealed for a more effective organization and now feel more than ever convinced of its vital importance. No matter how strong the Socialist nean opportunity to the unemployed to sentiment may be it amounts to little or nothing if it is not organized and put into concrete form for action. It is only when a local has been organ szed and Socialists get down to real work that they begin to make their influence felt; it is only then that their work actually counts for the revolution. This is so obvious that

> about it. Now is the time to do this work of organizing and not in the heat of a political campaign. This year should be made a banner year. Where there is no local one should be im nediately instituted for there is no place now of any size where there are not Socialists. Where there is a local all its members should put forth active efforts to increase its membership and improve its efficiency.

Mere perfunctory, loose-jointed organization is little better than none at all. Every local should be alive and attive; well informed in party tactics and up to date in every particular. Every meeting should be in-structive and inspiring and something should be constantly on the program to keep the interest on the increase

It is only through organization that the working class will ever achieve its emancipation and when this is said it must be understood that organization to be effective in a revolutionary movement must itself be revolutionary. Pure and simple opportunity in the early days of real unionism which concerns itself strikes and boycotts only have had their day and their usefulness is practically ended. Such efficiency as had not been outgrown in the industrial evolution has been practically destroyed by capitalist courts.

This is clear as the light of day at high noon. The workers must realize this and unite in one great economic organization whose funda mental principles is the recognition of the class struggle and whose goal workers will not hang together-and so is the working class republic. The vital importance of sound economic organization, can not be overlooked without faral results. It is only through such organization that the working class can be fitted for its historic mission and only through such organization that it can hope to secure and enjoy the fruits of victory.

Economic and political organizations are both of supreme importance to the Socialist movement. To this task each and every one should bend his energies. With such organizations in the field every blow will tell and every strike, though lost, will count Any backward step will then be impossible. There will be no such thing as losing an inch of ground.

Every particle of power wrung from capital will be held and used to win still more. The two organizations, each with its own function, each supplementing, strengthening and inspir ing the other, constitute the organized revolutionary movement with which there can be no defeat and without which there can be no victory.

# "MORE DEMOCRACY."

"The remedy for the evils of democracy," said an American patriot, "is more democracy." Well, Socialism is merely more democracy. It is applying popular rule to industry, the thing which ouches every being every day.

Democracy, in modern times, began in America. It is very easy to trace its progress across the water, to where it influenced the French revolution and overthrew absolutism in Europe. Even Marx was affected by it. Socialism, as developed by him, is merely an exten-sion and enlargement of the principle of democracy as started in America. It indsutry. It is the one thing which is needed to make political democracy effective.

So long as industry is ruled absolutely by a few owners of the machines of production, so long will popular rule in politics be annulled. When the people shall not only own the tools with which they work, but shall also, by virtue of that ownership, be able to employ themselves and avoid all the ex-ploitations of profits, than they will have their say, and "popular govern-ment," in the language of Lincoln, "shall not perish from the earth."

#### CAPITALISM'S RETAINERS In olden days the feudal lords

marched from their castles to exact tribute from travelers, and after them came an army of serfs. These serfs gift of God? Some wildered Socialist? received no portion of the spoil, and yet it was their united strength which enabled the feudal lords to rob the travelers and appropriate their goods.

In modern days the capitalists are ex-

acting tribute from the toilers, who are it today? dependents on the captains of industry St. Gres for their jobs. The toilers get none of barons of this day to levy tribute on the world.

ers will become free when they cease to vote with and for their masters.

"ETERNAL vigilance is the price of liberty," said one of America's founders. That means that we must keep awake if we expect to be free-that some are slyly stealing away the people's liberties Surely, you can see that some of those liberties are already gone. This means that it is time for you to arouse and keep your eyes open

By the ballot and not the bullet.

Freedom for all, opportunity for all. LIFE is the greatest thing in th world, and life without free dom is

THE common people propose and con gress disposes. If it does not the presi dent gets in his veto.

THE tread of awakened labor echoes round the world. Kings and capitalists tremble at the sound

"Thou shalt not steal" is a prohibi tion on capitalism with its exactions of profit, rent, interest and graft.

Pirry the man who is a slave to other it seems waste of time to argue nable as an individual to free himself. But pity more the man who is a slave to prejudice and custom, unwilling to

BARTHOLDI'S "Liberty Enlightening the World" does not enlighten the world. It shines only in one harbor, to light the commerce of the profit-mongers, and has no other use whatever.

WHAT right has the supreme court to say a law is unconstitutional? So long as it does that, the people do not rule. The supreme court is a usurping tyrant and deserves to be hung for treason. Dip not Jesus tell you not to patch

an old garment with new cloth, not to put new wine in old bottles? This means that reform will never do. work must be thorough and revolutionarv. "THE servants of the people" raise

their salaries at will and cannot be

turned off by the people. The people who serve dare not strike for wages and may be left jobless at any time. On, for words like whips to lash the traders from the temple of America second Christ could well afford to die

if he might first drive the pharisees and hypocrites from the places of power which they have usurped. LET no one say he loves his fellow nan, so long as he makes that brother do his work and pay him tribute. More

than that, let no one say he loves man-

kind so long as he does not fling him self into the cause of freedom. You are paupers, dependents on others for jobs and markets. You are beggars, asking the masters for places and paying the landlords for a place on earth. You are servants, making others rich and famous and remaining poor and obscure yourselves.

Our forefathers cast the tea into Bos ton harbor because of a small tax that had been placed upon it. Today we are taxed ten times as much, by the bility" of England, in the way of rents and dividends, as they were in 1776, and still we do not protest.

WHAT nobler thing can a young man do than to concentrate his life to the cause of freedom for all! He himself may be hampered, he may be misunderstood, reviled and even slain, but in no other way can he be so free as in daring to speak for freedom.

BROTHERS in prison, sisters in dens of infamy, mothers and fathers tramping and scrimping, children wearing your lives away in the mills and mines can America endure the horror of it and for the sake of our common broth-erhood, arise and shake the masters from the shoulders of the worthy.

Ir it were only to benefit ourselves or elect our friends to office, Socialism would be a craven cause, unworthy our support. But, as it means freedom for poor who have so long groated un-

organization. It is the invincible tread of an awakened world, moving against the bastiles of oppression. It is the voice of the millions who through centuries have never expressed themselves Growing and swelling, mighty in purpose, crowded from behind by memory of the dead and of wrongs endured from the beginning of time, it is moving on to victory and freedom.

### DOES GOD OR THE CHURCH CHANGE?

Those who make private property of the gifts of God pretend in vain to be innocent; for in thus retaining the subsistence of the poor, they are the murderers of those who die every day for want of it.

Whom do you suppose brought this drastic indictment against the private ownership of land-the most essentia Not so. It was none other than Gregory the Great, the first Pope of Rome of that name, and who has been canon-ized. If that was good catholicism in days gone by, what is the matter with

St. Gregory saw that by the few owning the earth they could and did levy the profits, yet it is their united strength at the polls that enables the land and he called then seemed to the land, and he called them murderers.

Are there any high churchmen day

ribute on the world.

The ser(s became free. The work-God's gifts? You do not hear of them, do you? On the other hand, they are defending the private ownership of the earth and everything that is in it or on it, under it or above it.

The rich have captured the church and use it to oppress the poor. I suppose some will denounce the Appeal for calling attention to this, or they may claim that God has changed since St. Gregory was the head of the church. Read it the teachings of the church today, tell the truth about capitalism,

### SECRET AGENTS AT WORK

In every age since there has been a ruling class spics and secret agents have been employed to prevent successful re-volt of the class in subjection. By this means the secret plans of subjects have been betrayed, their leaders arrested,

and their attempts frustrated.

In Russia the czar relies mainly upon the efficiency of his spying system which spreads over the vast domain like deadly tarantula. In Mexico Diaz the dictato has his secret agents in every party and every organization to keep him in-formed of every move that is made and every whisper that is uttered in reference to his administration.

Similiarly, in the United States the capitalist class has its spies in every party and every union of the working class. Some of the most enthusiastic supporters of radical measures and consequently, least suspected are secret agents in the service of the capitalist

It was by such vicious means that the early organization of the coal miners in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania was destroyed and the leaders hanged as "molly maguires." The truth about that base betrayal and the trag-edy which followed has yet to be written. All that has so far been written has been by the capitalist class through the prostituted scribes in its service.

The Western Federation of Miners

has had a corporation spy in every local union, as was shown in the trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and is not yet free from their baleful and pernicious influence. All other labor unions have secret agents of the exploiting class enrolled as members, whose business it is to have the unions run in the interest of their masters. Two articles pregnant with the most damning facts in reference to the spying system have recently appeared in the Saturday Evening Post, entitled "The Long Arm of the Secret Police," from which we quote briefly as foll ws:

quote briefly as foll ws:

The secret agent finds still another line of employment in the esplonage to which trades unions and similar associations of employers are submitted by the great employers of labor. Many of the great railways and manufacturing concerns of the country maintain regularly-organized secret intelligence systems, by means of which they are kept constantly informed of all that goes on in their shops and at the meetings of the unions to which their employes belong. These agents are lastructed to have themselves elected to office and attached on important committees in the pointed on important committees in the major of these same agents that the employers are enabled to direct the thoughts of their employers. Into the "right channels," which means, when translated opposition to Socialism, the evils of certain forms of trades unionism, and the like.

This statement is absolutely correct.

This statement is absolutely correct. There is food in it for every Socialist and every union man. We have here the reason why so many unions are "conservative" and why so many cheap skates and ward-heeling politicians func-tion as labor leaders. It is well for every union and every party of the working class to be on the alert for these deadly vipers.

# PROGRESSIVE PULPITEER.

We have had occasion to refer to the Rev. Dr. Charles F. Aketl, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist church in New York, more generally known as Rocke-feller's church. When Mr. Aked first came from England the announcement was made that he had been brought over by Mr. Rockefeller and that he was to be Rockefeller's preacher. But this announcement did Mr. Aked great injustice. He has made it quite clear that he is not Mr. Rockefeller's man,

nor any one's man.

Mr. Aked has spoken out on several occasions in a manner which can not be too highly commended. He has no patience with the humbugs practiced by many of the clergy and by others who make long prayers on street corners while they devour the substance of the

opportunity for the pinched faces, balm of or the sad hearts, healing for the broken lives, hope for the crushed and funted weaklings of humanity, who can withhold from it his support, or even his life, if that is demanded?

It is more than an ism. It is more than words. It is more than words. It is more than a party organization. It is the invincible tread the world feath of the substance of the substance of the substance of the substance of the souldn't open a store or factory with power. A bank in Scotland was one opened in that manner. The police were opened in that manner. The police were opened in that manner. It is posses on summand to hunt the officers on a criminal charge. I should be suspicious of any hustness concern that made a display of the pley. But every commercial or financial transaction, large or small, should be of the kind that the persons in it would feel that it had the blessing of God. They were should have a revolution wide as God. That is all—the blessing of God. Then we should have a revolution wide as the world itself.

These are spiendid words, courage-

ously spoken and worthy of all comously spoken and worthy of all commendation. Continuing Mr. Aked said:
But the good, old world revolution is not popular in this country. Debs. the Socialist, used it during the recent political campaliza, and a great American newspacer, with all the solemnity, authority, and infallibleness that attached to an nacient order from the pope of Rome declured that no one should utter the word in the United States. Americans, I rear, construe if to mean an armed attack on Washington. Yet it is a sound and proper word and fits into the vocabulary of a republic, as well as into the written and spoken language of a monarchy. Why, even the wheels of a licycle revolve; otherwise it wouldn't go.

Mr. Aked is again to be commended for what he has to say about revolution and the use of the word in connection with industrial and social progress What is here said is in rebuke of the sycophants of the cloth who deprecate revolution as treason because the present master class want to remain master class, even though society does not progress another inch.

Mr. Aked was asked what he thought

about woman's suffrage and said can-didly that he believed in it. "Politics." said he, "in this country has become a dirty business. I think a new and wholesome influences should be brot into the electorate to work a moral regeneration."

Polities has become a dirty business wherever the capitalist class is in power. It rules by robbing labor and corrupting the sources of power. It is against this corrupt despotism of capital that the Socialist movement is directing its energies and its ultimate triumph is as-

sured beyond all question of doubt.

Mr. Aked has spoken well. He is not a Socialist but he has convictions that do him credit and the courage to express them which adds still more to the respect due him. It is refreshing to over and see how it harmonizes with see a minister, surrounded by capitalists,