

Cash on hand Aug. 12, 1904 \$1996.48
Receipts for work ending Aug. 20, 1904 \$1924.30
Expenditures for work ending Aug. 20, 1904 \$177.38
Cash on hand Aug. 20, 1904 \$2043.40
Receipts \$174.12
Total \$2217.52



J. A. Wayland.

FIFTY CENTS A YEAR.
Six Months 25 Cents.
Clubs of four or more 75 cents.

Appeal to Reason.

IF NUMBER 458 IS ON YELLOW LABEL YOUR TIME EXPIRES WITH THE NEXT ISSUE.
Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., September 3, 1904.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.
FOR THE OWNERSHIP OF EARTH AND THE FULLNESS THEREOF BY ALL THE PEOPLE AND NOT BY PART OF THE PEOPLE.
The Appeal is never sent on credit; if you receive it, it is paid for. Nobody owns a cent of it. It is published at Girard, Kansas, Postoffice as second-class mail matter.

A Souvenir of the March "On to Washington."

Some forty years ago Sherman marched to the sea with an army made up of the working class. They marched in the interests of the capitalist class. Today the Appeal is preparing to march "On to Washington" with an army made up of the working class. They march in the interest of the working class. The workers are growing weary of making targets of themselves—of killing one another for the benefit of the rich.

There are times when words are a waste of energy. This is one of them. Why waste valuable space telling you what you already know—that this turning of the Socialist searchlight on Washington is the greatest undertaking the Appeal ever tackled.

And the result—well, it would be hard for anyone to predict the result. But, in a common expression, there'll be some thing doing in this kind of plutocracy when our Washington correspondent begins to turn in "copy."

I tell you, my comrades, when the truth of what transpires daily in the halls of our national capital is known to the people—the common people—they will not stand for it. The Appeal will get the truth and print it, and it's up to the comrades of the skunkish line to see that it reaches and is read by the people—the working class.

To make this as easy as possible I have made a special rate of ten cents on three-month subscribers, this rate to remain in force until October 1st.

To make the work as interesting as possible I am going to make a present of a fine gold watch to the comrade who sends in the largest number of these three-month subscribers during September.

The Appeal has given away a good many watches, but none as fine as this one. It will be a 25-year gold-filled case, adjusted, full-jeweled, and on the inside of the case will be an engraving as follows:

Presented to (your name in full) by APPEAL TO REASON. Oct 1, 1904. As a Souvenir of the March, "On to Washington."

When the story of the Appeal's march on to Washington, made possible by the Appeal Army, becomes a famous historical incident of the social revolution, as it will, you'll be glad you have this beautiful souvenir as evidence of the part you took in the fight.

I do not offer this souvenir watch as a premium—I do not expect a single one of you to work any harder for the cause that lies near your heart because of this offer, but I know that every one of you will be glad to see the comrade who spends the most time working for Socialism this month get this handsome present as a souvenir of the time when the Socialists, as represented by the Appeal, boldly walked into the capitalist lion's den and deliberately twisted Mr. Lion's tail until he yelped like a cowardly coyote.

Under Socialism will the superintendent of a mine be paid the same as the miners, muckers, and others, or will there be a distinction in wages as there is today?—M. McClan, Silver City, Idaho.

The mines will be public property and operated for the public good. As one of the public industries, the rules and regulations regarding work, wages and positions will be determined by those engaged in the mining industry. If they see fit to pay some more than others, that will be the rule; if the miners believe they are entitled to as much food, clothing and other things as the officers, I suspect they will not be willing to give some fifty dollars a day while they are expected to be satisfied with three or four. But it will be left to them, as will be the same questions in all other industries. We expect the majority to rule in matters industrial as well as political today.

AGAINST PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

At Milwaukee, Wis., Bishop Hennessey of Wichita, Kansas, on August 14th, delivered a political address in which he is reported by the Associated Press as saying: "Our public school system of today is the breeding-place of Socialism. We are educating the youth of our country to look to the state for everything. Not satisfied with giving him a free education at the expense of the tax-payers, we are now planning to give him free text books."

It is the children of the working class who attend the public schools and it is the working class who pay the expenses of the public schools. They have a right to educate their children and to have the public not only furnish the books, but the clothing and the meals as well. The whole of society is maintained by the working class—in fact, there is no reason why we should have any other class than the working class in the nation. Why should men and women live and have large incomes out of the working class without doing anything useful for society? Slaves worked and the masters spent and mis-educated or refused to educate them, and that is what the rich are doing today. The public school system is the bulwark against tyranny.

"The existence of so much poverty in the world greatly affected him, and he constantly regretted that he was unable to bring about a change in conditions. His strength broken down under the strain caused by listening to the tales of woe, and he has passed away a martyr to his desire to help the unfortunate."

The above editorial comment on the late Golden Rule Mayor Jones of Toledo, Ohio, shows that no man can change the cause of poverty, nor can any number of men solve it by honesty or philanthropy. The working class must solve its own destiny. Liberty and justice cannot be given to a people—they have to be taken and cannot be taken until the people know what they want to take. The working class of Toledo will now elect some grafter to the place and complain that poverty and injustice abound. It cannot be lifted out of its grovelings—it must lift itself out of its own development of mind. The capitalists think it will ever remain blind and stupid, but an increasing number are daily realizing the cause of their misery. We cannot have Socialism until the working class understand it—not even if they were to blindly elect Socialists to all offices.

Light Ahead.

It has been a hard pull during the past three months, but you will note from the financial statement this week that the balance is on the right side of the fence, and the gang feels like breathing.

We feel just like doing something big, and if you were at the helm and could catch the glimpse just ahead of the Government, you would see the light.

The telegraphers on the M. K. & T. railroad have been out for some time and that road is having a rough time. The train service is said to be badly crippled and the boys feel confident of winning out. The telegraphers claim that most of the offices are manned by inexperienced boys, some of them not over thirteen years old. Under Socialism the men would do the work and there would be no strikes with their danger to life and property in transportation. Boys, put your vote for Debs and vote a protest against the system that makes you corporation slaves. The rich fear your votes more than your strikes.

The mayor of Cincinnati refuses to permit the Socialists to hold meetings on the street but says that, other organizations may. The mayor of Cincinnati is the worst kind of an anarchist, for he uses arbitrary power to suppress free speech. The local paper says the "question is settled" by the action of the mayor, but no question has ever been settled until it is settled right. The capitalists fear to permit the working class to hear how the capitalists rob them. Robbers always fear publicity and suppress it wherever possible. Hurrah for Roosevelt, Parker and Wall street.

Instead of settling the labor question by their acts, employers are only adding anger and helping to produce a condition of revolution to which the Civil War was a morning picnic. But tyrants were never wise. The grumbings of revolution are becoming more and more ominous, day by day, and the real enemies of mankind, the real promoters of that horrible day, are those who refuse to acknowledge the right of all men to employment and the full product of their labor. Ask the next twenty men you meet what is to become of all this monopolizing and combining and trustification, and two-thirds of them will tell you "revolution." Try it. I have. That is a danger signal that only fools will not see.

The Astoria (Ore.) News, of July 26, gives a brief account of the suicide of Hope Clayton, aged 26, an actress. A letter accompanying the marked copy of the paper says the woman was employed as the mistress of one of the prominent financial pillars of the town, who claims to be religious, and who has a family, at a munificent salary. But when it is proven by Socialists that honest women can have that salary under Socialism, it is pooh-poohed by those who can pay \$10 a day for a mistress—and take the \$10 out of other people's pockets. But of such are the supporters of the present system. And the working class, whose daughters are thus used, vote to sustain the system of capitalism that violated every law of God and man.

A strike in the anthracite coal industry is again threatened. The operators have persistently refused to abide by the decision of the commission appointed by the president to arbitrate the matter. No matter which way the decision had gone, the friction would be there just the same. There can be no peace while one set of men gobble nature's bounties, claim them as their own, and compel the others to do the work and pay the gobblers a profit for simply owning nature. Private ownership comes high, but it seems that the people are too foolish to want to own the things which are used as an excuse to rob them. What a strong hold political prejudice and custom has on the people that they submit to robbery rather than take the matter into their own hands, which they can do legally with their votes.

HOW DO YOU LIKE THIS GOVERNMENT?

Every member of the cabinet is a corporation officer. Every member of the senate is a corporation officer, attorney or stockholder. Every member of the house is a corporation officer, attorney or stockholder. Every governor of every state is a corporation officer, attorney or stockholder. Every representative of the government in foreign countries is a corporation officer, attorney or stockholder. Every judge of the United States courts is a corporation officer, attorney or stockholder. Nearly all the judges of the elective courts are corporation officers, attorneys or stockholders. You wonder that the corporations get all the laws they want and have others enacted by the courts when there is no law on the statute books to warrant it? Don't you know that men in all walks of life do these things "at benefit them"? Every workman should consider these things when he goes to the polls—but he won't.



DO YOU OBSERVE ANYTHING IN THIS PICTURE? It should show you the position of capital toward the old parties and the attitude of said parties toward capital.

MOSSBACKS, EH?

New York, Aug. 11.—With the best explanation that "men over 50 years old are all mossbacks," Philip Collins, general manager of the Barrett Manufacturing Company, New York, has issued a general order, removing from the payroll all employees who have passed the half-century mark.

This is the capitalist system which the voters of that village uphold at the ballot box. They vote the capitalist tickets and get what they voted for. They hold up their hands in horror at Socialism, which would retire them on full pay at fifty years of age, and they could enjoy everything the world could afford. We Socialists see that we will be treated in the same way as these Connecticut yankees are, if this system is continued, hence, we oppose it because we do not want to be treated that way. We plead with the workers to vote with us and dethrone King Capitalist, and they turn a deaf ear to our efforts to change things. Now, America, do you like the prospect for your old age? I don't, come help us establish a system that will mean so much for all who work and for their children. Capitalists care nothing for you—why do you like to vote for those who uphold it?

REPUBLICAN PROSPERITY.

The Seattle, Wash., Times, of June 26th, has the following headline describing the poverty that exists in that city: "Live from Refuse of Barrels—Motley crowd daily robs the Garbage Man in Alleys." Fifty years ago who would have predicted such conditions, except in case of famine following famine, would have been put in an insane asylum. But our glorious republic has been captured by the same element that controls Europe and we have reached the shining portals where American families have been reduced to feeding out of slop barrels. Vote the old tickets some more, and more people will be reduced to the conditions. Hurrah for Ross and Parker! Hurrah for the trusts! Hurrah for imperialism and monopoly! Will you believe evidence from your own papers?

INDUSTRIAL CRISIS IN RUSSIA.

Special Cable to the Chicago Daily News. St. Petersburg.—During the first weeks of the war the financial and industrial crisis affected only western manufacturing centers like Leeds. Now it is spreading over central and southern Russia. Thousands of workers are idle in Moscow and it is impossible to find workers in Odessa and other southern ports. Similar information comes from the Volga. Provincial town councils have organized special committees to deal with the problem, but little headway has been made because nearly half the population is suffering from the famine. The most disastrous branch of the mining industry in Transcaucasia two years ago, supplying half the world's needs for that product, is paralyzed. The chief town, Chikatura, has dwindled from 25,000 inhabitants to 7,000.

The above dispatch tells of the collapsing of capitalism in Russia. Usually war takes so many people from industry that there are not enough left to do the work. But modern methods are doing the work with machinery and man is not needed. Labor unions could not change this condition. Only Socialism, that would give all a place to work and the full result of their labor, could remedy the horrors that are devastating Russia and all other countries. As more machines are produced there will be less and less need of men, who will be turned out to starve. It will come with increasing pressure in the United States and will FORCE men to make a change in the ownership of industries. Either make them public property or starve. One or the other must be done and will be done. Which do you prefer—starving or quitting your old party masters?

A Bundle of 100 per week for 10 weeks, \$5.

DEFENDERS OF THE FAMILY.

Associated Press. Madrid, July 21.—A royal scandal is existing trouble at the Spanish court. The father of King Alfonso had two sons by the famous singer, Ellen Sauer, and wrote her several letters admitting the paternity. After his death, Queen Christina bought the letters and granted a small annuity to the boys.

They are now respectively 20 and 19 years old, and have made a demand on King Alfonso for an increase in their allowance, asserting that they have further compromising letters, which they threaten to make public should their demands not be granted. Some time ago they retained Senor Melquides, a republican member of the chamber of deputies, to prosecute their claim against the royal family in the civil courts. He, however, has now withdrawn from the case. King Alfonso is stated to be anxious to compromise any public action by granting the original demands, but this course is strenuously opposed by Queen Christina, who insists that the youths receive no further financial aid. Both young men are declared to be remarkably like the late king.

Metely a passing incident of the chastity of the rich and powerful. The rulers of all lands are of the same character. When you hear a man denouncing Socialism as threatening the sanctity of the home you will find a man of this character. In England it was considered an honor by women to have had a liaison with King Edward before he ascended the throne. They boasted of it, so it is said. And that has also been true of all the crowned heads and their nobility. Open violations of the laws of chastity prevail everywhere among the rich and ruling classes. Why, even in this country we have elected to the highest place—to the presidency—a debauchee who consorted with common women and was the father of an illegitimate son, and then deserted the woman to her fate. These kind of people are very solicitous about preserving the homes! They think so much of the homes! They have such great respect for them! The private lives of the men who denounce Socialism as an effort to destroy the homes are engaged in every vile to deceive the working class while they debauch their homes under the guise of protecting them. You do not hear of these treacherous being turned out of the churches and society, do you? You see that the queen paid money to protect her consort from the gaze of the public by buying his letters to his harem; in which she defended and protected him and was of his character. The lives of the rich people—not all of them, of course—of this country are on a par with the Spanish court orgies. A musician at Newport News, one of the famous resorts of the rich, sometime ago wrote the Appeal that the orgies of the rich there, mothers, daughters and men, would be a disgrace to the lowest brothels of coon town. Yet these people are reputed Christians, just as the Spanish King and his punks were held in high esteem by society's dignitaries. And such people, everywhere, oppose Socialism. Socialism should be loved for the kind of enemies it has made. It takes the lid off their corrupt lives, hence, they fear it and denounce it as the only means of parrying its truths.

ROME—AMERICA. (Mommensen's History of Rome, printed in 1850.) "In consequence of this economic growth, based both in its agrarian and mercantile aspects, an immense capital and wealth accumulated, and a new social order was established, the distribution of wealth." "Morality and family life were treated as uncalculated things." "To be poor was not merely the worst disgrace and the worst crime, but the only disgrace and the only crime. For money the statesman sold the state, the citizen his freedom and his vote. The disgrace of a North American ripens will the world have again similar fruits to reap." "The above from Mommensen's History of Rome, written fifty years ago, ought to startle the American of today who loves his country and loves liberty. Mommensen tells us that the rich had monopolized everything and that Roman landlords were so extravagant that they paid \$200,000 for a country home, \$1,000 for a horse, etc! American monopolists have and are paying two to five millions for country homes and have not only one but five and six, compared to which the Roman monopolists were beggars; Americans pay not one thousand but fifty thousand dollars for horses and have a whole stable full at ten times as much as the Roman monsters had; American lords pay ten thousand for a dog—instance, Carnegie's purchase. Compared to America, Rome was a country of equality and the time is fast coming when what happened to Rome must happen to America unless the common people, who alone possess chastity and honesty, if any is left, rise up and take over the country and administer it for the benefit of the whole people. Wonder what Mommensen would say today were he alive and saw the great wealth in the hands of a few Americans that it required the labor of millions for century to produce? If the contrast of fifty years ago pointed out the parallel with Rome, what would today mean to him? Can you think or are you dead to what things about you mean?"

We have a club known as the Workingmen's Social and Educational Club, which is supposed to be educating along the lines of Socialism, but whose chief aim, I am told, is to have headquarters for Sunday beer drinking. I, for one, cannot believe that any good can come out of such an organization. Does beer and Socialism mix?—T. J. Brown, Erie, Pa.

What a man eats or drinks or wears has nothing to do with Socialism. While it may be true that here and there Socialists meet and drink beer, it is true, also, that the eighty thousand saloons are used by the capitalist to control the elections in the interest of the capitalists. These saloons are the most potent factors in setting up schemes to cheat and deceive the working class into giving their votes for the capitalist candidates. With generations of such training, it is not to be wondered at, that men have the habit, even when they have gotten their eyes open and want a change in the present social system. It were better that these places were used to destroy the capitalist system, and with it the saloons, which Socialism will do, than to have them all used for the capitalists. To hold aloof from Socialism because some of its advocates visit saloons, and give your support to the old parties, wholly controlled by saloon influence, would certainly not be the action of a reasonable voter. Socialists do not claim to be angels, but they are striving to make the world a place to fit men and women for angelhood. All parties have all kinds of men in them; the Socialist party will have all kinds like the others—only they all want one thing—the common ownership of the earth and the fullness thereof. On that they are one. Help in that end crime and debasing conditions will disappear in time.

Hammond, Ind., July 21.—A man who claimed to be Judge Manning, of the United States district court of Georgia, was taken in charge by the police here yesterday, who found him on the verge of delirium tremens. He was taken to St. Margaret's hospital. He was penniless and declared he was on his way home from St. Louis.

The above dispatch shows you the kind of men who have life positions deciding cases in court. Do you not know that men of such character can be bought with money or whisky to decide a case any way. This is the kind of men corporations want on the bench. They have the means of using them. Will this fellow be impeached? Of course not. He is the kind that corporations can use easily. How long will stupid labor shut its eyes and refuse to see how things are going?

The capitalists are cutting down wages in every line of industry in the nation. Let's see what that means. Suppose that wages are cut one-half in all lines—the people could buy only half as much as they buy today. If they bought only half as much that would cause one-half the goods they now buy to remain in the hands of the capitalists unsold. This piling up of unsold wealth would cause the capitalists to shut down half the time, for they would not run their plants when they could not sell the goods. Shutting down the plants half the time would cut the wages received by the people, assuming that none are discharged, one-half again, and this would cause the plants to further reduce their time and so on. Stagnation and revolution would result. Take it on the other hand. Suppose the wage workers received twice their present wages; they would buy twice as much goods and that would stimulate the demand and cause such a demand for labor that everybody would be employed. This is assuming that in both instances the price of goods remained the same. But to increase wages and increase the price of goods in the same ratio would not alter matters. If the goods were sold at the same price paid for producing goods there would be work for everybody, for the people would buy back all the goods they made and there would never be an overproduction. There will always be trouble until wages balance prices.

An old railroad engineer, who used to work for the C. & E. I., commenting on the recent wreck on that line, states that he has pulled 133 cars over that road in a single train and that the average freight train consists of from 60 to 80 cars. Every railroad man knows how dangerous it is to handle trains of such length. But long trains reduce the operating expenses and increase dividends, why should the working mules, who vote at every election for long trains and railroad wrecks, kick when a few of their class happen to get killed in a smash up occasionally. The people vote that the railroads shall be run for the profit of the few instead of the benefit of all; if your wife and babies get killed in a wreck, don't blame the railroad company. They are running their trains just as you have wanted them to run, and they are running them for the benefit of all the people—there won't be any railroad wrecks under Socialism.

Gompers has sent out an extra number of the American Federationist for July, instructing members to question candidates for legislative offices as to their position concerning an eight-hour day and anti-injunction bill, and the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum with a view to supporting those who favor the demands of labor in these matters. Just as if a man who was coerced into saying he was favorable to these things would not desert them after he had gotten the franchises of the men. The republican and democratic members of the last Colorado legislature were elected on a platform demanding an eight-hour day—and these men shot the stuffing out of the working men who demanded that pledges be fulfilled. The Socialists WANT these three demands and have stood for them just as vehemently for years as has such fake leaders as Gompers—but Gompers and his kind don't know this! Had the laboring men VOTED for these demands by voting for Socialists, they would long ago have had them and had men in office who would have enforced them. The working class are misled—that is if they really want what they demand. But perhaps they prefer Gompers and Mitchell to having their demands.

Ex-Congressman Curtis, of Chicago, has been employed by the daily Record-Herald of that city to do some work looking toward the importation of Chinese into the Philippines and then into this country. To better do this, he was sent round the earth and described his travels, staying a day in a place. These letters were very interesting and he has now been writing from the Philippines for some weeks, and has finally got around to the object for which he was started out. In his latest letters he describes how the Philippines can never be developed for lack of labor, and no profit can come to the masters unless they can get subservient and servile labor, and he quotes the United States commission for authority urging the importation of Chinese, as the British have done in Africa, to work the mines they took from the Boers. He quotes the government report, being distributed now at the World's Fair, as follows: "American and foreign merchants complain that the labor to be had is altogether inadequate, and the chamber of commerce has sent a representative to the United States to urge an amendment to the present congressional legislation, which extends the Chinese exclusion act applicable to the Philippines, on the grounds that it is necessary to admit Chinese for the business development of the country."

The capitalists are making a campaign to open this country to the Chinese to get cheap labor and reduce the American working class to Chinese levels. If the working class vote the old party tickets this fall, they vote to reduce themselves to Chinese wages—whether they know it or not. The capitalists set themselves to do a work that requires years. They know they can educate the working class into any belief, if they will take the time and expense—and as their expenses are paid by the profits they make off the laboring class, of course they can stand any amount of money to accomplish their ends. The average voter never reads much of anything, and is easily misled.

WELLMAN TAKEN TO TASK.

Mine Owners, and Not Union Miners, Responsible for Independence Depot Horror.

By Geo. H. Shoaf.

ALTER WELLMAN, a well known writer and newspaper correspondent, after an alleged inquiry into the causes leading to the strike declared a year ago by the Western Federation of Miners, and after a personal visit of investigation into the political and industrial conditions as they now exist in the strike infested districts, arrives at the following general conclusions, which have been published in the Chicago Record-Herald, and a number of the eastern papers.

In substance, Mr. Wellman declares that the war in Colorado was precipitated by a series of blunders on the part of the Western Federation of Miners; that the Federation is controlled by a couple of unscrupulous, blood-thirsty leaders—W. D. Haywood and Charles H. Moyer—both of whom would stop at nothing to perpetuate their power; that the Independence depot explosion, as well as the other crimes that have been committed in the district since the inception of the strike, were done with their knowledge and consent; that this organization because of its endorsement of the principles of International Socialism; that the Citizens Alliance and Mine Owners' Association were justified in their un-American deportation of union men and their sympathizers; that the declaration of martial law in Teller county by the governor of the state was an act both merited and wise; that the conclusions herewith reached are emphatic and decisive and contain, without fear of contradiction, the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Mr. Wellman passes up, with only a weak criticism, the dastardly outrage inflicted upon the people of the state when the Colorado legislature refused to enact an eight hour law demanded by a majority of 48,714 votes. He excuses and condones the destruction of the union stores and the sacking of the Victor Record office by the Citizens Alliance men. He claims that the pillage of the union miners' homes, and the insults and starvation to which the wives and families of the deported men were subjected and reduced, were the necessary and inevitable accompaniments of martial law. He ignores utterly the findings of the court in the Sun and Moon outrage, refrains carefully from referring to the trial and confessions of the train wreckers, and, in describing the diabolism of the Independence depot horror, avoids all reference to the nuttiness of the blood hounds.

Ray Stannard Baker for McClure's, Henry George, Jr., for the New York Journal, Charlotte Teller for Harper's Weekly, and Dr. Washington Gladden for the Scripps-McCue League, have all visited the Cripple Creek district and given their several versions of the affair to the world. With all of these reputable writers Walter Wellman takes bold and vivid issue. Instead of finding a divided responsibility—placing the blame for the calling of the strike upon the Western Federation of Miners, and the resultant outrages upon the Citizens' Alliance and Mine owners' Association—as nearly all of these writers have done, Mr. Wellman unblushingly enacts the role of witness, prosecutor, juror and judge, and, with a self assurance positively astounding, proceeds to pronounce the sentence of death upon Moyer and Haywood and an annihilation upon the organization with which they stand identified.

Tuesday morning, June 7th, the day following the Independence depot explosion, and not fifteen hours after the massacre of the union miners in the Victor riot, the writer appeared upon the bloody scene, sent there to report the situation for the Appeal to Reason. During the succeeding weeks I was intimately associated with General Bell, military commander of the district, became acquainted with and studied carefully the character and conduct of A. E. Carlton and C. C. Hamilton, president and secretary, respectively, of the Cripple Creek Mine Owners' Association. I also made it my business to ascertain the present standing and past history of T. P. Airheart, president of the Citizens' Alliance. S. D. Crump, legal

Cripple Creek Mine Owners' Association to effect its overthrow.

They, and not the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, are responsible for the calling of this terrible strike. The war, which the employers had been threatening for so many months, and which the miners strenuously sought to avoid, was at last commenced. Following the advice of their officers, the strikers resolved to obey the injunctions laid out in their constitutions relating to disorder, violence and anarchy. These things they were positively enjoined from doing, and that they religiously observed the injunction, is shown by the court records of the county and state.

From the beginning of the struggle until they were forcibly deported by the military, not one striker has been convicted of a crime or misdemeanor of any kind. The Western Federation of Miners had called a peaceable strike. They relied purely on the universality of the affair throughout the mining regions to win the victory. Besides they were not equipped with the arms and ammunition necessary to a crusade of bloodshed and destruction.

Months elapsed during which time the mines turned out no ore. It was a fair fight between the Western Federation of Miners and the Mine Owners' Association, with the mine owners completely whipped. True to the purpose of the organization, the American Labor Union, with which the Western Federation of Miners is affiliated, sprang to the assistance of their striking brothers, and supplies, sufficient to prolong the strike indefinitely, were poured into the Cripple Creek and Telluride districts. Because the local merchants refused to do a credit business with the striking organization, union co-operative stores were started which soon practically monopolized the business of the district.

The Mine Owners' Association and Citizens' Alliance people were driven to desperation at the success of the striking miners. Their efforts to break the strike with scabs failed miserably because only inexperienced men could be obtained. Something must be done, or they would be compelled to surrender. Then, repeating the dastardly acts perpetrated by other members of their class in similar troubles in the Coeur d'Alenes, in Chicago, in the Pennsylvania coal fields, and in scores of other places where labor battles have been fought, these damnable representatives of plutocracy began to hire detectives to blow up mines, derail trains, and commit other outrages in order that they might fix the responsibility for these crimes upon innocent union men.

When it grew evident that these minor outrages were insufficient to turn public opinion against the strikers' cause, or to provoke the conditions favorable to a military deportation of the union men and their sympathizers, it was resolved to increase and intensify the reign of terror already inaugurated by the commission of a crime so great in scope and so hideous in character that its very conception would astonish the imagination of the civilized world.

With a full realization of the terrible meaning of my charge, but with as complete a knowledge of the incidents relating thereto and the facts connected therewith as a personal searching investigation of the affair, under the circumstances, would permit, together with more than a three weeks inquiry into the character, disposition and conduct of the men whom I hold responsible for the crime, I have not the slightest hesitancy in placing the responsibility of the dynamite explosion of the Independence depot upon A. E. Carlton, president of the Cripple Creek Mine Owners' Association, T. P. Airheart, president of the Cripple Creek Citizens' Alliance, K. C. Sterling, the railroad thug, Charles M. McKinney, the would-be train wrecker, and Marshal Bemore, the convicted raper of fourteen year old white girls.

At the time I made the investigation, I knew I was doing so at the risk of my life, for every avenue of information was carefully guarded and blocked by the very men who are charged with committing the crime. Through the consequences of the awful deed they had marched to official power in the district, and were authorized to arrest, imprison, convict and execute whomsoever they pleased, or against whom their malice was directed.

When Frank J. Hange, attorney for the Western Federation of Miners, decided to follow up the lines of investigation I had commenced, I told him he would not be allowed to finish the work. The forcible deportation, last week, of Attorneys Hange and Engley, and the driving out of the men associated with them in the work of unearthing the facts bearing upon the Independence crime, by a mob of scabs, led by the very men whom I hold responsible for the explosion, give, louder than words could proclaim, the lie direct to the malicious statements and vile accusations made by Roosevelt's representative—Walter Wellman.

Capitalism may think that it is the Western Federation of Miners' crushed, may tinkle itself with the fancy that Socialism has been wiped clean from the scutcheon of organized labor. It may hire gifted writers to pervert the truth and lie about the action of the working class. But its dreams and hopes and lies and intimidations will not always prevail. The power of the working class will grow and gather strength. Socialism in the labor unions of this country will take fresh and vigorous root. And America, freed from the capitalistic hell of today, will yet rise to point out to the nations of the earth the blessings of liberty and reign of happiness that might be obtained through the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM BY N. A. RICHARDSON. 32 pages. 5 c. copy. 100 copies \$2.50. This book is destined to equal Blackfoot's "Merrie England's" record for making Socialists. A hundred thousand copies should be circulated during this campaign. It is the only book that has ever been printed and sold by the people without a cent of this book in his pocket. It should be in every library, every barber shop and every hotel. APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kansas.

PARRY'S ECONOMICS.

By Ernest Untermann.

PARRY, the union hater and smasher of Socialism, is one of those who feel that they have a divine diploma to rule over the common herd. He and his colleagues in business flatter themselves that they owe their exalted position to their great mental superiority over the ignorant working people.

If a man's intelligence may be measured by the amount of dollars he knows how to extract from the toil of others, then, indeed, Parry and his class are superior intellects. But, if this is not a fair test, if a man's intelligence may be judged by other standards, and if by that other test the so-called superiority of the capitalist brains cannot be demonstrated, then it is quite fair to conclude that the capitalist ability to ride on the backs of others is due to other causes than mental powers.

If those other causes are removed, it may be found that the brains of the average capitalist and captain of industry are not superior, but often inferior to that of many a plain working man. It is fair to judge a man's mental powers by the statements he makes to the public in print and speech? Who can deny that it is? Then let us estimate the brain power of the president of the National Manufacturers' Association by this standard.

Business is founded on economics. If success in business is due to superior intelligence, then every successful business man must have a clear conception of economics, which is the foundation of all business. What does Parry know about political economy? Here are some of the statements made by him at the ninth annual convention of the National Manufacturers' Association: "The rate of wages is dependent upon the per capita production. Therefore, the only way to raise wages is to increase the per capita production." And the principal way to increase the per capita production, according to Parry, is "to increase the amount of machinery, that is, the amount of productive capital. Who owns this machinery is really quite immaterial. The material point is that it is increased, and no system could be devised that will more surely result in its being increased than that of individual ownership."

Here we have Parry's knowledge of economics in a nutshell. Let us test it by acknowledged facts and see whether it is true and logical. Has the machinery of the productive capital of the American nation increased? We do not need any elaborate statistics to know that it has. Every republican paper, every republican spell binder, every republican campaign document, flows over with enthusiasm at the great increase in "prosperity" due to republican rule. This, according to Parry's economics, the per capita production must have increased. Again, all "safe and sane" citizens in both old parties not a vigorous assent. Then, once more, according to Parry's economics, the rate of wages must have increased. But has it? You need not look at Carroll D. Wright's statistics. They don't tell the truth. Ask the union men who are striking all over the country for an increase or against a decrease of wages—they know. What has Parry to say against these facts?

Furthermore, if it is immaterial who owns the productive machinery, why does he work himself into a frenzy about the Socialists who want the working class to own that machinery? He really does not mean what he says, and it is not difficult to see why he does not. Look at this statement of his: "The general rate of wages cannot fall below what is absolutely necessary to support life and cannot exceed an amount determined by the per capita production." Read that over again. The first part of that sentence is true. How many of you working people receive more than barely enough to provide for food, clothing and shelter? The second part of the sentence would also be true, if we lived under a system in which the producer received the full product of his labor. Then his wages could not exceed the total product of his labor and they would always rise to that full product. But under the system which

Parry advocates, he and his class get far more than the product of their labor, and the working people never get the full product of their labor for their wages.

Do you know why? Because Parry and his class own the productive machinery, and by the help of the power vested in this ownership they confiscate the greater part of the product of their employees. And by keeping the rate of prices in excess of the rate of wages, they always keep the mass of the workers at the point of mere subsistence. That is the reason why Parry does care a great deal, in spite of his declaration to the contrary, whether he owns the productive capital or his employees. He wants his class to keep the productive machinery of the nation. He wants the system of individual ownership in productive capital to continue because "no system could be devised that would more surely" increase the income of the owners of the productive machinery than the capitalist system.

But what about the income of the working class, who do not own any productive capital, except their labor power, and who cannot make this capital productive for themselves until they sell themselves to some owner of machinery or land? Just this: No system could be devised that would as surely result in keeping the income of the working class down to the level of mere subsistence than the capitalist system. And the only system, under which their wages will always amount to the full product of each worker, will be Socialism. The system of individual ownership of the machinery of production means for the great masses of the people a decrease of property. You need not take my word for it. Let Judge Grosscup, of Chicago, whose speech at the above mentioned convention of the Parry organization was vigorously applauded by Parry and his colleagues, testify to the truth of my claim. In speaking of the effect of corporation control on ownership, the judge said: "The test is not whether the stockholders' list is larger today than it was when the corporation was organized. The comparison should be, not between the stockholders' list of a given corporation now and when it was organized three years ago, but between the men who have active ownership in these great corporations now and the men who twenty, thirty, forty years ago, owned what these corporations have succeeded in taking from them. The comparison should be laid, and laid there it shows that the domain of active popular proprietorship is rapidly diminishing."

There you have it. Parry should have called the judge to order for making him out a liar. Instead, he applauded a statement which flatly contradicted his own assertions. What do you think of the intelligence of a man like that? Anyway, you can see that the shining lights of the National Manufacturers' Association don't even agree on such a simple proposition as this, which even a common working man without any education can figure out without any difficulty. Judged by this standard, Parry and his associates are very ignorant and confused about the fundamental on which their business is resting. They why do they hold such a privileged position? The main reason is that opportunities came across their way, which were in not at all the result of their own exalted brain activity. Their own little brains had very little to do with their success. And they maintain this position only because the majority of the working class are as ignorant of economics as Parry is. But many working men and women have already learned a great deal more about economics than Parry and his associates. These working people have demonstrated that working class brains can excel capitalist brains, even under unfavorable conditions. The thinking working people are becoming aware that it matters a great deal, indeed, whether they own the productive machinery or not. And the best way to prove their mental superiority over Parry and his like, and to show that they can get along better without the rule of such confused capitalist brains, is to vote for Socialism.

UNDER SOCIALISM.

machinery will do the work mostly that is now done by horses, which require so much work in caring for, so much work to raise the feed, so much of stables and buildings and harness. This will relieve many thousands from such labor to enter better employment. As the locomotive now does the work of 5,000 teams in a day, so machinery will be applied to all things possible. Horses for pleasure will be retained.

Every machine and appliance that would lessen the labor could be produced better than at present and for half or a third of the labor. All people can then live in houses fit for homes. They will all be equally good and convenient and sanitary, though of different sizes and designs. Then will the earth become beautiful.

crime will disappear, for no one will be able to gain anything, but lose, by every crime. There will be no incentive for crime. You know the first thing that the law looks for now, when crime is discovered, is the incentive that led to it. Incentive is behind all crime. In almost every instance the incentive is money or property or disputes that grew out of them. No conceivable crime would give any person property under Socialism.

no part of the national labor would be diverted to life and fire insurance. The nation would guarantee every citizen against want, by reason of accident or sickness. The children would be protected by their supply of food, clothing, shelter, instruction and entertainment. Who would have or could have any better insurance? All labor now wasted in the insurance business would become productive, and the nation that much richer in consequence.

public questions would be simple. No private questions would be served by making them obscure or complicated. All public questions would be a matter of the seeing how many good things to please the people a given number of hours of labor could produce. There would be no money question, no tariff question, no imperial question, no anti-trust question, no labor and capital question. None of these things could have a place in the public affairs.

the farmers will live in the beautiful cities that the nation will build, and the farming will be done under scientific management. Each department of farming will be specialized, that the greatest results for the labor employed may ensue. There will be no isolation of the farmers' families, no long hours, and no lack of enjoyment or association, but they will live surrounded by the same pleasant and good environments that other citizens enjoy.

public questions would be simple. No private questions would be served by making them obscure or complicated. All public questions would be a matter of the seeing how many good things to please the people a given number of hours of labor could produce. There would be no money question, no tariff question, no imperial question, no anti-trust question, no labor and capital question. None of these things could have a place in the public affairs.

the farmers will live in the beautiful cities that the nation will build, and the farming will be done under scientific management. Each department of farming will be specialized, that the greatest results for the labor employed may ensue. There will be no isolation of the farmers' families, no long hours, and no lack of enjoyment or association, but they will live surrounded by the same pleasant and good environments that other citizens enjoy.

the gold and silver mining will be done

work with, except as the nation can afford its richest mines and exchange to barbarians for coffee, sugar and other things that cannot be so cheaply gotten by the other surplus products of the nation, because the barbarians place a much value on the metals. We shall need none of it for our use, except in the sciences. And there is more of it now than is needed for that demand. The large army now mining can be available for useful vocations.

congress will be composed of representatives from each industrial department of the nation. There will be no politics in their action, for all their acts will be concerning the operation of the national industries and all will be subject to the revision, rejection or approval of their constituents. There will be no large private interests to employ a lobby to bribe them. The men who now sell out the people to the corporations will, under the Socialist environment, serve the people with their highest ability.

There will be no "business" under Socialism. It will be abolished. There will be no vocations only. There will be no wrangling about trade any more than there is about competing for the sale of postage stamps. Great stores owned and operated by the people will be conveniently located, goods will be as stable in price as postage, no clerk will have any interest in your buying in deceiving you, and the system of distribution will not employ more than one-fifth the present number of people, except by shortening the hours. The rest will be offered employment at the same rewards in other vocations—many of which will be greatly increased, the department of creating pleasures for the people, for instance.

when a citizen has advanced in years, his place would not be filled by younger men, and he turned out without an income. During all his working years he would have been saving a sum of money to pay for the TIME actually consumed in producing and distributing the articles and uses of public utilities. This would provide for retiring him at 50 years of age with an income equal to every possible need. This would simply be applying the principle of saving up something for old age, but it would be done in a way that no one could possibly neglect their own interests and be in need when incapacitated. The principle is one of insurance. Today men pay to something every week or month to provide for their family in case of death. But no family would have any such need under Socialism, and the insured would be his own beneficiary. One would not have to die to get the benefit of insurance. This is simpler than present methods—and better.

A soc Book for a Postal Card. As good a book as the Appeal ever printed is "The Conspiracy of Capital," by Clinton Bancroft. It has 175 pages, printed on good paper, with good covers, and the price of it is 20 cents a copy. The Appeal has 5,000 copies of this book, every one of which should be put into circulation during this campaign. If you will agree to read this book, send your name and address on a postal card and the book will be sent you. After you have read it, if you think it is worth 20 cents, you may send that amount. If it is not worth that, you don't send anything. If you pass the book along to someone else, no record will be kept of these transactions. The only thing you need do for you to mention what the remainder is for.

IT IS NOW OR NEVER. Only a few days more and our wonderful contest will close. Have you entered it? If not, read this advertisement carefully and write to us immediately. Never before has so much opportunity offered to win \$25,000 in gold and a cost of 25c in a contest where your own skill in estimating dates is the only requisite. The contest is simple, and the prize is \$25,000. The contest is simple, and the prize is \$25,000. The contest is simple, and the prize is \$25,000.

MISSOURI TRUST COMPANY. CAPITAL \$2,000,000. St. Louis, Mo., May 25, 1903. This certifies that the World's Fair Contest Company \$15,000.00 in gold for the payment of the prize money. The contest is simple, and the prize is \$25,000. The contest is simple, and the prize is \$25,000.

State of Colorado The Board of Charities and Corrections Capitol Building Denver, Colo., July 23, 1904. Reverend and Dear Sir: You have no doubt observed the rapid growth of Socialism through out the entire world and especially in Colorado. This growth is a menace to Christianity, and it seems to me that the Christian people should take a stand against it. Having been so long separated by the dogma of creed, the Christian people can, if they will, obtain a common ground for the exercise of their energies in furtherance of the teachings of Christ. It matters not where the rallying cry comes from, be it Catholic or Protestant pulpit, so long as it cries out against the danger that threatens to engulf all, that cry will, I believe, receive a respectful hearing. Would you not think it wise to call attention to the fact that certain organizations in Colorado, whose avowed object is the destruction of private property, are busily at work disseminating their vicious doctrines, particularly among the working classes? This doctrine of Socialism, as you know, would destroy every Christian denomination. It seems to me, therefore, that as Christian teachers, we could do no better work in behalf of Christ and His teachings than to unite in a determined effort to eradicate this false doctrine of Socialism and anarchy that is being spread broadcast throughout the state. I will take pleasure in sending you some pamphlets and documents treating of the question, and will be pleased to have you make any suggestions to me that you think opportune. I remain, Respectfully yours, T. H. MALONE.

LOCK OUT! ENFORCE LONG HOURS! LOWER WAGES! OPEN SHOP! I WANT SEE HOW HE VOTES! BALLOT FOR INCREASED WAGES! FOR CLOSED SHOP! BALLOT FOR EIGHT HOUR WORK DAY! Wouldn't it make you stand on your head if you saw a full-fledged capitalist, after locking out his employees because they refused to work long hours at reduced wages, go to the ballot box and vote for an eight-hour day for his factory workers? Do you think the capitalist would declare a lock-out and then go and vote exactly opposite? NOT MUCH. Yet that is what the workmen do when he strikes at the factory and sends out the ballot.

A Bundle of 100 per week for 10 week for \$5. WHOOP 'EM UP!



1860--LINCOLN; DEBS, 1904.

A Remarkable Article Written in 1904 by the Great New York Journalist—John Swinton.

WHEN Eugene Victor Debs came to New York from Chicago, last year, as a representative of the American Railway Union, then engaged in its memorable struggle, he made a speech in Cooper Union, which I heard at a spot at which I had sat at another meeting held in the same place, thirty-four years previously, which was addressed by another speaker who had come to New York from Chicago. The western speaker who stood on that platform in August, 1869, was to me a reminder of the other western speaker who had stood there in February, 1860. Both men were tall and spare in figure; the complexion of each rather dark—darker in the one than the other; the face of each was rather gaunt, that of the earlier speaker much more gaunt than that of the later; both were men of good and strong features; there was something intense about the facial expression of each; both were men of commanding and impressive manners.

I recalled the somewhat peculiar and shrill voice of the speaker of 1860; I heard another voice in 1894 which resembled it. As they spoke, it was easy for a New Yorker to discern that they were both men of the west.

The man to whose speech I listened in Cooper Union in February of 1860 was Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois—born in Kentucky; the man who spoke from the same platform within my hearing last year was Eugene Victor Debs, of Illinois—born in Indiana.

I recalled the appearance, the manner, the voice and the speech of Lincoln as Debs stood before me thirty-four years afterwards. It seemed to me that both men were imbued with the same spirit. Both seemed to me as men of judgment, reason, earnestness and power. Both seemed to me as men of free, high, genuine, generous manhood. I took to Lincoln in my early life, as I took to Debs a third of a century later.

In the speeches of both westerners there was cogent argument; there were apt illustrations; there were especially emphatic passages; there were moments of lightning; there were touches of humor; and there were other qualities which produce conviction or impel to action. Each speaker was as free as the other from gross eloquence. I confess that I was as much impressed with the closing words of Debs' speech as I was with those of Lincoln, when he exclaimed: "Let us have faith that right makes right, and, in that faith, let us to the end dare to do our duty, as we understand it."

As Lincoln stands in my memory, while looking far back, Debs stands in it, as I saw him in Cooper Union a year ago. Lincoln spoke for man; so spoke Debs. Lincoln spoke for right and progress; so spoke Debs. Lincoln spoke for the freedom of labor; so spoke Debs. Lincoln was the foe of human slavery; so is Debs.

I was in the deepest sympathy with Lincoln when he came here, as I was also with Debs when he came here. I had striven for Fremont in my youth, as I have striven in later years for principles that are the logical sequence of those of Lincoln, and are represented by Debs.

Let me admire of Abraham Lincoln—I do not mean the apotheosized emancipator, but the Lincoln of 1860—offer

THEORIES OF SOCIALISTS.

By Josephine Conger.

A LETTER from a New York comrade complains—and not without reason—that Socialists in their various localities, and elsewhere, spend too much time and energy in telling just how we are going to come into possession of the co-operative commonwealth, and what we are going to do, in the minutest detail, after we have got it. Of course every man has his dream about how matters might be run under a certain regime, and especially is this true of the Socialists. And no one objects to that; a speculative mind must be speculating about something, and if it loves Socialism better than anything else, it will naturally speculate upon that. But while we do not object to each man having his pet ideal about the non-essentials, we must object to him striving to foster it upon the public as the one and only way.

Two centuries ago our fathers decided that they had outgrown the bib and tucker age of monarchical government, and were quite capable of doing national and civic housekeeping without the old ancestral head. They found this freeing of themselves from customary restraint rather a difficult job, and at last took up the gun and sword to prove their earnestness in the matter—a thing I trust the seekers of liberty will not be forced to do today. And they shot and killed the men who stood in their way to freedom. Their ideal was a republic, a democratic government under which each man could be a sovereign, and prove his sovereignty by casting his vote or his nay for any measure he wished to vitalize or repeal. The king could do no more than command or object; the people would be as great as the king.

But in that day I have no doubt but that there were many torques going up and down asking in a mocking voice, "What are you rebels, you traitors to the king, going to do, after you get your power?" And many of the poor wretches hardly knew how to answer, no idea having occurred to them further than that they would be a republic and be free. That was the main thing—to be free. But on the other hand there were probably a sufficient number who had their ideas about it; who said that the thing to do was to follow out a certain prescribed line as it had been handed out to their minds by an inflexible and divine inspiration. And of course there must have been

FORCED WHITE SLAVERY EXISTS.

Under the following headlines, the Minneapolis Journal tells of worse than chattel slavery that exists in Tennessee:

"AWFUL RECITAL OF WHITE SLAVERY—ANDREW HOLMS TELLS OF FRIGHTFUL SUFFERING ENDURED BY MINNEAPOLIS PARTY GUARDED BY ARMED MEN AND BLOODHOUNDS."

Holms and a party of fifty Danes were induced by an "employment agency" to go to Tennessee to mine coal. The fare was to be \$13 and the wages \$125 a day. When they got there the fare was charged up to \$20 and the wages reduced to \$1, while they had to pay 25 cents for a nickel package of smoking tobacco and other things in proportion; they were twenty miles from a railroad; they were guarded by armed negroes day and night; when a few of them escaped, they were trailed by bloodhounds and brought back with noose around their necks and forced to work; when they refused to work they were beaten until unconscious. The recital of the matter is more brutal than any pictured in Uncle Tom's Cabin. It would be a good idea to get a copy of the Journal, dated August 10, and show this up to your fellows in this nation—there is no slavery in this nation—no white men kidnapping like negroes were from Africa. But men who work for profit will commit any crime. Profit makes brutes of all its devotees.

If this nation were not run by a mean set of cut-throats as ever slit a throat, this matter would be ferreted out if it took every soldier in the nation, and the men who committed these crimes would be sentenced to the penitentiary for life. But not a soldier to protect a workingman. Soldiers are to protect the corporation thieves in controlling the government. Soldiers are to hold the working class while the coal barons rob them; soldiers are to shoot the miners in coal and metal when they refuse to submit to their slavery. Republican officials protect the democrats in such atrocities as this recorded in the Journal, and which crimes are common all over the good democratic south, which democracy poses as the friend of the working class. If the working class vote the old parties into power again the working class certainly deserves such treatment. Wage slavery has so brutalized them that they are fit only for animal existence. The Danes who escaped have appealed to the Danish consul in New York to investigate the fate of their comrades. The U. S. government is too busy using its machinery to elect Teddy the First to pay any attention to such trifles as kidnapping and making slaves of the white workmen. Hurrah for Teddy, Parker and Co.

U. S. Protection Costs \$2.50

I landed in Budapest, the capital of Hungary, and immediately proceeded to visit the United States consul. The office of the United States consulate is located at 21 Wurmudvar, and I was ushered into the presence of Frank Dyer Chester, Ph. D., Consul General to Hungary. Mr. Chester is a Massachusetts man and prides himself with the title of Doctor of Philosophy after his name. He shook my hand warmly, and I noticed a neighborhood smile steal across his face as he told him that I was a Socialist.

"Why, Mr. Klein, you don't look like one," said the Consul General. "I was surprised at his childlike ignorance of Socialism. He told me that the gas monopoly of Williamantico, Conn., finds it profitable to lay its mains so the gas will escape, and the patrons pay for it. It leaked in a house and killed one man and nearly killed three sisters—the Misses Sgrue. The latter brought suit and the judge kindly bid the company to pay the sisters \$350! The health of three women is not worth much before a judge, when he has his eye on the corporations. But the working people vote such men on the bench and they deserve the worst verdicts in the power of the court. The corporations know the value of having judges, and the working class don't. But such is life under the rule of kings—the judges always gave their verdicts in favor of the king. Hurrah for Roosevelt-Parker and Wall street.

American workmen and farmers sent Europe this year over \$100,000,000 worth of their products to pay the expenses of the tourists from this country during the past summer! Ain't that kind to the rich? No wonder the rich employers love their employees and concede so much to them, is it? The slave owners of the south went to Europe and the slaves' labor paid the bills in the shape of cotton. The employers go to Europe today and the wage slaves pay the bills in their products just the same as the slaves of old. Of course, you are not one who pays their bills and stays at home! You are one of the capitalists who have others produce for you! You vote to have the arrangement continue, don't you?

The daily press says that American tourists left one hundred millions in Europe this summer. I thought the rich had become rich because they were so frugal! Wonder how they got this money? Wonder who produced it? Do you think the working class of America produced any of it? Don't you know that some of it was squeezed out of you on the necessities of life you have used? Why don't you go to Europe? Haven't you worked and produced more than the rich vermin that infest the land? Say, John, let's vote for Roosevelt, Parker and Wall street once more this fall and have this good state of affairs continue. What do you think? So nice to do the work and let the other fellows, who won't work, go to Europe, isn't it?

"Freemen, Yet Slaves Under Abe Lincoln's Son" is the title of a booklet published by an ex-Pullman porter, who was discharged by Robert Lincoln for trying to organize the six thousand porters, who have to work for \$25 a month and find themselves away from home or beggars on the public charity. A degraded son of a noble sire.

Debs' Dates. Sept. 1, Indianapolis, Ind.; 2, Louisville, Ky.; 3, Jefferson, Ky.; Cincinnati, O.; Covington and Newport, Ky.; 5, Erie, Pa. (Labor Day); 6, New York City; 7, Baltimore, Md.; 8, Wheeling, W. Va.; 11, St. Louis, Mo.; 13, Chattanooga, Tenn.; 14, Atlanta, Ga.; 15, Birmingham, Ala.; 16, Little Rock, Ark.; 18, Ft. Smith, Ark. Other cities that have definitely accepted dates offered them for Comrade Debs are Wichita, Kas., San Francisco, Cal., Portland, Ore., Tacoma, Wash., Missoula and Butte, Mont., Denver, Omaha, Des Moines, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Dubuque, Ia., Rock Island, Ill., Toledo, O., Chicago, Reading, Pa., Hartford, and New Haven, Conn., Boston, Rochester and Buffalo, N. Y., Milwaukee, Wis., and Terre Haute, Ind. Comrade Hanford speaks Sept. 1, at South Bend, Ind., and he will then go east to fill the Labor Day engagement at Haverhill, Mass., and return west through Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

A Socialist Agitator from the United States Visits Hungary.

By Nicholas Klein.

No. II.

A great deal has been said and written about France, Belgium, Germany and other progressive European nations, consequently I decided to investigate conditions in the backward countries. As the great railway strike has just ended in Hungary, in which the railway employees, who are unorganized, stopped every train in the empire, and as I have knowledge of the language of his country, I decided to make my studies there.

Hungary is under the dominion of the Austrian Empire. The form of government is a sort of a limited monarchy. Franz Joseph is the emperor of Austria and the king of Hungary. The nation is composed of a mixture of the Slav, Magyar and the original Magyar race. The people of this country have all ways had a revolutionary tendency. On more than one occasion have they risen against white slavery at that; yes, and white men kidnapping like negroes were from Africa. But men who work for profit will commit any crime. Profit makes brutes of all its devotees.

I landed in Budapest, the capital of Hungary, and immediately proceeded to visit the United States consul. The office of the United States consulate is located at 21 Wurmudvar, and I was ushered into the presence of Frank Dyer Chester, Ph. D., Consul General to Hungary. Mr. Chester is a Massachusetts man and prides himself with the title of Doctor of Philosophy after his name. He shook my hand warmly, and I noticed a neighborhood smile steal across his face as he told him that I was a Socialist.

"Why, Mr. Klein, you don't look like one," said the Consul General. "I was surprised at his childlike ignorance of Socialism. He told me that

he once had an opportunity to hear our James F. Carey in Boston, but he declined because he considered the Socialist as some very rough-bearded, fire-brand villain, who wished to "divide up," or who desired to harm the poor capitalists. I gently assured him that he missed a treat. That James



The Dream of the Hungarian Capitalist.

F. Carey and the rest of us Socialists were neither rough-bearded, nor did we desire to harm any one, that we were entirely a peaceful people and were utterly opposed to every form of "dividing up." I talked for some time along the political line, until I had him "fairly cornered," then I finally made my mission known.

Refuses to be Held Up. I came to show my passport from the United States government, signed by John Hay, the Secretary of State; calling upon "all to whom it may concern" to give Nicholas Klein, an American

citizen, all lawful aid and protection in case of need." Mr. Chester surprised me by stating that the protection part would only cost me five crowns; and he gently offered to put his stamp upon my passport (which also cost five crowns) providing I could produce five crowns for his trouble. I gently informed Mr. Chester that I would refuse protection if I had to pay for it. His reply was: "Well, Mr. Klein, your passport is worthless unless you pay five crowns in every country you desire protection." I bid Mr. Chester goodbye, minus his expected five crowns for protection. Budapest, the Center of Exploitation. I was now in Budapest with its popu-

lation of about 700,000 people. Budapest is the capital and largest city of Hungary and the center of exploitation. In many respects it is different from "our" large American cities. Budapest has no large factories, no large department stores, no large yellow journals or "captains of industry."

Capitalism is just awakening here. Industry is as yet in a crude state. I heard the shrill cry of the newspaper child, I saw the worn out "news-paper woman," the ragged washer, the "worn out, tired" peddler. I thought I was in Chicago or New York. The only thing I

missed was the old "stand-by" political bait, our famous "full dinner pail." Hungary hasn't even one large factory, consequently our republican orator would stand a slim chance for a subject for a speech here. Workingmen Have No Voice. The country is mainly governed by a house of deputies, who are elected by popular vote. The proletariat have absolutely no voice or vote in any matter. A property qualification is necessary in order to entitle a citizen to a ballot. Women suffrage is unknown. The professional class, the doctors, lawyers, teachers, college professors and ministers of the gospel are entitled to a vote. Strictly speaking, no laborer has a ballot in Hungary. He is compelled to serve three years in the army, he is marched and drilled and taught to shoot his fellowmen in case of a strike or labor disturbance, but he is not permitted to say who shall make his laws or what the laws shall be. He simply obeys and like other workers of the world, he just lives to produce wealth for his masters.

Political Divisions. The Political complexion of Hungary is as follows: Liberal Party..... 200 deputies Independent Party..... 80 deputies Social Democratic Party..... none Democratic Party..... 1 deputy

The Liberal Party is the government party, and in every respect resembles "our" g. o. p. republican party, serving as in the United States, the interests of the ruling powers only. As it is not necessary for the Liberal Party to beg for working class votes, they do not make the bluff that the republican party of the United States does to get into office. The Independent Party is just like "our" d. e. p. democratic party, and serves the same purpose. They are for anything, anytime, anywhere. This is the platform of the democratic party of the United States, and it also serves as the platform of the Independent Party of Hungary. They are, as in the United States, disappointed office seekers and able representatives of the rapidly disappearing middle class and small business interests.

The Hungarian "Hearst." Through the agency of the United States Consul General I secured an introduction to the blind political Moses of Hungary, Dr. Vazsonyi Wilmos, the only democratic member of Parliament. The working class having no votes, the Social Democrats Party has no deputies. The democratic member, Dr. Vazsonyi Wilmos, is a political general like "our own" Willie Hearst. He fully realizes that in a short time the government will (Continued on Page 5.)

You Are to Be the Judge



IT WAS TRUE 12 YEARS AGO AND IT IS TRUE NOW

READ WHAT A MICHIGAN MAN SAYS TO PROVE IT. BERMANVILLE, Mich.—I had been complaining incurable of Bright's Disease for three eminent physicians, when I commenced using Vitae-Ore. I weighed about 100 pounds, but in three months I weighed 145 pounds and was well and hearty. I have not suffered with my kidneys since, and it was twelve years since I first used the V.-O. I am now 67½ years old and believe I am good for thirty years yet if I can have V.-O.

NOEL SAYS: If you are sick with any disease of the circulation, the Stomach, Liver, Kidney, Bladder or Throat, VITAE-ORE WILL CURE YOU. Noel is the discoverer of Vitae-Ore. He has been familiar with its wonderful properties for two generations. He has watched its remarkable action in thousands upon thousands of cases, and HE OUGHT TO KNOW. NOEL SAYS he doesn't want your money unless Vitae-Ore benefits you. NOEL is old enough to know what he wants.

NOT NEW, BUT TRUE "JUST THINK OF IT." DANIEL WEBSTER once said about a certain political proposition, "There are lots of new things, but lots of true things, but the trouble is that the NEW things are not TRUE and the TRUE things are not NEW."

Thirty Days' Trial—the Proprietors Take All the Risk—You Have Nothing to Lose! You Are to Be the Judge. You have seen it before—all of you have. It has appeared in this paper a dozen times a year for a number of years. You have all seen it, even though you may not have answered it. It is not new, but it is all true. You have but to write, to send for it, to direct that it be sent to you—and it is sent to you. No questions, no quibbling, no money. If you want to pay for it, all right. If you don't, you don't have to. Enough are satisfied enough want to get enough to pay to make it pay the advertiser, to make its fame grow from year to year like a green bay tree, and it is because it is all true. The claims for Vitae-Ore are not new, but they are all true. Your fellow readers who have sent for a package and tested it have proven this history in an open book that all may read, and if all will find it all true.

SENT ON THIRTY DAYS' TRIAL. READ THIS SPECIAL OFFER. WE WILL SEND to every worthy sick and ailing person who writes us mentioning the Appeal to Reason, a full-sized \$1.00 package of VITAE-ORE by mail, postpaid, sufficient for one month's treatment. In many respects it is different from "our" large American cities. Budapest has no large factories, no large department stores, no large yellow journals or "captains of industry."

NOT A PENNY UNLESS BENEFITED. What Vitae-Ore is: Vitae-Ore is a natural, hard, mineral-ore mined from the ground like gold and silver. In the United States it is a powerful, but not extinct, mineral spring. It requires twenty years for crystallization by exposure to the air, when it strikes down like lime, and is of medicinal value. It contains lime, iron, free sulphur, and free magnesia, three properties which are most essential for the retention of health in the human system, and one package—once taken—of the ORE, when mixed with a quart of water, will equal in mineral strength and curative value 250 gallons of the most powerful mineral water drunk from the springs. It is a geological discovery, in which there is nothing added or taken from it. It is the marvel of the century for curing such diseases as:

RHEUMATISM, BRUISES, BURNS, STOMACH AND BOWEL DISORDERS, BLOOD POISONING, CATARRH OF THE BLADDER, DROPSY, GOUT, GRAVEL, MALARIAL FEVER, NERVOUS DEBILITY, PLEASANT ALIMENTS, STOMACH AND BOWEL DISORDERS, CATARRH OF THE BLADDER, DROPSY, GOUT, GRAVEL, MALARIAL FEVER, NERVOUS DEBILITY, GENERAL DEBILITY. Suffered for Many Years—The Trial Treatment Pointed the Way and a Complete Cure Followed. Read What this Worthwhile Blacksmith Says of Vitae-Ore. I was a great sufferer from Catarrh of the Bowels for a number of years. After using many different kinds of medicine, without everything that was recommended to me, I almost lost all hope of ever getting any better. Then I bought a package of Vitae-Ore, and I am now able to wield the sledge hammer and do my blacksmith work as well as ever. My stomach and bowels are better than they have been for thirty years past and it is all due to Vitae-Ore. I am conscientiously and truly recommending Vitae-Ore to all persons suffering from Catarrh of the Stomach or Bowels, and would consider myself indeed selfish did I not write and tell what it has done for me, so that others may be cured as I have been.



How to Make Ten Socialist Voters.

Don't lay out too big a job for yourself. A small job well done is worth more to the movement than a big job poorly done.

ECHOES ALONG THE WAY.

V. C. Metcalf is a lawyer. He has been appointed as chief of the bureau of commerce and labor. Say, it is a cinch for these grafters. What part in this government has the workingman?

The Rev. Fr. Sherman is so sure that Socialism will destroy the home, that he has excommunicated the scandalous actions of his colleague of Chicago—Rev. J. A. Ryan.

The Register of Central City, S. D. is another prosperous looking weekly, filled with local advertisement and local news that supports the National Socialist party.

Frank Smalley, an eleven-year-old boy, the son of a tenant farmer near

Cloverdale, Iowa, committed suicide a few days ago. The boy was forced to work from five in the morning until after sun-down every day, including Sunday, in order to help the parents pay the rent.

The people up in Valley Junction, Ia., are awfully afraid that Socialism will confiscate their little property.

Cashier Spencer, of Grinnell, Iowa, defaulted to the tune of \$200,000, and as a result, the First National Bank will be closed and the depositors will lose their little savings.

The Rev. Fr. Sherman is so sure that Socialism will destroy the home, that he has excommunicated the scandalous actions of his colleague of Chicago—Rev. J. A. Ryan.

Judge Bell, republican Superior Court Judge at Seattle, Wash., has just handed down a decision that the eight hour law is un-c-o-n-s-t-i-t-u-t-i-o-n-a-l.

NEARING THE MILLION MARK.

The big press has been growing since Monday morning on the Debs edition, and the mailing room has been working like Trojans to get out the orders.

There will be no railroad wrecks under Socialism. Buy your seats, a railroad ticket—the railroads will do the rest.

A great many men get the politics in their heads in the shape of campaign signs; others find theirs in the foaming beer glass.

There is nothing gained in abusing a workman because he opposes Socialism; as Jesus said of his crucifiers: "They know not what they do."

It is thought perhaps that Gasway Davis may win a bit of about-mindedness stuff a million-dollar bill into Tom Taggart's coat pocket when Tom isn't looking.

The Chicago Daily News says Justice is Socialism's worst enemy. This is not true for the simple reason that when the workers get justice the world will get Socialism.

Comrade H. A. Spencer, of Emporia, Kan., expresses his belief that the labor unions here are getting it in the neck until the neck is all that is left.

St. Paul and Minneapolis workers are in luck. Jobs in the twin cities have been growing scores of late.

Mr. Money Bags—What school did you send your son to? Mr. Money Bags—I sent him to a riding school.

A Washington dispatch states that the government will spend a million dollars of new people's money between Sept. 5 and 10 in army maneuvers in Virginia.

Corruption has become so bad in good old republican Massachusetts that the legislature has passed an act against the bribery of servants and agents of corporations.

The employers are organized to control politics in their interest and ask the working class to vote their tickets.

FOR PRESIDENT, EUGENE V. DEBS, Of Indiana.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT, BENJAMIN HANFORD, Of New York.

HOT CINDEERS. By E. N. RICHARDSON.

There will be no railroad wrecks under Socialism. Buy your seats, a railroad ticket—the railroads will do the rest.

There is nothing wrong with the trusts except the private ownership and private management of them.

A great many men get the politics in their heads in the shape of campaign signs; others find theirs in the foaming beer glass.

There is nothing gained in abusing a workman because he opposes Socialism; as Jesus said of his crucifiers: "They know not what they do."

It is thought perhaps that Gasway Davis may win a bit of about-mindedness stuff a million-dollar bill into Tom Taggart's coat pocket when Tom isn't looking.

The cause of every railroad wreck that ever happened can be traced directly to its private ownership. They are run for profit instead of for the benefit of the people.

A man and his thoughts are a good deal like a team of horses and the wheels of a wagon. The horses are the thoughts; when the horses pull the wheels turn round.

The Chicago Daily News says Justice is Socialism's worst enemy. This is not true for the simple reason that when the workers get justice the world will get Socialism.

The price of meat is advancing by leaps and bounds, but postage stamps are selling at the same old price. Funny, isn't it, how the price of postage stamps always remains the same?

Many people are democrats and republicans for the same reason that a bit of drift-wood is in some particular eddy. And I presume the same reason that they are democrats, but I do not believe the number is very large.

Comrade H. A. Spencer, of Emporia, Kan., expresses his belief that the labor unions here are getting it in the neck until the neck is all that is left.

St. Paul and Minneapolis workers are in luck. Jobs in the twin cities have been growing scores of late.

Mr. Money Bags—What school did you send your son to? Mr. Money Bags—I sent him to a riding school.

A Washington dispatch states that the government will spend a million dollars of new people's money between Sept. 5 and 10 in army maneuvers in Virginia.

Corruption has become so bad in good old republican Massachusetts that the legislature has passed an act against the bribery of servants and agents of corporations.

The employers are organized to control politics in their interest and ask the working class to vote their tickets.

The three big editions of the Appeal during the past two months have been:

No. 447—Shoat's "Story of the Colorado Outrages."

No. 453—Stitt Wilson's "Open Letter to Bryan."

No. 455—Debs' reply to Cleveland.

Each of these papers contain vital and intensely interesting matter to the men and women of this country who are looking for better things.

Vividly portrayed are economic conditions and the causes which have led up and which perpetuated them. In addition, the way is pointed, clear and distinct, how to abolish them.

Into the hands of every democrat should be placed the "Open Letter to Bryan."

Every railroad man should read the Reply to Cleveland.

A PROPOSITION.

Central Point, Oregon. To the Comrades of Oregon: I will be one of one hundred comrades to give \$25 apiece to circulate the Appeal to Reason.

The above appeared in the last number of "The Real Issue," published by Comrade Marcus W. Robbins, at Grants Pass, Oregon.

This is a grand offer, and, if the Oregon comrades take it up, as I am sure they will, it will do more to put that state in the Socialist column than anything else that has done in the past, or will be done in the future.

But the Appeal believes this can be made still a bigger thing, and I want to say a word to Oregon comrades on this subject. The Appeal proposes to meet Comrade Rawlings half way.

In another part of this issue we are printing an offer to send the paper for six months for ten cents where the names are sent in lots of not less than one thousand, type-written, or, at any rate, written plainly, so they may be sent direct to the linotype without going through the regular routine machinery.

Considerably below cost of production, but the Appeal will gladly make up the difference. Oregon comrades should immediately get into touch with their state secretary, Comrade A. H. Axelson, 1670 Union Ave., Portland, and push this plan through at once.

And comrades of other states would do well to take up some similar plan.

FINNEGAN'S CIGAR STORE. (By E. N. Richardson.) "Bill," said Hennessy, "who's this, is Finnegan?"

Finnegan is your neighbor. He is not everybody but he is everywhere. So, too, are the kindred spirits who hover about a Finnegan's "joint" and shine in the dramatic possession of these stories.

The Finnegan stories have already made many Finnegan's acquaintances with Socialism, which is the story they were made.

Mr. Finnegan will call on you, and circulate among your neighbors for only ten cents. For a dollar a dozen Finnegan's will call; and for only five dollars a hundred Finnegan's will wear themselves out in your service.

SEND FOR FINNEGAN.

WILL YOU HELP?

Last week I rode sixty-five miles, circulating Appeals and pamphlets, about Girard. One evening after work I made twenty miles and left an Appeal and two pamphlets at every farm house.

The city of Brest, France, is controlled absolutely by Socialists. At a recent meeting it dismissed the entire police force for interfering with the striking dockers; by refusing to pay them salary; it also retaliated on the government for sending troops by raising the octroi tax on every luxury.

French cities all collect a tax on articles brought into them like we do on articles imported from foreign nations. The city council made this tax fearfully high, but the rich parasites will have to pay it or use what the poor people are compelled to use.

Among the things taxed are scented soap, oats, hay and straw for the stables of the rich, upon poultry and game, which only the rich can buy, a tax on full length looking glasses and dressing tables, etc., which the rich use, while the poor have to put up with small hand mirrors.

The French workmen are better educated in politics than the American workmen, and use their political power to benefit themselves and keep down the masters to the limit. Sometimes the American voters will wake up and get even with those who have been skinning and oppressing them for the last fifty years.

You will notice in the daily press that blackmailers are threatening the lives of rich citizens with death unless they disgorge thousands of dollars, and that several assassinations have resulted for refusing to comply with the demands. In nearly all these instances the victims are rich Italians and the arrests that have resulted have been men of the same nationality.

Under Socialism wealth could be had only by evidence of labor in some public industry, and with the elimination of a current money, got into better how, it would be impossible for any one to gain any advantage by any crime. The time when a man would be utterly worthless to another. Wouldn't it be better for the Fathers in the Church to devote their time to teaching Socialism to stop crime than to have the members of their church live by such crimes?

There is not a poor man in the United States with sense enough to occupy a cabinet position, or be a member of the senate. Of all the millions of poor republicans not one could be found fit to advise with the president!

"The Lancet" is a new paper published in Norman, Okla., which flies the Socialist ticket.



Mr. Dick's Military Law was passed for just such a Peabody, Holz John and Bell. The government furnishes every state soldier and all police departments with guns and powder and ball. All state troops are directly under the orders of the war department.

CHANGE PULPITS. "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country." Most comrades have discovered that. No matter how well you know a thing; no matter how well you can tell it—you are nothing but bill or Joe or John in your own town.

That town has some very able Socialists, inveterate workers and free with literature. Some of these, talking over the street incident, said that they had often offered some of these same men literature and they had only sneered at it.

Now, what I desire to call your attention to is this—that you can get attention from strangers better than those you meet in your daily walks of life.

That is why a salesman, insurance agent or other solicitor does better away from home than at home. Go, therefore, to some neighboring town and you will attract attention, and get one of the comrades there to come to your home and stir up your neighbors.

Now is the time to circulate extra copies of the Appeal. Every comrade should make an effort to distribute a bundle every week until election. Bundle of 100 copies, ten weeks to one address, \$5.

AN AMERICAN AGITATOR. (Continued from Page 4.) be compelled to give the proletariat of Hungary the ballot, consequently he tries to steal our Socialist thunder.

He has a long interview with the doctor, he has a good grasp of the science of Socialism. He is a lawyer by profession and claims he is a "Socialist" too, but not a Marxist, he does not believe in collectivism.

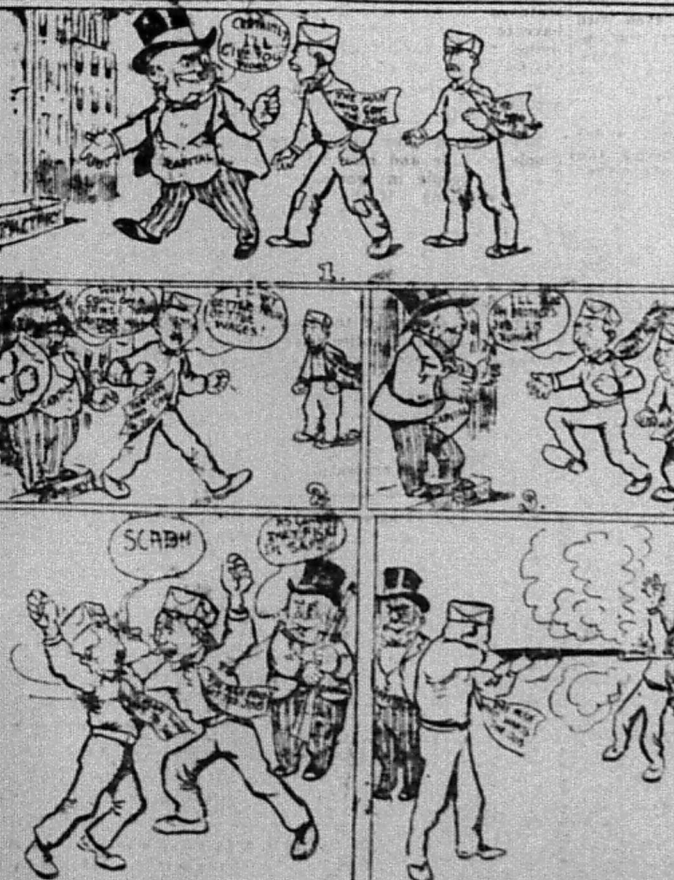
During our lengthy discussion he admitted to me that if the working class of Hungary had a vote, 90 Socialist members would speak on the floor of the Hungarian Parliament. He could not understand how it was that the "much talked of" intelligent American laborer, could be content with wage slavery, having a ballot in hand with the power of securing the freedom Socialism offered.

Men who live by stealing from the people will be and hire other liars to keep the people in ignorance of their means of living. If the laboring class were to get the truth from those who are non-producers about how they live, they will be deceived. See how they cover up their income and the means by which they get it.

Men who live by stealing from the people will be and hire other liars to keep the people in ignorance of their means of living. If the laboring class were to get the truth from those who are non-producers about how they live, they will be deceived. See how they cover up their income and the means by which they get it.

TO ELLIS B. HARRIS. Yes, we'll vote for Debs—for the old time's sake, And we'll vote for Debs for our own selves' sake—For the sake of the wife and the little dears, For the sake of the widows' and orphans' tears—Yes, we'll vote for Debs.

We'll vote for Debs—we're with him still; We come, we come with a right good will; Two million of us with hearts aflame For love of the cause linked with his name. Yes, we'll vote for Debs.



THE STORY OF THE TWIN (LABOR) BROTHERS. Study this picture for ten minutes. In that time you can see the whole scheme of capitalism. The workingman is played against workingman. Some day Socialism will make these men understand that their interests are one, and that they should no longer permit capital to fatten on their labor. On that day capital will promptly go out of business.