800,000

peal to seasons and the seasons are seasons and the seasons and the seasons are seasons are seasons are seasons and the seasons are season Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., Nov. 23, 1907

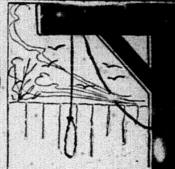
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JAIL AND GALLOWS

EDITION-



BROWN: HISTORY'S GREATEST HERO

HE most picturesque character, the hravest man and most self-sac rificing soul in American history, was hanged at Charlestown, Va., December 2, 1859.

On that day Thoreau said: "Some sighteen hundred years age Christ was crucified. This morning, perchance, Captain Brown was hung. These are the soul was illumined by a sublimer ideal. A race of human beings, lowly and decut its links. He is not 'Old Brown' any longer; he is an Angel of Light. out its links. He is not 'Old Brown' out its links. He is not 'Old Brown' any longer; he is an Angel of Light.

"" I foresee the time when the painter will paint that scene, no longer going to Rome for a subject; the poet will sing it, the historian record it, and with landing of the Pilgrims and the Declaration of Independence it will be the ornament of some future national gallery, when at least the present form of alavery shall be no more here. We shall then be at liberty to weep for Captain From."

Few people dared that fateful day to breathe a sympathetic word for the grizzled old agitator. For years he had carried on his warfare against chattel slavery was too late. His work was long always the had only a handful of fanatical followers to support him. But

natical followers to support him. But to his mind his duty was clear, and that reverential passion: "John Brown is was enough. He would fight it out to grander than George Washington!" History may be searched in vain for

the end, and if need be alone.

Old John Brown set an example of moral courage and of single-hearted devotion to an ideal for all men and for all John Brown.

From the beginning of his career to the close he had but one idea and one

with every drop of his honest blood he hated slavery, and in his early manhood he resolved to lay his life on Freedom's alter in wiping out that insufferable affliction. He never faltered. So God-like was his unconquerable soul that he dared to face the world alone. How perfectly sublime!

He did not reckon the overwhelming numbers against him, nor the paltry few that were on his side. This grosser aspect of the issue found no lodgment in his mind or heart. He was right and Jehovah was with him. His was not to reckon consequences, but to strike the was eight and Jehovah was with him. His was not to reckon consequences, but to strike the was eight and Jehovah was with him. His was not to reckon consequences, but to strike the

"No man is conquered until he confesses failure. Surrender, not capture, is the only defeat."—Fred

REMEMBER the Haymarket!

Socrates drank and died, and Truth

"THE MOB is the human race in mis-

"For out of prison he cometh to reign.

-Ecclesiastes IV., 14.

ivilization.

"I AM ready to go with thee, both into In the presence of this awful plague prison and to death."—Luke, XXII., 33.

Our first duty is to empty the jails of social martyrs and fill them with cap-

that a man lay down his life for his friends."-John XV., 13.

we will it was too late. His work was "HE HATH sent me to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."—Isaiah,

ROOSEVELT designated Debs as an "un-desirable citizen." But Debs will be re-membered and revered when Roosevelt is rotten and forgotten.

The Appeal to Reason is recognized as the hardest hitter in American newspaperdom. If will sustain that reputation next year. You'l miss a good deal of the freworks if you don't get this paper every week. See coupon on last

Our Modern Martyrs.

Every cause that triumphs must have its martyrs. Infinite suffering is ever cutor, appears before the grand jury between the price of Progress. The path of Libraty leads through prison. The flower f Preedom is watered with tears. We an climb the heights of Social Justice and the heights of the circum and you the stepping-stones of human states. there is nothing for the jury to to you a man who has been in jail, who will speak in behalf of a man who now is in jail."—A. H. Floaten, introducing Eugene V. Debs in Coliseum Hall, Dena ver, Nov. 5, 1906.

"Looking Backward."

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

Before me lies a copy of the Philadel-phia Evening Herald, bearing date of June 21, 1877. On that day the "Mollie June 21, 1877. On that day the "Mollie Maguires" were executed, six of them—Boyle, McGeghan, Minnley, Roarity, Carroll and Duffy—at Pottsville; four of them—Campbell, Doyle, Kelly and Donahue—at Mineb Chunk, and one—Lanahun—at Wilkesbarre. They all protested their innocence and all died game. Not one of them betrayed the slightest evidence of fear or weakening. The issue of the fear or weakening. The issue of the Herald referred to contains a full acount of the execution, with portraits of

the hapless victims.

Not long ago in the jail at Pottsville I stood on the spot where the six "Mol-lies" met their doom, and I uncovered in memory of their martyrdom.

Not one of them was a murderer at heart. All were ignorant, rough and uncouth, born of poverty and buffeted by the merciles tides of fate and chance. To resist the wrongs of which they and their fellow-workers were the victims and to protect themselves against the brutality of their boases, according to their own crude notions, was the prime object of the organization of the "Mollie Maguirea." Solving could have been farther from their intention than It is true that their membered that their lot was hard and membered that their lot was hard and brutalizing; that they were the neg-lected children of poverty, the products of a wretched environment.

At the scenes of the execution the

of a wretched environment.

At the scenes of the execution the tragedy is today, thirty years later, still spoken of in whispers. A vague dread of reviving the fearful past seems to silence the tongue of the resident when the subject is introduced. But bit by thit the truth has slowly and painfully filtered through the dungeon doors of false history, and the world is beginning to understand the true inwardness of the "Mollie Maguire" organization and its real relation to the later movement.

These unfortunate victims of the bases to traval since the days of Judas had no possible means of defense or justification. The corporate press howled like

est betrayal since the days of Judas had no possible means of defense or justification. The corporate press howled like fiends incarnate for their blood. They had dared to assert themselves against a powerful and piratical corporation, and this was sufficient warrant for their extermination. Spies, informers and assassins wormed their councils. Bloody crimes were intheir councils. Bloody crimes were instigated and committed; the innocent religion or the palaces of justice, but and increase "Mellies" salled int. the integrate or like process of the roce is not in the palaces of justice, but the process of the roce is routed the process. stigated and committed; the innocent and ignorant "Mollies" walked into the

"About all the really good men who have ever lived have been in prison."-Elbert Hubbard.

Ann don't forget Haywood,

"Brown died like a man and Virginia fretted like an old woman,"-Francis

FROM the blood of the Haymarket heroes the flower of Freedom will blos-

its benefactors and exalt its execution-

"John Brown will make the gallows as glorious as Jesus Christ made the eross."-Emerson.

"IMPRISONMENT in jails is not punishment for liberty-loving, spirited men."-Samuel Gompers.

Down the vista of the ages we see ways the thief on the throne and the Christian on the cross. "IT REQUIRED five hundred year

travel from the Inquisition to the Injunction."—Eugene V. Debs. "The burglar works as hard as the capitalist; the difference is that we put the burglar in jail."—Rose Pastor

Stokes. WHEN a sufficient number of men b

The postal inquisitor is an anachronism in this somewhat enlightened age. His presence in the present is as incommutation of the congruous as would be a hideous idol set up in the heart of a civilized capital. His methods are not compatible with the spirt of modernity; they are demoralizing to democratic thought. He is an unique upon the lated. No friendly votes pleaded in explantation was annihilated. No friendly votes pleaded in explantation was crucified as the first lated. No friendly votes pleaded in explantation was crucified as the first lated. No friendly votes pleaded in explantation of the cames charged upon the lated. No friendly votes pleaded in explantation of the cames charged upon the lated. No friendly votes pleaded in explantation of the cames charged upon the lated. No friendly votes pleaded in explantation of the cames charged upon the lated. No friendly votes pleaded in explantation of the cames charged upon the limitation of the capitalist inflancy; it had no press and no power. There was but one side to the tragedy and that was, of course, the capitalist turnkey, liberty always the convict."—

Henry D. Lloyd.

1837=-SEVENTY YEARS: A PARALLEL--1907

EVENTY years ago this month, a Capitalism, the corner stone of which is mob of angry men gathered in front of the printing odice of Elijah P. Lovejoy, in Alton.

Ill. These men did not agree with the parallel the Alton effort to suppress a what Lovejoy had sald about chattel the spirit back of the effort is always allowery. Many members of the mob the same. what Lovejoy had said about chattel the spirit back of the effort is always slavery. Many members of the mob owned no slaves, and therefore had nothing to lose, but they were dependent in many ways—socially, politically and financially—on men who did own slaves. They sought to gain favor with the slave masters—the rulers of society in America at that time—by doing bodily harm to this man who dared preach and write against the then existing order of sentiative of the government. America at that time—by doing boths, the representative of the government, a remeasurable. The mob broke into the office nation of the leader of the Alton mob-

And then Lovejoy was murdered— murdered by the mob because he dared raise his voice in defense of enslaved

the spot where Lovejoy's undaunted spirit left this troubled world, and his memory is revered by the grandchildren of the very men who assassinated him. Those who composed the meb fill forgotten graves. No one today "points with pride" to the fact that his grandfather led the meb that murdered the heroic lovely.

The mob and their high political friends who applauded the crime, and the civil officers who protected the murderers, were unconscious of the elemental economic forces that were silently but irresistibly at work undermining the "sacred institution of private

society. The mob broke into the office and destroyed the press and type. But they did not silence Lovejoy. Three times was the little paper attacked, and finally the press and material were thrown into the Mississippi river.

And then Lovejoy was murdered—murdered by the mob because he dared in the contempt.

And the mob broke into the office nation of the leader of the Alton mobard vindictive, excited, unreasoning. After windictive, excited, unreasoning. After the leader of the law indictive, excited, unreasoning. After windictive, excited, unreasoning. After they did not silence I to evaluate the supreme court of the leader of the Alton mobard vindictive, excited, unreasoning. After windictive, excited, unreasoning. After they did not silence I to evaluate the supreme court of the leader of the Alton mobard vindictive, excited, unreasoning. After they did not silence I to evaluate the supreme court of the law books, he changed his tactics and dramatically declared that the Appear is a supreme court of the United States and trying to bring it in the content of the law books, he changed his tactics and dramatically declared that the Appear is a supreme court of the United States and trying to bring it in the supreme court of the United States and trying to bring it in the supreme court of the United States and trying the planting the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and trying the supreme court of the United States and t

And then Lovejoy was murdered murdered by the mob because he dared traise his voice in defense of enslaved black men whose ancestors had been kidnaped from their native home in Africa hrought to this country and yoked to the plow as beasts of burden.

The mob dispersed—satisfied that they would now hear no more of this "damnable and pernicious doctrine."

A magnificent monument now marks the spot where Lovejoy's undaunted spirit left this troubled world, and his memory is revered by the grandchildren of the very men who assassinated him. Those who composed the mob fill forgotten graves. No one today "points with pride" to the fact that his grandfather led the mob that murdered the heroic Lovejoy.

The mob and their high political.

The persecution to which this paper.

The persecution to which this pape has been subjected by the Washingto government, through its posteffice depart ment, and now through its departmen of justice, is helping us forward in on

work. We cheerfully bear the personal an mining the "sacred institution of private property in human flesh" and pushing that, in the language of Judge Pollock, the world on into the next stage of so-cial development in America, namely: far, sometimes work backward."

Thus did they dree and dis On block, or cross-tree high, are the hell-wilelps on the figure boidty did defy.

"Still, if we dare dety
A mailed and intered lie
Of Church or State, its tools will hate
bound us till we die."

every scheme of sceptered scoundrels; will march steadily forward over a ro strewn with the ruins of dead dynasti

As the blood of the martyrs cries up from the stones for vengeance, so will the murdered liberty of the pioneers of progress call out from prison cells for vindication, and then, even as the Bas-tile fell, shall a tottering tyranny go

FROM WOODSTOCK TO BOISE

sacrifice.

From the Haymarket to Haywood is a painful path, overhung by the scarlet shadow of the scaffold and strewn with scarifices, and with only prisons for stopping-places. But many are the lessons we have learned on that weary way, and now we can teach a few things to the murderous tyrants. They hanged the Chicago martyrs, but they couldn't hang Haywood. This change of order is worth all it has cost—bitter though the price has been.

The worth all it has cost—bitter though the price has been.

The goodly company, these modern martyrs of curs, identifying such notable names as Debs and Haywood and Moyer and Pettibons, and many others—worthy successors, all, to Servetus and Bruno and Galileo and that honorable array of ancient herces who blazed the country—but it placed Warren in the country—but it placed Warren in the country—but it placed Warren in Bruno and Galileo and that honorable are of the most skilled newspaper men in take when it put Eugene v. Dens in ray of aucient heroes who blazed the country—but it placed Warren in jail. It made its second great mistake path of progress through the mirk of new and very grave danger.

The federal hounds were again sicked jail. And it adds to its mistakes every grave danger.

on the stepping-stones of human stances, there is nothing for the jury to do but follow instructions and return a

medievalism.

The latest victim of Plutocracy's victous persecution is Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal, who already is under indictment in the federal court for daring to defy the money-masters, while the hired hounds of capitalism again are yelping on his track and another indictment is in prospect. Comrade Warren has been strangely ailent on this subject, speaking scarcely a word in his own behalf—he whose voice always has been lifted for others. But as he has abdicated the tripod in my favor for one issue, I shall speak for him—and speak.

ment is in prospect. Comrade Warren has been strangely silent on this subject, speaking scarcely a word in his own be half—he whose voice always has been litted for others. But as he has abdicated the tripod in my favor for one is sue, I shall speak for him—and speak without reserve.

Baffled and maddened by Haywood's unexpected acquittal, the cohorts of capitalism have turned the full force of their venomous batteries upon him who more than any other man was responsible for their defeat in that murdenous campaign—this virile young David of Socialism who with his verbal sling is aiming sure death at the Goliath of Greed. By reason of information that has come to me from certain members of the Apprait's "Invisible Army" who are stationed on the very steps of the throne, I can state positively that Warren's magnificent work in Haywood's behalf—the splendid service he untiringly gave through a year and a half, and which I am convinced was largely instrumental in saving our heroic comrade's life—has brought down upon his ewn head the wrath of the rulers and is directly responsible for his present personally interposed and ordered that the case be reopened. This remarkable action was testified to by Postoffice Insection was testified to the case.

But Bonaparte and his pestiferous stellites have another guesses, in fact. You see, they didn't know about the Appeal Army and the wonderful things those fighting fellings the wonderful things those fighting f

left it victorious.

In each case it was a transformation and a triumph.

It should be understood that the word "defeat" is here used merely as a term of convenience. No man is truly defeated the base of the convenience and Debs and

And ever will right come apprimer, and ever will justice be done."

And these celebrated cases are not exceptional, for history proves that, despite the purpose for which they were designed, prisons have always been the instruments of progress—unfailing agencies of human advancement.

The path of progress extends undeviatingly from Woodstock to Boise. The experience of a Debs was necessary to the evolvement of a Haywood.

In their effort to destroy Debs the money-masters overreached themselves.

when it put William D. Haywood in jail. And it adds to its mistakes every time it wrongfully imprisons any member of the working class.

Woodstock was plutocracy's Waterloo and Boise was its Bull Run.

Debs dynamic being developed until its expanding forces found expression in the Socialist idea, of which his own potent personality was the informing influence. From the corporate wreck of the A. R. U. the Social Democracy was organized. Debs reformed this disintegration, he was the atom of attraction; his irresistible individuality was the core to which the others cohered—the compelling factor that drew to an integrative colales cence the shattered, ecattered remnants

egrity. But victory was plucked from the grasp But victory was plucked from the grasp of the strikers by the strong hand of federal power. They were robbed of the sweet fruits of their bitter struggle by the wealth won favor of presidential authority.

This result puzzled Debs. He couldn't understand how such a tremendous triumph could be turned into defeat.

He had to go to jail to find the solu-

and the not less narrow confines of craft interest he simultaneously stepped into physical freedom and into the worldwide sweep of the Social Revolution.

Debs had been so dangerous that the masters deemed it advisable to send him to jail. He left that prison a thousand times more dangerous than when he entered it.

For Debs is dangerous. This is the one truth plutocracy tells about him. He's as dangerous as dynamite—to capitalistic interests.

Capitalism thought it had destroyed Debs. It merely had made him.

His cell was a chrysalis, from which his soul came forth with unfurled wings.

Defeat cannot come to such a man as Debs. His triumphal return to Chicago after his release from Woodstock

Defeat cannot come to such a man as Debs. His triumphal return to Chicago after his release from Woodstock jail is neither paralleled nor approximated in all history except by Napoleon's victorious march upon Paris after his escape from Elba.

The kindest thing ever done to Debs was the act of his enemies. The greatest blessing mankind has received was bestowed by those who sought to enslave it. When it sentenced Debs to jail, Capitalism signed its own death warrant. Debs' career from Nov. 22, 1895, to July 28, 1907, spanning the years from Woodstock to Boise, forms the sevenhued bow of proletarian promises.

rir is not a disgrace to shive seed always been a jail-bird. In all great crises the place to look for the redeemers of the race is not in the palaces of justice, but religion or the palaces of justice, but in the prison cells or on the road thereto. Moses had to flee from the Egyptians. Scorates died in a cell. Christ was made a convict because he was a friend of the people, and was crucifed as the first preacher of democracy. Washington and Jefferson had so much centempt of court that they would have been hanged if they could have been caught. In the history of progress tyranny has always been the turnkey, liberty always the convict."

Henry D. Lloyd.

TO BOISE

To Boise To first place to look for the redeement of the problem.

In jail he studied Socialism. And straightway a great illumination burst upon his intelligence.

He turned from craft-consciousness to class-consciousness.

It was revealed to him that the entire theory of industrial organization as it cristed was fundamentally false. He realized that any social benefit to be large and lasting must be also universal.

Reward of the Revolutionist.

Until economic emancipation becomes fact, the vengeful System will claim tis victims. Among the Social Revolutionists in immediate danger is Fred D. Warren, whose trial on a trumped-up-theology are trial on a trumped-up-theology of truth—xsts a signpoat on the course for truth—xsts a signpoat on the course he poste, for the purpose of the personant to existing despotism and arouse a popular discontent. Therefore house a popular discontent. Therefore the truth of the way and cripple the Arrexat.

In eed not tell you that Comrade Warren out of the way at truth and where laws are made to probable the truth of the problem.

In jail he studied Socialism. And straightway a great illumination burst upon his intelligence.

He turned from craft-consciousness to class-consciousness.

It was revealed to him that the entire theory of industrial organization as it existed was fundamentally false. He realized that any soci It was revealed to him that the entire theory of industrial organization as it existed was fundamentally false. He realized that any social benefit to be large and lasting must be also universal. Mongoover, he came to know the reason for the failure of the Pullman strike after it had been fairly and fully won; and the understood then that revolution was the only remedy for economic ills and that the only hope for government protection of proletarian interests lay in the capture of governmental power.

From the narrow confines of his cell and the not less narrow confines of craft interest he simultaneously stepped into

Held a creed that turned and trampled on all lepresies and lies.

But the rabble rose in anger and assalled him, for they naw
That behind their savage statutes was a whiter, holler law.

And they harted its Apostle, for he tore their masks away, and revealed their rank pollution to the dar zie of the day."

Day Warman's lines do not lie in lane.

But Warren's lines do not lie in lonesome ways. Many before him have callen in the fight, and their bones strew the borders of the pathway of progress, while their strong spirits support him in this time of trial. They hold aloft the torch of truth to guide his fearless footsteps. So for him the future has no fears, whatever the penalty of this persecution may be. He has the courage of his convictions and the high hope of an honest purpose, sustained always by the power of tremendous truth. It has been his work to blaze the way through the social wilderness. Behind him he has left a track that is true for his fellows to follow. So, even as he has gathered strength from those who have gone before, they who shall come after him will draw a sure inspiration from his evalted

arian victory as was the acquittal of laywood. The tragedy was essential to hid made possible the triumph.

"It is sad to think of," says Dr. John

Roberts, "but the progress of the race marked by Gethsemanes and Calva-

These Chicago victims died ignomintously, strangled like vicious beasts, bemuse they had dared to demand for labor
a little of its rights. The world reviled
and was like a pack of wolves to rend
them. Today, only two decades later,
the world acknowledges their innocence
and weeps for the infinite tragedy of
their taking off. The accusing monument has been removed from Haymarket Square, and a monument loftier than
say that ever lifted its lithic finger toward the eternal empyrean has been
seared to the memory of these unfalterang harces in the grateful hearts of remembering tollers. Thus it is that—
"Time at last makes all things even."

membering tollers. Thus it is that—
"Time at last makes all things even."

The Haymarket case and the Haywood case, excepting the extremely different denouements, present a nearly parfect parallel.

Both originated in agitation for the eight-hour work day. In details of development and particulars of procedure they are almost identical.

Throughout each can plainly be traced the same murderous methods of the capitalist cut-threats. There were the same base and baseless accusations, there was the same conspiracy by the detectives, the same abetment by plutocratic interests, the same executive co-operation, the same "personally conducted courts" the same subsidization of the press, the same subsidization of the press, the same bribery, perjury and general dishoism.

Now all this is known and generally

admitted.

Only twenty years for vindication!

Surely the feet of Justice are growing fleet. Once it would have required centuries for such requital.

The day of their death, aught uttered in defense of the Harden below.

defense of the Haymarket heroes ould have subjected their champion serious danger. Now, so conservative to serious danger. Now, so conservative a literary representative of capitalism as Appleton's Magazine publishes the truth about the tragedy. In the October number of that periodical, under the head of "The Haymarket and Afterward," that eminent editor, Charles Edward Russell, who reported the case for the New York World, presents it fully and fairly for the first time in printand so great is the change the years. and fairly for the first time in print—and so great is the change the years have wrought that the magazine prints it as a matter of course. And the facts set forth should make the American people blush for shame that they permitted so cruel a crime to be perpetrated in the heartless interests of capitalism. Of the eight men arrested for the monstrous Haymarket massacre, three were imprisoned, one committed suicide, and four were judicially murdered. Only one of them (according to Russell, who was in a position to know) had any connection with the cruel crime with which they were charged—Lingg, the suicide, who blew off his head by detonating in his mouth a cartridge of fulminating mercury. And none of the others except August Spies, so Russell further asserts, had knowledge even of Lingg's existence

August Spies, so Russell further asserts, had knowledge even of Lingg's existence previous to the latter's arrest.

"He was the only really dangerous man among the eight, AND THE ONLY AN-ARCHIST," declares Russell.

It is worthy of note that the author of this article, unlike most non-Socialist writers, discriminates between anarchism and Socialism, to fail in which differentiation, he explains, would be "as if one should confound the north pole with the south."

ferentiation, he explains, would be sif one should confound the north pole with the south."

Lings was the man who made the bomb, Russell informs us, and adds that his confederate, Rudolph Schnaubelt, who hurled it upon its horrible mission of death, "passed quietly out of Chicago and made his way unmarked to Germany, to live and die in peace."

These martyrs were murdered solely because they were leaders of the eighthour movement—that was their crime. The authorities had positive knowledge that they were guiltless of the deed, in fact, was comparatively inconsequent in the capitalistic faind. It was only a few policemen who had been killed—merely men, who could easily be replaced and who represented no property value. But the success of the eighthour movement—assassination who represented no property value. But the success of the eighthour movement assassination who represented no property value. But the success of the eighthour movement assassination who represented the success of the eighthour movement assassination who represented the success of the eighthour movement assassination who represented the success of the eighthour movement assassination who represented the success of the eighthour movement assassination who represented the success of the eighthour movement assassination who represented the success of the eighthour movement assassination where the trial were unusual the case While it still was boped that the chief executive of Illinois might not case. While it still was boped that the chief executive of Illinois might not case. While it still was boped that the chief executive of Illinois might not case. While it still was correctly sized by the Millinois was correctly sized by the Millinois might not considered to the authorities. As well which fortunately were exposed; the that recents, the trial were unusual that the confederate in the word which fortunately were exposed. The witness this, from Russell; Not yet long the fore that the was their free and surface and surrendered to the authoritie

trial justice.

The trouble started in the strike at the factories of the McCormick company, now the dominant interest of the great Harvester trust. The police were called upon to break the strike, and they proceeded after their customary manner in such matters. This they could do with impunity, for the eighthour movement was in distinct disfavor.

"It was denounced unreservedly by all the learned writers and economic authorities," says Russell; "it was viewed with obvious resentment by employers." Also, strangely enough, it was condemned by the Knights of Labor and similar industrial organizations.

dustrial organizations int

Griminality is separated from heroism merely by the distinguishing facts of success or failure. It has truthfully been said that the victorious rebel is a revolutionist. Washington was a traitor until he triumphed, and then he became a patriot. Defeated, he would have hanged and his name made anathema through the ages.

Thus it is that only a grating separates the prison cell from the palace of power, and it is but a step from the acaffold to the throna.

Twenty years ago four innocent men were hanged in Chicago because they were dangerous to the interests of the capitalist class. A few weeks ago another innocent man in Boise was aved from the scaffold because he was necessary to the welfare of the working class.

The execution of Parsons, Spies, Pacher and Engel was as vital to prolesarian victory as was the acquittal of the warding of the workers of their capitalist masters. Pacher and Engel was as vital to prolesarian victory as was the acquittal of the warding of the workers of their capitalist masters. Pacher and Engel was as vital to prolesarian victory as was the acquittal of the warding was held near the Haymarket to protest against this wanton slaughter. The police, in-

ters. Next night a meeting was held near the Haymarket to protest against this wanton slaughter. The police, indignant at such evidence of insubordination and enraged that their deadly lesson had not proved sufficiently effective, prepared to deal out further discipline, but were held in leash by the politic hand of the senior Carter Harrison, then mayor of the city. He attended the meeting himself and found it orderly.

But the police were not to be balked.

but were held in leash by the politic hand of the senior Carter Harrison, then mayor of the city. He attended the meeting himself and found it orderly.

But the police were not to be balked in their bloody design and cheated of their prey. A platoon of patrol reserves was held in readiness at the Des Plaines street station, and as soon as word was passed that the mayor had left the meeting, this force was hurried to the spot by Inspector Bonfield, who was determined to provoke violence if possible, in order to provide excuse for his brutal tactics. Their appearance was all that was needed to ignite the incendiary brain of a crazed victim of capitalistic cruelty, whose resentment had been aroused by the atrocities of the night aroused by the atrocities of the night aroused by the savel result is a matter of recorded history. The sequence, so similar to the salient features of the Idaho case, is graphically described by the writer in the following words:

Been at hast was the dramnite that had been thread the reveloption in the first proposed the reveloption in the first was proposed to the salient features of the Idaho case, is graphically described by the writer in the following words:

Beta at last was the dramnite that had been thread the reveloption in the first proposed the reveloption in the street and traffic was suspended. Here are a last was the dramnite that had been aroused the reveloption for the street and traffic was suspended. Here are a last was the dramnite that had been writer in the following words:

Beta at last was the dramnite that had been writer in the following words:

Here at last was the dynamite that had been threatened, the revolution in full swing, the reign of violence begun. Stry-eight police men were wounded that terrible thing men were wounded that terrible thing men in wars too dreadful to be described. Seven died of their harris, the stry-eight police is not so that before an event so appalling even good men forgot reason and clasmored for revenge.

Upon the police commanders the effect was of a temporary defeat wronght tree-descroadly by a maliguant and long-detested enemy. A kind of cold fury possessed them: instantive

from the cells into which they were fining presently grew a crop, of confessions that comented the structure of conspiracy into a compact and durable whole.

From among the hundreds of prisoners slowly the police and the state's attorney settled mon the men that had done most of the agitating in the eight-heur movement before it the leaders, that is to say of the advanced and radical wing of the labor slement the fervid orators of the Sunday meetings, the advocates of "social revolution."

Parsons, the man against whom capi Parsons, the man against whom capitalistic malevolence was mostly directed, even as it was concentrated upon Haywood, had not been arrested, but was living safely in Wisconsin. Conscious of his innocence, he returned to Chicago and surrendered to the authorities. As well might a lamb have leaped into the open jaws of a lion.

Many ampects of the trial were unusual.

Many ampects of the trial were unusual.

Men addutting a deep-scated prejudice sgainst the accused or even a belief in their guilt were allowed to air on the jury. The defendants were considered on the ground that they shall instigate the crime and yet, so far as the trial was coperned, nobody knew who committed the crime. To this day the record on that point remains drouppiets: for Sonneshelt was never brought into the case, his court in the air fall was never officially disclosed. So far as the record grees, the bound that night is breefiness street might have fallen by somebody that never heard of the accused seen. But the eight men were convicted nominally by the jury in reality by a mis-informed cubilic opinion resolutely bent upon their death.

So these innocent men were doomed because there was no Socialist press to inform the public of the facts. Still, there was considerable sentiment in

Just as in the Idaho case, the public mind was systematically poisoned against the prisoners through a subsidized press and other readily available agencies. This point is made plain by Russell, himself a newspaper man, in the

the police. These were often on conviction opponents of the wage system, but they were no champions of the wage system, but they were no champions of armed revolution. * I beyond these were other men that theoretically favored the eight-hour movement and the cause of labor, and felt that the condemned men had been cruelly sacrificed, but had no convictions nor impulses of greater danger to society. And fills was the sum total of the disaffection maless we choose to characterize every person as an anarchist that entertains deubts whether present conditions represent the ultimate state of mankind

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

The powers of Plutocracy foolishly thought that when it throttled the speech of these murdered men it was strangling the voice of Liberty. Today that message is being shouted around the world.

At this distance

At this distance we can read the At this distance we can read the prophecy in the dying words of the undaunted Spies:

"The silence of the voice you are now about to strangle will be more potent in the future than any words I could ut-

These men were hanged, not because These men were hanged, not occause they were supposed to be guilty of murder, but because they were leaders of a labor agitation that promised to wrest a few wretched dollars from the greedy grasp of the commercial Caesars. And today their deathless Cause is conquering the world ing the world.
"O death, where is thy sting! O grave,

"O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

Their tongues are dumb in dust, but all the land is vocal with their victory. In earth's leal embrace they sleep the constant years away, but their memories are embalmed in the Westminster of the world. the world.

These men did not fail.

These men did not fail.

The sacrifice was not in vain.
They died that Liberty might live.
The lesson has not been lost.
Their death made it possible to save
the life of William D. Haywood.
They are worthy among all-that army
of matchless martyrs who have borne
of matchless martyrs who have borne
the man from Calvary to Colorado.

of matchless marryrs who have borne the cross, from Calvary to Colorado. They died ignominiously, but their memories live gloriously. These men were innocent. Murderers do not march to the scaffold singing the

do not maren to the Marseillaise.

They were heroes. This is the just verdict of the vindicating years.

They were martyrs. And in company with Latimer, Ridley, John Brown and with latimer, Ridley, John Brown and with latimer, and amancipators who have other immortal emancipators who have known the glory of the gibbet

"They are lighting ismps of freedom on a million altar-stones.

With the torches they have kindled at the blage of burning thrones."

BY THE GRAVES OF THE BRAVE.

of twenty years we should lift the cur-tain and look again upon what Joseph R. Buchanan truthfully and prophetically termed "the last scene of the first act of the greatest tragedy of modern times." It was enacted in Waldheim cemetery, December 18, 1887, where, more than a month after their murder, the bodies of the four Haymarket martyrs were removed from the vault where they had reposed for more than a month, and reverently consigned to their final

This anniversary review may help our hearts to remember more vividly and more poignantly the infinite pathos and the bitter, stinging, scarlet shame of this cruel crime—the overpowering horror and the heart-breaking pity of it all. It should indeed make our memories and the property of an. It should indeed make our memories more steadfast to glance at the inscrip-tion upon the silver plate on one of the coflins, which reads:

> ALBERT R. PARSONS Age 39. MURDERED BY THE STATE

Series and the series and the series of the

VESTERDAY

AND TODAY

Being a View and a Vindication of The Haymarket Heroes who

Were Legally Murdered at Capitalistic Behest Because They

Fearlessly Fought for the Betterment of Their Brothers.

DATE is the infallible vindicator.

The behalf; but, again, there was no vindication of the Haymarket Heroes who were sufficiently and the strikers, and the saccompaniment of public appliance and with a very general approxish Today he is very general approxish. The strikers, and the saccompaniment of public appliance and with a very general approxish Today he is very general approxish. The strikers, and the saccompaniment of public appliance and with a very general approxish Today he is very perfectly orderly and unobjection and with a very general approxish Today he is very perfectly orderly and unobjection and with a very general approxish Today he is very perfectly orderly and unobjection and with a very general approxish Today he is very perfectly orderly and unobjection and with a very general approxish Today he is very perfectly orderly and unobjection and the strikers, and t

Workingmen and friends, before must again call upon you to be a future. You have now a Golgoth

This is the immortal date upon which John Brown was led to execution. Louisa M. Alcott on that day christened him "Saint John the Just." On that same day Longfellow wrote: "This will be a great day in our hitory; the date of a new revolution, quite as much needed as the old one. Even now, as I write, they are leading Old John Brown to execution in Virginia for attempting to reap the whirlwind, which will come soon."

How prophetic these words!

Within a month the mutterings of the storm were heard in the land, and within a few months it broke forth in all its fury.

December 2d, 1859, had spoken!

John Brown was the spirit of the Revolution, and his execution changed the destiny of the Universe.

The hated agitator is now the sainted savior, and his name ranks highest among the immortals.

The hated agitator is now the sainted savior, and his name ranks highest among the immortals.

The hated agitator is now the sainted savior, and his name ranks highest among the immortals.

The secalist movement when man were so easy to interest he are same. Ask any man to subscriptions one face of a year. For fife, and any man to the same of the sour stomach of a judge."

The recent before was a time in the history of the Socialist movement when man were so easy to interest he are asset. Ask any man to subscriptions one face are a year. For fife, and the history of the Socialist movement when man were so easy to interest he are asset. Ask any man to subscriptions one face are a year. For fife, and the history of the Socialist movement when man were so easy to interest he are asset. For a year, for fife, and the history of the Socialist movement of the fife of the sour the fife of the fife of the

THE DELIVERANCE OF DEBS

THE DELIVERANCE OF DEBS listoric Demonstrations Which Marked Release of Labor's Hero From Woodstock Jail Described by Capital's Chief Organ.

At a distance of twelve years it is interesting to view the reception given had gone to pay the penalty of his crime against capitalism—loyalty to the working gelass. Perhaps no better description of the scenes which attended that his toric happening can be given than the one which appeared at the time in the Chicago Ohronicle, chief organ of capitalism. The introduction to this account of the event—an excellent example of meypaper writing that needs no elaboration—follows:

No such magnificent demonstration as that with which Eugene V. Debs was bonored last night has ever been witnessed in Chicago. Never before have hundreds tramped in the rain through the streets of this city singing, shouting for joy, and cheering to welcome a man just released from prison. It was a spectacle which will be ever remembered by those fortunate enough to have seen it, and one which in a measure savored of the triumpbal return of a Roman warrior rather than the coming from a prison cell of a leader of the working people. And not a tithe of those working people. And not a tithe of those

nim through the ranks in triumph, that all might touch his hand, and they car-ried him through the quiet country town away from the frowning bars and bolts of the jail.

of the jail.

His reception in Chicago when the special train arrived was, if more temperate, fully as emotional. A great crowd packed the depot, the viaduct and the bridge, standing in the driving rain to see Eugene V. Debs. When he appeared he was again raised by the strong arms of his admirers that the crowd might see his face as he was carried across the viaduct. But he protested mildly against this ebullition of entrusiasm, insisting that he wanted to walk with "the boys." A carriage was in waiting, but he firmly refused to ride, and, taking his place half way down the line, in the midst of a group of his friends, he strode along through the mud and rain down the echoing streets between lines of peo-ple who stood in the storm to see Eugene

V. Debs go by.

And then there happened a strange thing, which never before occurred in Chicago, an incident which smacked of the French revolution. The marching crowd, under the American flag, with badges of labor unions on their breasts, began to sing. Loudly the chant arose above the hum of the city streets, and the words sounded strangely to the listeners on the sidewalks. The crowd sang:

"We'll ham Jodge Wood, to a your apple tree."

in a continuous roar. At Battery D thousands waited to hear Debs make his first speech since the sentence of Judge Woods was pronounced. It was a gatherering which in size has seldom been equaled in Chicago, and the reception which the president of the A. R. U. received brought a mist before his eyes as he looked out upon the shouting thousands who repeated his name. It was almost overwhelming, and although Debs had been prepared by the other receptions for a strong manifestation, he had not reckoned upon so magnificent, so touching and so unprecedented a demonstration. His address stirred the great audience to the wildest enthusiasm, and when he left the hall thousands crowded around him to bid him godspeed.

Mass Meeting at Battery D. Mass Meeting at Battery D.

flushed and silent man before it.

seen it, and one which in a measure seen it, and one which in a measure seen it, and one which in a measure savored of the triumphal return of a Roman warrior rather than the coming from a prison cell of a leader of the working people. And not a tithe of those who participated in the strange demonstration realized that they were doing swhich will live in history.

Early in the afternoon 300 delegates, representing various trade and labor unions, assembled at the Chicago and Northwestern depot to take a special train for Woodstock and greet Debs on his first step into freedom. Presidents and vice-presidents of a score of labor reganizations and all the men who are regarded as leaders by the organizations they represented held the war who had served six months in jail for doing what they applauded and encored.

When this delegation, which in its object has no precedent, arrived at the solicit had leaded they applauded and encored. When this delegation, which in its object has no precedent, arrived at the solicit had been as they stood in the strailed in history. Those brawup tollers, whose emotions and finer sensition in the significance of his currents' eating and man, there was a scene which is without parallel in history. Those brawup tollers, whose emotions and finer sensition and they saw the marks which confinement had left upon that once stalwart railroad man, there was a scene which is without parallel in history. Those brawup tollers, whose emotions and finer sensition and all the solicities are stified by the sordid lives they are compelled to lead, wept and cheered, and laughed and cried as they stood the strain of the president, the president of the p

the andience make answer.

"Where," he said, "does the Christian church stand with reference to labor?"

Cries of "Against it—against it!"

came from every part of the hall.

Debs' presence, Debs' personality and Debs' utterances overshadowed and made tame and commonplace all other features of the programme.

OUR MODERN MARTYRS.

of his admirers that the crowd might see his face as be was carried across the visituet. But he protested mildly against this ebullition of enthusiasm, insisting that he wanted to waik with "the boya." A carriage was in waiting, but he firmly refused to ride, and, taking his place half way down the line, in the midst of a group of his friends, he strode along through the mud and rain down the echoing streets between lines of people who stood in the storm to see Eugene V. Debs go by.

And then there happened a strange thing, which never before occurred in Chicago, an incident which smacked of the French revolution. The marching transport of the processions and cerned, there will be no concessions and concessions and cerned, there will be no concessions and cerned, t

committed against these men, but Time has done justice?

A crime, monstrous and atrocious, was committed against these men, but Time has done justice to their memories.

Their names shall be numbered in Fame's luminous lexicon so long as the world shall reckon aught of Freedom's worth, and those four consecrated mounds in beautiful Waldheim shall be steadfast shrines upon which the best of mankind will lay the fairest flowers from the garden of reverent remembrance. In the vales of Valhalla they have found congenial communion with spirits as splendid as their own, but the

lighting on the straighing races from the results of dumb despair;
Though the very name shall perish when the life is overnose. Yet the words and works forever through the centuries shall last.
Every good thought ever spoken avery grand deed ever done,
is a fresh sword, making surer that our conquest over Superstition, that helfs ruled and ruled long.
Conquest of the captive peoples over mailed and mined long.
Conquest of the captive peoples over mailed and mined whom.
In its paistes of splender and its forts and bullwarks strong!

"THERE is no very great danger of a rich man going to jail."—Clarence S.

I know not whether Laws be right Or whether Laws be wrong; All that we know who its in second is that the wall is strong; And that each day is like a A year whose days are long.

But this I know, that every Law
That men have made for Mrn.
Since first Man took his brother's life,
And the lad world began.
But straws the wheat and saves the
With a most evil fan.

With barr they blur the practices meet And blind the modify sent. And they do well to take from Hell And they do well to take from Hell For in it things are to the That Son of God nor son of Man Ever should look upon!

Ever should took mone!

The vilest deeds like pelsoned weeds like the little well in prison-sir: It is only what is good in Man. That wastes and withers there had anothe became the heavy gate. Anothe became the heavy gate. Anothe weed in the weeds like a foul and dark harrhes. And the fertif breach of their Deat Chetra in each grated acrees, and the fertif breach of their Deat Chetra in each grated acrees. And the fertif breach of their Deat Chetra in each grated acrees. And the fertif breach of their Deat Chetra in each grated acrees. And the fertif breach of their Deat Chetra in each grated acrees. And the fertif breach of their Deat Chetra in the chetra of their Deat Chetra in the chetra of their deat chetra of

THE MARTYRED APOSTLES OF LABOR.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

HE century now closing is lumin-ous with great achievements. In every department of huous with great achievements. In every department of human endeavor marvelous progress has been made. By the magic of the machine which sprang from the inventive genius of man, wealth has been created in fabulous abundance. But alas, this wealth, instead of blessing the race, has been the means of enslaving it. The few have come in possession of all, and the many have been reduced to the extremity of living by permission. A few have had the courage to protest. To silence these so that the dead-level of slavery could be maintained has been the demand and command of capital-blown power. Press and pulpit responded with alacrity. All the forces of society were directed against these pioneers of industrial liberty, these brave defenders of oppressed humanity—and against them the crime of the century has been committed.

The contract of humanity and the truth to a gainsaying world. Alas, this annot be dope—but something can be done. The stigms fixed upon their names by an outrageous trial can be forever ob-sine with respleadent glory on the spages of history.

Until the time shall come, as come it will, when the parks of Chicago shall be adorned with their statues, and with holy acclaim, men, women and children, pointing to these monuments as testimonials of gratitude, shall honor the men who dared to be true to humanity and against them the crime of the century has been committed.

Anguer Spages of history.

Until the time shall come, as come it will, when the parks of Chicago shall be adorned with their statues, and with holy acclaim, men, women and children, pointing to these monuments as testimonials of gratitude, shall honor the men who dared to be true to humanity and the properties of the prop

Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, leorge Engel, Adolph Fischer, Louis ingg. Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab and Oscar Neebe paid the cruel penalty is prison cell and on the gallows.

In prison cell and on the gallows.

They were the first martyrs in the cause of industrial freedom, and one of the supreme duties of our civilization, if indeed we may boast of having been in the rescue redeemed from savagery, is to rescue their names from calumny and do justice

their names from calumny and do justice to their memory.

The crims with which these men were charged was never proven against them. The trial which resulted in their conviction was not only a disgrace to all judicial procedure, but a foul, black, indelible and damning stigms upon the nation.

It was a trial organized and conducted to convict—a conspiracy to murder innocent men, and hence had not one redeeming feature.

feature. t was a plot, satanic in all its con-

It was a plot, satanic in all its conception, to wreak vengeance upon defenseless men, who, not being found guilty of the crime charged in the indictment, were found guilty of exercising the inalienable right of free speech in the interest of the toiling and groaning masses, and thus they became the first martyrs to a cause which, fertilized by their blood, has grown in strength and sweep and influence from the day they yielded up their lives and liberty in its defense.

As the years go by and the history of

yielded up their lives and liberty in its defense.

As the years go by and the history of that infamous trial is read and considered by men of thought, who are capable of wrenching themselves from the grasp of prejudice and giving reason its rightful supremacy, the stronger the conviction becomes that the present generation of workingmen should erect an enduring memorial to the men who had the courage to denounce and oppose wage-slavery and seek for methods of emancipation.

The vision of the judicially murdered men was prescient. They saw the dark and hideous shadow of coming events. They spoke words of warning, not too soon, not too emphatic, not too trumpettoned—for ev., in 1886, when the Haymarket meetings were held, the capitalistic grasp was upon the throats of workingmen and its fetters were upon their limbs.

qualor, the rattling of skeleton bones, he sunken eye, the pallor, the living eath of famine, the crushing and the rinding of the relentless mills of the lutocraey, which more rapidly than the nills of the gods grind their victims to

The men who went to their death upon the verdict of a jury, I have said, were judicially murdered—not only because the jury was packed for the express purpose of finding them guilty, not only because the crime for which they suffered was never proven against them, not only because the judge before whom they were arraigned was unjust and bloodthirsty, but because they had delared in the exercise of five speech that men who subjected their fellowmen to conditions often worse than death were unfit to live. In all lands and in all ages where the victims of injustice have bowed their bodies to the earth, bearing grievous burdens laid upon them by cruel taskmasters, and have lifted their eyes starward in the hope of finding some orb whose light inspired hope, ten million times the anathema has been uttered and will be uttered until a day shall dawn upon the world when the emancipation of those who toil is achieved by the brave, self-sacrificing emancipation of those who toil is suffer from the monster's expiring conscienced by the brave, self-sacrificing few who, like the Chicago martyrs, have the courage of crusaders and the spirit of iconoclasts and dare champion the cause of the oppressed and demand in the name of an avenging God and of an outraged Humanity that infernalism shall be eliminated from our civilization. And as the struggle for justice proceeds and the battlefields are covered with the slain, as Mother Earth drinks their blood, the stones are given tongues with which to denounce man's inhumanity to Since that far day when the first proshall be eliminated from our civilization. And as the struggle for justice proceeds and the battlefields are covered with the slain, as Mother Earth drinks their blood, the stones are given tongues with which to demounce man's inhumanity to man—aye, to women and children, whose souls are sufficient unto the sacrifice.

Since that far day when the first project of the masters to put revolutionation, our religion and our judiciary—whose wailings and lamentations hushing to silence every sound the Creator designed to make the world a paradise of harmonies, transform it into an inferso where the demons of greed plot and scheme to consign their victims to lower depths of degradation and despair. The men who were judicially murdered in Chicago in 1837, in the name of the great State of Illinois, were the avant couriers of a better day. They were called anarchists, but at their trial it was not proven that they had committed any crime or violated any law. They had protested against unjust laws and their brutal administration. They stood between oppressor and oppressed, and they dased. In a free (?) country, to exercise the dwine right of free speech; and the records of their trial, as if written with an from pen and lead in the rock forever, "proclaim the truth of the declaration.

I would rescue their names from slander. The slanderers of the dead are the oppressors of the living. I would, if a could, restore them to their rightful positions as evangelists, the proclaimers of good news to their fellowmen—crusadien, the second of their scales and the profantions of the capitalistic defliers who have made them more repulsive than Aurean stables. Ays, I would take them, if I could, from peaceful alumber in their markey graves—I would place joins to joint in their more peaceful alumber in their markey graves—I would place joins to joint in their more peaceful alumber in their markey graves—I would place joins to joint in their more peaceful alumber in their markey graves—I would place joins to joint in their markey in th

following article appeared in "The dislocated necks—I would make the haline." of Chicago, Feburary, 1898, and If its fixes is reproduced for this occasion. Editor. I would restore the fiesh to their skeleton bones—their eyes should again flash defiance ous with great achievements. to the enemies of humanity, and to the enemies of humanity and the contrary of humanity.

They were the men who, like Al-Hassen, the minstrel of the king, went forth to find themes of mirth and joy with which to gladden the ears of his master, but returned disappointed, and, instead of themes to awaken the gladness and joyous echoes, found seenes which dried all the fountains of joy. Touching his golden harp, Al-Hassen sang to the king as Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fielden, Fischer, Lingg, Schwab and Neebe proclaimed to

Writhing crawling masses of mentind. Anni-fround down beneath oppression's from heel Till God in him was crushed and driven back, and only that which with the brute he shares Finds room to unward grow."

Such pictures of horror our martyrs saw in Chicago, as others have seen them in all the great centers of population in the country. But, like the noble min strel, they proceeded to recite their dis coveries and with him moaned:

I saw how womanhood's fair flower had Never space its petals to unfold. How Childhood's tender bud was crushed and trampled Down in mire and fifth too evil, forl, for beasts To be partakers in. For gold I saw The virgin sold, and motherhood was made A mock and soorn.

Tern away from him who toiled, to further Swell the bursting coffers of the rich, while labes and mother pined and died of want I saw dishopor and injustice thrive. I saw The pricked, innorant, greedy, and unclean By means of bribes and baseness, raised to

of bower, from whence with lashes pittless and keen, they scourged the hungry, nake throng Whom first they robbed and then enslaved."

Such were the scenes that the Chicago martyrs had witnessed and which may still be seen, and for reciting them and protesting against them they were judi-cially murdered. It was not strange that the hearts o

It was not strange that the hearts of the martyrs "grew into one with the great moaning, throbbing heart" of the oppressed; not strange that the nerves of the martyrs grew "tense and quiver-ing with the throes of mortal pain"; not strange that they should pity and plead and protest. The strange part of it is that in our high-noon of civilization a dammable judicial conspiracy should have been concocted to murder them under the forms of law. been concocted forms of law.

That such is the truth of history, no honest man will attempt to deny; hen the demand, growing more pronounce every day, to snatch the names of the

LOOKING BACKWARD. (Continued From Page 1).

side. The poor, dumb victims, bound and gagged, had but to await their bloody fate. At the grates of their cells the hounds of hell snarled and growled with savage ferocity to lap their blood. No helping hand was extended, and scaree a whisper of kindness was ven-tured in their behalf.

June 21, 1877, the curtain fell upon the last mountful act in this tragedy of toil. The executioner did his bidding and the gallows-tree claimed its victims. On that day history turned harlot and the fair face of truth was covered with the hideous mask of fakelood.

the hideous mask of falsehood. the hideous mask of falsehood.

For thirty years the press of corporate power has been lying grossly and outrageously about the "Mollie Maguires" and their organization. But the truth will out at last, and the time is near when the history of the Pennsylvania tragedy, as now written, will be radically revised and the names of these marters reached from the cruel calumny martyrs rescued from the cruel calumny with which they have been loaded. The "Mollie Maguire" episode was in-

cidental to the organization of the work-ing class; a link in the chain of the labor movement.

The men who perished upon the scaf-

fold as felons were labor leaders, the first martyrs to the class struggle in the

first martyrs to the class struggle in the United States.

It is profoundly significant that Franklin B. Gowen, president of the Philadelphia & Reading railway, and chief prosecutor and persecutor of the "Modile Maguires" sought in suicide a refuge from the avenging Nemesis that pursued him. In the year 1876 the Workingmen's party was organized, and in the following year, 1877, after the execution of the Molly Maguires, it became the Socialistic Labor party.

Labor party.

This same year the great railroad strikes swept like a tidal wave from the eastern to the western states.

Eight years later, in 1885, the Knights of Labor came into national prominence, and the great strikes on the Gould South-west system in that year and the

year following were inaugurated.
On May 1, 1886, hundreds of thousands of workers in various parts of the coun-try went out on strike to enforce the eight-hour work-day, the agitation inci-dent to the movement culminating in the Haymarket tragedy on May 4.
On November 11 of the following year

whom were sentenced to the penitentiary and subsequently pardoned by the immor-tal Altgeld—were martyrs to the labor movement in the noblest sense of that term. They had fearlessly espoused the of labor, and consecrated them-body and soul to the working They had the true revolutionary spirit, were animated by the loftiest mo-tives, and were utterly void of selfish ambitions.

The sordid capitalism which pre-upon the life-blood of labor, whose ethi are expressed in beastly gluttony and insatiable greed, and whose track of con-quest is strewn with the bones of its countless victims, pounced upon there men with the cruel malignity of fiends and strangled them to death.

and strangled them to death.

A more cruel and heartless crime, a more flagrant outrage of justice, was never committed. Twenty years have passed since these leaders of labor paid the penalty of their lovalty, and marvelous have been the changes in public sentiment since that day. They would not now be executed under the same circumstances. The workers today are too not now be executed under the same circumstances. The workers today are too far advanced, too well organized and droconscious of their class interests and duties to submit to such a monstrous outrage. The recent trial and acquittal of Wm. D. Haywood proves it. Had labor been no farther advanced than it was twenty years ago. Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone and Adams would long since have shared the fate of Parsons, Spics, Fischer and Engel.

Since that fateful period of two decades ago, events have pressed each other closely in the world of labor. Three months after the execution of the Haymarket victims the C. B. & Q. strike broke out in Chicago, and the issue

months after the execution of the Hay-market victims the C. B. & Q. strike broke out in Chicago, and the issue market victims the C. B. & Q. strike broke out in Chicago, and the issue ism without being scurrile. Ism without being scurrile, was hotly contested for almost a year before the employes finally succumbed to defeat. From that time forward strikes, boycotts and lockouts were numerous, a long series of industrial batters, without having recourse to the instrikes, boycotts and lockouts were nu-merous, a long series of industrial bat-tles marking the path of the class strug-

fellow-beings.

Looking backward over the last thirty years, the progress of the labor movement can be clearly traced, and its contemplation is fruitful of inexpressible satisfaction. Looking forward, the skies are bright and all the tongues of the future proclaim the glad tidings of the coming Kananapation.

Great Thinkers on The Gallows

For the just man the scaffold is his glory's bed.—Lamartine.

It is crime which brings shame, and

Better build schoolrooms for "the boy."
Than cells and gibbets for "the man."
Than cells and gibbets for "the man." Now is the Daybreak! Humanity reigns! Gone are the gallows, the basilles and chains

One to destroy is murder by the law.

And gibbets keep the lifted hund in awe.

Racks, gibbets, halters were their arguments. —John Oldham ("Satires Upon the Jesuits").

But whether on the scaffold high
Or in the battle's van,
The fittest place where man can die
Is where he dies for man.

-Berry.

"What is be that builds stronger than either the mason, the ship-wright or the carpenter?" The gallows-maker; for that frame outlives thoosand tenants."

Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne-Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

-James Rossell Lowell. For oak and elm have pleasant leaves
That in the spring-time shoot:
But grim to see is the gallows-tree,
With its adder-bitten root;
And, green or dry, a man must die
Before it bears its fruit!
—Ballad of Reading Geol.

"He is coming! he is coming!"

Like a bridgroom from his room, Came the hero from his nrison. To the scaffold and the doom. There was glory on his forehead, There was luste in his cre. And he never walked to battle More proudly than to die.

W. E. Aytoun ("The Elecution of rose").

The Appeal to Reason is recognized as thardest hitter in American newspaperdom. will sustain that reputation next year. You miss a good deal of the fireworks if you do: get this paper every week. See coupon on is

PRESTON AND SMITH.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

These two fellow-workers are the varitims of a capitalist conspiracy. Mainly upon the perjured testimony of the Citizens' alliance of Goldfield, Nev., they were sentenced to penitentiary on a charge of murder, Preston for twenty-five years and Smith for ten years. They are absolutely innocent. Their These two fellow-workers are the vic On November 11 of the following year, 1887 (twenty years ago today) occurred the infamous execution of the anarchists at Chicago. This judicial massacre contitutes the blackest page in American history. When Parsons, Spies, Fischer and Engel were launched into eternity to "vindicate the majesty of the law," a crima was committed of such enormity that even at this late day the sober senses reel in its awful contemplation.

These fellow-workers and their four comrades—Lingg, Fielden, Schwab and Neebe—the first of whom died by violence in his cell, and the last three of whom were sentenced to penitentiary on a charge of murder, Preston for twenty-five years and Smith for ten years. They are absolutely innocent. Their incarceration is a crime. The real of-fense of which they are guiltly is that they are unionists of the uncompromising in their loyalty to their class. It was on this account that they were rail-roaded to the penitentiary on a charge of murder, Preston for twenty-five years and Smith for ten years and Smith for ten years and Smith for ten years and senting of murder, Preston for twenty-five years and Smith for ten years. They are absolutely innocent. Their incarceration is a crime. The real of-tense of which they are guiltly is that they are unionists of the uncompromising in their loyalty to their class. It was on this account that they were rail-roaded to the penitentiary of the property of the same of murder, Preston for twenty-five years and Smith for ten years. They are absolutely innocent. Their incarceration is a crime. The real of-they are absolutely innocent. Their incarceration is a crime. The real of-they are absolutely innocent. Their incarceration is a crime. The years and Smith for ten years.

We appeal to all our readers to com-bine their influence to rescue these com-rades from their cruel and unmerited fate. This can be done by addressing a fequest to the Court of Appeals, Carson City, Nev., for a new trial for W. R. Preston and Joseph Smith, on the ground that they were convicted upon dishonest testimony. Financial support is also urgently needed, and should be addressed to "Preston-Smith Defense Committee." Drawer O. Goldfield, Nev.

addressed to "Preston-Smith Defense Committee," Drawer O, Goldfield, Nev. The Appeal to Reason purposes to do all in its power to rescue these unjustly convicted fellow-workers.

Don't healtate to send currency at our risk t's safer in the hands of postal clerks than a banks.

AN OUTRAGEOUS ARREST. Walter Hurt, in To-Morrow Magazine

Momentous significance attaches to the recent arrest by the federal authorities of Fred D. Warren, the brave and bril-liant editor of War-horse Wayland's liant editor of War-horse Wayland's redoubtable journal, the Appeal to Rea-

atrikes, boycotts and lockouts were numerous, a long series of industrial batters, as long series of industrial batter marking the path of the class struggle and the progress of the labor movement.

Homestead, Buffalo, Chicago, Latimer, Virden, Pana, Leadville, Coeur d'Alena, Telluride and Cripple Creek followed in swift succession, each the scene of a movement of the company of the post of the post of the ministrative records of this republic. The object is not to punish for specific offense, but to suppress the paper entirely because it is infinical to the interests of the Ruling Robbers. It is the battle of the American Railway Union with the allied railroad copporations in 1894 developed extraordinary activity on the part of our capitalist government. The strikers were completely victorious at every point when the government openly took sides with the railroads and employed all its vast repressive machinery to defeat the strike and crush out the union.

The leasans of this strike were among the most valuable ever learned by the working class, and many thousands date their class-consciousness from that mem. Any of the progress of the latent of the victim indicates and crush out the union.

The more recent strikes in Colorado, Utah and other western states, culminating in the kidnaping conspiracy of the mine owners and the bold attempt to the more owners and the bold attempt to the mine owners, as unserupulous and heartles and aggregation of exploit ers as ever robbed and murdered their fallow-beings.

Locking backward over the last thirty years, the progress of the labor movement can be clearly traced, and its constituting truly the Hurston of the distribution of the distrib

MARTIN IRONS, MARTYR. BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

It was in 1886 that Martin Irons, chairman of the executive board of the Knights of Labor of the Gould south-west railway system, defied capitalist tyranny, and from that hour he was doomed. All the powers of capitalism combined to crush him, and when at last

be succumbed to overwhelming odds, he was hounded from place to place until he was ragged and foot-sore and the pangs of hunger gnawed at his vitals.

For fourteen long years he fought single-handed the battle against persecution. He tramped far, and among stran-gers, under an assumed name, sought to earn enough to get bread. But he was tracked like a beast and driven from shelter. For this "poor wanderer of a

stormy day" there was no pity. He had stood between his class and their op-pressors—he was brave, and would not flinch; be was honest, and would not sell; flinch; he was honest, and would not sell; this was his crime, and he must die. Martin Irons came to this country from Scotland a child. He was friendless, penniless, alone. At an early age he became a machinist. For years he worked at his trade. He had a clear head and a warm heart. He saw and felt the injustice suffered by his class. Three reductions in wages in rapid succession fixed his blood. He resolved to

felt the injustice surveyed in rapid suc-Three reductions in wages in rapid sucresist. He appealed to his fellow-work-ers. When the great strike came, Martin Irons was its central figure. The men felt they could trust him. They were not mistaken. When at the darkest hour Jay Gould

When at the darkest hour Jay Gould sent word to Martin Irons that he wished to see him, the answer came, "I am in Kansas City." Gould did not have gold enough to buy Irons. This was the greatest crime of labor's honest leader. The press united in fiercest denunciation. Every lie that malignity could conceive was circulated. In the popular mind Martin Irons was the blackest-hearted villain that ever went unhung. Pinkerton blood-hounds tracked him night and ton blood-hounds tracked him night and day. But through it all this loyal, fear-less, high-minded workingman stood steadfast.

The courts and soldiers responded to the command of their masters, the railroads; the strike was crushed and the workingmen were beaten. Martin Irons had served, suffered for

and honored his class. But he had lost. His class now turned against him and joined in the execration of the enemy This pained him more than all else. But he bore even this without a murmur, and if ever a despairing sigh was wrung from him it was when he was alone. And thus it has been all along the

And thus it has been all along the highway of the centuries, from Jesus Christ to Martin Irons.

Let it not be said that Irons was not crucified. For fourteen years he was nailed to the cross, and no martyr to

humanity ever bore his crucifixion with finer fortitude.

He endured the taunts and jeers and

all the bitter mockery of fate with pa-tient heroism; and even when the poor dumb brutes whose wounds and bruises he would have swathed with his own heart-strings turned upon and rent him, pity sealed his lips and silent suffering

or tendered him a public office in testi-mony of his service to the working class.

The kind of service he rendered was too honest to be respectable, too aggressive The blow he struck for his class will preserve his memory. In the great struggle for emancipation he nobly did his share, and the history of labor cannot be written without his name.

He was an agitator, and as such shared the common fate of all. Jesus Christ, Joan of Arc. Elijah Lovejoy, John Brown, Albert Parsons and many others set the same example and paid the same

penalty.

For the reason that he was a despised agitator and shunned of men too mean and sordid to comprehend the lofty motive that inspired him, he will be remembered with tenderness and love long after the last of his detractors shall have moul-

last of his detractors shall have moul-dered in a forgotten grave. It was in April, 1899, in Waco, Texas, that I last pressed this comrade's hand. He bore the traces of poverty and broken health, but his spirit was as intrepid as when he struck the shield of Hoxie thirteen years before; and when he spoke of Socialism he seemed transfigured, and all the smouldering fires within his soul

zed from his sunken eves I was pained, but not surprised, when I read that he had "died penniless in an obscure Texas town." It is his glory and society's shame that he died that

His weary body has at last found rest. His weary body has at last found rest, and the grand-children of the men and women he struggled, suffered and died for, will weave chaplets where he sleeps. His epitaph might read: "For stanting bravely in defense of the working class, he was put to death by slow torture."

Martin Irons was an honest, courage many many. The world numbers

ous, manly man. The world numbers, some less since he has left it.

Brave comrade, love and farewell!

December 8, 1900.

The Appeal to Reson has printed and circulated more than 100,000,000 (one hundred millions) of copies during the last five years—record exceeded by no weekly publication in the world. Don't you think it worth your hile to keep in touch with this paper? You'll be interested in what it says—thousands of others

A Voice From the Tomb.

A Voice From the Tomb.

"Neither do I approve of any further appeals to the courts of law. I believe them to be all alike—the agency of the privileged class to perpetuate their power, to oppress and plunder the toiling masses. As between capital and its legal rights and labor and its natural rights, the courts of law must side with the capitalist class. To appeal to them is vain. It is the appeal of the wage slave to his capitalist master for liberty. The answer is curses, blows, imprisonment and death."—Albert R. Parsons, from prison, in his last appeal to the conscience of the American people.

"THERE should be no jails. They do not accomplish what they pretend to accomplish. Should you wipe them out there would be no more criminals than now. They terrorize nobody. They are a blot upon any civilization, and a jail is an evidence of the lack of charity of the people on the outside who make the jails and fill them with the victims of their great."—Clarence S. Darrow.

GREAT THINKERS ON PRISONS

A prison harms not a brave man .-- Al-

A prison proves the value of liberty. Alberoni.

Even in chains and prisons we are free.-Forster.

A jail is a temporary resting-place or martyrs.—Birrell. If each would do his allotment of work, there would be no need of jails.—

Caldwell. The worst prisons are not of stone;

they are of throbbing hearts, outraged by an infamous life.—Beecher. Stone walls do not a prison make, Nor iron bars a cage; Minds innocent and quiet take That for an hormitage.

A jail was made for malefactors; but if innocent and good men be thrown therein, it must lose that appellation and be anything else than a jail.—Garth.

Prisons of stone and iron may hold body for long and painful years in darkness, but they cannot shut out the light of truth from the truth-loving soul.

As he went through Cold-Bath Fields he saw
A solitary cell;
And the Devil was pleased, for it gave him a
hint
For improving his prisons in Hell.
—Coleridge.

A prison is a grave to bury men alive, and a place wherein a man, for half a year's experience, may learn more law than he can at Westminster for a hun-

That which the world miscalls a jail,
A private closet is to me;
Whilst a good conscience is my bail,
And innocence my liberty;
Locks, bars and solitude, together met,
Make me no prisoner, but an anch
—Sir Roger L'Estrang

Sir Roger L'Estrange.

Fiernal suirit of the chainless mind!
Brightest in dungrous Liberty! thou art.
For there this habitation is the beart—
The heart which love of thee alone can hind;
And when the sons to fetters are consigned—
To fetters and the damp wait's dayless gloom—
Their country conquers with their mentyrdom.

Brown A jail is hardly a place from which

essays on righteousness and well-doing would be expected to emanate; yet it was in a prison that through the instru-mentality of Paul and Silas the jailer was converted, and within a jail John Bunyan wrote his "Pilgrim's Progress

SONG OF A JAIL-Day.

It is with a sense of more than ordinary comradeship that I write of the jail-bird, for I have myself felt the heavy hand of federal persecution and seen the prison portals yawn to devour the liberty of years because I dared defy tyranny and tell the truth about our degenerate despots. It is one of the strongest bonds of fellowship that can strongest bonds of fellowship that can exist—this community of suffering enexist—this community of suffering enexist —the community of wrought for him a martyr's crown.

Martin Irons was hated by all who were too base or ignorant to understand him. He died despised, yet shall he live beloved.

No president of the United States gave No president of the United States gave to tendered him a public office in testirescue, I dipped my pen into the deepest well of feeling and wrote the following lines, which seem to me fit for the occasion of this later day:

O friends, in the time of my trouble
You mail my week hand for the wight,
My treasth of the contract of the foodble
With face of Familiar or stranger,
At calling you come to my side.
Tou come in the day of my danger
And come with a purpose of pride!

With passionate prayers will I bless you.
That he other blessings above—
Reach cut through the dark to caress you and crown you with learning of love.
The while I am harried and hounded.
By the rich and the subtle and strong.
As Right has been worried and wounded.
Thro' the infinite cycles of Wrong.

Next year will be the most interesting

From Keeper to Comrade.

More than a year ago the APPEAL received from Major Edward A. Weed, secretary of the Ambridge, Pa., Socialist local, a letter which forcefully recalled the experience of Paul and Silas in converting their jailor, and demonstrated anew the unwisdom of the capitalists in putting social agitators into prison. Anong other things, Comrade Weed said:

"It's a rather singular circumstance that in the great Pullman strike in 1894 I was the United States deputy-marshal who had charge of 'Gene Debs while he was a prisoner in Chicago. Now I'm going to New Castle on Labor Day to bear him speak and to shake hands with him as a Socialist comrade. The world moves, doesn't it?"

Call. H. M. Wells, him W. Battle Character, the content, the Entity of the State of the APPEAL William Nutures and A. F. Boschier.

SEND THE NEWS.

The fally papers are approached bank fallers and about the sum of any one of the state of the state of any appear that it always and the same of sum of the appeal that have falled those the sum of sum of sum of the sum of sum of sum of the sum of s

ARRESTED FOR AGITATING

Few of Many Cases of Police Persecution of Socialists, Compiled By the Appeal's Army Editor.

FROST, J.-Arrested for street speaking, New York City.

York City,

LEWIS, T. J.—Arrested or street speaking,
New York City,

HARRIS, HINNEY—Arrested for street speaking New York City,

STARRING, GEO. B.—Arrested for street
speaking, New York City.

LEEDS, H. A.—Arrested for street speaking,
Wheeling, W. Va. Dismissed.

YANDER DESCRIPTION VANDERPORTEN, CHAS. H. Arrested for treet speaking, New York City. RYAN, H. L.—Arrested for street speaking Kansas City, Mo., August 31, 1905. ANDERSON, A. C.—Arrested for street speak-ing, Kanasa City, Mo., August 31, 1905. BENTON, W. G.—Arrested for street speak-ing, Kanasa City, Mo., August 31, 1905. O'HARE, FRANK P.-Arrested for streespeaking, Wheeling, W. Va. Dismissed. SAUNDERS C.—Arrested for street speak-ing, Kapane City, Mo., August 31, 1905. BROCKETT, T. H.—Arrested for street speaking, Kansas City, Mo., August 31, 1905. SCHMIDTRAUM, CHAS—Arrested for street speaking Kausas City, Mo. August 31, 1905. SHANK, JOHN E.—Arrestod for street speak-ing. Sloux City, Ia., October 8, 1907. Dis-HAWLEY, J. C.—Arrested for street speaking. Stoux City, Is., October 8, 1907, Dis

nissed.

MERRICK, FRED—Arrested and placed in marihouse for speaking to West Virginia mili MURPHY, TIMOTHY—Arrested for street speaking, Newerk, N. J. First trial fined \$10. Case diamelsed at second trial. ERIE, N. S.—Arrested several times for street speaking. Last arrest, Grand Junction, Colo., October 22, 1907. Dismissed.

CLARK, J. STANLEY—Arrested at Cop-rille. Tax., for disturbing the peace while con fucting a meeting. Fined heavily. ducting a meeting. Fined heavily.

HOLMAN, H. L. A.—Arrested for speaking on the streets, Galveston, Tex. Fined in policiount; ease continued and dismissed.

FIELDMAN, SOL.—Arrested for street membring. New York City. Fined 23, but retused upay, and went to last for three Says. HARDY, L. W.—Arrested for block walk. Chicago, Ill., September 12, eaged on \$200 bond, and at trial SLICK, FRANK—Arrested for idewalk, Chicago, Ill., September Released on \$200 bond, and at trial SCHIFF, OTTO—Arrested for idewalk, Chicago, Ill., September teleased on \$200 bond, and at trial DILLON. WALTER-Arrested for blocked ing sidewalk. Chicago, III., September 12 1307, Released on \$200 bond, and at trial dis

LEWIS, E. J.—Arrested for speaking against the charter, charged with blockading sidewalk Culcago, III., September 11, 1907. Pine 135.50. HAHN, ARTRUR—Arrested for blocks fing sidewalk, Chicago, Ill., September 12, 1907, Released on \$200 bond, and at trial dis-missed. BIRGLER, MARTHA-Arrested for ading sidewalk, Chicago, Ill., Septem 1907. Released on \$200 band, and

BARNES, J. MARLOS

quarters in Seattle, Wash, October 2, as a result of the Socialism attempt hold a street meeting. These assumpt hold a street meeting. These assumpt Bobert & Anderson, A. G. Ball, E. J. John Powness, Jones Lund, E. S. Anit, John Powness, John Can, L. H. M. Wells, John W. Rugham, A calculate, Mrs. Hattle Tirus, Chas. William Nutmas and A. Suestier.

The faily papers are superesting as bank failures and stimt-seven-in as or make it appear that all is well. The Edition of the Appeal will amount it in patient, and you are asked to help the Appeal the manne of may hash is you or county that has closed its desert six unty lat, lat. Seen names of failure mines that have shall drawn, giving has employed through out of worth papers from that have failed those the Emiyear; the name, of men wite have you stickle as a result of the present faunce dittions.

READY ABOUT DECEMBER FIRST "The Scarlet Shadow

A Story of the Great Colorado Conspiracy

By Walter Hurt, the Well Known Journalist, Poet and Author. SEND NO MONEY NOW.

Bign the blank below and send it to us. We will notify you when it is ready to deliver and you can send the money then. It will be a large book of 140,000 words, bound in the

ORDER FORM

APPEAL TO REASON, GIRARD, MAN.

"PANIC" EDITION.

The country is passing through a period of "prosperity" that is likely to prove the prelude of a panic of such intensity that the more proportions as has never before her witnessed. Despite the uniform and periodic charge against the great not a Socialist Republic.

The country is passing through a period of "prosperity" and proportions as has never before her witnessed. Despite the uniform and periodic charge against the great not so socialist Republic.

The specific charge against the prelude of a panic of such intensity and proportions as has never before her witnessed. Despite the uniform and periodic dark in the great note of the shake-up and to periodic charge against the prelude of (?), to minimize the effects of the capitalist dailes, republican, democratic and independent (?), to minimize the effects of the capitalist dailes, republican, democratic and independent (?), to minimize the effects of the said matter red thank-up and to perpetuate plutocratic "prosperity" and restore comis dense in the "great state plutocratic "prosperity" and restore comis and the "state of the state on earth," the country is still shivering in terror of what the morrow may bring forth, while the banks are in a crippled condition that reveals but too planing forth, while the banks are in a cripple condition that reveals but too planing forth, while the banks are in a cripple condition that reveals but too planing forth, while the banks are in a cripple condition that reveals but too planing forth, while the banks are in a cripple condition that reveals but too planing forth, while the banks are in a cripple condition that reveals but too planing for the wash formatically in the more of what the morrow may bring forth, while the banks are in a cripple condition that reveals but too planing forth, while the banks are in a cripple condition that reveals but too planing forth, while the banks are in a cripple condition that reveals but too planing forth, while the banks are in a cripple condition that reveals but too planing fo

Appeal has, therefore, undertaken to employ all its resources and facilities would have a retroactive effect. to get at the true inwardness of this the fiscal eruption, its direct causes and immediate effects, and its tendency to- ment. ward culmination in a period of general financial bankruptcy and industrial dis-

because they are scientific, students of society and of the evolution of its institutions, and they long ago made the

logic of calamity will jar them loose and lift them out of the old ruts. Today the eyes of thousands are being opened The financial earthquake has brought them to their senses. They are now ready to reason, to argue, to think and to act. Now is the time to place the right kind of literature in their hands

Responsive to this demand, the Appeal is now preparing a "Panic Edition" that will deal analytically, historically and constructively with the present situation. It will be one of the most ef-

placed in the hands of every voter in the nation.

The panic has prepared the people for our logic, and we must not allow this golden opportunity to go by. We must strike now while the iron is hot and strike now while the iron is hot and speak to us, and the properties and the properties of soldiers, and threatened with assassination. But never once in all her self-surrendering life has she solwn the white feather; never once given a single sign of weakness or discouragement. In the Colorado strikes "Mother" Jones was feared, as was no other, by speak to us, and the properties as a feared as well as the colorado strikes and threatened with assassination. But never once in all her self-surrendering life has she solwn the white feather; never once given a single sign of weakness or discouragement. In the Colorado strikes "Mother" Jones was feared, as was no other, by speak to us, and the properties as a single sign of weakness or discouragement.

question of relative to personal privilege.
"They have no right to put that man in jail." was the remark I recently heard regarding the arrest of a Socialist agi-

No, but the man had a right to go to

WARREN AT THE FEDERAL BAR.

BY BRUCE ROGERS.

West then declared that Prosecutor the suit had the approval of the attor-ney general, of the postoffice depart and that it was the opinion of ment, and that it was the opinion of that high official that the offense came that high official that the offense came clearly within the purview of the law large of the considerable show and was punishable under its provisions. Mr. West appeared to grow angry as he proceeded, and with considerable show of suppressed feeling he argued that the undoubted purpose of the publication in question was to bring the supreme court of the United States into ridicule and large of the Pullman strike forerast that the present era of "more sold that it was the opinion of that high official that the opinion of the turn. All who know her—and they are clearly within the purview of the law large of the title.

The cureer of this unique old agitator reads like romance. There is no other undoubted purpose of the publication in question was to bring the supreme court of the United States into ridicule and large of the Pullman strike forerast that the present era of "more recognize the fitteness of the title.

The cureer of this unique old agitator reads like romance. There is no other ordered to give the fitteness of the title.

The cureer of this unique old agitator reads like romance. There is no other ordered to give the "Mother Jones by Waller Hurt. All who know her—and they are clearly within the purview of the law large on while a once recognize the fitteness of the title.

The cureer of this unique old agitator reads like romance. There is no other that the present era of the Pullman strike that the present event of the purview of the law large of the publication in question was to bring the supreme court of the Pullman strike the present era of "more contents."

forecast that the present era of "prosperity" must inevitably be followed by a long and disastrous period of "hard of the defense to quash the indictment. It is worthy of note that the government of the defense to quash the indictment. It is worthy of note that the government of the indictment of the oppressed with a head for continuance, while the The present panic is not an unmixed ment pleaded for continuance, while the evil. The people learn only through defense insisted upon immediate trial, the battles of the oppressed with a he-painful and costly experience. Only the having several months in which to pre-pare its case, was significant and caused a soldier upon the field of carnage.
"Mother" Jones is not one of the considerable comment.

Fred D. Warren, the defendant, was in Fred D. Warren, the defendant, was in pulses burn with true patriotic fervor, court, accompanied by L. H. Phillips, his local counsel, Eugene V. Debs, and the there she surely will be found upon the

Pollock requested that he be furnished with the briefs of both sides, and then announced that the motion to quash would be taken under advisement and his decision rendered in due time.

It is the opinion of counsel that the first the opinion of counsel that the country will not be rendered until the solute—a true minister of mercy.

decision will not be rendered until the solate

next term of court.

What the decision and final outcom What the decision and final outcome thracite ceal district, she marched at the and we shall be prepared to furnish it at the usual rates, in any quantity that may be desired.

Most devoutly is it to be desired that a copy of this "Panic Edition" could be placed in the hands of every voter in EUGENE V. DEBS: A MEASUREMENT.

strike now while the iron is hot and with all the force, energy and frequency we can command. The exact date of the "Panic Edition" will be announced in the next issue.

J. A. WAYLAND.

"The Bird of Freedom"

Imprisonment sometimes becomes a question of relative rights and a matter of personal privilege.

"They have no right to put that man the latter of the tired day—the night! Tears keep there are the man and Nature forget. Sacred.

Tree the propertie past grows the criminal corporations; feared by the she was loved by the sturdy miners she led again and again in the face of overwhelming odds until, like length the shadows of night. These strong sculs have paved the way until the pathos of their parturient love might cause even a gainst the embattled foe.

Deported at the point of bayonets, she their memory green for a brief time.

They have no right to put that man and Nature forget. Sacred the whose order it was to escort her to the their parturient love might cause even against the embattled foe.

a god to weep. Pain and toil, and after the tired day—the night! Tears keep their memory green for a brief time; bore herself so true a warrior that she then man and Nature forget. Sacred Confucius sleeps long and well, though the died but yesterday. Mena is a mean-the died but yesterday. Mena is a mean-tear for Exerct with the left has been added in the resolutionary. No, but the man had a right to go to jail. In some cases instead of it being a disgrace to go to jail, it would be a dishonor to remain outside. It is a privilege to go to prison for sake of Right, and no stigma can attach to the stripes when worn for a glorious cause. When I think of the many martyrs behind the bars I am ashamed that I remain at liberty.

I think of the many martyrs behind the bars I am ashamed that I remain at liberty.

Thoreau went to prison when worn for sake of Right, and no stigma can attach to the stripes when worn for a glorious cause. When I think of the many martyrs behind the bars I am ashamed that I remain at liberty.

Think of the many martyrs behind the bars I am ashamed that I remain at liberty.

The conservative Nature holds in this the key to all the wider progress of the saintly cause has a tetter right to the dark waters. Yet heroism lives, and love weds light in the leuman brain. Brave men bruise themselves that their brothers may be free. Heroes live not for themselves, Genius, ever prodigal of self, scorns the wooing witchelvey of fame. Fersonal gain is private greed. Ever conservative Nature holds in this the key to all the wider progress of the fresides and will be lovingly remembered by their children and their children forever. ingless name, for Egypt "hath lost her breed of noble blood." And the saintly dead of a later day are as surely doomed "Why, Henry, what are you doing in ere?" asked the Sage of Concord.

"Why, Ralph!" returned the Philosoher of Walden, "what are you doing the there?"

It is possible to stand so close that the object viewed speaks little of the concept of the con

Normal states of the sages of concord.

The possible to stand so close that the object viewed speaks little of its object

tank and he results purpose in the first personal purpose of the first personal pers

"THE SCARLET OF THE SHADOW":

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

forth, while the banks are in a crippled forth, while the banks are in a crippled forth, while the banks are in a crippled forth the condition that reveals but too plainly the weak foundation upon which they are organized and the vicious and reckless methods by which they do business. less methods by which they do business. The cause of the present panic, its effects and the probable outcome, are of the most vital interest to the misguided millions who are altered especially to the misguided millions who are altered endant, and made a strong and telling that the touch of a mastering that the touch of a mastering that the touch of a mastering that no criticism, however brilliant in the injury of fattering, can do it justice. Every of toil.

Haywood, told with the touch of a mastering that no criticism, however brilliant in the present trageley, of fattering, can do it justice. Every of toil.

It is not the most forceful factors in the coming importance is in proving conclusively that the time by the policy in the most forceful factors in the coming the master in every line, is so intensely interesting that no criticism, however brilliant if the present trageley, of fattering, can do it justice. Every of toil.

It is not the most of a master of the most of fattering, can do it justice. Every of toil.

It is not the most of a master of a master of a master of a master of the most of a master of the most of a master o

"MOTHER" JONES.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

"The 'Grand Old Woman' of the revo

lutionary movement" is the appropriate title given to "Mother" Jones by Walter Hurt. All who know her—and they are

mer soldiers" or "sunshine patriots."

For many weary months at a time

solate—a true minister of mercy.

During the great strike in the anthracite coal district, she marched at the

No other soldier in the revolutionary

coial process. With any approaching dom.

BY WALTER HURT.

Every prison preaches the lesson of

Prisons are mile-stones along freedom'

A jail sentence is often a certificate of

Imprisoned Innocence is the doom

The logic of capitalist law is to put

Prison gratings are never a bar to

When Crime is the jailor, imprison

The jail has come to be a place where

It is better to be a freeman in jail

Tyranny cannot hope to bind the wings of Liberty with a hangman's rope,

Capitalistic persecution has made the

The brave man finds more freedom

within jail than does the cringing cow ard without.

royal palace when made the abode of the

If the present policy of capitalistic

would be clutched like a wild beast, and yet made his last plea to spare the lives of those he knew would slay him. In all the annals of mankind there is no more tender and heroic act than the

Robert Morris was put into jail by

"TURN you to the stronghold, ye prisoners of hope; even today do I declare that I will render double unto thee."—

"THE SCARLET SHADOW"

is a book written by a jail-bird about jail-birds for jail-birds—and in these days of growing persecution every Socialist is a potential jail-bird. It should be read by every revolu-tionist.—J. A. Wayland.

soul to feel the pangs of crucifix

an of Guilt

ustice in jail.

tiles has builded.

Princes of Progress.

rogues put honest men.

BOLTS AND BARS

JOLTS AND JARS

WHY JAILS ARE.

have by no other means been so effec-tively closed as when inclosed within walls of masonry, but this method of tyrants has never been productive of more than temporary results. Shutting the mouth generally has the effect of opening the mind. The man who cannot talls has the statement of the insubordinate member of capitalalk has the more time to think. In the solitude of unjust confinement more than one victim has found the proper cond-

tors who interfere with business; It is the fate of hearly every great the disturber upon the thoughtless; give the interests present relief, and let the deluge come after we have moved on. prison cell a repository of righteousness. Such is the logic of capital, which may Ever upon the ruins of the world's bas-iles has the fabric of freedom been seek life for its votaries, but prepare death for their posterity.

Since capital cannot conveniently lock

up all its movable possessions, it locks them out and locks in the individual who threatens them; thus separating the capitalist and his from those who might separate him and his. Those who outwardly conform to capitalism, but se-cretly purloin property, must be dis-ciplined and made to observe the rules He who goes to prison for a principle is greater than he who climbs to power over the corpse of his murdered manhood.

The poor fools who fetter the limbs of freedom's martyrs do not know that the Spirit of Liberty cannot be confined with chains.

If the present policy of capitalistic it.

persecution continues, decent men soon will have to go to jail to find congenial The jail is, therefore, an economic in stitution and functions as an instrument in the hands of the ruling As a vine in subterranean places in hands, and prevent his working his head fallibly sends its tendrils to the surface, so Liberty in dungeons reaches always toward the light. -particularly his mouth. Strange to say, the working class builds the jails and occupies them—for the reason that the keys are carried by the official rep-Even as "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," so are the resentatives of the wer sufferings of persecuted Socialists the To be an enemy of prostrength and sustenance of our Right-who own property, is it once was to be an e resentatives of the wealthy ruling class. To be an enemy of property, or of those strength and sustenance of our Righteous Revolution.

In the dungeon's depths does the Lamp
of Liberty burn the brightest, amid its
gloom the Torch of Truth does grow and
greaten, and therein has many a deathless work been thought and wrought.

HIS LAST COMMAND.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

The historic raid of John Brown was made on Sunday night, October 16, 1859. It was cold and bleak and dark as the old warrior stood before his eighteen trusted followers and issued his last command.

"Let me impress this one thing on your minds," he said, in solemn tones. "You all know how dear life is to you, and how dear your lives are to your friends; and in remembering that, consider that the lives of others are as dear to them as yours are to you. Do not, therefore, take the life of any one if you can possibly avoid it; but if it is necessary to take life in order to save your own, was terribly in carnest, realized that he would be clutched like a wild beast, and yet made his last per followed the make sure work of it!"

What a tender heart beneath a stern and forbidding visage! John Brown was terribly in carnest, realized that he would be clutched like a wild beast, and yet made his last pear to dear the lives of others are as dear to them as yours are to your friends; and in remembering that, consider that the lives of others are as dear to them as yours are to your forends; and in remembering that, consider that the lives of others are as dear to them as yours are to your forends; and in remembering that, consider that the lives of others are as dear to them as yours are to your forends; and in remembering that, consider that the lives of others are as dear to them as yours are to you. Do not, therefore, take the life of any one if you can possibly avoid it; but if it is necessary to take life in order to save your own, was terribly in carnest, realized that he would be clutched like a wild beast, and yet made his last plea to spare the lives do the listory of the Scelals movement when meawers are a was a time in the listory to the Scelal Research to the Appeal and he list last life to have a chain. The listory of the Scelals movement when were so and there will be always a multitude of mark the listory to the Scelal Research to the Appeal and he listore that the l

Through prison units, like heaven as Fresh breezes blew, and sunbeams And with the idle gallows-rope Tite young child played.

Where the doomed victim in his cell.

Had counted o'er the weerr hours.
Glad school girls, answering to the bell.

Crose crowned with flowers ROBERT MORES was put into jail by a grateful Republic for personal debts in-curred to finance its revolution after he had sacrificed his private fortune in the interests of the colonists.

Gown wher for the lesson given.

I fear no longer, for I know
That where the share is densed driven
The best fruits grow. outworn rite, the old also The ploos fraud transparen good held emplies in the Of wrong almo-

The Appeal to Reason has a larger list of paid-in-advance unherribers than any daily or other weekly paper printed in the United States. It is mirrord in a little Ramas rown of less than 5,000 population. There must be semething peculiarly striking and forceful about it, don't you think, to enable it to hold such an enormous list! Why not unherribe, and do it teday. See coupen on last page.

Genesis of The Jail.

Primarily, the purpose of the prison

prison survive.

Jails have n have no legitimate relation to Jails have no legitimate relation to justice. They are built not to punish criminals but to protect them. Or, if the capitalist system as are the cages to a menagerie. There are men, as well as beasts, who can't be subdued with duty as beasts, who can't be subdued with duty dope, but insist on saving and doing the from the day of the first crude duageon down to the massive masonry of the modern Temple of Tyranny, all prisons have souls have freely sacrified their bene built under direction of the chief and untamable must be locked up lest hey destroy the privilege of the masters. The mouths of unterrified agitators to his confederates.

The fact that a considerable number of the privilege of the masters are by no other means been so effect. The fact that a considerable number of the mouths are the same fact. The fact that a considerable number of the mouth of the masters and their lives, and many brave but whatever the cost, the struggle mass doubtless have to share the same fact. The fact that a considerable number of the modern than the master and their lives and their lives and their lives are doubtless have to share the same fact. The fact that a considerable number of the modern term of the chief which is the mouth of the chief that the mouth of the chief that the mouth of the chief that the mouth of the chief and their lives, and many brave doubtless have to share the same fact. The mouths of unterrified agitators the mouth of the chief that the mouth of the chief as beasts, who can't be subdued with duty dope, but insist on saving and doing the things which should be said and done, regardless of the consequences. The asses and sheep of the social menagerie can safely be left at large, but the untamed and untamable must be locked up lest they destroy the privilege of the masters. The mouths of unterviled acidators to his confederates. o his confederates.

The fact that a considerable number

of minor criminals—the adjective is used istic society who plagues the plutocrats, whether he be a criminal or that worse tions under which to analyze the purpose of the oppressor and to go forth better prepared to renew the attack and predatory privilege whether from the restrum or the seaffold.

But the capitalist is short-sighted, lie plays his game to win what is in view and leaves the plays his game to win what is in view, and leaves the problems of the future to future solution. Lock up the The capitalist; in securing his own com-fort and insuring his own safety, is not directly discriminative

"Society, the Mother Criminal, provides prisons for the housing of the criminals she breeds, excepting always her favored offspring. Unto these she gives the keys and makes them their "brothers' keep-

But if we dismiss the jail as a medium of oppression and consider it solely as a means for suppressing crime, it still is a child of capitalism. Thus: All crimes are abnormal acts. Every

criminal is a degenerate. Degeneracy results from social perversion. Social perversion is a product of environment theredity depends upon pregenital environmental influences). Capitalism provides the infavorable environment and engenders perverse conditions that produce the degenerate. Ergo, capitalism is responsible for all crime.

Socialism, being a same system of living, insuring a rational relation of the

social units one to another, will infal-libly adjust the ethical equipoise. This is not a sentimental statement, but a philosophic fact, as readily susceptible The scheme of Socialism would sub-

stitute justice for jails Under Socialism the dungeon will dis-

Send for "The Scarlet Shadow"-and send at once. Use order blank to be found in another column.

The Womb of Worth.

Tyranny's errors have made the jail the Temple of Truth. Most of the re-ally good and great things of life have been born from prisons or fostered therein. the nation's toilers, and her name is evered, at the altars of their humble resides and will be lovingly remembered by their children and their children forever.

It is over the bodies of the world's mankind advances to its emancipation. Massive jails are rot the stepping stones upon which humanity will leap into the light of a fuller freeding process. With any approaching of the many approaching of the nation's toilers, and her name is greaten, and therein has many a death less work been thought and wrought.

It is over the bodies of the world's mankind advances to its emancipation. Massive jails are rot the source of the king's reverence of the king's reverence to aid the escape of a negro slave.

The Boston Tea Party laid its seditious into greaten in the catacombs ands on the source of the king's reverence when the source of the king's reverence to aid the escape of a negro slave.

The Boston Tea Party laid its seditious into prison was put into jail, and Christian-the source of the king's reverence of the king's reverence of the king's reverence to aid the escape of a negro slave.

The Boston Tea Party laid its seditious into prison was put into jail, and Christian-the source of the king's reverence of the

WHEN the history of the Social Revo-

nous letters among the names of the noble comrades who have carried the cross
for sake of the Cause, those of George
La Mance, whom the mill owners of
South Carolina put into jail for soliciting subscriptions to the APPEAL; J. L.
Fitts, who suffered the unspeakable horrors of a Georgia chain-gang for street
speaking, and Louis Klamroth, who has
an honorable record of thirty-one arrests
during his tweive years of agitating.

Every thinking man, every person capable of comprehending the philosophy of
sines that the quaking earth, and in the dame
kings down its groeves the knell of saledering
kings for and war we see its awful form
kings down its groeves the knell of saledering
kings and louis for the desired the cross of the dame
kings down its groeves the knell of saledering
kings down its own cutefied the question was descented to a sale place the pre

25c per year in clubs of four. TOWARD THE GOAL.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

been forever abolished and this far-easeh of ours, for the first time in his tory, becomes the abode of an enlight ened humanity and a fetterless civiliz

The struggle is worthy the supreme efforts of every good man and woman is the land. In the present system the mis ery and suffering of so many thousands is sufficient to move a heart of stone. There can be no substantial relief while a greedy few are permitted to privately own the means of life and have the pro-ducing millions at their cruel mercy.

There is inspiration in this issue to the men and women who make up the Socialist movement and who have regis tered the high resolve that never cation and organization until the masses have been aroused, and, guided by their enlightened self-interest, rescued this nation of ours from its despoilers and con ecrated it to a free people.

Onward, comrades, toward the Goal!

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

This issue of the Appeal will be seen by many thousands for the first time. We invite the attention of all these to The Socialist party at the last nations election cast nearly half a million vote it is organized in every state and territory in the union, and its educations propaganda is in active operation all the year around.

The Socalist party is the party of the future. Its triumph is but a squestion of time. The present social system in which a few monopolists exploit labor rule the masses and corrupt the body po-litic, has outlived its usefulness, and the Socialist party is pledged to abolish i Socialist party is pledged to abolish it and usher in an economic democracy, a real republic, in which the common pro-ple shall be supreme.

The national secretary is J. Mahlon

Barnes, 269 Dearborn arrest, Chicago Send to him for copies of the national platform, and for descriptive leaflets and instructions as to how to organize. Every village, hamlet and town should have a local branch to help speed the glad day of popular freedom and social

The state secretaries, who may be ad

G. Kroon, Box 510, Globe.
Dan Hogan, Huntington.
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A. H. Floaten, 1026A Bdwy., Issuer
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Minnesota, J. E. Nash, 46 S. 4th., Minnespolle,
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Tenn., J. T. McDill, 618 Blackmore, Nashville,
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Vermont, A. Irondée, 22 Ayees, Barre,
Westincton, R. Kruger, 2305 1.2 Pad., Tacomit,
West Virginia, G. B. Elline, McMechen,
Wisconslo, E. H. Themas, 646 6th, Missonike,
Wyooning, W. L. O'Nelli, 106 E. 4th Laramie,

Don't forget to be thankful next Thursday, despite the panic and prohib-itive prices. Be thankful you're not in jail—that is, if it chances you're not in: If you are in jail, be even more thankful for the fact. there will be always a multitude of martyrs ready to march proudly to prison
and suffer all things

"Till no throne shall cast its abadow and no
slave shall wear a chain."

WHEN the history of the Social Reco. When the history of the Social Revo-lution is written it will show in lumi-nous letters among the names of the no-kind.

And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee

Every thinking man, every person cap-able of comprehending the philosophy of history, if he will but reflect, can not fail to grasp the economic significance of these crimes against the social agita-tor that have their preliminaries in prison and their finales on the scaffold.

The Appeal to Reason is recognized as the hardest hitter in American newspaperdon. It will sustain that reputation next year. You'll mise a good deal of the freworks if you don't withis paper every week. See chapma.on has