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No man is great enough or rich enough to get this paper on credit or for a longer time than paid for. It is published as an advocate of International Socialism, the movement which favors the ownership of the earth by ALL the people—not by a PART of the people.

# The Postmaster General's Order to His Postmasters

order to the postmasters of the country in reference to the recent amendment to the Revised Statutes of the United States, bearing upon papers now admitted to the mails as second-class publications. It will be remembered that during the session of congress just closed, Senator Penrose introduced an amendment to the postal law which was so obviously aimed at publications unfriendly to the administration that it at nee aroused wide-spread opposition. The purpose of this amendment was too apparent on the very face of it to be misunderstood. Its plain intent was to exclude working-class publications, the Appeal to Reason in particular, from the mails. A press dispatch to this effect was sent out from Washington at the time.

When the object of this legislation was spread over the country by the Appeal congress was deluged with protests and the amendment was forthwith withdrawn. But this did not end the matter. The capitalist legislators, who were simply executing the orders of their masters, shrewdly devised another method of reaching the same end. In the closing days of the session, when the postoffice appropriation bill was under consideration, a brief amendment, embodying the pith of the one previously withdrawn, was introduced and surreptitiously passed without a call of the roll. The members were too shrewd to place themselves upon record. The amendment follows:

### The Amendment.

"That section 3893 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and the same is hereby, amended by adding thereto the following: and the term 'indecent' within the intendment of this section shall include matter of a character tending to incite arson, murder or assassination."

The law already upon the statute books excluded "indecent" matter, and this amendment provides that the term "indecent" shall be so construed as to "include matter of a character tending to incite arson, murder or assassination."

To the wording of this amendment, it is freely admitted, there can be no reasonable objection. But there is a hidden danger in this legislation which, when exposed, at once reveals its purpose as well as the animus of its sponsors. The postmaster-general is given full and final authority to deter-mine what is "indecent" and what publications, therefore, shall be excluded. This makes his censorship complete. From his decision there is no appeal.

his decision there is no appeal.

In the order he now issues to the postmasters interpreting the amended law, the postmaster-general transfers to all of them, and to each of them, the authority vested in him to determine what is "indecent" and what shall be excluded, so that every postmaster in the land is now a censor and has full power to exclude papers he considers "indecent" and refuse to deliver them to their subscribers. The following extract from the postmaster-general's order to postmasters makes this matter perfectly clear and conclusive:

# Order to Postmasters.

"In pursuance of section 3893 of the Revised Statutes (Section 497, Postal Laws and Regulations), as thus amended, YOU ARE DIRECTED HEREAFTER TO EXCLUDE FROM THE MAILS NOT ONLY PUBLICATIONS AND ARTICLES OF THE CHARACTER HERETOFORE FORBIDDEN BY THAT SECTION TO BE CARRIED, BUT IN ADDITION ALL "MATTER TENDING TO INCITE ARSON, MURDER OR ASSASSINATION," the depositing, conveying or delivering of which is prohibited by the section as now

The gravity of the situation thus revealed cannot be

overestimated.

Each individual postmaster now constitutes the literary guardian of his jurisdiction.

Only that which passes his censorship may reach the

Russian censorship was never more despotic.

The liberty of the citizen to subscribe for and receive a paper that represents his principles and expresses his views is destroyed.

Every citizen, to carry out the intent of the law, should now call upon his postmaster and ascertain what paper he may subscribe for with the assurance that it will be delivered to him.

Every republican paper is guaranteed in advance and no democratic paper is threatened with exclusion. It is the Socialist papers only, and the Appeal to Rea-son in particular—which the government has not dared to openly suppress—which the government has not dared to openly suppress—which are now to be pronounced "indecent" and barred from the mails, and each postmaster is vested with the full authority to make such political discrimination as will safeguard the interests of the ruling class, and incidentally his own job as a capitalist office-holder.

# "Indecent" Publications.

When it is understood that from the capitalist point of view all publications opposed to capitalism are "indecent" it is seen at a glance that this order has but one purpose,

it is seen at a glance that this order has but one purpose, the insidious suppression of Socialist papers.

Before the Socialist press developed the power it now has there was never any thought on the part of capitalist legislators to enact such legislation, nor did they ever evince any such solicitude for the purity of the mails. The vilest and most abominable pictures and writings were permitted to circulate freely and constituted a traffic which yielded enormous profits to the capitalists who engaged in it. But since the rapid growth of Socialist sentiment, the increase in the Socialist vote, the rise of the Socialist party and the spread and influence of the Socialist congressmen and they have concluded that drastic measures have become necessary to preserve the purity of the mails.

Ever since the Appeal to Reasen has become a paper of circulation and power it has been subjected to petty persecution by the authorities, with the ane object of impeding its progress and destroying its influence in arousing the

The Postmaster General has appointed your postmaster your literary censor and political guardian, and vested him with authority to declare the Appeal to Reason "indecent" and refuse to allow you to read it. When you fail to get your paper, demand the reason why, and let us know his answer. One hundred and thirty-two years ago today your sires made their immortal answer to the usurpation of British Toryism. What shall be your answer to the usurpation of American Capitalism?

working class and the people generally to the horrors of wage slavery and other iniquities of the capitalist system. The story of this persecution has been told from time to time in these columns and our readers are familiar with it. In every attempt that has been made to entrap the Appeal or to make a case against it the authorities have failed.

At this very time an indictment is still pending, and, although the Appeal has done all in its power to force the government into court the case has been repeatedly post-poned and at the last hearing was put off until after the national election in November. It is only too apparent that the government has no faith in its case and that even if a conviction could be secured by unfair means the authorities know full well that the reaction certain to follow would help the Appeal more than it could possibly be injured by such shameless and utterly unwarranted persecution.

# Scrutinized by Inspectors.

It is not necessary to say that the Appeal, opposed as it is with all the means at its command to the capitalist sys-tem, has always observed the law and kept prudently within its bounds. Its columns have been repeatedly scrutinized by special inspectors for the one purpose of discovering pass which would warrant its exclusion under the law, but not one such paragraph or line has ever been found. This is why no lawful indictment has ever been brought against the Ap-peal and why a trumped-up charge had to be resorted to by those seeking its suppression.

Nor is it necessary that the Appeal should declare itself opposed to things "indecent," or to "arson, murder or assausination." Its record proves that,

Every issue of it is on file and open for inspection.

The Appeal challenges the world to show that in a single instance, however great the provocation, it has ever deviated

from its well-known policy of advocating peaceful, orderly and lawful means of abolishing capitalism and establishing the Socialist commonwealth. It is precisely because the Appeal, animated by Socialist principles and ideals, is opposed to indecency, murder and other crimes, that it has taken its stand against capitalism, the prolific parent of all the sus and iniquities which afflict modern society and which are chronicled, column after column, in every issue of its own daily press.

# Capitalist Obscenity.

The truth is that if this very law, under which it proposed to exclude Socialist papers, were fairly and hou-estly construed the capitalist papers would themselves be excluded from the mails, for their columns teem with vulgar and indecent matter, the obscenity of which is so glaring that it would be utterly shocking to any other than capitalist morality, based upon wage slavery and buttressed by political

corruption.

That the postal authorities have not dared to face the editor of this paper upon the real issue of circulating indecent and offensive matter is evident enough to every intell-

gent reader and cannot be gainsaid in the face of the repeated postponements insisted upon by the government.

From the postmaster-general, backed by the attorney-general and the president himself, down to the district prosecutor, all of whom have declared that the Appeal should be suppressed, not one has been ready to enter court when the the case to hang fire, knowing that the costs and expenses were constantly accruing, and indulging the hope that the funds of the Appeal would finally be exhausted and that the publication would then have to be abandoned.

# The Appeal in Canada.

It will not be forgotten that the Canadian authoritie animated by the same capitalistic motive, also excluded to Appeal from the mails, but that such an outery followed the was speedily restored. There was no case against the only as pure persecution, and when this fact became known the most vigorous and wide-spread protest followed, to which the authorities were compelled to yield. The triumph of

the Appeal was complete.

Beginning with the Haywood trial, when the power of the Appeal became manifest and was for the first time recognized by the capitalist regime, repeated efforts were made to complete the results became the results be

nized by the capitalist regime, repeated efforts were made to embarrass the Appeal and to exclude it from the mails, but all these failed. In every instance the Appeal came out with flying colors. In the trial which is still pending the procession has not dared to face the issue.

The conclusion is inevitable that the government fears to exclude the Appeal outright. That it has the power to do so goes without saying. That it is intent upon so doing is equally beyond doubt. It simply fears the political and moral effect of forcibly taking this paper out of the hands of its million readers.

this country, would tamely submit to having their light extinguished by despotic and arbitrary procedure and left in darkness, even capitalistic cupidity, blind as it usually is, is yet far from believing.

Every plan and artifice of which the postoffice depart-ment could conceive has been adroitly laid, but when the decisive moment arrived its courage weakened and the intended blow failed to fall.

Now comes a sudden change; recourse to other tactics. We want our readers to follow us closely and keep their eyes upon the situation.

The enemies of the Appeal and other Socialist papers have not abandoned their plans. Their spirit is the same.

If they have halted it is from a sense of discretion and

from no change of heart.

# . Sneaking Legislation.

The amendment to the postal law was the first step in the change. It could not pass upon its merits and so it was put through in a sneaking manner as an amendment to the appropriation bill. This in itself condemns it.

It is an outrageous imposition upon the American people. They did not want it. Not only this, but they violently protested against it. Congress knew this only too well.

But congress could not refuse to obey the capitalist oli-garchy of which it is but the political creature. The measure had to be passed. Political deception and jugglery had to be resorted to.

Duplicity triumphed and the amendment is now upon the statute books. To the mere letter of it the Appeal has no objection. But against the power conferred upon the post-teaster-general to interpret the law as he chooses without recourse to the victim the Appeal enters its emphatic protest. But, as we have stated, the amendment is but the first

step in the change of tactics to which the government has resorted. Armed with this amendment the postmaster-gen-eral now issues his order to all the thousands of postmasters all over the country and transfers to, and vests in them, the authority to decide what papers are "indecent," and what papers may or may not circulate through the mails of the United States.

# Transfer of Contest.

This change of tactics is of the gravest importance to the Appeal and other Socialist papers and their readers. The effect of it is already being felt and will be felt more and more as the order becomes operative.

The change of tactics means a change of the entire

campaign of suppression.

Hitherto the contest has been between the Appeal and the government. The Appeal held its own, its circulation and power steadily increased until the government was compelled to admit defeat and retreat from the field. But, as we have said, the campaign is to be continued along other lines. The contest has now been transferred from the field where the Appeal stood face to face with the government, to the country at large, and each postmaster has now been vested with the power to discriminate against it and refuse to deliver it to its readers.

In other words, the contest is now no longer to be waged directly between the government and the Appeal, but between the postmasters and the Appeal readers. This sums up the charge of tacties, and it is fraught with the gravest possi-

# Burning the Appeal.

It is well known to many of our readers that during the past few weeks they have been getting their paper irregularly, or not at all. For this the Appeal is not responsible. Its mailing system is the most perfect that can be devised and its service and facilities are equally of the highest order. Every investigation thus far made shows that the postoffice department in some branch of the service is responsible for the failure of the Appeal to reach those who subscribe and pay for it. A number of postmasters have already taken it upon themselves to decide that the Appeal is not a "decent" publication and that it is their duty to refuse to deliver it. We select the following from hundreds of letters which have

come to us during the past few days:
"Olney, Okla., June 17, 1908.—To the Appeal: I take this opportunity to inform you in regard to what the post-masters in this country are doing to suppress Socialist litera-ture. I and three other comrades were standing talking this morning in front of the postoffice when the postmaster came out with an armful of papers to burn. We walked up to the fire and snatched one Appeal to Reason and two Repsaws out before they were destroyed. The Appeal was addressed to A. O. Oliver, R. F. D. 1. There is complaint from all com-rades in this section that they are not getting their papers.—

De rite the fact that the Appeal is doing all in its power to deliver each issue to its subscribers thousands of them fail to get it for reasons more or less identical with that which appears in the foregoing letter.

# Refuse to Deliver.

If under the amended law, as interpreted by Postmaster-General Moyer, each capitalist postmaster, practically all of whom are hostile and who understand it to be to their interest to antagonize the Appeal, is empowered and feels himself not only at liberty but under official obligation to destroy or refuse to deliver the copies which reach his office, the Appeal

executed by the head of the department,

But if such an order were issued the million Appeal readers would rise in protest."

Under the change of tactics, however, the responsibility cannot be fixed, and in this underhanded manner the Appeal, no longer able to face its antagonist, is to be sapped of its strength and slowly perish by the pin-pricks of its innumerable and invisible official capitalist enemies.

### Fourth of July.

This issue of the Appeal will appear on July Fourth, the anniversary day of the nation's independence. Our read-ers will be reminded by the orators who address them that our forefathers immortalized themselves by throwing off the voke of king rule and establishing a republic in which the people were forever to be sovereign. What shall-be said on this day when the memories of patriotic valor which gave the Fourth of July its place in history are reviewed in face of the fact that the press, the voice of the people, is threatened with suppression?

What shall be said of the attitude of the present govern-ment toward the Appeal to Reason? What shall be said of the cowardly evasion of the issue by the government and of the covert means which have been resorted to in order to

strangle the voice of the oppressed?

Was the rule of Great Britain in point of fact more despotic than that of capitalism is today? And would the revolutionary patriots have submitted if their papers had been confiscated and free speech suppressed? Let these questions be answered by those who still insist that this is a republic, that freedom prevails, and that the people are sov-

### The Abolition Press.

Fifty years ago the slave power of this nation adopted similar methods in dealing with abolitionist publications. Not only were the papers confiscated and every effort made to suppress them, but their publishers were mobbed. But in spite of all the brutality of the slaveocraey these papers in-creased in influence and power until finally the principles they advocated triumphed and the slave power fell to rise

The spirit of capitalism toward Socialist publications is the same as was the spirit of the slave power toward the abolitionist press. It has not yet come to mobbing the publishers, but that may vet be incited if other means fail.

# Fight to a Finish.

However this may be, the Appeal has not the remotest thought of allowing itself to be driven from the field. It has a mission and purposes to fulfill it, and if it fails it shall not be charged that it was due to cowardice or to any fault of its own. But in the coming phases of the struggle for its existence it will have to rely even more than in the past upon its

readers. Its destiny is in their hands.

It is for them to decide whether or not the postmasters of this country shall be permitted to make bonfires of papers they have subscribed and paid for.

Since even this issue will doubtless fail to reach many readers we ask each of those who do get it to show it to others that they may understand the cause if they fail to

readers we ask each of those who do get it to show it to others that they may understand the cause if they fail to receive their copy; that they may not charge the Appeal with being to blame and turn from it indignantly, as is the intention of those who are withholding it from its subscribers.

We ask that all those why fail to receive their paper promptly advise us to that effect, assuring them that other copies will be promptly forwarded and that nothing in our power will be left undone as regards the delivery of the paper, each and every copy, to each and every subscriber.

We take this occasion to say to our readers that however this new move may handicap the Appeal it will not daint or discourage it for a single moment. The only effect it has is to intensify the determination of the Appeal to continue its work of propaganda and fight the battles of the working class to the very end.

That the supporters of the Appeal who have always been loval and unflinching will steadfastly pursue that same course of fealty to it and to the principles it represents, the Appeal knows but too well. This is not the first nor will it be the last time the Appeal and its army have had their mettle tested. It is true that in this instance the test comes at a critical time, since the greatest political campaign in Americans. tested. It is true that in this instance the test comes at a critical time, since the greatest political campaign in Ameri-can history and one fraught with the grandest possibilities for the people is now upon us, but the confidence which has hitherty sustained us is not shaken and in the end the cause for which the Appeal is battling is certain to be victoric

# Indignation Meetings.

The readers of the Appeal, we are confident, can and will thwart this latest move. Wherever they fail to receive the will thwart this latest move. Wherever they fall to receive the paper we advise that they promptly call on the postmaster and ask the reason why. If it be but a single subscriber let him insist upon being shown what particular passage in its columns is "indecent" enough to justify exclusion. If there are a number of subscribers it is suggested that they meet and appoint a committee to call on the postmaster and insist upon getting their papers or knowing the reason why.

And if the paper is withheld where there are sufficient comrades it is urged that they not only protest to the postmaster but that they call a public indignation meeting and make known the facts to the people.

Upon that issue we have not the least doubt that the people, be they Socialists or not, will join with us, and the effect will soon be such that the administration will be compelled to withdraw its order even as the infamous Penrose

pelled to withdraw its order even as the infamous Penrose amendment was withdrawn from the senate under the whip of public indignation.

# Unconquerable Determination.

Unconquerable Determination.

This is a critical time for the Appeal, but we have no fear as to the ultimate outcome. It is not an unmixed evil that confronts us. This latest manoeuver of the enemy will react in many ways. Thousands will now want to see the Appeal who have not heretofore felt any interest in it, and instead of reducing the subscription roll the effect will be to augment it in every part of the country, and to this work we feel and know that all our friends will give themselves with renewed energy and unconquerable zeal and determination.

# UNITED STATES TO BE MILITARY POWER.

National Guard to be Organized into Eight the next Army Corps as Part of the Regular Army.

# THE DICK MILITIA BILL IN OPERATION

War Department Prepared to Put 250,000 Men into the Field Under Direct Command of President and Secretary of War-Militiamen now Regulars Subject



To "Real Service."

The Socialist is the only idealist who is not rank.

The Socialist has studied the history of the Militia, and for Other Purposes," was introduced in congress, rushed through the house without effective opposition, through the senate without any opposition, and went into effect January 21, 1903, upon its approval by the president. With that skill peculiar to "practical statesmanship" it was hurried through the house in such a way that many congressmen were ignorant of its contents and effect, as subsequent statements made by several of them disclosed. When Senator Proctor, of Vermont, called it up in the senate he urged its speedy passage on the plea that it "had been very care fully considered in the house". It was a large of the material environment of men such that their mental, moral and spiritual growth. He wants to make the material environment of men such that their deals will become vastly higher and at the same time they will be in a position to attain approximately to those ideals.

The Socialist is a practical materialist, who is not rank.

The Socialist has studied the history of the human race enough to know that the proportion had fallen to 443; in 1890 to 392; and in 1900, will unquestions.

The Socialist has studied the history of the human race enough to know that the proportion to a point approximating 300.

The actual portent of these figures may be best conveyed to the mind by stating that if the proportion had refer were engaged in agriculture. In 1880, the proportion had fallen to 443; in 1890 to 392; and in 1900, will unquestions.

The Socialist has studied the history of the human race enough to know that the material environment of men is the greatest factor in shaping their ideals will bring down the proportion had refer were engaged in agriculture. In 1880, the proportion had fallen to 443; in 1890 to 392; and in 1900 to 392; and in 1900 to 356. (The next make the material environment of men is the greatest factor in shaping their ideals will bring down the proport fully considered in the house." It was the first move in a military program by which American capital intends to conquer the world, and while so doing to keep the American working class in subjection. Not a word of this law or its purport appeared in the

daily papers, and the first public announcement of the infamous Dick Militia Bill came from the Socialist press and from the Appeal to Reason, which printed its full text and the following warning:

"The country can, under this law, be turned into dictatorship any day, and the people would be as helpless

Strange to say, there were even members of congress who denied that any such law had ever been passed or even introduced; and, as usual when the Appeal exposes the questionable work of the eminently respectable the paper was lambasted by the patriotic and its editor characterized as a dangerm. But, little by little, the particulars have become public while the big come more secure and no longer fears to talk about the Dick Military

The following press dispatch tells its own story. It is clipped from a capitalise aper and does not depend upon a Socialist source for verification. What the Ap maker, is now printed as news in the daily papers. Read what General Oliver says; then ask yourself whether it is possible for a real military power to remain a blie in any sense. A nation can be a military power only by becoming a des tism. History proves it and the man is indeed blind who cannot foresee the reign of militarism for which the Dick law prepares the foundation and beginning.

New York-The war department has the Department of the East will consti mation into a trained army of 250,000 sident, of all the regular and national and troops in the United States. Assistant Secretary of War Oliver, who now is at Pine camp witnessing the degiven out this information.

ing the plan for the reorganization of tant Secretary Oliver, in outlin nal and state troops, declared that the word militiamen is now a miser and that the state troops since passage of the Dick bill by congress

we propose to do is to organize these the recent legislation, the militiaman entate troops and all the regular forces into chit army corps, and the New England states, New York and the other and no re-enlistment on his part is necotates in the military division known as

F STEVE ADAMS BEGUN. Last Chapter in the Conspiracy of the

The trial of Steve Adams on The trial of Sieve Adams on the trumped-up charge of the murder of Arthur Collins, a mine superintendent of Telluride, Colo., began at Grand Junction, Colo., June 22. As usual, the prosecution showed its weakness and that it had no case by an attempt to change the indictment and introduce recently manufactured evidence.

Kidnapers and Timber Thieves.

Charles H. Moyer, president of the the workingmen vote one of the capitalist parties into power they rivet their strendsnee and will remain throughout the trial. The sheriff was ordered to summon 100 men for jury service, and the selection of the jury is in progress.

tute the first army corps."

The maneuver grounds here on Pin on into a trained army of 250,000 ready to answer the call of the dent, of all the regular and national at troops in the United States. Ascorps wilf have their field training, other words, it means that two years hence 50,000 men will be mobilized on this plain.

Military Power Centralized.

"As at present planned, the war department will be able to put into the field almost immediately an army of 250,000 men. Part will be perfectly trained, and the efficiency of the rest will be so increased that they will form a smooth working force.

a smooth working force.

The war department plan means nothing more nor less than that the moment his country gets into trouble the so-alled national guard organizations will ease to exist as such, and immediately ecome a unit of the regular army absolutely under the control of the president and the secretary of war.

The Scheme.

"This new plan obviates all possibility of confusion in the event of a suddentall to arms. There will be no troops around the country in haphazard fashion, and every regiment, state and regular, will know exactly where it belongs are will know exactly under the plan into operation, but should necessity arise my successor can carry on the work without the slightest interruption, so perfectly and so thoroughly worked out are the plan into operation, but should necessity arise my successor can carry on the work without the slightest interruption, so perfectly and so thoroughly worked out are the plan into operation, but should necessity arise my successor can carry on the work without the slightest interruption, so perfectly and so thoroughly worked out are the plan into operation, but should necessity arise my successor can carry on the work without the slightest interruption, so perfectly and so thoroughly worked out are the plan into operation, but should necessity arise my successor can carry on the work without the slightest interruption, so perfectly and so thoroughly worked out are the plan into operation, but should necessity arise my successor can carry on the work without the slightest interruption, so perfectly and so thoroughly worked out are the plan into operation, but should necessity arise my successor can carry on the work without the slightest interruption, so perfectly and so thoroughly worked out are the plan will fact the plan into operation, but should necessity arise my successor can carry on the work without the slightest interruption, so perfectly

X-RAYS.

BY JOHN M. WORK. T is about time for the volcanic Teddy to have another cruption.

You may be doing useful work but so long as you let a capitalist rake in two-thirds of your earnings you are wasting two-thirds of your time.

The worst thing about a mistake that it has to be corrected. Every time

Those gentlemen who have their knives out for Socialism might as well

The New Question Box THE NEW PLATFORM

An attractive 64-page pamphlet, with colored covers, containing all the popular questions and objections with brief; pointed answers, by Frank M. Eastwood, editor of the Question Fox department in the Appeal. Especially effective for the national propagy and campaign, containing the national platform of the Socialist party as recently adopted by the Chi-

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Appeal to Reason.

Girard, Kansas.

try to check the flow of time by stop-ping the clock as to try to check the on-ward march of Socialism by stabbing at

They say the Socialists are rank idealists who chase rainbows and never get down to the prosy facts of life. And in the next breath they say the Socialists are rank materialists who grovel upon the low plane of material things and never reach up to the higher things of life.

life.

There seems to be some little incongruity in these accusations.

But the lofty opponents of Socialism rise superior to all such trifling inconsistencies. Anything that will pass for superior to all such trifling inconsistencies. an argument is eagerly welcomed by them, no matter how false or ridiculous it may be. With them, arguments are so extremely scarce that the most dilapi-dated are bolstered and stiffened with falsehood and pressed into service.

The Socialist is a practical idealist, because, instead of idly and vainly dreaming about the ideal, he goes to work in a hard-headed, common sense manner to bring about conditions wherein the ideal may be approximately

Socialist is the only man who has

interpreted the spirit of the age.

He is the only man who has discerned the shadows which coming events are

He is the only man who is able to read He is the only entirely same man in the

Many a time I have heard men who were under inducement to do some criminal or disgraceful thing exclaim. "Till rather dig in a ditch than do that."

As much as to say that digging in a ditch is about the most ignominious and shameful thing outside the penitentiary. What is the cause of this opinion?

I have dug in a ditch myself. Certainly it is hard work. But I know by experience that it is also a healthy, wholesome contact with mother earth. It is positively beneficial to the digger, physically, mentally, morally and spiriually, provided he does not have to

overdo it. Why, then, should it be considered a

Because he is one of those who receive the most abject slaves in the world.

Because he is one of those who yield up to their masters the greatest propor-tion of what is rightfully theirs on ac-count of their useful work.

count of their useful work.

The present capitalist system of industry is hased upon the exploitation of the many by the few. It does not judge men on their merits. It does not say:
"Here is a man who is doing comest useful work; let us respect him." On the contrary, it has twisted the criterion of character and respectability entirely out of recognition. out of recognition.

Consequently, everything and every-body is measured by the financial yard-stek.

the most respected. The man who is tol-erably well off is tolerably respect-able. The man who has the least is be-low the line where respectability tapers

off into disgrace.

This explains why, under this wonderful system, the honest man who houestly digs an honest ditch is looked down upon

THE CRISIS.

BY LUCIEN SANIAL

Concentration in Agriculture. F THE data required to fairly understand both the position of American agriculture in the present errisis and the part which it will soon be called upon to act in the devaluations. velopment of other economic disturb-ances already now brewing in the capi-talistic caldron, a number were given in my last article, to be supplemented in this by some which are of still greater

significance.

1. Each census, as compared with the preceding, shows a marked decline in the proportion of persons engaged in agriculture to the total number in

Moreover, if it be admitted—as it generally is by statistical experts—that the proportion of agricultural to total occupations can also be taken as the proportion of agricultural to total occupations can also be taken as the proportion of agricultural to total oppulation, then the number of people (including non-working women and children) directly depending for existence on the earnings of agriculture was 27,000,000 if the proportion of 1870 had been maintained.

2. That this relative decline has been

caused, not by a corresponding decline of agriculture, but by an increased effi-ciency of agricultural labor consequent

ciency of agricultural labor consequent upon the use of improved machinery and method of cultivation, is sufficiently obvious. Here, however, the question arises, "How great was this increase?"

After carefully analyzing the census returns of 1870 and 1900 and duly considering not only the differences in quantity of product but those in kind and quality which have resulted from the diversification and improvement of agriculture—that is, including the enormous expansion of such branches as market gardening, fruit-growing, viticulture, floriculture, etc., besides the improved cultivation and consequently larger yield per acre of the land under cereals, hay, cotton, and other lealing crops—it is found that the efficiency of agricultural labor increased on an average not less labor increased on an average not less than fifty per cent, during that period

than fifty per cent. during that period of thirty years.

In other words the 10,400,000 persons actively engaged in agriculture in 1900 produced as much as 15,600,000 could have produced in 1870.

3. Observe that this so-called "saving of labor" in agriculture, representing a productive power of 5,200,000 workers, was almost exactly equal to the whole laboring force in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, which in 1900 employed 5,300,000 wage slaves (of whom ployed 5,300,000 wage slaves (of whon 4,100,000 were men, the remaining 1,200, 000 being women and children). 4. Again, observe that in consequence

out of their useful work.

The present capitalist system of interpretary in the present capitalist system of interpretary in the present capitalist system of interpretary in the present capitalist system of the capitalistic peculiar process of the laborer, but of his exploiter, the "national" increase of agricultural population—consisting in the excess of births over deaths and accompanied by a practically equal number of children process of the laborer, but of his exploiter. gration—results a constant flow of sur-plus human beings which agriculture cannot assimilate and must vomit out

into the cities.

Yet there are silly persons who repeat, parrot-like, Horace Greely's advice of thirty years ago, "Go west, young man!" And there are also sillier persons who strennously shout, "Race suicide!" It never occurred to those simple souls that what they saw might be into the cities.

This explains why, under this wonderful system, the honest man who honestly digs an honest ditch is looked down upon as a social outeast.

That the money standard is a dastardly low and mean one ought to be evident to any sane man.

But it cannot be helped so long as the capitalist system lasts, for it is of the essence of the system. It is an inevitation.

gardless of the greater amount of sgri-cultural product in one period than in the other. Or, to put it again in another form, the increased ability of the in-dividual worker to consume agricultural produce, when perchance there is such an increase, is insignificant as compared with the increase of the product. Should any prominent organ of the capitalist class deny this generalization I would be happy to-publish in its columns any number of typical workingaren's family budgets, all of unquestionably bona fide character, which fully verify it.

families. Yet, despite this growing rate there is left a growing surplus of agricultural produce, which is exported and thus contributes to the further enrichment of that mercantile and financial portion of the higher capitalist class that is directly or indirectly interested in the foreign trade: namely, exporters, transporters, bankers, etc., including their silent partners in the case of private farms, and their still more silent state in the case of private farms, and their still more silent partners in the case of private farms, and their still more silent produce. It is significant that the exploitation of chattel slavery involved another continent, lying in the eastern hemisphere—the continent of Africa—and that the last aim of capitalism, its sole hope of future life, involves the exploitation of the markets of the world. Thus the

porations.
7. In this inquiry we have now reached the fundamental development from which those already recorded (besides another that we reserve for the end)
have inevitably issued.

No adequate idea can be formed of

No adequate idea can be formed of the progress of agricultural machinery of them to America, put them to work unform the mere census returns of its money value at intervals of ten years, for the simple reason that machinery of greater power or efficiency costs little more and in some instance; even less in the later decennial period than did in the earlier period the inferior machinery.

Keeping this fact in mine, it may, however, be stated that the value of this all-important item was \$494,000,000 in 1890, and \$761,000,000 in 1900, showing an increase of \$267,000,000, or 54 ter.

Along in them to America, put them to work unformed them, and, bearing them to America, put them to work unformed them to America, put them to A an increase of \$267,000,000, or 54 per

Now, if we divide each of the

great majority will be reduced to the condition of farm laborers.

This very process of downward evolution under the irresistible pressure of economic developments is actually now going on at a stupendous rate.

In 1880, of four million farms, one million were already held by tenants.

In 1890, of 5.700,000 farms, two million, owned by less than 1,300,000 landlords, were held by tenants; and, of these 1,400,000 were farms of less than 100 acres. Besides, the number operated by managers and consisting chiefly in great farms, was over 100,000.

Add to these the following facts:

The decennial period of 1880-1900, despite a five years crisis that seeme—but only seemed—to have paralyzed capital, was characterized by an amount of land grabbing that dwarfed any previous "enterprise" of the same sort. To that extent was this process of absorption carried on that in 1900 there were 47, 000 "farms" (or eight-tenths of one percent of the total number of farms), covering in the aggregate an area of over ering in the aggregate an area of over two hundred million acres (or nearly one quarter of the total land in farms).

Since 1900 the process has assuredly not come to a dead stop, but for exact figures we must wait until the next cen-

figures we must wait until the next census is out. In the meantime the manifest are a foreign market that shall the machines is going exploit our own future or another countures of a gricultural machines is going on at the average rate of about \$150,000, try. In other words, we have come un-

The Old Slavery and the New

HE Declaration of Inde HE Declaration of Independence was promulgated in 1776, 132 years ago. If you will divide that period by two, you arrive at 1842, which marks the beginning of modern capitalism as a real factor in affairs. Up to that time the industrial situation was dominated by chattel slavery. Then the machine—the steam engine, telegraph, loom, resper, sewing machine and kindred inventions—gave rise to a new budgets, all of unquestionably bona fide character, which fully verify it.

Since production increases faster than population, there is obviously, under these capitalistic conditions, a growing surplus over and above the consumption of the wage working class. Does this surplus constitute an overproduction! It required just about twenty-five years of it?

It is notorious—and can be shown statistically—that co-incident with the increase of wealth and product there is an even greater rate of increase in the consumption and waste of capitalist families. Yet, despite this growing rate-there is left a growing surplus of its passing, now so a compilate to contributes to the further of its passing, now so a capitalism. They tell us that the favored its machine to attain their growth. If this law will hold relative to capital.

Then army and navy were no longer used for them to attain their growth. If this law will hold relative to capital. The law of its passing, now so a capitalism of its passing, now so a daily diversion. It is possible to accomplish so the advantage of a few invisible kings.

Science and art had been reduced to mean complex companies to a new press had been altered and the pulpit and press had been altered and the pulpit and press had been reduced to the advantage of a few invisible kings.

The majority had become datapart to the advantage of a few invisible kings.

The majority had become disposaces of the advantage of a few invisible kings.

The majority had become disposaces of the advantage of a few invisible kings.

The majority had become disposaces of the advantage of a few invisible kings.

The majority had become disposaces of the advantage of a few invisible kings.

The majority had become disposaces of the advantage of a few invisible kings.

The majority had become disposaces of the machine to trumph over the class that stews the blood and grinds the bones of little children in order the machine to triumph over the class that the favored is we may riot in luxury and live in fabulous affu

aims of the two systems run parallel. But there is a vast difference in the methods employed and in the effective-ness of those methods.

Chattel slavery exploited the men Africa. It kidnaped them, and, bearing them to America, put them to work under the spur of physical force. It did
not depopulate Africa, or despoil her
mines, or rob her forests, or claim her
territory. It never made a millioniare
of an American, and it was a policy that

Along in the forties capitalists of England discovered a more effective method of exploitation. It was not par-Now, if we divide each of the above money values by the number of farms in the year for which it is given, we find that the average value of impletiments and machinery per farm was only \$108 in 1890 and \$132 in 1900. This shows conclusively—as might have been expected—that the most expensive and effective machinery is used on the greater farms, relatively few in number, and that most of the smaller farms are still cultivated with comparatively primitive implements.

So great, then, and so rapidly growing are the disadvantages under which the small farmers are working, that they must give way before the advancing tide of concentration. Their economic position as owners of the land which they cultivate is becoming untenable. Their social existence as such is fast coming to an end. A number of them, comparatively small will be metamorphosed into tenants at will or managers of large farms, made up of many estates as puny as his own, while the great majority will be reduced to the condition of farm laborers.

This very process of downward evoloities the exploitation. It was not pare the method of exploitation of despite the were too moral to engage in the slave traflic, because it was under the suspices and the sance to despatch the subject the suspices and the sance to the sand sale of negroes had been started. But they saw that it was better business to own Africa than to own merely a part of the men of Africa. Since England is policy of fostering slavery was abandoned, she has acquired all her African possessions, and, from her colonies there, the commerce of that section, and the product of her diamond and other mines, realized many times more than she ever made from the sale of slaves. In addition, the pursuance of the same policy in other territory has given her domination in Australia and India, and made her commerce and her income the marvel of the world. Moreover, there nations, in pursuance of expectation of same policy in other territory has given her domination in Australia and India, and made her commer

Nor has the capitalist method of ex-Nor has the capitalist method of ex-ploitation of Africa been more humano or less destructive than the old slave method was. With all who were stolen from Africa and sold into slavery, it is doubtful if there was a real falling off method was. With all who were stolen from Africa and sold into slavery, it is doubtful if there was a real failing off in negro population there; at any rate, the negroes continued to dominate the continent. But under capitalist exploitation, the dark continent has been claimed as white territory, and they who see the fate of the red man in America can have no doubt but that ultimstely the capitalist policy will make the black race practically extinct. All the horrors of slavery as practiced in America will not compare with the atrocities committed by the Belgian companies in their search for rubber and ivory in Africa.

For the past twelve years capitalism has been working along world-wide lines. America has expanded to Hawaii, the Philippines and Porto Rico, and is doing a stupendous engineering work in Panama in the interest of commerce. American trusts ha extended their sphere of influence to all parts of the world. There has come a contest for the markets of the world. If the present depression is overcome it must be by means of a war or a foreign market that shall exploit our own future or another country. In other words, we have come untry. In other words we have come untry. In other words we have come untry.

home of the brave" he was in the land of the master and the home of the slave. The custom of celebrating the natal day had been prostituted by politicians who took advantage of it to mix political medicine and cmit campaign thunder, and as a capitalist institution it was a great scheme with which to chloroform the workers into the belief that they were free.

Science and art had been reduced to mere commercialism, and the pulpit and

like magic.

Trial by jury had given way to government by injunction. Press muziling was a daily diversion, while courts and legislatures were peddled at auction in the high places.

the high places.

And thus my friend went on reciting one condition after another until my blood ran cold. He closed the discourse with the conclusion that we had little reason for sacrificing thousands of lives annually in perpetuating a custom that has lost its significance.

In his opinion our Fourth of July celebrations were a hollow mockery and a parody on the integrity of our patriot fathers. The stranger walked away, while I paused and wondered. If our customs and methods of life leave this impression on a foreigner, what must be

impression on a foreigner, what must be the effect on a native, class-conscious workingman who understands the game? At the time of this conversation I agreed with my friend to every state-ment he made. Since that time I have had no reason to change my opinion.

AMERICAN PRISONS FOR DEBT.

From McMaster's History of the People of the United States Then (in 1776) the face of the land

was dotted with prisons where deeds of cruelty were done, in comparison with which the foulest acts committed in the hulks of prison boats sink into a con-temptible insignificance. For more than fifty years after the peace there was in fifty years after the peace there was in Connecticut an underground prison which surpassed in horrors the Black Hole of Calcutta. This den, known as the Newgate prison, was an old, worked-out copper mine in the hills near Granby. The only entrance to it was by means of a ladder down a shaft which led to the caverus underground. There, in little nears of word from thirty to one in little pens of wood, from thirty to one hundred culprits were immured, their feet made fast to iron bars, and their feet made fast to fron bars, and their necks chained to beams in the roof. The darkness was intense; the caves recked with filth: vermin abounded; water trickled from the roof and oozed from the sides of the cavern; huge masses of earth were perpetually falling off. The Newgate prison was perhaps the worst in the country, yet in every county were ialls such as would now be thought until places of habitation for the vilest and most loathsome of beasts. At Northampton the cells were scarce four feet high, and filled with the noxlous gases of the privy vaults through which they were supposed to be ventilated. At the Worcester prison were a number of like cells, four feet high by eleven long, without a window or a chimney, or even a hole in

standard were and in use it would be a seaso of a cust calling to profine \$4.0000 promone protects and properly in the calling to profine \$4.0000 promone protects and the exempts of the comparison of the compar

# MATIONAL SOCIALIST TICKET. EUGENE V. DEBS BEN HANFORD

Man Socialists are also pronibitionsts, and not many prohibitionsts, and not many prohibitionsts, and not many prohibitionsts, and not many prohibitionsts, and not many prohibitionske a public declaration such as Tillsan made relative to prohibition, the
hole party would be denounced as red
anded and an effort would be made to
appress its propaganda. Senator Tillsan is reported to have said: "I don't
ant a saloon or blind tiger next to my
one, and I am not going to have one
ere. I have as much respect for lav
any man, but I think that I have
e right, under the common law, as well
under the statute law, to abate an insputable nuisance, and, if nothing else
ill suffice, it can be abated by the
en, notorious and orderly use of dynatic. "Did monarchy and in the law of the services of the natable nuisance, and, it not mig else is suffice, it can be abated by the in, notorious and orderly use of dynae." Did you ever hear of a Socialusing language like that about the orious maisance of capitalism? Yet Socialist is dangerous and destruc-

Mexico, too, is catching the idea that it must conciliate the arousing people with "socialistic" measures. The senate has just appropriated \$35,000,000 for the construction of irrigation ditches throughout Mexico, and has also made provision for the establishment of banks of re-discount in aid of farmers. The difference between these measures and real Socialism is that the appropriation will help a few into a great wealth, while Socialism will open to all great opportunity.

When the Declaration of Indepen When the Declaration of independence was being signed, Franklin remarked. "We must all hang together or we will all hang separately." In these days of "individualism" we must seek liberty together or the friends of free speech and a free press (?) will see that we go to jall separately.

"The financial district received with satisfaction the news of the selection of Secretary Taft," says an associated press dispatch. The great financier, Washington Coinor, adds: "Under Mr. Taft's direction I do not look for any legislation hostile to capital."

The chief of police of San Francisco confesses that he is wholly unable to make the owners of automobiles comply with the law relative to speeding. Another proof that individualism is an archy.

Building, CHICAGO, ILL



Kate O'Here, Says send her 25c or an Appeal aub Vinita, Okla., Sorrows of Capid.

7 for \$1.00; one hundred copies prepaid ten deliars. For wife, mother, sister, awestheart.

# CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

FIVE ACRE TRUCK FARM and town let, onting beautiful Copane Bay, Refurle Co, rans, for \$300-\$55 down £5 monthly no iterest. Ideal climate, bathing, fishing, huntred, Ideal climate, bathing, deep and for the control of the control of

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MISCHILLA WEOUS.

LEARN TO MAKE MITHORS. Profits in thomas. Success parameter Part. for stamp-Macmaster. DES. Peru. Ind.

# SOCIALIST FABLES.

The Individualist Tapeworm.

GOOD republican Tapeworm lived in placid content strictly on the inside economic conditions, and used to feltitate with itself occases the of its wisdom and prosperity. It was not a Social Scing, and had to tak to itself or it would have been foncesome.

This Stomach is certainly enjoying great prosperity, he said, "and my policies have increased the product that pours into it more than foptroid. I not only say things, but I also do things."

"You certainly do do things," said the Man who had the Worm, and who was getting thin and weak as the Worm was increasing in size. "I wish I knew some way to get rid of you."

"Starte it out," suggested a friend.

"But that would starve me," complained the Man.

"Give it more to eat," suggested another. "That will mean more prosperity for you, and you will become fat from your share of it."

"But that will make the Worm so prosperous it will Hiterally consume me." complained the Man.

Meantime the Worm was getting hungry, But, even if its head was small and never increased in capacity, it was constantly adding new sections to itself until it had become a vertable captulu of industry. It was master of the situation and felicitated with itself that it had the only possible key to the situation.

"Watch me create a revival of business." Thea he dug around until the Man was nearly framite from pain and proceeded to Feed the Worm.

"Aren't we great?" said the worm to itself, the regulated individualist, solitary worm with the motto, "E Pluribus Unum."

"We keep the man alive. We always furnish him 'an incentive to hustle and gorge, and take only our proper share for accelerating his industry. We believe in giving the laborer his share of the food he produces."

But the Man was getting Tired. He said: "Get out!" The Individualist Tapeworm.

"Wh-what?" asked the Worm, indig-nantly.
"That's what I said." returned the Man, with decision. "That's on my bellot."
"But how will you live without me? If I am gone, what will give you an the centive to labor?"
"I won't argue with you now." returned the Man. "Get out?"
The Worm got. The Man still lives, and is gaining in flesh and comfort.

biasyleanous complaint against present in stitutions."

It happened that a frisky Calf had over heard the monologue, and now made reply to it, saying:

"Your masters do not give you tame grass and shelter for your good, but for fheir profit. The wild cartte of other days gave all their milk to their own Calves, but you give most of it to your Masters. They lived their lives to a natural end, but you are fattened, so that you may become Ment for your Masters. If you have con to eat in the winter, it is because you and other Slaves help to raise that corn, and of that which you consume make more food for the masters who keep you fenced in corrais. You are not five as you once were, and you are fait in the Masters provide for anything more than you once then you once were, and you are fait in the Masters provide for anything more than you once then you once then you once then you once the Masters provide for anything more than you once then you once the Masters provide for anything more than you once the Masters provide for anything more than you once the Masters provide for anything more than you once then you once the previded for Yourselves, if, indeed, they do as much."

EUROPEAN NOTES

Convention of the national committee was about equally divided, the proposition having about exception of her excention of her proposition. It has a sure thing that the excention of her days and vice as they please, which they should do.

New York divided on the

BY NICHOLAS KLEIN.

INCE 1904 the total Socialist vote of Paris has increased over 10,000. This sounds like defeat? European Socialist organs predict that Debs will poll a million and a

The Socialist press of Europe have taken up the cry of naming our (?) Taft "Inpurious Hill." It is popular and fits well.

The Socialists of Little Beigium have 
stablished a new record in the late election. In 1994 they poiled 237,174 voics, 
and in 1998 it is 274,168.

and in 1908 it is 274.163,
English Socialist papers have printed he report that labor in America is ready o go in for political action. Only "rouly"—but not yet going—was also added.

Not only did the Social Democrats of termany elect seven members of the Prusian lendary, but they go to a second election in five more districts with a good hance

The convention of Socialists in Belgium has decided to oppose the annexation of the Congo Free State. It was decided that any colonal policy was unsocialistic and propaganda will be organized to first imperialism, both in the chamber and with the public.

In Karisruhe, Germany, city elections, despite the fact that the voters were divided into three classes according to their payment of takes, the Socialism.

mentis.

M. Tschalkovsky, the "Father of the Russian revolution," after being imprisoned

R. DOOLEY has been forecasting the democratic platform to be adopted at Denver, and concludes R will contain planks something like these:

tional raysources. (Ding dong.)
We favor th' reperitative and influ-

"But that will make the Worm so prosperous it will interally consume me." complained the Man.

Meantime the Worm was getting hungry. The worm is a capacity. It was constantly adding he are the situation and felicitated with itself that it had the only possible key to the situation.

Watch me create a revival of business. The he dog around until the Man was marrie from puln and proceeded to Feed the Worm.

Aren't we great? "said the worm to itself, the regulated individualist, solitary worm with the motio," E Puribus Chum. The heard of her produces."

Aren't we great? "said the worm to itself, the regulated individualist, solitary worm with the motio," E Puribus Chum. The heard in heard in the heard of heard in the Man was getting Tired. He said "Get out?"

"Wh-what?" asked the Worm longing and the was getting Tired. He said "Get out."

"Wh-what?" asked the Worm longing and its gaming in flesh and comfort.

The worm good. "The Man still lives, and is gaming in flesh and comfort.

The worm good and moralized as follows:

"Surely no age has seen such advancement, as this, and our condition is so much better than was that of our ancestors in the barbarie past; I have heard of other days when cattle had to warder over great and say and our condition is so much better than was that of our ancestors in the barbarie past; I have heard of other days when cattle had to warder over great and say when cattle had to warder over great and say when cattle had to warder over great and say when cattle had to warder over great and say when cattle had to warder over great family and our condition is so much better than was that of our ancestors in the barbarie past; I have heard of other days when cattle had to warder over great family and the cattle had to warder over great family and the cattle had to warder over great family and the cattle had to warder over great family and the cattle had to warder over great family and the cattle had to warder over great family of the profile had to warder over great family and the cattle ha

# Was it a Den of Thieves?

A suggestive comment on the republican convention was the posting of the following warning in the hall by a Chicago detective agency:

Don't wear watch fobs. Fasten your watch to be.
Fasten your watch to the lining of our pocket with a safety pin.
Leave you valuables with the hotel lerk; then watch the clerk.
Always give the buffet clerk the exact.

ange.

If you let anyone carry your grip to be hotel, have it insured. If an effusive stranger greets you, give him only one hand to shake; if you gave him both you would be easy picking for his confederate.

'It has rained every day since the re-

publican "Sunshine Society" was organ-ized to shine away the gloom.

Has the king come? What is the

The day after the republican party celared in favor of tariff revision the rice of protected stocks rose several

If ending competition by trust methods is good for these on the inside, then ending competition for all by means of a co-operative commonwealth would be good for all.

methods is good for these on the insile, then ending competition for all
by means of a co-operative common
wealth would be good for all.

Dear Comrade:—The beautiful Debs
fob chain received, please accept my
heartiest thanks. The fob should be
worn by millions, and I will certainly
do my best to advertise it and help
sales, as it cannot feil to interest anyone who sees it in our "Gene."—Wishing you every success, I remain fraternally yours, W. B. Killingheck, State
Soey, of New Jersey.

Debs Watch Folss 25 cents cach, \$15
per 190.

DESCRIPTION.

DESCRIPTION

one Heads 6x5, ruled
ond Letter Heads 8'sx11, unrailed
ond Letter Heads 8'sx11, ruled
only better Heads 8'sx11, unrailed
olored Bond Letter Heads 8'sx11, unrailed
olored Bond Letter Heads 8'sx11, unrailed
olored Bond Letter Heads 8'sx11, ruled
nite Wove Letter Heads 8'sx11, ruled
nite Government No. 6, 8'xx11, ruled two sides
for Record No. 6, 8'xx11, ruled two sides
for Record Corner 8, 8'x11, ruled two sides

# FORECAST OF THE DEMO-CRATIC PLATFORM

We favor the conservation iv our na-

enza, an' will gladly yodel th' same f'r annybody who has niver been in Switz-erland, where it is practised whin th'

government is not makin' cheese.

We favor th' income tax an' incomes suitable to support th' same in proper

we believe in a rural free delivery. Ivery farmer shud have his bills on the first iv the month.

On the subject iv government owner-

On th' subject iv government owner-ship iv railroads we have our ideas, but owin' to th' fact that a dilligate from Mississippi is now pointing a gun at th' chairman iv the committy on resolu-tions, we will not state thim. On th' currency question we have an impression that we have said enough. Anyone who wishes to know our opin-ions on this momentous question can con-

ions on this momentous question can look thim up in the files iv th' papers iv

twelve years ago.

We are in favor iv a navy sthrong E enough to defend our sencoasts an' E spread terror to the hearts iv our inimies, but we deplore an' denounce th' or policy that is rapidly making this peaceful people take is proper place among th' gr-reat military nations iv th' wur-

th' gr-reat military nations iv th' wurruld.

An' finally, we denounce an' deplore
all th' siv'ral policies iv th' administration now dhrawin' to a close. Under
this rejeem poverty has increased ontil
it is now beyond th' dhreams iv averice;
the laborer is no longer worthy iv his
hire, or wasn't until a little while ago;
fortunes have become swollen ontil they
bust; th' courts are no longer th' refuge
iv th' poor and opprissed, but what they
were intended to be.

We hold that no nation can live that
is not founded on equal privileges for
nome. We have had th' spectacle iv th'
country undher th' imperyous rule iv a
man who, not contint with not inforcin'
anny iv his own party's loathsome policies, has saddled th' nation with most iv
ours, so that th' ordherly processes iv
legislation has been thwarted, and most
iv our sinntors and ripresentatives in
'un
concress don't know what the' livel to

# PARTY NOTES.

The Socialist foral of Bay City. Wis., will hold a pincule on the beach near the river July Fourth. An invitation and welcome is extended to all.

All the comrades in Broome county, New York, are requested to communicate with John F. Wardell. of Binghampton, for the purpose of organizing every city and town in the county.

The Socialists of Ritchie county, W Va., will hold their county convention at Harrisville. Thursday, July 9, at 1 o'clork p. risville. Thursday, July 9, at 1 o'clork p.

in. All comrades of Bichle county are requested to be present.

The Montgomery county (Ark.) Socialist convention will be held at Mimora. July 10, for the perpose of nonlinating a full county ticket. L. L. Wilhite is chairman of the county central committee.

The Socialists of St. Louis county Mowill give a pichle on July Fourth at Modern Woodness Grove, between Brantwood and Windom. W. L. Garver, of Chillicothe, candidate for governor, and Col. H. M. Rogers, of Washington, D. C., will speak.

speak.

The Socialists of Ashtabula county, Ohio will hold a basket picnic nominating convention at East Lake Park, on Connecticut Ashtabula electric line, near Kingsville July Pourth. There will be a speaker annusement, and prizes given to wimers of contests.

will speak at the following places in Missouri: July 6, deflerson City; 7, Se-dalia; 8, Warrensburg: 9, Windsor, 10-11, Urich; 12, Independence; 13-14, Rich-

mond; 15, Chilleothe.

The Socialists of St. Louis county, Missouri, will get together on the Fourth and have a pirnic at Modern Woodmen's grove, between Brentwood and Windom, W. L. Garver, Socialist camiliate for governor, will speak and everybody is invited to come and celebrate the "glorious Fourth" in a Socialist fashior,

# arrange for either outdoor or indoor meetings should communicate with him Address 1212 Harrison Building, Colum

THE AGITATION LEAGUE. On hand last report ......\$292.50 Collected since last report ...... 31.40

### THE BUNDLE BRIGADE. State. No. | Name. State.

You will never be your own master until you own your job.

You will never quit dividing up so long as you have capitalists in charge of industry.

The revolutionary war gave political freedom to the middle class. The civil war gave political freedom to the negro. Socialism will give economic freedom to

Socialism doesn't propose to "give" you anything except opportunity. But if you had necess to the means of life so you could employ yourself just as you wanted and then could retain your full social product you could entitle your full social product you could retain your full social product you could get sleep your well. product, you could get along very well, couldn't you?

In view of the "late" panie libere is In view of the "late" panie there is something deeply significant in the statement of Daniel Guggenheim, president of the American Smelting and Refining Co., to the effect that the company has just cut the salaries of employes to the amount of \$750,000, and at the same time increased the efficiency of the labor employed from 60 to 80 per cent.

employed from 60 to 80 per cent.

It was the development of the machine, making slave labor unprofitable, that led to the slaves' emancipation. It was the further development of the machine, making it impossible for the worker to own the tools with which he labored, that made him dependent on others for a job. It is the development of social order, the most necessary of all machines, that will break the power of the individual "captains of industry" and lead to the newer freedom.

Socialism is not a program of some

Socialism is not a program of something we intend to do. It is not a scheme to divide up, or to equalize, or to "make" people rich. It is merely a proposition to organize society in such a way as to give all equal opportunity and access to the means from which wealth is preduced, and then to let each individual work out his own salvation and let the people manage industry to was that stationery printed by "Milwood and let the people manage industry to "Comrade Landrum, of Milwood and let the people manage industry to "Comrade Landrum, of Milwood and let the people manage industry to "Comrade Landrum, of Milwood "Comra and let' the people manage industry to suit themselves.

The development of commerce and industry has made us social beings. You may sen individual are affected by the presperity of your neighbor. More than that, the failure of the rise or coffectop, though on the other side of the world, has a vital interest for you. We are becoming more and more closely related socially all over the world. Therefore the demand is for a just social relationship. Socialism is not coming lecause it is a more theory or agitation, but because it is a growth founded on human need.

A demandation of the rise or coffee with their charms of the commerce of the world.

human need.

In claiming credit for the wonderful advance made in material things in America in the past forty years, the republican party neglected to mention a few points of development made under republicanism, such as 110 per cent increase in crime, 100 per cent increase in pauperism, 200 per cent increase in child labor, 80 per cent increase in child labor, 80 per cent increase in sinsanity, 90 per cent increase in suicide, 99 per cent increase in acidenta, and a stupendous increase in discontent, besides something like 500 per cent increase in Socialism. Some day the republican party will get all that is committed to the content of the c

# ARMY NOTES.

Circulation of Appeal to Reason by States

Total.

Texas ..... 19599 Michigan Minnesota New York ... Alabama Utah New Mexico Arizona" Maine Virginia Maryland Connecticut Wyoming . Mississippi Nevada 858 733 682 646 614 321 219 313958

Loss for week ..... 933

CANADIAN RATES. We find after investigation that the

Expirations for week ending June

Socialism will give economic freedom to all mankind.

Sherman is the man to whom Roosevelt wrote the letter in which he called the officials of the Western Federation "undersirable citizens." You see he will make an ideal republican candidate.

The capitalist is, first of all, a man. He is by nature no more grinding or oppressive than the laborer is. It is the industrial anarchy under which we labor that makes him the tyrant that he is.

The newer and truer freedom will not be one of independence, but one based on interdependence and perfect order. In these days, when industry is diversified and commerce world-wide, we are all dependent on each other, not in a slavish sense, but in a social sense.

Socialism doesn't propose to "give"

Socialism doesn't propose to "give"

Socialism doesn't propose to "give"

W. T. Aydelott Tennessee

George F. Partridge, North Dakots

F. A. Green, Texas.

W. P. Gifford, Idaho.

of Longview, Texas.

—A block of ten comes in by fast freight from Comrade Allen, of Cuyler, N. Y.

street. Chicago.

--Get busy on July Fourth and start comething by planting a jew Appeals in your community.

--To the Appeal Army: Let every one of you go out on the Fourth and get four subs for the Appeal.

# "GOD KNOWS."

BY A. M. KINNEY.

The Shades of graft were falling fast As through the city streets there passed A hoated form, who shouted loud While bursting through the vulgar crowd, "God Khows!"

"God knows I love your ragged coat God knows I need your konest votes." God knows I long to wear the crown That Teddy wears: a "hand-me-down" God Knows!"

A hungry man removed his hat And asked this one so strangely fat, How he could earn his humble keep. Back came the answer in a shriek, "God Knows!"

A labor union interviewed
This "sausage" with the question rude.
"Will your injunctions cause you pain?"
In ghastly tones he shricked again.
"God Kr'ws!" The questions now fell thick and hare Upou the "Buster's" bosom part: To one and all he made reply. By droeling o'er this parrot's cry. "God Knows!"

Finally he passed from eight. Into the "Jungle's" fading light: But still came back this freuzient "Ask God, you fools! He knows, God Knows!"

An early winter's cruel blast O'ertook this fatted form at last; But from beneath a mentiala high Of votes, arose this plaintive cry, "God Knowa" ("It snows")

Here is another result of republican individualism. T. J. O'Brien, a carpenter of good habits living with his family in Salt Lake, after being without work six months on account of the "late" panio, became such a prey to melancholy that he took his own life.

Perhaps they call it the "late" punid because it is so late in taking its departure. VALUE, PRICE

BY KARL MARX

The Marxian theory of surplus value ex-plained in simple, direct, forcible style by Marx himself. Until lately this book has been

to obtain in the United States. We have just issued a handsome edition in large type, in cloth, library style, at 50 cents and in paper at 10 cents. In press are new editions of "The Socialists," by John Spargo, and "Socialism: Utopian Scientific," by Engles, a, the same Our stockholders buy 50c books at 50c postpaid and 10c books at 6c postpaid. Vhen they pay expressage they get a dis-

It costs ten dellars to be a stockholder; you can pay it in ten monthly installments if you prefer, and can begin buying books at a discount as soon as you have made

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY 155 KINZLE STREET, CHICAGO.











# HOW IT GROWS!

Third week in June, 1906 ---- 215,235 Third week in June, 1907 ---- 296,579 Third week in June, 1908 313,958

The article on our first page will show the Army the need of still greater efforts to keep up the circulation in spite of new counteracting influences. To destroy the effectiveness of the Appeal propaganda it is only necessary to destroy the circulation. That is the vital point. It is the very heart of the Appeal organism. The enemy know it. Appeal organism. The enemy know it. For years they have been trying to deliver the blow that would stop its pul-

I have many times felt the need of the support of the entire Appeal Army. But never so much as now. The advice comes to me from Washington that the postoffice order was issued mainly on account of the Appeal. I have no reason not it. In the light of all that has recently happened it is self-evident.

Now, comrades of the Appeal Army, and friends and sympathizers, I want you to join in a supreme effort to resist this last attack. We have overcome all the others and we will this. We must make the effort superhuman if need be As my faith in the triumph of the Socialist movement is absolute, so is my faith in the Appeal. As long as it loy-

ally champions the cause it will move forward along its destined lines and no artifice of the enemy can more than temporarily check it.

temporarily check it.

It is serving in God's eternal cause of righteousness and neither the corruption of mammon nor the gates of hell can prevail against it.

I want your answer to the postmaster general's order to be a list of subs. That is the way to meet this issue. A fresh impetus to the movement is what this last stroke of the enemy should prove. You need have no fear that the paper will not be delivered. I will guarantee that. It does not matter how many It does not matter he that. It does not matter now many copies are necessary, or what the ex-pense, the paper will be delivered. The Appeal has the second-class priv-ilege and pays its postage, and the sub-scribers have the lawful right to receive

or paper, and I will see to it had they or receive it. For every copy destroyed will furnish another; if need be, a more will be shipped by express or eight, and if the extremest should follow, we will turn ourselves into individual and pressure in every hamlet villaging. tal mail carriers in every hamlet, vil-lage, town and city of every state and territory in America.

The campaign is just now opening.
The gravest issues are upon us. The

Appeal never was so necessary to the movement. I feel it in every pulsation of my being. greater the necessity the stronger

we need be.

This is the hour for titanic fibre.

It is a giant cause and néeds giants to herve it.

Let me appeal to you to take enough of your time when this reaches you to add a-name or two to the list and send

it in at once.

The thermometer is fluctuating with a downward tendency and has got to be checked and sent again on its upward

Suppose the capitalists of the United States, alarmed at the agitation and demands of labor, should declare their independence! It is what the slave-holders of the order that preceded it did, and you know the result then. The new order came into power, just the same. But if the capitalists were to resent the "tyr-support of labor" and issue a declaration of anny of labor" and issue a declaration of independence, the situation would not be so grave as it was in 1860. If they were to take their "capital" and leave the country with it—why, we could well afford to let them go. The land, the mines, the wind laboration of the land, the land laboration of the land, the land laboration of the land, the laboration of laborati natural resources, would all remain. labor could take up work in its own behalf, employing itself just as labor has always employed itself when having access to nature, and within five years have cess to nature, and within five years have better machinery of production than we now have. Even if the capitalists should, by virtue of their title deeds, lock up now have. Even if the capitalists should, by virtue of their title deeds, lock up every mill and factory in the country, if the people understood themselves the embarrassment would be only temporary, and the withdrawal of the capitalists would mean no more than the freeing of the people, just as the withdrawal of the slave-holders to Europe in 1860 would, have meant the freeing of the slaves.

by becoming laborers themselves. With-oul the capitalists, the workers would have the full product of their labor.

The Wall Street Journal estimates the loss to the workers in the United States in the past three months on account of enforced idleness amounts to an aggregate of \$875,000,000. This means that the workers will have but little to contribute to

# BY ORDER OF TAFT.

Last week an additional color at the Mare Island Navy Yard in gard to activity in politics by government employes. The order reads:

"Laborers and mechanics at the yard of station under your command will be subject to discharge for political activity in it same manner as competitive classified et playes. You will post copies of this ord playes, You will post copies of this order is the yard to get the playes. You will post copies of this order was accommendated to the player of the player.

And this in the face of the fact that Taft and thousands of other public officials are drawing a salary and expens while they are stumping the country to get office! The work people are suppose to be only work animals who have no business in politics. They bear the same relation to politics that chattel slaves bore. Millions of public money is now being squandered by the officials in po litical activity-but the fellows at the bottom who do all the work-they must not meddle with politics! They are not men-they are only mechanics and laborers! And this as a republic! Gee! but the laborers and mechanics are easy!

### Slavery and the Declaration.

It is a mistake to suppose that the inconsistency of issuing a declaration of independence while holding chattel slaves was not considered by the men who promulgated that immortal document.

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating the most sacred right of life and liberty in the perered right of life and morely in ever of sons of a distant people who never of fended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere them into slavery in another death in the or to incur a miserable death in the transportation thither. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain the exe-crable commerce."

When the declaration came up for con sideration, there was too strong a contingent of slave-holders to permit the adoption of these paragraphs. Their pression of slavery. Indeed, the only defenders of these two planks seem to have been Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. There is this day no doubt but the charges contained in them were true, but they were omitted from the declaration.

### The Wyoming War.

The American people were united po litically after the war for independence but they were not united in sympathy or economic interests. Indeed, the population consisted of little more than suc-cession of colonists, drawn from all or economic interests. Indeed, the population at once.

The thermometer is fluctuating with a downward tendency and has got to be checked and sent again on its upward movement.

When Danton, in the French revolution, was on his way to the guillotine and thought of the wife he loved a tremor swept over him. It was but for a moment. "No weakness now, Danton" is the exclaimed decisively as he set his fixed and determined features against his fate. He was the heroic figure of the revolution.

"No weakness now," comrades! The shadow of the crisis is upon us and every Appeal soldier must prove himself a veteran.

Forward, comrades, all along the battle line!

If Capitalists Were Independent.

Suppose the capitalists of the United States, alarmed at the agitation and demands of labor, should declare their independence! It is what the slave-holders of the order that preceded it did, and or economic interests. Indeed, the population consisted of little more than succession of colonists, drawn from all parts of the world and having little in common. There was little sympathy because of Massachusetts, between the Quakers of Massachusetts, between the Wyoning valley, in Pennsylvania they were suspicioned rather than welcomed. This was made all the more apparant lecause of a company of Pennsylvania land speculators who desired the very food visited the Wyoming valley, for themselves. When, therefore, a heavy flood visited the Wyoming valley, for themselves. When, therefore, a heavy flood visited the Wyoming valley, for themselves. When, therefore, a heavy flood visited the Wyoming valley for themselves. When, therefore, a heavy flood visited the Wyoming valley, device the very flood visited the Wyoming valley for themselves. When, therefore, a heavy flood visited the Wyoming valley for the wild the very flood visited the wyoming valley for the metallo of the very flood visited

valled on the remayirant assembly to send soldiers to the valley to "restore order." The fact that there was no disorder did not disturb them, for Jusdisorder did not disturb them, for our tice Patterson, the man put in command of the soldiers, understood very well what was expected of him. He tore down fences from the grain fields of the "Pennymites," fenced up their roads, forbade them to hunt or fish, for roads, forbade them to hunt or fish, for roads, forbade them to hunt or fish, or use water from their own wells. The soldiers boached on the lands of the settlers, killed their poaltry, and prod-ded the men with bayonets—not very When they protested, the commande wrote to the president of the council "If any dangerous or seditious comm tion should arise, I hope it will not tion should arise, I hope it will not be construed into a want of zeal or love for the commonwealth if we should through dire necessity, be obliged to do some things not strictly consonent to the letter of the law."

ists would mean no more than the freeing of the people, just as the withdrawal
of the share-holders to Europe in 1860
would have meant the freeing of the
shares.

On the other hand, if the laborers were
to declare their independence of the capitalists, they could get along without
them. The capitalists have no part in
industry today save to absorb profits
from it, because the actual work and
the management, as well as the selling
of the goods, are now all done by employes. Without the workers, the only
way the capitalists could live would be
by becoming laborers themselves. Withoul the capitalists. sheriff found Patterson and his soldiers intrenched, ready to resist all interference, and he retired defeated. Some of the settlers did remain and sought to gather their crops, but the soldiers fired on them, and a real war followed.

the loss to the workers in the United States in the past three months on account of enforced idleness amounts to an aggregate of \$875,000,000. This means that the workers will have but little to contribute to campaign funds, and is an effective blow at Socialism. The plutocrats, on the other hand, have been able to buy at panic prices, and the asset currency steal has enabled them to sell stocks to the banks while the banks still had the currency as security to their depositors. As a result, the plutocrats have not been crippled in the least. They will be able to put up the biggest campaign funds ever contributed to the old parties, and will do it, in spite of all that is said against contributions by the trusts. The moral is that the littles the workers can spare are of the utmost importance to the movement now.

The man who doesn't work his min-is the man who is worked by others.

Jefferson represented the idea of lib-erty in 1776, and Debs the enlarged idea in 1908,

What the republican platform meant to say probably, was that the trend of Socialism is toward true democracy.

With Bryan and Ryan on the demo cratic ass, it's very plain that it would strain it to uphold the mass.

It is not pyrotechnics that count, bu e new fourth must stand for liberty to work for oneself and get the full

The old declaration of independence was good in its day, but we need a new declaration of independence, not from King George, but from King Capital.

Neither shooting off fireworks or shoot ing off the mouth is patriotism, but working and voting to give everybody justice and an equal chance is more to the point.

A republican paper suggests as a remedy for grafting that "society" should ostracise the grafter. The trouble with this remedy is that there would be no "society" if there were no It is well to look backward to achievements of our forefathers in the interest of human liberty and advance-

ment, but we dishonor them when we do not look forward to greater liberty and fight their battles, on advanced Thomas Jefferson, though himself a slave-holder, inserted these paragraphs in his first draft of the instrument:

"He has waged cruel war against hu-

cast nearly a third of the total vote and in the German election they gained ground they had never held before. While thrilling with the thought

The embattled farmers of Concord stood And fired the shot heard 'round the world we should not forget that the silent force of the ballot which they put into our hands may accomplish results that the bullet could never do.

Women have become such a factor in the revolution that the czar of Russia has just promulgated an edict bridding the admission of women to all univer-sities in the empire. The czar has a correct appreciation of one fact, and that is that when people become truly educated and enlightened they are likely to become Socialists.

Not all men are created equal. They cannot be made equal. They who charge that Socialism wants to reduce them to such a "dead level" as that are simply misinformed relative to Socialism. Bu all men have equal right to the means by which life is maintained and fed. Socialism demands this equal opportun-ity, an equality which every thinking man knows does not exist today.

The muck rake has been put aside. There are more horrible examples of capitalist misrule than there ever were, now that so many hundreds of thousands are out of employment, but nothing is said of the destitution and suffering by capitalist papers. There is a strange conspiracy of silence by both democratic and republican papers. Why do you suppose it is?

The packers claim to utilize all the hog but the squeal, but it remains for modern capitalism to utilize the remains of slaughtered men commercially. A of staughtered men commercially. A recent consignment from China to New York consisted of a ton of hair, which had been shorn from the heads of Chinese criminals who had been put to death, made into "rats" for the use of women in America. The shipment was said to be worth \$5,000 commercially.

By associating together into read districts men are enabled to have better and more orderly roads than they could have if each built his own road. By associating together men have in the public school a better and cheaper edu-cational means than they could have is each individual looked after the instruceach individual looked after the ins-tion of his own children in an ind-dent way. Thus does social organia help toward individual comfort. V Socialism comes, the really great Socialism comes, the really great indi-vidual will be possible, and not till Strange Little Stories From History

Unknown Poists About the Declaration

T 18 generally supposed that the declaration of independence was signed and proclaimed on July ith. As a mafter of fact, it was merely passed on that date. It was signed by the president and secretary of the congress on July 5th, and the Philadelphia papers printed on the 5th were silent as to the declaration, knowing nothing about it. It was first read in public on July 8th, at the state house yard, by John Nixon. On the 9th it was read in New York, and George Washington first heard it. It did not reach Virginia to be read in public there until July 25th; South Carolina until August 5th, or Georgia until August 2d, 1776, by the members who favored its adoption.

It is very doubtful if the story of the ringing of liberty bell is based on truth. Not all the members of the congress were favorable to the declaration. Joseph Alsop of New York, Dickinson, Willing and Humphreys of Pennsylvania, all voted against the declaration. If it had not been for the vote of John Morton, who turned the tide, Pennsylvania would have east her vote against the measure. Several who did not vote Unknown Points About the Declaration

Morton, who turned the tide, Pennsylvania would have east her vote against the measure. Several who did not vote for the measure on July 4th, some having been elected after that time and some absent on duty or sick, signed the declaration on August 2d, among them Thornton of New Hampshire, Chase of Maryland, Carroll of Carrollton, and Read of Delaware, who was opposed to the measure of July 4th, but afterward favored it.

avored it. Rush, Clymer, Smith and Ross, all of aration was passed, to succeed those who opposed it, and these signed the document. Henry Wisner of New York roted in favor of the declaration, but voted in favor of the deciaration, bit, his term expiring before Angust 2d, he did not sign the instrument which has become historical. These points are gathered from the "Handbook of Amer-ican Political History" by Malcomb

Socialism strands for the newer lib erty of this age, and yet it is only are extension of the same idea for which our forefathers suffered and denied hemselves in 1776. They were work themselves in 1776. They were work-ing for the principle of political de-mocracy as against the idea of political individualism or imperialism; we are asking for individual democracy as against industrial individualism or imperialism. They were despised and abused in the old days, and we are suffering only what they suffered be-fore us. They won, and the very stars are fighting in their courses, now, to inauguarate the new day of industrial

e good meaning, charitable sort of peo-le, for many of the tories were emi-ently respectable and well to do. The demand then was for revolutionists, for political freedom. It is not enough now for men to be conventionally good and highly respectable. Nothing counts in the new crisis but that insight into condi-tions which impels men and women to work for the overthrow of the capitalis

Why do you want any man to give you work? Are you a beggar? Do you call this free America when you are dependent on another for a job? De-clare your independence and own your

Possibly you can get along under this present hap-hazard order, but you owe it to the weak to give them an opportunity

Socialism is not going to "do" any thing for you except to give you full opportunity to do something for your-self.

How can you be free so long as you have a boss? How can you be independent so long as you must hunt a job?

Socialism is not so much a theory t der to translate into life. The old party platforms, read between

the lines, mean merely, worst is yet to come."

The anarchy of individualism never end until social order is motion by Socialism.

Some men make money. Others get it. The way some people get around an other is to run over him. The worker does not love his chain even if he is attatched to them.

.The Sunshine society of the prospe ity association is mostly moonshine.

The common people will never have private property until Socialism comes.

The slum, the army, the battleship ent witnesses against pro

Men are ever ready to help others into liberty, but never ready

History repeats itself just as often as it is practicable to work the old game again on the people.

The flag stands for unon and a social organization. Republicanism in declaring for individualism has rejected the flag. The rich hire the poor to do their

drudgery, but the poor get even by hir-ing the rich and their tools to do the thinking for them. Ninety-eight of each hundred who Ninety-agnt or each nundred who che gage in business make a failure of it. That is republican individualism for you, that is equal opportunity under this order.

There is an old saying to the effect that none but the hundreth man suc-ceeds. That is republican individualism. The 90 had better look out a little for

The head of that other Bill chib Wil liam Jennings Bryan, says the Chicago clatform means that the republican party is in full retreat. No wonder, the Socialist party is after it.

There is no such thing as equality opportunity now. A youth born poor has not the university open to him, for one thing, like the rich boy has. Equal opportunity can come only under a wise ocial organization.

It took forty years for the spirit of 76 to cross the waters and stir France to a desire for liberty, but the spirit of Socialism has within fifty years become world-wide and the strongest movement that ever stirred the world.

An old adminstrator told the writer that it was his observation that ninety out of every hundred men die intestate, or having no estate to leave their families. That is a practical result of republican individualism and "equality of opportunity."

On July 4, 1776, the revolutionary fathers declared their independence of political individualism. On July 4, 1908, the descendents of these revolutionists, equally as revolutionary, are demand-ing freedom from industrial individual-ism.

Workers will be glad to know that th republican anti-trust, anti-injunction platform meets the hearty approval of nt Morgan. He says. "It is d." However, he neglects to good, good." However, he neglects explain whether he means it is a go joke, or just goody good.

July 4, 1776, was the day on whi great social impulse and a consuming desire for a political democracy. July 4, 1908, sees the people arousing to a new and higher social conscience and a consuming passion for political democracy.

As proof that the republican party really favors a square deal, it is se-ported by the asociated press that four-teen millionaires, whose fortunes aggre-gate \$500,000,000, attended the republican convention in Chicago, from Pitts-burg alone. It was strictly a class gathering, yet the president declares consciousnes is a hateful thing.

Professor Charles Bushnell of Wash Professor Charles Bushnell of Washington, D. C., in a recent lecture said: "In the principal countries of Europe the Socialists have now set the main issue for every political party, and it appears to be only a question of time, and not a very distant time, when they will do so in America." The action of the lets recentlies. the late republican convention has made it apparant that Socialism is now set-ting the pace in America.

# PARALLEL AND CONTRAST

WO STORIES of politics are just drawing to a close. They both concern a governor. Both involve as actors leading republicans of the nation. Both dramas were put on the boards at nearly the same time. Both involve a struggle for power. Yet there are points of contrast as well as of likeness. One drama is cast in the there are points of contrast as well as of likeness. One drama is cast in the east, the other in the west. One involves a fight among capitalists, the other a war on labor. In one the republicans employed the very tactics which in the other they denounced. One was settled by jury trial and acquittal, the other by executive elemency.

First of these is the murder of Gov-ernor Goebel of Kentucky. This man, a democrat, was elected governor of Kentucky after a bitter contest in which either side made charge of fraud and corruption against the other. While in Frankfort for the purpose of being in-augurated, Goebel was shot from am-bush and killed. Howard and Powers were arrested for the crime, and pre-sented pardons signed by Governor Tay-lor and issued before the crime had been committed! They were tried and sent to the penitentiary. Taylor vindicted and fled to Indiana, where indicted and fled to Indiana, where he was shielded by the republican governor from extradition. The expense of the defending the men accused of the murder of Governor Goebel was borne by leading republicans all over the country, the present president of the United States contributing his share, and affirming the innocence of the accused even after their conviction. After the kidnaping of the intended victims of kidnaping of the intended victims of the conspiracy in Colorado, Fred D. War-ren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, offered a reward for the kidnaping of Ex-Governor Taylor and his delivery to the authorities in Kentucky, where he was under indictment for murder he was under indictment for murder. For this act, Warren was indicted in the federal court in Kansas for sending "scurrifous and defamatory matter through the mails." Then another governor was elected in Kentcky, and be issued a pardon to Howard and Powers the men who had been convicted in the courts. It is presumed the indictment of Taylor was quashed. The indictment of Warren still holds, and has been complicated by the removal of charge against Taylor. In other words, the re against Taylor. In other words, the republican conspiracy, proven in the courts, has been settled by pardon, and all that remains is an indictment against a Socialist editor for merely referring to the case in such a way as to set the whole country to talking.

During the same time that During the same time that this tragic

comedy was running in Kentucky, the Steunenburg case and the labor war was on in Colorado. Readers of the Appeal are familiar with that. How the labor are familiar with that. How the labor fight for an eight hour day was won at the polls and then the case lost by action of the legislature. How the mine operators sought to destroy the Western Federation of Miners. The atrocities committed by the soldiery when farmed out to the mine owners. The mysterious assassination of Ex-Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho. The arrest of the officials of the Western Federation, their kidnaping and incarceration in the penitentiary without trial. How the protest of the Appeal army and of union labor secured for them a hearing. How the president of the United States denounced them as undesirable citizens before they came to trial. The present republican president of the United States denounced them as undesirable citizens before they came to trial. The present republican candidate for president made speeches in behalf of the man who declared that the Federation officials should never leave Colorado alive. How these men were brought to trial one by one, their guilt being declared by a capitalists press all over the United States, and how they were cleared when their cases were heard. press all over the Cinted States, and how they were cleared when their cases were heard. How they were still de-nounced as guilty, and how the evidence that was presented showing the mur-der of Governor Steunenberg was due to a conspiracy of the mine owners in an effort to break up the union, has been ignored. The closing acts of this been ignored. The closing a sow on drama of republican tyranny is now on the board. Steve Adams is on trial now, the last of the Federation men charged. with the crime. After he is cleared (and cleared he must be because he is in-nocent of the crime), all that will remain until the curtain is rung down is the trial of the editor of the Appeal for calling attention to the similarity of the two cases.

In future days these two cases involving political corruption, conspiracy and murder on the part of the capital-ist press, will be staged in all their gory borror to enable redeemed men to anhorror to enable redeemed men to ap- same territory. The vote was 237,17 preciate the corrupt terror of the capi in 1904, as against 274,163 for the elec-

# The Clergy and Slavery.

People who wonder at the position of the church relative to the crimes of capitalism should understand that many churchmen in the early history of America were equally loyal to the institution of slavery. Jonathan Edwards, the apos tle of Calvanism in New England, left at his death a boy slave as part of his estate. Whitfield, the great Methodist orator and revivalist, who lived in Georgia helped to evade the law made by Oglethorpe for the prohibition of slavery in that colony, by renting slaves, and finally became owner of over seventy negroes. In 1751, just twenty-five years before the declaration of independence was adopted, Whitfield wrote a letter in which he used the following words:

which he used the following words:

As for the lawfulness of keeping slaves I have no doubt. Plain hot countries cannot be cultivated without negroes. What a flourishing country Georgia might have been had the use of them been permitted years ago!

Though it is true they are brought in a wrong way from their own country, and it is a trade not to be approved of yet, as it will be carried on whether we will or not. I should think myself highly favored if I could purchase a good number of them in order to make their lives comfortable, and lay a foundation for breeding up their posterity in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. I had no hand in bringing them into Geogia, though my judgment was for it... It rejoiced my soul to bear that one of my poor negroes in Carolina was made a brother in Christ.

From the New York Evening Call.

No more interesting and informing Socialist propagands is being printed than appears in the "Question Box" of the Appeal to Reason, written by Frank M. Eastwood. Some of the most recent of this material has been gathered into a new "Question Box" pamphlet, which will be welcomed by all who are familiar with the former numbers of the series. This compilation contains no labored discretions concerning the more obvious pf the perplexities which beset the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the progress of the investigator of Socialism. This indicates the pro

The reason so many people are in want is because they vote for what they don't want.

# When the Band Plays

On the morning of the nation's natal day, across the continent from Atlantic to Pacific, cannon will boom, flags will be broken to the breeze, bands will play and orators will arise to dilate upon the glories of individualism and warn the populace against the encroachments of Socialism.

If you will observe the village band as it comes marching down the street and note the sounds produced by the sovnote the sounds produced by the several performers, you will here and there mark an individual who, without regard for its effect, labors with all his lung to blow the bell off his horn and make a noise that resembles the bleating of a lost sheep or the trumpetings of a Kentucky jack. Nearly every amateur band is blessed with one or more of these hard blowers who wants to do it all himself and impress the awe-stricken public with the conviction that he is the whole thing. that he is the whole thing.

Don't turn in disgust from the dis-cord, for you are listening to the musi-cal expression of individualism. He is blowing the Socialism out of the music even as the old-party barnstormer will try to blow Socialism off the earth when he arises after the reading of the Declaration of Independence.

Don't denounce all the players because they permit an individual to thus de-stroy the effect of their united effort. It may be that there are others who It may be that there are others who would make as much noise and as little music if they could raise the wind. The discord in such music, like the discord in society is there because the performers, in greater or less number, are trying, with varying success, to make a noise instead of trying to make harmony. But in all the hubbub there are no doubt those who willingly play their, parts properly, and do so without sacrificing any essential part of their freedom. They are actuated by the spirit of music and are therefore willing to be the proper parts of a perfect whole even the proper parts of a perfect whole even at the sacrifice of individual prominence.

But not all amateur bandsmen are wind jammers. You may hear strains but not all amateur bandening are wind jammers. You may hear strains form and organization whose members have so disciplined themselves that the music blends and wells from their brass broated instruments like the whispered throated instruments like the whispered harmony of a chorus or the peals of a great organ. When you have that, you are listening to the musical expression of Socialism—harmony from piano to forte, the power and personality of the individual blending in real music.

In the capitalist system each blowhis own horn and blows it as hard as he can, thereby asserting his egoism and blataut individualism. In this day and age the man who can make the most noise is esteemed the greatest among men. No matter how much delicate
melody he may drown beneath the strident tootings of his personality he fills
all the earth and the welkin above with
fuss and fury which is capitalist music.
Do not think for an instant that So-

cialism offers no place for him of the strong lung. He will have his times and his places according to social harmony. He will even have an opportunity to write part of the music and play it with an anvil chorus or as a solo; but he will be transformed from play it with an anvil chorus or as a solo; but he will be transformed from a fighter into a co-operator, from an exploiter into a producer, from an indi-vidualist anarchist into a Socialist; all in accord with those principles which weave time, melody and harmony into that mageal thing called music.

# Too Much Prosperity.

The people of this country can well af-ford to leave the business of conducting its affairs to the republican party, which, if it has erred at all, has errer in giving the people too much prosperity.—Trenton, N. J. Gazette.

This is the kind of dope which the This is the kind of dope which the republican papers are getting ready to hand out to the empty-dinner-pail brigade. You fellows have been having too much prosperity. This practical business administration, which has run the country into debt to the tune of one bundred million dollars, asks you to vote the republican ticket on the ground that you have had too much prosperity and that you need a little relaxation from the strenuous times of the past! And the you seed a little relaxation from the strenuous times of the past! And the joke of it all is that many of you parti-san-blind dupes will accept this state-ment and vote 'er straight. You de-serve what is in store for you during the next four years!

# Spread of the Red

The final figures from the recent Bel-gian election show that the Socialist vote had increased more strongly than the returns at first indicated for the

For a long time Hetty Green was supposed to be the richest woman in America, but it is now disputed. Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Jones, of New York, lays claim to that distinction. This lady is suid to own property in every state and every big city in the union. Her fortune dates from the seventeenth century, and the foundation thereof was laid by open piracy. The lady is to be congratulated. While her fortune began haid by open piracy. The lady is congratulated. While her fortune in robbery, it was at least open robbery, and the pirate took chances in his game of held-up. It is more than can be said of many fortunes and the way they were

How about your inslienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?" Do you enjoy this right, and if not, why?

# AN ADMIRABLE PAMPHLET

from the New York Evening Call.

The New Question Box, containing also the new national platform adopted by the Socialist convention at Chicago, supplied postpaid by the Appeal to Reason look denortment at \$5 a hundred, \$1 a dozen, Sample copies, 10 cents.

# A NEW DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

W HEN in the course of human control of capital is the reverse, im thus prejudicing their case in advance of events it becomes necessary for posing the will of the ruling class of trial those who labor to break the which hold them in subjection to another class, and to assume among the inhabitants of earth the station to which their labors entitle them, a proper regard for all the earth-born who have mon interest in the welfare of the race makes it proper that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation from King Capital.

We hold these facts to be self-evident: that all wealth is the product of labor; that all wealth belongs to the producer thereof; that failure on the part of the producer to possess and enjoy the values created by his head and hand is evideuce that he has been robbed either legally or illegally; and that if such obbery is practiced with the sanction of the courts and the law, then it beomes the duty as well as the privilege of those so oppressed to unite in a classconscious party to capture political power and to so alter or abolish such egal institutions and establish others in their place as to guarantee life and the means of sustaining it. liberty to live as well as to starve, and the pursuit of happiness with the possibility of overtaking

We maintain that the function of government is to perform such service years of imprisonment destructive of and provide such means of production their health. He has bribed the press in a collective way as the people are by ownership and by advertising patron-unable to do individually, and that in so age to poison the minds of the people doing government becomes more an administrator of things and less a dictator to persons. But government under the nounce them as undesirable citizens,

property owners upon the proletariat and allowing the wealthy to administer the things which the poor must use in order to exist.

The history of capital is a history of accumulating incongruities and evolving disintegration. That history is now reaching the climax of social revolution when real democracy must rule or the mpossible institutions of the present collapse of their own inherent weakness. As evidence of the maladministration of capital we submit the following

King Capital has so dominated the excutive, judicial and representative branches of government as to exercise them wholly in his own behalf and to the further degradation and enslavement of the propertyless. He has declared it legal and prop

for a corporation to boycott a labo union and deny its members employment, but has declared it a punishable offcuse for a labor union to boycott a corporation. He has kidnaped Socialist working

men and hurried from from one state into another, denying them even the process of his own courts until after against his victims, and has preupon his bureaucratic creatures to de-

He has caused the police of the cities to drive workingmen from the streets

tioned the propriety of his acts. He employs large numbers of official and private mercenaries to incite do mestic insurrection and bring upon inoffensive workingmen striking for larger portion of their earnings the merciless Pinkerton savages whose known

rule of warfare is to do anything they

are paid for.

whose only offence was that they ques-

He has appointed a newspaper cen ship through federal patronage so effec tive as to constantly menace all publishers who refuse to do his bidding or who dare expose his methods to public

He has refused his assent to laws th most wholesome and necessary for the public good, and has persistently de-nied to laborers the value of the wealth by them produced.

He has allied himself with grafters and boodlers and with them made con mon cause against honest labor. We, therefore, the workingmen

workingwomen of the United States, on this fourth day of July, one hundred and thirty-two years from the date on which our forefathers declared their independence of King George, do declare our independence of King Capital, and serve notice on the world of our in-tention to hereafter vote for ourselves by voting for inen and measures repre-sentative of working-class interests.