Number of subscribers Oct. 12th 301,063
Number of new subs for week ending Oct. 19th 5,332
Number expiring for week ending Oct. 19th 6,395
Loss for week 1,063

Total number of subs for week ending Oct. 19th - - 300,060

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

Appeal to Reason.

This Is Number 622

J. A. WAYLAND

Fred D. Warren
Managing Editor.

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second class mail matter.

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., Nov. 2 1907

LOOK at the yellow address label, and note the number following name. If it is your subscription expires with the next number. You should renew at least three weeks before your subscription expires so that you will not miss any numbers. **No. 623**

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 FIGHT WILL BE CONTINUED.

The APPEAL has received a hint through a friendly local politician that if we will let up in our exposure of Roosevelt that the cases in the federal court against us will be dropped. I don't know whether this suggestion comes direct or not. And I don't care. The APPEAL will print whatever it thinks ought to be printed. If Roosevelt's double-dealing is shown up, why, he'll get blistered. That's all. The APPEAL has just started in this fight. I can promise our readers that there will be no abatement in our policy. We have nothing to retract—nothing to take back. We've printed the truth and we challenge the whole republican party, singly or collectively, to point out a single error in our statements of fact.

When we said that Roosevelt assisted Harriman to nab $62,000,000 we produced documentary evidence to substantiate that statement.

When we said, months ago, that the Roosevelt administration was using the public funds to assist the Wall street gamblers, we stated then what everybody now knows.

When we stated that the frenzied financiers had put up worthless railroad stock as security for government funds we knew what we were talking about. The public will know this, too, in a few months.

When the APPEAL said Roosevelt was a "mountebank" a year ago we said what most people recognize to be true today. Webster defines a mountebank as "a boastful pretender." If this doesn't fit Roosevelt, in heaven's name what word in the dictionary does? Roosevelt "pretends" to bust the trusts. Name one that has been injured to the tune of a single dollar?

He pretended to hold up Harriman to scorn and chastisement, and what do we find? Find that he helped Harriman "loot" the Chicago and Alton stockholders and accepted his personal aid in the framing of his messages and accepted stolen booty as a part of his campaign fund.

Now, I don't care a tinker's damn about Roosevelt. The APPEAL is attacking him because he is the typical representative of the trust interests of this nation. He typifies to a greater degree than any other man living today the capitalist regime. He is more dangerous than Harriman, because Harriman is sufficiently honest to stand out frankly as a capitalist and a looter of railroads and a shrewd political manipulator. Roosevelt is all of these, while pretending to be a "friend of the people." He goes to his capitalist friends and tells them they must be "good" and permit him to publicly spank 'em or the people will get "next" to the game and Socialism will sweep the country.

What he would do would be for the purpose of allaying dissatisfaction and not for the purpose of remedying the evils of which he so loudly complains.

No, no, the APPEAL will continue its course—nor be swerved one iota from our plans of making the next campaign the hottest one ever witnessed in this country. We will force the discussion of industrial and economic questions to the exclusion of the chaff that has been dished up as "paramount issues" during the past fifty years.

ATTORNEY GENERAL YOUNG, of Minnesota, has been fined by United States Judge Lochren for attempting to make the railroads obey the state law on rates, and as the attorney general refused to pay the fine for performing a duty for which he was elected, he was remanded to jail until an habeas corpus action could be taken. Legally he is now in jail for refusing to obey the order of this man who has been appointed for life to a position of judge to protect the corporations in their lawless career of crime and extortion. You see the matter is not in the law, but in the *man* who enforces the law. A Socialist judge has convictions that would have forced him to fine and imprison the railroad officials for not obeying the law, but the federal judge has convictions that force him to fine the attorney general for trying to make them obey the law. You know when Lincoln was accused of trying to override the constitution in the anti-slavery agitation, he denied the charge, but said that as *men* had interpreted the constitution to uphold slavery, he simply wanted to fill the supreme bench with *men who would decide the other way*. I would care nothing for the character of the laws if you would let me enforce them. I could do as I liked and be constitutional and legal. This act of the federal judge will hasten the downfall of the corporations and their control of the courts. The more such actions the better it will please all Socialists. It hastens the day of Industrial Deliverance.

THE attorney general of the United States steps into the arena and proposes to put the APPEAL gang behind the bars and stamp out this seditious sheet. We welcome this successor to Mr. Madden in the very laudable attempt to suppress the irrepressible APPEAL.

SOCIALISM declares for the repeal of every law that in any way discriminates against women. No other organization on earth offers so much for women.

TRIAL OF PETTIBONE POSTPONED

Clarence Darrow Is in Better Health And Will Conduct Defence.

Special Telegram to Appeal to Reason.

Rathdrum, Idaho, Oct. 26.—Clarence S. Darrow is yet in San Francisco, and is expected to return next week. The trial of Steve Adams began here yesterday, and the trial of George Pettibone has been continued until November 18, at Boise.—Chas. S. Moyer.

SOCIALISM is industrial democracy. The present order is an industrial monarchy. Do you favor popular rule?

THE president may have killed a bear, after others cornered it, but he has certainly failed to kill an octopus, up to present writing.

ALL "scurrilous, defamatory and threatening" matter in the APPEAL must hereafter appear on the inside pages. See particulars in another column.

WHAT would you give for a good, long vacation, without the worry over how you could get along afterward? All it will cost you is a vote for Socialism.

"TROUBLE trees will not blossom," say the negroes. No, but they bear thorns, with which Labor's brow is still pressed, in spite of the rhetoric of Col. Bryan.

How long do you think it will be before you secure a competence under the wages system? Has it done so much for you that you should wish to perpetuate it?

THE rank and file of the republican party today are more radical than the populists of long ago. They are being forced nearer and nearer the Socialist ideal.

"LAWS are silent before arms," says an old English proverb. If this is true, it follows that those who want a big army and navy are trying to silence the law, and are, therefore, anarchists.

IF THE present efforts should lead to commercial ballooning, it will result in the collectively owned air becoming subject to rules and there will be a new thing in the world to exploit—the air.

A GERMAN storekeeper gives as a reason for the increase in the price of foodstuffs that he is now operating under the "poor" food law. That is the correct spelling, under capitalism.

IF ROCKEFELLER'S logic is true, they ought to have laborers and employers in the heaven about which he is so interested, and by the time you get there you may find everything cornered and the price of living away beyond reach. Ask your preacher if this is not so.

ACCORDING to the republican *Globe-Democrat*, there has been a shrinkage in stocks in the past two months of over three and a half billion dollars. But this does not indicate a panic—oh, no. You jaspers in the west are lousy with money and "business" cannot stop till it gets it all!

MARX not only made the strongest long argument for Socialism in existence, but he also made the strongest short one. There can be nothing that touches the point so closely as this: "Workers of all lands, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

EMPEROR WILLIAM, of Germany, is said to be going into business extensively, in his realm. He doubtless figures that he can steal more under the rules of modern business than he could as a war lord knocking people in the head and grabbing their land, after the manner of his forefathers.

SOCIETY has paid for every railroad in the United States through land grants and subsidies, but the nation does not own them. The work people do all the work of production, even to the management of the big industries, but they do not reap the profits from them. We live, not for ourselves, but for our masters.

IT IS less than four years since Folk made his reputation by exposing graft in St. Louis, and now it is being proven that grafting in the municipal assembly is worse than ever. Grafting goes with the system, and it is folly to expect to end it through prosecution. The only way to end it is to end the profit system.

DID you ever hear of a remark like this: "You shall not crucify labor on this cross of gold. You shall not press upon its brow this crown of thorns!" Well, the skin game still goes on, and Mr. Bryan, the author of the words, has side-stepped and given the despoiler full access to the worker. What's it to him? Isn't he "fixed" now?

NOT only are the emperor of Russia and the king of England in business in America collecting revenue from you enemies of lordships, but Princes Rockefeller, Harriman et al., of this democratic land, are going into partnership with King Leopold, of Belgium, for the purpose of exploiting Africa. State and plutocracy are becoming so mixed you can't tell t'other from which.

SIX years ago Mr. Madden started in briskly to "put the APPEAL out of business." At that time the circulation of the APPEAL, per week, including extra copies, was less than 100,000. Today it has over 300,000 subscribers and its average edition, per week, has exceeded 458,000 since the first of the year. The little old APPEAL is today stronger, more vigorous, more lusty than ever before. Madden is down and out!

AND now Rockefeller wants to establish a benevolent trust to manage almsgiving. The captains of industry have stolen so much they are unable to give it away as fast as it comes in, and the people have been so persistently and constantly robbed that it will require a well-organized trust to give away enough to keep them from starvation, and even then there is no hope that it will be wholly done. What a commentary on the insanity of our industrial life!

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to graudally extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead. It is pretended that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective and the precipitancy of my measures. The charge is not true. On this question my influence—humble as it is—is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously, but beneficially—not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right.—William Lloyd Garrison.

WHEN the trust magnates testify on oath that they do not visit their offices and know nothing about how things are run there, why should they not be believed? The point about it is not that they are so shrewd as to lie, but that hired hands, mere unknown clerks, do all the work of managing and running the trust, and the so-called captains of industry are not captains at all. They are merely highwaymen who take what others make. They should be kicked out, and the unknown workers who do all the labor and managing of industry should get their full product.

WHEN a poor man is fined he pays it or goes to jail; when a rich man is fined twenty-nine millions he neither pays it nor goes to jail. And yet all are equal before the law! Under Socialism there will be neither poor nor rich; there will be none with such great holdings that they can corrupt the courts or law-making bodies. Corruption in every case comes by reason of some being rich enough to vitiate the officials. Rich men by very reason of their riches are criminals, or, at least, public enemies.

IN VIEW of the republican assertion that the farmers are rich, it is interesting to note that in the past twenty years the farm valuation of New York state has decreased $168,000,000, and that farm abandonment throughout the eastern and middle states and even as far west as Ohio is becoming so common as to call for an investigation by the government. The trouble about republican claims is that republicans are continually proving them to be made out of whole cloth.

THERE are millions of shallow-pated chumps who would jump at a $50-a-month job who would spurn to work for $2 a day. The former is called a salary and is considered semi-respectable, while the latter is only a wage—and people hate to think of themselves as only laborers working for wages. Will wage workers ever wake up and demand the whole of the values they produce?

CHINESE of the western coast charge that their brethren are kept in actual slavery in great numbers by the white people of the west. At a recent convention they took measures to call the attention of the government to the matter. Between peonage in the south, Chinese slavery in the west and white slavery in the big cities, the profit system is indeed making itself obnoxious.

THE Standard Oil and other good combines are still doing business at the old stands and making just as big profits as ever. And yet it is reported that the Ruler has said he would protect the people. Sure, the people are dead easy to skin. Not a combine has been touched.

IN A speech at Manila, Secretary Taft remarked that he expected to visit the Philippine islands within two years in the capacity of a private citizen. He must be expecting the election of a Socialist president in 1908.

TEDDY says he will not let up on the bad corporations—and he has his secretary to the treasury keep pouring millions of public money into the robbers' nest of Wall street! Yes, Teddy is a very consistent chap.

AS THE captains of industry have nothing to do with industry except to absorb its product, as appears by their own sworn testimony, why should they not be retired on a salary of nothing, the amount they earn?

WOULDN'T it be nice to live in a land where you could feel that not one person in the whole country was hungry, or homeless or cold? You can, if you wil' help bring the Socialist republic.

IF HALF the papers say about the rascality of the rich is true, why should the people respect their own property in the hands of thieves and robbers enough to keep silent about it?

"ALL that is human," says Gibbon, "must retrograde if it does not advance." Socialism is that element of humanity which is advancing.

IN THE words of the latest slang, many teachers of economics "should take a sneeze, because their brains are dusty."

WHY should those who do the world's work be poor and they who do nothing but work others be fabulously rich?

AS NO man can do a million dollars' worth of labor in a lifetime, how did the millionaires get their wealth?

IF PRICES keep on soaring it will soon take a $10 bill to get a 15-cent dinner.

ATTORNEY GENERAL BONAPARTE vs. APPEAL

Roosevelt's Attorney General Personally Orders Criminal Proceedings Against the Appeal.

Stung into Frenzy by its Scathing Indictments the Washington Administration is Thoroughly Aroused. Another Attempt to Suppress the Appeal, this time Through the Federal Courts.

Attorney General Bonaparte has instructed the United States district attorney for the state of Kansas to proceed against the APPEAL TO REASON on the charge of mailing "scurrilous, defamatory and threatening" literature through the United States mails.

The APPEAL is advised by Inspector Chance that the order to proceed against the paper was received direct from Washington after the cases had been closed by District Attorney Bone, of Topeka, because in his opinion there was no ground for action.

The objectionable articles appeared in our issues of January 5th and January 12th, and are reproduced on the second page of this issue.

Now, don't jump at the conclusion that we are getting reckless and inviting the attack of the administration by reprinting these articles again! The fact is, as explained by the postoffice inspector, the publication of these articles on the second page is not a violation of law. *But, and mark this carefully, the appearance of these articles on the front or exposed cover of the APPEAL constitutes a violation of section 498.*

Mr. Bonaparte has decided that the exposed front page of the APPEAL is its "cover" and that should any matter of a "scurrilous, threatening or defamatory" character appear on that particular space, it subjects the APPEAL to a fine of $5,000 and the imprisonment of its editor for not more than five years at hard labor!

Last May an indictment was returned against the APPEAL by the district federal court for the alleged dissemination of "scurrilous, defamatory and threatening" matter. Upon this indictment Warren was arrested, placed under bail and his trial set for next November.

With this case, the express penalty of which is a fine of five thousand dollars and five years' imprisonment at hard labor, hanging over the APPEAL, we ventured to feel ourselves immune from further attack from the same source and for the same offense—but alas! The APPEAL seems to have sinned grievously in exposing the capitalist administration now in power and grievously must the APPEAL be made to atone for it. This time the proceeding is directed, not by a district federal court, but by the administration at Washington in the person of Attorney General Bonaparte.

Like a flash of lightning from a clear sky came the announcement of the case of the administration versus the APPEAL TO REASON. No hint or intimation of his mission preceded the official visit of Postoffice Inspector Chance, accompanied by Postmaster Wasser, of Girard, to the APPEAL office, where on Monday of last week, he spent several hours explaining the law and the nature of the charge lodged against the APPEAL by the department of justice.

Inspector Chance, acting under authority from the United States attorney general, was seeking information upon which to secure another indictment of the APPEAL staff before the federal grand jury soon to convene in Ft. Scott, Kansas, for the alleged violation of an obscure law, brought to light, it would appear, for the special benefit of the "vile Socialist sheet" which has so perturbed the whole administrative power of our capitalist government.

This will be the second indictment and will be prosecuted under the immediate direction of Attorney General Bonaparte and may include the entire staff. It is said that other indictments are in abeyance and will follow in regular order until the APPEAL is finally overwhelmed with fines and prison sentences and forced to close down its plant and retire from the field.

That is the covert design of the Roosevelt administration, and there is no use to close our eyes to this obvious fact. The only honorable thing to do is to buckle on our armor and fight, and this the APPEAL has resolved to do without an instant's swerving or hesitation; and if the fortunes of war decree that the APPEAL shall go down it will be only when the last ditch is reached and its resources are exhausted; and it will make its final stand fighting for industrial freedom and go down with its colors flying.

In the first case brought against the APPEAL, now pending, and for which WARREN is to be tried some time this month, the charge was the circulation of "defamatory, scurrilous and threatening" matter based upon an article which appeared in the APPEAL January 12th, entitled "$1,000 Reward," and which is reproduced in another column.

In the case now being prepared and in which another indictment is to be fastened on the APPEAL the charge is substantially the same, but it is based upon another article, written by Debs, and entitled "Show Your Hand," which appeared January 5th. This article will also be found in full in another column.

So eager is the administration to throttle the APPEAL that it goes back to January 5th, almost a year, to resurrect an article as a basis of prosecution which was written in the heat of the kidnaping conflict and which contains such severity of characterization of the president as will inflame, it is hoped, the prejudices of his friends and justify the most rigorous prosecution of the offender.

The law under which these prosecutions are brought is known as section 498 of the federal statutes and printed in an adjoining column.

This section, it was explained by Inspector Chance, is to be so construed (for the benefit of the APPEAL!) as to hold that the outside page of a paper constitutes its cover and that if any matter described in section 498 appears thereon, the publisher is guilty within the meaning of the law and liable to fine and imprisonment.

To show that it is only the APPEAL the authorities are seeking to convict, and not the ends of justice they are interested in promoting, we cite a parallel case in every essential particular except that the defendant, in this instance, was a capitalist (republican) editor.

The law under which the attorney general of the United States is seeking to indict the APPEAL does not apply when the offending publication is republican in politics. This may seem like an unwarranted statement, but we have the documentary evidence to prove it.

Dr. T. B. Larrabee, the plaintiff in the case referred to, is one of the leading physicians of Iowa. His home is in Anita. He is secretary of the Iowa Osteopathic association. The editor of the *Anita Tribune*, Sherman F. Meyers, in his issue of September 27, 1906, attacked the doctor viciously, charging him with being a "hold-up man," "hypocrite," a "robber of widows and orphans," a "social skunk," and other choice epithets of a derogatory character, the article covering the entire first page.

The man thus attacked sent a copy of the *Anita Tribune* to P. M. Gen. Cortelyou, accompanied by the following letter:

Anita, Ia., Jan. 25, 1907.

Hon. George B. Cortelyou, P. M. Gen'l., Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir—I herewith enclose a copy of the *Anita Tribune* of September 27, 1906, bearing upon the first and outside page a defamatory, scurrilous and libelous article under the heading, "Was It a Hold-Up!" The paper was received through the postoffice without any wrapper whatsover by the party whose name appears at the top of the paper. Since the date of September 27, 1906, other articles of similar character have appeared in other issues of the same paper, and have passed through the mails in same manner.

The paper in question is entered at the postoffice without wrapper and folded twice, just as this copy comes to you.

In view of such sections of the postal laws and regulations as Sec. 498 and sections of similar character, I desire an opinion from you as to whether such articles of a libelous, defamatory and scurrilous character are admissible to the United States mails.

I enclose postage and would be pleased if you would return the paper to me when you are through with it.

Hoping to receive an opinion ere long, I remain, respectfully yours, Dr. T. B. Larrabee.

The correspondence and paper from Dr. Larrabee were received by the first assistant postmaster general and turned over to the chief inspector on January 30th.

After waiting a month the doctor again wrote to the department asking what disposition had been made of the case. He was informed that it had been referred to another inspector, who in turn passed it to a district attorney, who decided the case in the manner set forth in the following communication:

Washington, D. C., April 13, 1907.

Dr. T. B. Larrabee, Anita, Ia.:

Sir—Relative to your complaint of the publishing of a scurrilous article in the *Anita Tribune*, Anita, Ia., which was made the basis of an investigation under the above case number:

You are informed that this matter was submitted to the United States attorney for the proper district, *who states that the mailing of the paper containing the article in question was not in violation of the federal statutes.* The case has therefore been closed on the records of the department, as the decision of the United States attorney determines the action of inspectors in such matters.—Respectfully, W. J. Vickery, Chief Postoffice Inspector.

There the matter rests to this day. There was no obliging attorney general to nose out an obscure and musty postal law under which the republican editor could be indicted for sending "scurrilous, defamatory and threatening" literature through the mails! Oh, no!

Mr. Meyers, the editor, is a politician who wears the Roosevelt badge. He is postmaster at Anita and is, therefore, immune from prosecution.

But how is it with the APPEAL? Quite the reverse. Notwithstanding the district attorney decided that there was no valid basis for an indictment when the case against the APPEAL was presented to him, the attorney general at Washington issued an order directing him to "re-open the case" and secure evidence that would insure conviction.

This is the point of supreme importance in this federal prosecution. It is not the local or district officials within whose jurisdiction the alleged offenses have been committed, and whose duty it is to proceed against the guilty parties, if any there be, who are conducting this prosecution.

It is Roosevelt's attorney general who is at the helm, and this means that it is an administration measure and that it will have the full support of the federal power at Washington.

When the first indictment was brought against the APPEAL in May last we ventured the opinion that the federal administration at Washington was back of it. What was then suspected is now known beyond doubt.

When the complaint in the first case against the APPEAL was brought to the attention of the United States district attorney for Kansas he pronounced it absurd and declared that there was not the slightest legal ground for an indictment. Inspector Chance accordingly closed the case and so reported to his official superiors at Washington.

But it was not a "closed incident," as it would have been in other cases. It was the Socialist APPEAL in this instance and not the republican *Tribune*—and there's a world of difference in capitalism, where all "stand equal before the law."

Orders were promptly dispatched from Washington to Kansas to "re-open" the case and prosecute it to the limit. This accounts for Inspector Chance's recent official call upon the APPEAL. He elicited all possible information, gathered all available evidence and then departed in further execution of his orders, pending which the APPEAL will await its fate with becoming Socialist fortitude.

During the searching inquiry conducted by Inspector Chance at the APPEAL office some information was elicited that confirmed certain suspicions we have long entertained. There is not the least doubt that a plan is under way to set the ponderous federal machinery in operation to "put the APPEAL out of business."

"It is not to be denied," remarked Mr. Chance, "that a good many postoffice inspectors are seeking to make a case against the APPEAL that will put it 'down and out.'"

What more is required? This is a mere hint, but it is enough. The inspector who makes a case that will put the APPEAL "down and out" will not want for a juicy official plum the rest of his life.

Inspector Chance formerly covered the district embracing the states of Wyoming, Utah and Montana, and was so zealous in his efforts to harass the APPEAL that he was transferred to this district so he might be near the seat of war and better enabled to successfully push the fight for fame and for a fat office under the Big Chief at Washington.

It must be admitted in all candor that personally Chance is a decent fellow and acts squarely. There is no complaint upon that score. Since being located in this district and coming into personal contact with the APPEAL he has modified his former extreme opinions, but, nevertheless, he is in the service of the United States government and doing his best to faithfully execute the orders received from Washington.

District Attorney Bone, of Topeka, and his assistant, Judge West, who first decided that there was no cause for indictment of the APPEAL, after a consultation with other leading (republican) lawyers, decided that, pursuant to the orders received from Washington, the only course left to them was to proceed against the APPEAL and place its editor behind the bars and so involve the paper with fines and legal expense as to force its suspension as a Socialist publication;

(Continued on Second Page.)

From the Federal Statutes.

"Sec. 498. All matter otherwise mailable by law, upon the envelope or outside cover or wrapper of which, or any postal card upon which, any delineations, epithets, terms, or language of an indecent, lewd, lascivious, obscene, *libelous, scurrilous, defamatory or threatening character*, or calculated by the terms or manner or style of display and obviously intended to reflect injuriously upon the character or conduct of another may be written or printed, or otherwise impressed or apparent, are hereby declared non-mailable matter, and shall not be conveyed in the mails, nor delivered from any postoffice nor by any letter carrier, and shall be withdrawn from the mails under such regulations as the postmaster general shall prescribe; and any person who shall knowingly deposit, or cause to be deposited, for mailing or delivery, anything declared by this section to be non-mailable matter, and any person who shall knowingly take the same or cause the same to be taken from the mails, for the purpose of circulating or disposing of, or of aiding in the circulation or disposition of the same, shall, for each and every offense, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than five thousand dollars, or imprisoned at hard labor not more than five years, or both, at the discretion of the court."

(This article appeared on the first page in our issue of Jan. 12th. It is for printing this that Attorney General Bonaparte expects to secure a grand jury indictment of the editor of the Appeal.)

SHOW YOUR HAND.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

THE supreme court decision in the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case marks a historic epoch and makes this the most important issue before the nation.

This decision constitutes the blackest chapter in the annals of that tribunal. It not only LEGALIZES KIDNAPING, but means that the workingman has no right the capitalist is bound to respect.

We shall see!

The working class of the nation must, shall, and will again be aroused. The former demonstrations were tame compared to those which this infamous decision will now convoke from sea to sea.

The working class must save these men.

The president of the United States, the miserable mountebank, has shown his hand, pronouncing our comrades guilty without a trial, and sending his fat Man Friday to Idaho to pave the way for the execution of his sentence.

We pronounce our comrades innocent and we shall now proceed to show our hand, and before they get through with their program of kidnaping and murder they will wish they had never begun it. In an early issue of the Appeal I shall have more to say upon this subject. Meantime it is suggested that a series of meetings be promptly arranged for by all labor and Socialist organizations, culminating in a monster international demonstration to be held on the anniversary of the outrage upon our comrades. In this connection it is suggested that all labor and Socialist papers issue a special edition, to be known as the KIDNAPING ANNIVERSARY EDITION, with which to flood the land and make known to every man, woman and child this hideous crime against the working class, pointing out in red letters the precise politicians, beginning with the president, who are responsible for it.

WASHINGTON STIRRED BY APPEAL TO REASON SCOOP

Documentary Evidence Connecting President Roosevelt With the Alton Water-Stock Deal Causes Official Sensation.

Telegram to Chicago Daily Socialist.

Washington, Oct. 21.—Members of congress and other officials and newspaper men here say the Appeal to Reason, the Socialist weekly published at Girard, Kan., has accomplished the notable "scoop" of the season.

The "official" family is sitting up and taking notice, and many of the members are wondering what President Roosevelt will do when he returns to Washington and learns of the great story, exposing his actions, published by the western weekly.

That he will lambast "dangerous publications that strive to arraign class against class" in his next message or public address is certain. That he may try to have the paper excluded from the mails is predicted.

The story tells how Roosevelt, when governor of New York, signed a special "emergency" bill making the millions of watered Alton bonds legal savings bank investments and practically making possible the greatest stock jobbing deal ever worked by the frenzied financiers.

What makes the story good is the documentary evidence connecting Roosevelt with the Alton deal, which has been exposed by the Interstate Commerce commission and condemned as practically theft.

For instance, the deal included the issuing of bonds on an Alton extension which did not exist.

These "watered bonds" had to be sold, so E. H. Harriman, then the friend and associate of Governor Roosevelt, had an "emergency bill" passed making the worthless bonds security for the savings of real widows and orphans who had trusted their savings to New York banks.

That Roosevelt was ignorant of the significance of the deal is not believed by those who know his tendency to go into every state question that comes to him for action.

At the time he signed the bill Harriman was his friend, his financial backer in political moves, and about that time took Theodore Jr., on a hunting trip in a special car.

After Roosevelt became president, Harriman made a trip to Japan and brought Miss Alice Roosevelt home, crossing the continent in record-breaking time and attracting the attention of the world. At that time President Roosevelt was willing to trust his daughter to one of the "undesirable citizens."

The Appeal points out that Roosevelt turned against Harriman to hide his own connection with crooked deals which accidentally became known to the public.

Officials here have learned that about 400,000 copies of the story have been circulated and that the editor of the weekly has requested his readers to post the story in public places. That this will be done by thousands is said to be true.

Orders for extra copies of the paper containing the story have been sent to Girard, for all want to read of the deal.

Already copies of the story have been posted here, but are immediately taken down by friends of the president.

BONAPARTE VS. THE APPEAL, ETC.

(Continued From First Page.)

and the APPEAL, it must be admitted, is already beginning to feel the pressure of the heavy tribute which this federal litigation has levied upon it.

The attention of our readers is specially called to the two articles which form the basis of the attack upon the APPEAL. We have already explained why they cannot appear on the first page. It now remains for us to warn the editors of other Socialist papers that their outside pages are "cover" pages and that whatever appears on said pages is liable to be construed as "defamatory and threatening" and subject them to fine and imprisonment, provided only it is a plutocrat, or the tool of a plutocrat, who is "defamed and threatened."

If the front page is a cover, then the back page also is a cover, and as Socialist papers are supported by the working class and can afford but a four-page paper, that is to say, according to Attorney General Bonaparte, a front "cover" and back "cover," it follows that they are all "cover" and that anything they print and circulate may be seized upon as a pretext to confiscate their paper and put them behind the bars.

The capitalist government at Washington has begun with the APPEAL, but where will it end? If the APPEAL is guilty of criminally defaming capitalist exploiters, office-holders and politicians, so are others without number. It is not, therefore, the fight of the APPEAL alone. *Every Socialist paper in the nation is in the balance.*

If the APPEAL can be suppressed by the federal power of the capitalist government so can the rest. This is the fight of the Socialist press for the right to exist and the APPEAL does not doubt its contemporaries will accept the challenge and prepare to meet the attack.

Comrades, this is the boldest assault yet made upon the APPEAL by the capitalist administration. Its object is too obvious to admit of doubt. The APPEAL Army must be brought into immediate action. Each member must feel that an attack has been made upon his own person and that his own sacred right of free speech is in peril.

It is not now a question of Socialism, but of the right of a free press and free speech. Upon that issue the APPEAL accepts the gage of battle.

It was never readier than now to fight for its life and never readier to perish than surrender its principles.

INFLUENCES AGAINST US.

BY WARREN ATKINSON.

WE cannot make a successful political party out of devotees of the Co-operative Commonwealth. When we talk to the man on the street about the new system, it simply makes him tired. When he will listen we do not succeed in giving him a clear and positive understanding of what we mean by the new system, because the new system will have to evolve itself. It is evolving itself. To suggest the complete overthrow of the present order of things to replace it with our brand new system startles him with what he thinks a rash and extravagant proposal. "For complete collectivism is not an issue at this time, and we cannot make it an issue. It will become an issue, when, in the last round, we get the capitalist with his back against the wall. But not now, not now. It only confuses and bewilders the worker. And so he laughs at us, and so does the capitalist." Yet collectivism is the only conceivable way out. The workers must resort to it when they take the mastery from the capitalist class if they would hold their own. Just as our Declaration of Independence pointed the only way out in the war with the king and capitalists of England, though most of the colonists would have been horrified at the suggestion a few years before, so industrial democracy will be the only alternative form of organization for the workers when they revolt from this industrial feudalism. But, until that time comes it is easier to make the workers see their interest as wage-earners and to organize them politically against the capitalists than it is to persuade them to pin their faith and postpone their hopes to the coming of the Co-operative Commonwealth; and it is also more essential to the purpose.

The propertyless wage workers are those to whose interests we appeal most clearly. Very many of them cannot understand us without effort. This dullness of understanding is not the only cause of their poverty. But it is certain that, as a class, they are most ignorant and careless of those very interests to which we appeal. Most of these capable of understanding us are dominated by middle class morals and ideals. Those who study political and economic problems become interested in them generally because they have some investments. The most energetic and successful members of the wage-earning class hope themselves to become investors, too, so that their morals and ideals are generally the same. If the wage worker has a small investment, nine-tenths of his income may come to him in wages, so that his predominant interest as a wage worker would be nine times greater than his interest as a capitalist; and yet he is apt to think of himself as a capitalist. He does not consider that whatever his occupation, and, indeed, whatever the name under which he receives compensation for it, his compensation must be less because of cheap labor in other occupations. He is in fact something of both laborer and capitalist himself. To him the political parties appeal successfully that promise to serve at the same time the interests of laborers seeking better wages and the interests of capitalists who want to hire labor cheap. With the word capital in daily use, he does not determine just what is meant by it. To him government ownership not opposed to capitalism seems just the thing.

The farmers regard Socialism with abhorrence. They think it threatens their possession of the land they till. As long as there is much more land easily obtained than is demanded to make the farm products sold, the farmer's ownership of the land does not relieve him from the competition to sell his product. He is in a position like the wage worker trying to sell his labor. There is a chronic excess of it on the market. The price falls to the lowest limit fixed by his necessities. The miner, too, owns the tools he uses; but that does not secure him in the disposal of his product. No more does the farmer's ownership of his land give him command of his product. An industrial and commercial organization necessary to market the product holds them both at its mercy.

Trusts and combines, especially the railroad monopoly, levy a tribute subtracted from the price of everything the farmer ships, and again a tribute collected in the price of everything the farmer buys. But he works under the impression, because he has a title to a piece of land, that he is an independent property owner. He would smile to have it said that the cost of living determines his yearly income, just as it determines the yearly income of the wage workers in the city. In fact, his income is less. It is even harder to make a living on the farm than it is for the wage workers in the cities. The general movement from the country into the cities is the testimony of those best able to judge to this fact. In 1790 the towns of 8,000 population and over held only 33 percent of the people of this country. In 1900 they held 33.1 per cent. As a class the farmers will vote for government ownership, as that is not opposed to capitalism.

It is hopeless to appeal to the moral sensibilities of the "better classes" against the immorality inherent in capitalism. They hold some fantastic conceptions of individual morality and public duty that are as deeply sincere as they are absurdly distorted. The wrong and the disgrace of theft consists in the harm done those whose goods are taken without recompense, because they are put to some pains to replace them. The harm is the same, whatever the means by which goods are obtained without labor equal to their production. "The better classes" are not particularly interested in abstract right. The commonplace morality is quite good enough for them. The clergy, who say they are divinely ordained to teach us this commonplace morality, naturally resent the suggestion that there can be anything of morality to be learned which their teachings don't comprehend.

There is the man whose hopes are perpetually renewed of something to be gained by a change in the old party administrations. He is in a large but not formidable company. He grumbles much, but he will do nothing about it. His very presence is destructive of that cheering reflection that "you can't fool all of the people all of the time." He is all of the time in active defiance of it. His enthusiasm rises with the return of campaigns and is as regularly disappointed. This he is accustomed to accept as a matter of course. If he is intellectually equipped to understand, he can be pinned down to the admission that this is an evil business system, and that Socialism is the inevitable step in human progress. He is a Socialist, too, he says, but so great a change must be made slowly. It must be wrought by an industrial evolution, by the action of great economic forces. The old parties will adopt the good things in the Socialist platform, he says, as fast as the country gets ready for them. So he remains an apathetic spectator in this supreme struggle. What, indeed, will be the process of the industrial evolution? How can the great economic forces work but by impelling men to determined and decisive action. This is his excuse for shirking what he ought to do now from a sense of right. He awaits the action of great economic forces to compel him by the sting of physical hardship to do at an immeasurably greater cost in blood and anguish what he is urged to do now from considerations of reason and justice. Socialism is just as possible in the material conditions of the world today as it will be a thousand years hence; and this ordinary citizen is himself the obstacle insurmountable. It is a very different world we live in from what it was one hundred years ago; notwithstanding the generations gone have left us nothing but systems of thought, and some little knowledge of material laws. These manifest themselves in our social institutions and industrial processes. The things they have left us are interesting as relics, but they are not articles of value or great usefulness. They left the world of material things to us practically as they found it. The steam engine, the telephone, the modern co-operative organization of industry, were just as possible a thousand years ago as they are today, so far as the material world is concerned. The reason that the people of that day and generation did not make these inventions of human ingenuity was that they did not know how. So Socialism is just as possible today as it will be a thousand years hence; and the reason that we do not enjoy a better industrial order is that the people of this day and generation don't know how. Like the black savages of Africa, they don't know the way to their material welfare. And they are not half willing to learn, either. They do not face the truth squarely and decisively, but rather fear and hate it, perhaps from an old grudge they bear the truth; for the truth rules them with an iron hand, with an inexorable justice. The mediaeval baron and his stupid serf have been transformed into the citizens of this better present order. Pitiless forces worked the transformation, exterminating those that did not conform to the direction of progress. Forces sufficient for the approaching transformation must be equally overwhelming and pitiless, else they will be inadequate. Let us see if capitalist government ownership can withstand the surge of these forces.

(This article appeared on the first page in our issue of Jan. 5th. It is for printing this that Attorney General Bonaparte expects to secure a grand jury indictment of the editor of the Appeal.)

$1,000.00 REWARD!

The supreme court of the United States has held that kidnaping is a perfectly legal method of taking an accused man from one state to another. This decision was rendered in the now famous Moyer-Haywood case, in which the defendants were both Socialists and workingmen. Will the supreme court of the United States hold to this same opinion if the defendant is a republican and a capitalist?

To give the supreme court an opportunity to pass on a case of kidnaping a capitalist politician wanted on a charge of murder in a sister state, I will give $1,000.00 to the person or persons who capture ex-Governor Taylor, of Kentucky, who is now supposed to be in hiding in Indiana under the protection of the governor of that state, and return him, forcibly or otherwise, to the state authorities of Kentucky.

The Appeal has absolutely no interest in the Taylor-Goebel feud of Kentucky, but I want to put it up to the supreme court of the United States to decide a case of kidnaping where the victim is a republican politician and a personal friend of the president of the United States. It will be remembered that Taylor and Goebel were the republican and democratic candidates for governor of Kentucky. Taylor held the office and Goebel was a hot aspirant for the same. Goebel was assassinated; Taylor fled the state and a warrant was issued for his arrest. The governor of Indiana refused to recognize requisition papers, as did also the governor of Pennsylvania—both republicans.

The supreme court of the United States says in its recent decision: "Looking first at what was alleged to have occurred in Colorado touching the arrest of the petitioner and his deportation from that state, WE DO NOT PERCEIVE THAT ANYTHING DONE THERE, HOWEVER HASTILY OR INCONSIDERATELY DONE, CAN BE ADJUDGED TO BE IN VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OR LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES. EVEN IF IT BE TRUE THAT THE ARREST AND DEPORTATION OF PETTIBONE, MOYER AND HAYWOOD FROM COLORADO WAS BY FRAUD AND CONNIVANCE, TO WHICH THE GOVERNOR OF COLORADO WAS A PARTY, THIS DOES NOT MAKE OUT A CASE OF VIOLATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE APPELLANTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES."

In other words, any person, or persons, is at liberty to sandbag Taylor, carry him across the border and deliver him to the authorities of Kentucky, and it will be a perfectly legal procedure and upheld by the highest court of the land. It matters not how inconsiderately or hastily this action may be done, it will not be a violation of the constitutional rights of Taylor, capitalist and republican! The supreme court will back the kidnapers and protect them—provided it holds to its recent decision.

The only stipulation regarding the payment of the $1,000.00 reward is, that Taylor must be handed over to the Kentucky authorities and placed behind the bars before the trial of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners is begun.

LET US PUT IT UP TO THE CAPITALIST COURTS TO TREAT A CAPITALIST AS IT DOES A WORKINGMAN, AND MAKE THE CASE SO PROMINENT AND PUBLIC THAT IT WILL RIVET THE ATTENTION OF THE ENTIRE CIVILIZED WORLD.

EVOLUTION OF THE TRUST

John D. Rockefeller recently gave out an interview which shows that he has a fair appreciation of the industrial situation. No Socialist could state his philosophy on that phase of the subject better than Mr. Rockefeller expressed himself relative to the trust in these lines.

"We have come into a new economic era. In the future business is going to be carried on more and more by aggregations of capital. It can not be otherwise. The day of individual competition is past and gone. It is simply and solely a question of efficiency.

"The well-managed corporation, with ample capital, is economically superior to the individual. History does not move backward. We can no more return to the day of individual competition than we can to that of hand labor."

Following this, Mr. Rockefeller hit upon another truth in the following:

"We are all Socialists in a sense. I certainly am a Socialist in a sense. We understand that all men are bound together in vital relationships from which there is no escape. The interests of one are those of all."

He might have gone further and declared that everybody believes in the socialization of some things. Perhaps Mr. Rockefeller even believes in socialized, or public, roads and schools. So we have the principle of socialization endorsed on all sides and by all law. It is strange, in view of this fact, that Mr. Rockefeller, and so many others should have such crude conceptions of what socialization means when applied to industry. Sometimes one is tempted to believe that they do know, and make the assertions they do relative to it that they may so deceive, and the longer reap profits off, the people. Listen to this from Mr. Rockefeller:

"But the error of Socialism is that you can create by formal enactment what must be a natural development, and carry on through the agency of men selected by some political method what must be carried on by men selected by nature."

This idea is not held by Socialists, as Mr. Rockefeller might have found by reading even a primary work on Socialism. If the people are unable to select their heads with intelligence, then they cannot wisely elect their presidents. But the choice of leaders in industry under Socialism would be quite different from a political choice. Under Socialism the workers would select their heads from among their shopmates, and it would be the most efficient who would naturally gravitate to the top; much more so than under capitalism, where the tendency is to elevate, not the man who can serve all the best, but the one who can serve the few best.

But Mr. Rockefeller continues:

"Is there any justice in an arrangement by which two men, one of whom does three times as much work as the other, get the same pay? Not a bit. It is an immorality and an economic error, and business is suffering from it."

Again, he misrepresents Socialism. Socialism does not propose that all receive the same remuneration. What it does demand is that each shall receive the full value of his social product. But it does object to someone who has nothing to do with industry absorbing most of its product. Mr. Rockefeller testified under oath that he had not been in the Standard Oil offices for ten years, and in all that time had had nothing to do with its management, yet he had, while doing nothing, received as dividends, ten times as much as all his sixty thousand employes, who did all the work, had received in wages.

Socialists agree with Mr. Rockefeller that the trust is an evolution, and that we cannot go back to the days of individual business, even if that evolution has stopped with the development of the trust, and that there will be nothing beyond it. He, himself, has spoken of a people's trust. That has not been realized yet, but it is the next step in evolution, simply because it can manage things better than the present private trust can do it. The people's trust will be the ownership and management of all industry by all the people for the benefit of all the people. It will be economical far in excess of the present trust and will be in every way, more efficient than it. That kind of a trust is Socialism.

Mr. Rockefeller believes this, though he effects not to do so. He says:

"If the business of the Standard Oil company were to be taken over by the government, and run by politicians, I would be the first man to sell my stock at any price."

The idea would stamp Mr. Rockefeller as crude to the point of imbecility, did it not bear the earmarks of insincerity. Think of the government taking over the Standard Oil company, and still permitting Mr. Rockefeller to own stock in it! He might as well say that he would sell his stock in the public school system as to talk of selling stock in a public utility. He sees readily that if the Standard Oil would become public property it would cease to be a private money maker, and tries to use the fact to prejudice the people against collective ownership. But it is this very thing that should commend it to the people, because if the people were relieved of paying profits to Standard Oil it would be money in their pockets.

EXCHANGE ECHOES.

"The achievements of slavery have, in the past, been great in their way. The slavery of Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome expressed itself in architectural achievement that has left its mark unto this day. But there ancient civilizations perished from their own rottenness and corruption, a rottenness and corruption arising from the slavery upon which their greatness in achievement was built. Slavery is a subtle poison that, once injected into the veins of human society, renders social peace, health and well-being impossible. Either it must be eliminated or society will stagger to collapse in the corruption and rottenness which it inevitably breeds."—Western Clarion.

"The church can't breathe the atmosphere of capitalism and live. It is poison. She must get into the co-operative zone or die. 'God is not mocked.' He has winked at the time of ignorance, and has been very patient, but now when light has come into the world the church has no cloak for her sins of allegiance with capitalism."—Christian Socialist.

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QUESTION BOX

"Do Socialists wish to abolish capital? Do you consider capital to be that portion of wealth which is used as a means of producing more wealth, as is taught by political economists? If not, please give your definition of capital, and state in what manner Socialism proposes to abolish it."—Truthseeker.

Socialists wish to abolish capital, but they do not regard capital as merely that portion of wealth which is used as a means of producing more wealth. They do not accept any of the definitions offered by alleged economists who have variously defined capital as "the saved portion of a man's income," as "the instruments of labor," as "hoarded labor" or as "products which are continually applied to further production."

Lassalle showed the absurdity of such definitions when he pointed out that according to all or either of them the bow and arrow of a wild Indian would be capital and their savage owner a capitalist. The intellectual apologists for the capitalist system of production have never given a definition of the term that would stand the test.

The word has been used so loosely by bourgeois writers that it has for the popular mind next to no meaning whatever. John Mitchell stated in a recent magazine article that the workingman's labor power is his capital, which, if true, makes capitalists of everybody and dissolves the conception of capital into nothing. Not infrequently some moralizer tells young men from the lecture platform that "character is capital," to impress the idea that the young man possessed of a noble purpose, though penniless, is a capitalist, and fit to meet the man of money in the economic struggle.

It is possible to make the definition of a specific thing so broad and so inclusive that it includes everything and consequently means nothing. This is what the capitalistic writers have done with the term capital. They have made their definitions so broad that they have lost their depth, width and length; and in so stretching the meaning of a word to suit their immediate purpose they have virtually pulled it to pieces, and lost the pieces in confusion.

Briefly stated, capital is wealth used to exploit labor. Capital is wealth so manipulated that its owner derives a revenue from the labor of others. Capital is really more than the wealth used in such a process—it is both the wealth and the process. For capital to be capital it must be in motion functioning as an instrument in the process of exchange. It is peculiar to an industrial system in which wealth presents itself as a collection of commodities—that is, things made to sell.

Capital and capitalists had their beginnings when the old feudal institutions broke up and the serfs, transformed into free laborers, left the household or castle, where practically everything that was consumed was made. Theretofore things were made for the immediate use of the maker or his feudal master; thereafter things were made not for the use of either the worker or of his employer, but for sale on the market. Capital and capitalists have developed as products have become commodities, and have been more and more produced for purposes of sale or exchange.

Capital enormously increased the productivity of the laborer, but the benefits of the increase are mostly for the owner of capital. In the days of serfdom the worker got enough of what he made to keep him in working condition and produce another generation to take his place. The wage laborer, though his standard of living has necessarily been raised as a necessary condition of the increased intelligence demanded by modern industry, gets practically the same reward for his efforts that the serf got, while the owners of capital have become more powerful than kings. The capitalists of today, because of what they have absorbed of the products of labor, are the power behind every throne and are the real government of all nations.

To abolish capital, therefore, is not to abolish wealth, but is to abolish that use of wealth by which the comparatively few owners of the earth and its contents are enabled to take the property which others have created and use it to the increase of their own wealth and power. The capitalists have by the operation of the capitalistic process become kings of industry. Like the kings of old, they hold the lives of the subject working class in their hands because they can give or withhold the employment which the worker must have to live. There is, therefore, the same reason for the abolition of capital that there was for abolishing the autocratic rule of kings. To abolish a kingdom is not to lay waste the lands of the king or raze his castles or disorganize society; it is simply to transfer the power of the king to some other form of government.

To abolish capital is to transfer the power of ownership now held by the owners of capital to a democratic government of industry under which each worker would receive the full value of what his labor would produce. The effect would be to divert all the wealth which heretofore has gone to the capitalists back to the producers thereof. And this would stop the process without which capital can have no existence.

AT LAST China is awakening from her pagan sleep and showing signs of real advancement. A sensational bribery scandal involving the highest officials of the dowager empress has been discovered, and it is also stated that the position of the bribe-takers is too exalted for them to be punished. How like all the progressive nations!

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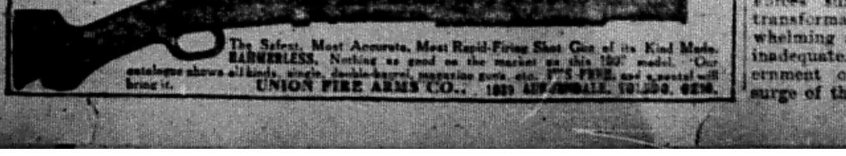

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HELP WANTED

MEN EVERYWHERE—Good pay—to distribute circulars, adv. matter, tack signs, etc. National Distributing Bureau, Dept. 6, Chicago.

MISCELLANEOUS

GINSENG PLANTS FOR SALE. C. L. Clark, R. F. D. No. 3, North Baltimore Wood Co., O.

30 H. P. SAMSON ENGINE FOR SALE—Will be free about Sept. 15, owing to installation of electric power. Engine almost new and as good as when it came from factory. Appeal to Reason. Price, $200.00 F. O. B. Girard.

ESPERANTISTS—The Esperanto Magazine, monthly, 1 year, $1.00; The American Esperanto Book, $1.00; The Appeal to Reason, 1 year, 50c—$2.50; From us $1.50, Appeal Book Department, Girard, Kansas.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS Socialist Party of America, 269 Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill. Information relative to the party, etc., will be furnished by J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary. Enclose 2-cent stamp for reply.

DAILY SOCIALIST and REVIEW One Year For $2.

For a little while longer we offer the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and the CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST for the price of the DAILY alone, $2.00 a year, $1.00 for six months.

We do not publish the DAILY, and its publishers say they can not promise to continue this club rate much longer. Better take up the offer while you can. It applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions, but it applies only to addresses IN the United States and OUTSIDE Chicago.

The International Socialist Review is a monthly magazine of 64 pages, and is the one periodical that the man who wants to understand Socialism can not afford to be without.

Add 10c to your remittance for the two periodicals, and we will also mail you a copy of What Are We Here For? by F. Dundas Todd, which would otherwise cost you 50c.

Ask for our Socialist Book Bulletin.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 264 1-2 Kinzie Street, Chicago.

A CORRECTION.

In our last issue a mistake occurred in our article, "A Convicting Parallel," where the number of the report of the interstate commerce commission is mentioned. It should read "No. 943," instead of "913." Readers of this paper should write the interstate commerce commission, Washington, D. C., and ask for a copy of Report No. 943. It will furnish you plenty of campaign material.

READY ABOUT DECEMBER FIRST

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The Story of the Great Colorado Conspiracy

By Walter Hurt, the Well Known Journalist, Poet and Author.

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APPEAL TO REASON, GIRARD, KAN.

Please enter my order for .....copies of THE SCARLET SHADOW, by Walter Hurt, and when you notify me that it is ready for delivery, I will remit for same.

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..... 1907.

TRI-STATE EDITION.

OKLAHOMA, TEXAS and KANSAS

State.	Of.	On.	Total.
Oklahoma	338	481	21,150
Texas	317	470	17,861
Kansas	291	352	14,305

Oklahoma

O. F. Branstetter, State Secretary, Norman.

Thirty-Two Per Cent Increase in Vote.

Oklahoma, not including Indian Territory, polled 5,880 for the head of the ticket. This is a gain of 32 per cent over the vote of 1904—4,443.

The Indian Territory vote will run about 4,100. This is the first vote cast for officials in Indian Territory.

There are over 9,000 straight votes on the state ticket and it looks to me that at least 5,000 of these ought to be paying dues. If you, that are reading this, happen to be one that voted the ticket straight, and have no red card with you, be so kind as to drop a letter to me at state headquarters and explain why you don't belong to the party organization? It only costs you ten cents per month to be a member and your ten cents added to 4,999 ten cents each month would mean $500 per month and we would be allowed half of this to put into the state work and the other half would go to spread the work in the whole nation. Think of it, comrade, and if you are not in get in and help to pull the burden of the organization. The more that help the easier it will be for all.

Neck and Neck With Texas.

Did you notice the offs and ons last week? Texas was right up with us. Bell is busting his collar to get the comrades of Texas to pass us in the chase for that 25,000 sub mark that the Appeal has set for us.

Line Up, Kansas.

Kansas can beat Oklahoma playing foot ball, but when it comes to getting subs for the Appeal, Kansas is not in the race. Oklahoma university boys say that they are going to get a better "line-up" for next year and make it interesting for Kansas when they come again. Now, our Army Line Up is hoping for a Kansas Army Line Up that will give us a tussle in the game.

The annual convention next Christmas should have at least one delegate from every local. If you will all pay up now that means 300 delegates.

"Farmers'" Congress at Oklahoma City, October 17th.

Secretary of Agriculture Wilson is reported to have once said: "I am an agriculturist," and when asked what he meant by that he replied: "I farm the farmers." Well, briefly, that is the kind of delegates that came to the Farmers' Congress. It happened, however, that a number of Socialists were in the bunch and aided in pointing out the great movement toward the Co-operative Idea. The big farmers, like the big merchants, are preparing to eat up the little fellows.

Speakers' Contract.

Have you filled out that contract for five of the circuit lectures. If I mention Wilson, Clark and Brower as three of the speakers will that help you to decide to accept. They are all hum-dingers. We are getting some more fellows to come toward the west and will give you the best that is going. The more contracts the better bunch of speakers. About thirty are in and we want a hundred at least. Hurry up.

You Have Rested a Month.

You have rested a month and so have I. I am going to get busy; how about you? The answer to this question should show on the cash receipts for November a decided increase in cash received.

Just One Word More About Money.

Many of the locals have not paid the quarterly dues for secretary's salary. This is an obligation sanctioned by the vote of the locals on the adoption of the revised constitution and should not be forgotten. It don't mean very much from each one; but every little bit helps." If you don't think your secretary needs it, just take a look at the average amount he has received for the year. Thirty-nine dollars per month don't keep a family of four even in the necessities of life. And prices are still going up.

Socialist School Lessons.

All the locals that would like to have lessons for their members to study when they meet will please write to their state secretary or to J. E. Snyder at Girard, Kan. So many comrades are talking of the need of some such scheme to get the people interested in the meetings of our locals that we want to find out about how many locals would like to try, a *Weekly Socialist School Plan* with prepared lessons sent out each week from some center, most likely the Appeal office. I feel sure that it would be a fine idea, and if you think so, please don't hide your light under a bushel.

Appeal Space.

Some comrades wonder why all their reports of precinct votes were not in the Appeal. Well, you see, comrades, the Appeal has been good to us and gave us four issues with a page of space each week, and the last issue of those they gave us nearly two pages and even went so far as to give us the front page, so let us be well pleased and give Bell a chance to fill in a little. We are "Sooners," but not hogs.

Pap Davis will begin work from Davis, I. T., on south about the first of November.

C. C. Ross is stirring things up in the southwestern part of Oklahoma. He writes that everybody is ready now to listen to Socialism. Comrade Moore, of Granite, writes that Ross is doing good work. He will work in Kiowa, Jackson and Greer counties this month. If you live down there any place, let me know and we will tell him to call on you and gile you a spiel.

A. S. Londermilk is working this week up in Grant and Kay counties. We are arranging him a trip into the northwest. Write in for dates at once.

A comrade said today that he can get ten subs now where he got one last year. Go and do likewise. Calls for organizing material and for organizers still come in. I guess that the people don't believe that we are going to get Socialism through the old parties. For fear there are some that still think they will I want to assure you that you won't. They are working for the capitalist.

Andrew Jacobson, aged 31 years, died at his home in Oklahoma City after a two days' illness, on October 13th. Comrade Jacobson. He leaves a wife and executive committee of the Oklahoma organization and was a leader in the Tailors' Union He was always ready to do any kind of work and was always ready when there was anything to do. The Oklahoma City comrades feel a void in their ranks with the passing of Comrade Jacobson. He leaves a wife and little girl.

Coalgate, Okla., has a womans' local now. Organized by Comrade Mrs. L. S. Edwards. A reading room has been opened up and the miners and their wives will have a place to assemble and talk over the better day that we are all working for. There are seven members in the local to begin with.

Texas

W. J. Bell, State Secretary, Tyler.

J. J. Laws, one of the "Hustler Horse Brigade," has moved from Lone Oak to Crowley and desires that the comrades in Tarrant and Johnson counties aid him in procuring a supply of literature to sell on the firing line in that locality. Send books and contributions to him at Crowley, Tex.

If you have not a constituion of the Socialist party of Texas get one at once from state headquarters, so as to make no mistakes in the election to be called November 1st. 5 cents each.

Read section 6 of article XIV of the state constitution before making nominations for party office. It is important.

Duties of Locals.

Some new locals after being organized seem not to know what to do to keep the local on foot and in motion. The members seem to think there is nothing to do but "jine" and be a member; that nothing further is required but to "have a club" and carry a card. Many letters are received from local secretaries saying that the members are "losing interest," when in reality if each member is interviewed you will find that he is as keenly interested as ever, but does not attend local meetings because he sees no pressing necessity for his presence and should he happen to attend a meeting there is nothing in particular done at the meeting but to shake hands, say "Howdy," look at each other a while and "Reckon it's time to be goin'."

Each member of a local has a particular duty to perform in "rustling" new recruits and extending the knowledge of himself and the other members in Socialism and economics.

As a means to this end the local should always be an attractive place for its members and their non-Socialist neighbors to meet. Readings should be conducted; speeches made by local talent; discussions had and outsiders invited to attend and participate. Thoughtful members can devise many ways of making meetings interesting. Your local should be a veritable Socialist literary society in conjunction with party capacity.

Activity at Dallas.

The following letter is received from Dallas:

W. J. Bell, Tyler, Tex.—Dear Comrade—I have been instructed to communicate with you and the other best-known Socialists in the state to inform you that it is our intention to hold street meetings every night of the Dallas state fair.

We shall be glad if it is your intention to visit the fair to have you address the meeting on the night you are here. As there are very few experienced speakers here we will have to depend on the outside comrades to furnish the most of them. The benefits to be derived will be state wide and will not be confined to the city of Dallas alone.

Please notify all the comrades of our intention and have them write Comrade Alf Bruce, 398 Elm street, Dallas, Tex., the dates they will be in attendance.—M. C. Chandler.

The following from a secretary of one of the new locals shows how a little thoughtful effort will prevent a local from lagging and becoming disinterested. All locals should see that something to keep the members busy and at work is constantly planned:

"Our last meeting was quite interesting, as we have developed two or three quite able speakers. Their ideas are somewhat crude, but, nevertheless, they grasp the great principle of Socialism with a force rarely to be found among untutored children of nature. We are Johnson Grass, all right, as further developments will prove. We expect a membership of 75 or 100 in the near future. Meanwhile, we are perfecting plans for the organization of the entire county. Just watch our smoke. Something will be doing in this part of the woods before long."

The Typewriter Fund.

As correspondents will have noticed, the state office is now in possession of a typewriter as a result of the movement in that direction started by Mother Jones.

The entire fund for that purpose, however, has never been raised.

Seeing the great need for a typewriter, Comrade N. B. Hunt, unsolicited, tendered a loan of $20 for the purpose of getting the much-needed machine without delay.

A machine was purchased from Comrade C. L. Vincent for $35; $2 of the fund has been contributed by Comrade Vincent.

The status of the fund is as follows:

Amount received prior to July 1, as reported	$ 12.00
From Local Hallettsville	.75
From C. L. Vincent	1.00
From W. R. Trambladc	.50
From A. Hauskins	.50
From J. B. Gay	1.00
From W. B. McFarland	1.00
From J. S. Miller	1.00
From R. W. Musselwhite	1.00
Total received	$ 18.75
Paid for typewriter	35.00
Less receipts	18.75
Amount to be raised to cancel loan	$16.25

Let us have your contribution to this fund and wipe out the debt.

At Galveston a street meeting, held by Comrade M. A. Smith, Oct. 22, was broken up by the police on the pretense that it was blockading the street. The Salvation Army in full blast fifty yards away was unmolested. Professional fakir on opposite corner of same street selling "diamonds" at 25 cents each was not disturbed. A regular robbing and swindling game of selling "diamonds" that were worth about 10 cents a bushel to the ignorant, gullible public at 25 cents each has the right of way over that of the people to "peacably assemble" in Galveston.

Comrades at points accessible from Dallas may secure the services of Comrade George Clifton Edwards as lecturer.

The stream of Socialism in Wood county is about to burst its banks. Local Pleasant Ridge organized in September with 11 members and under the able management of Comrade Mrs. B. F. Belt, secretary, has already added sixteen members. If you have an active woman comrade in your local better make her secretary. She will make the men jump sideways and come up with their dues and attend meetings.

The comrades at Beeville and other points in south Texas, together with Comrade M. A. Smith, have remembered the state secretary to the amount of a ten-dollar personal contribution, for which we are duly grateful.

W. J. Bell, Tyler, Tex.: Dear Comrade—I think it would be well to advise through the Appeal all those expecting to attend the Ninth district Socialist meeting at Cuero (or any other) to save and take with them all the old papers, leaflets, pamphlets or books they can spare to distribute among the people there. We want a lively meeting and lots of energy put into it.—J. B. Gay.

Every party member should possess a constitution, both state and national, and become familiar with its every provision. This is positively necessary for schooling in tactics and methods of party action.

Keep Your Record Straight.

Here follows a copy of letter to the secretary of a new local in response to the question, "In the event no Socialist is a candidate for a particular office, has any comrade the right to vote for any other party candidate for such office?"

"Dear Comrade—* * * Whenever this question has been brought up, either in state or nation, it has always been decided that a member of the Socialist party could not under any circumstances whatever vote for any but a bona fide candidate of the Socialist party without violating his obligation to the party. The obligation reads: 'I have severed my relations with all other parties.' To vote for, or in any way encourage, any candidate for any other party would be maintaining 'relations' with such party. If there appears any doubt on this point it will be dispelled by carefully reading Sections 1 and 2 of Article II, and Section 2 of Article XVI, of our state constitution, which constitution a member endorses when he applies for membership (note obligation).

"We understand the impression some members will get that they are doing the working class no injury by voting for another candidate when we have none of our own; but as they grow older in the movement they will learn that a vote for a capitalist party candidate (and all are capitalist parties but the Socialist) is an aid to the capitalist party itself and a blow to the working class. One thinks he sees where he can do some good by voting for some "good man" on a capitalist ticket. It is a mistake. No matter how "good" the man is, as the world goes, he cannot be of any benefit worth considering for the working class on a capitalist ticket, for he is pledged to uphold a system of society that has gotten to be no less than a crime against the working class. Any "good" man who at the present age of opportunity for economic knowledge is so lacking in intellect as to lend himself as a candidate for a capitalist party is dangerous to the working class in any capacity. His very "goodness" or popularity works as an injury to our cause in that it prevents thoughtless people of good intentions, who are hero worshippers and still believe it possible for a man to have more power than his political party and that he can throttle his party and compel it to act for the workers instead of the shirkers to which it belongs; it prevents the people from going into the party of their class, the only party that has sense enough to know what the workers want and how to get it. Your local will learn as they grow older that the old and seasoned comrades, almost to a man, would rather suffer their right arms cut off than to vote for a capitalist party candidate under any circumstances.

With the Organizers.

M. A. Smith—Batson, Nov. 1-2; Beaumont, 3; Port Neches, 4; Village Mills, 5; Paul's Store, 7-8; Timpson, 9; Mixon, 11; Flint, 12; Campbell's Chapel, 13; Pleasant Grove, 14; Bascom, 15; White House, 16.

H. L. A. Holman—Sabanno, Nov. 1, 2 and 4; Abilene, 5; Hawley, 6-8; Merkel, 9; Golan, 11-13; Hamlin, 14-16.

Laura B. Payne—Gilbtown, Nov. 1-2; Toto, 4; Peaster, 5; Weatherford, 6-8.

Kansas

A. O. Grigsby, State Secretary, Leavenworth.

Comrade Thomas L. Buie, ex-state secretary of Colorado, is working in Texas under the direction of State Secretary Bell. He will return to Colorado in December, and wants to make some dates in Kansas. Comrades wishing to secure his services will please let me know.

Comrade John Fitzpatrick, of Wellington, writes: "At our last meeting we got four stray sheep on our local roll. The boys say they will rope some more in next meeting.

Since last report Comrade Welch sent in three applications for charters for locals in Butler county, viz.: Eldorado, 26 members, W. D. Tripp, secretary; Augusta, 8 members, Elmer G. E. Bacerrows, secretary; Douglas, 6 members, C. A. Long, secretary.

The one great need of the Kansas state organization is a larger number of workers who never neglect an opportunity to organize. We sow the seed by agitation and education, but we can only reap results by organization. We should learn lessons of wisdom from the experience of mankind in all the affairs of life. The success of an army is secured by its organization and discipline. Capitalism has financially conquered the world and monopolized its wealth by the superior organization of its forces. And Socialists, in order to win, must have organization.

CANDIDATES NAMED.

The following are the nominations for state secretary-treasurer and national committeemen in the order in which they have been received from locals and members-at-large. *None but members in good standing are eligible.* The state secretary has the record of members-at-large, and the good standing of nominees who are members of *live* locals, will be taken for granted.

Girard—For state secretary, John Edwin Snyder, Girard; for national committeemen, Fred A. Matthis, Parsons; L. M. Stallard, Fort Scott.

J. J. Griebel, Stockton—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, M. J. Wells, Woodston; W. D. Street, Oberlin.

Conrad Glunz, National Military Home—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeeman, A. S McAlister, Herrington.

Kansas City—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, John W. Willits, McLouth; A. S. McAlister, Herrington.

Larned—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, A. E. Welch, Scott City; J. C. Babbitt, Larned.

Simpson—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, A. E. Welch, Scott City; A. S. McAlister, Herrington.

Randolph—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, George Hibner, Concordia; W. E. Davis, Green.

Hutchinson—For state secretary, A. E. Welch, Scott City; for national committeeman, C. H. Rogers, Hutchinson.

Gaylord—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, W. D. Street, Oberlin; W. L. Collins, Asherville.

F. J. Storey, Caldwell—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby.

Wellington—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, G. W. Bailey, Wellington; C. R. Mitchell, Geuda Springs.

Leavenworth—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, G. W. Bailey, Wellington; A. S. McAlister, Herrington.

Goodland—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby.

Geuda Springs—For state sercetary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, A. S. McAlister, Herrington; Eugene Cooper, Arkansas City.

J. W. Row, National Military Home—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeeman, W. S. Van Camp, National Military Home.

Great Bend—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, O. D. Card, Scott City; J. B. Fenno, Hoisington.

Scott City—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, O. D. Card, Scott City; J. B. Fenno, Hoisington.

W. S. Van Camp, National Military Home—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; national committeeman, W. W. Buchanan, Girard.

Emporia—For state secretary, A. E. Welch; for national committeemen, Frank Cook, Emporia; A. J. Bader, Lansing.

Benedict—For state secretary, J. E. Snyder, Girard; for national committeemen, George D. Brewer, Girard; A. E. Welch, Scott City.

Argentine—For state secretary, J. W. Catley, Rosedale; for national committeemen, I. N. Penrod, Argentine; A. S. McAlister, Herrington.

Rosedale—For state secretary, J. W. Catley, Rosedale; for national committeemen, I. N. Penrod, Argentine; A. S. McAlister, Herrington.

Wellsville—For state secretary, A. E. Welch, Scott City; for national committeemen, J. L. E. Marsh, Kansas City; E. N. Firestone, Fort Scott.

Pike township—For state secretary, A. O. Grigsby; for national committeemen, Louis Trapet, Emporia; George D. Brewer, Girard.

The interest manifested by the number of nominations indicates an interest in the state referendum that is encouraging.

The nominees have until the close of the month to decline. The names of those who do not notify the state secretary of their declination will be submitted to referendum vote November 1st.

Benj. F. Wilson has organized a local at Englevale, W. N. Newman, secretary, and he also organized one at New Albany, with John Burley, secretary.

A. E. Welch has organized a new local at Harper, W. L. Vewland, secretary.

Wilson's Third District Work.

The interest throughout the Third district is increasing most encouragingly. Comrade Benj. F. Wilson is having excellent meetings. The miners at Crowburg turned out in full force. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed and a pressing invitation was given for a return meeting. This is a new mining town and composed of excellent material for the Socialist harvest. A new local will be organized here in the near future.

At Englevale Wilson held another rousing meeting. The brass band furnished the music and added to the pleasure of the meeting. A new local of 19 members was organized and everything started out in good shape. Keep your eyes on Englevale. We will soon have the largest and strongest local in the state here.

The Saturday night meeting at Parsons was a "hummer." By far the largest and best meeting held here for years. Many enthusiastically announced their conversion after the meeting and have since been "garnered into the fold" by uniting with the local. Last Sunday afternoon a good crowd of enthusiastic comrades attended a called meeting, which met at Socialist hall, Main street, and reorganized the local and Parsons now bids fair to "lead off" and set a good pace. Comrade Brewer attended the meeting with Comrade Wilson and lent no little service in stimulating the interest. There is excellent material here for a strong movement, especially among the machinists, many of whom are our most loyal workers.

The Wilson county tour just closed has been most encouraging both from the standpoint of interest and increased attendance. The Socialist singing club of Benedict lent good assistance toward the success of the Benedict and Guilford meetings. The hall was practically packed at both meetings. Comrade A. Z. Brown writes as follows: "Ben Wilson has been with us this week and I feel that great good will grow out of it. Locals were organized both in New Albany and Altoona. Everyone seems pleased with Wilson's talk. There is good material in Altoona for a strong local. Everything is sure coming our way now."

The Neodesha meetings were postponed Friday on account of the bad weather, together with the difficulty in securing a hall, but Comrade Wilson will soon return to Neodesha and conduct a series of lectures. There was a deep interest awakened here at Wilson's last meeting and he is assured of a large crowd upon his return.

Owing to the failure of many of the comrades to reply to letters sent them it is impossible to give the dates of Wilson's lectures for next week. It is probable he will be delayed a week longer getting into the west end of the district. In the meantime he goes to Fort Scott Friday night and McCune Saturday afternoon.

Comrades are urged to write regarding any suggestions they may have to offer as to the best time for meetings for their particular community. Get in line, comrades—things are coming our way. Put your shoulder to the wheel and push. We want to get the entire district aflame with Socialist ideas. The outlook is most encouraging. Don't forget to do your part!

Darrow's Speech in the Haywood Case Now Ready.

The most remarkable address ever delivered to an American jury, and the greatest court appeal since that of Edmund Burke in the trial of Warren Hastings.

Extra copies may be had for 25 cents each; $10.00 a hundred; $50.00 a thousand. The APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kansas.

Remember, souvenir post cards with a picture of the Appeal's new building, will be given free to all comrades who ask for them. Send the cards to the persons whose subscriptions you pay for. It will introduce the Appeal and arouse an interest in the little paper out in Kansas that holds the world's record for the biggest edition ever printed since time began.

Help me build up Studies in Socialism by subscribing for a bundle of 50 or more to your own address for a year at 2 cents each! You will get your money's worth now, and next year, when the campaign is hottest, we can distribute tons and tons of it to voters.

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"WHEN THINGS WERE DOING."

BY C. A. STEERE.

"Nobody knows, and nobody with any sense pretends to know, how the Co-operative Commonwealth is going to begin, nor how its details will be arranged. But we all have our "pipe dreams" about it; we enjoy them, and they do no harm so long as we do not take them too seriously.

Comrade Steere in this story first draws a graphic picture of a real flesh-and-blood Socialist, with good red blood, too, and with certain very human feelings, and then makes him dream a dream of the future.

It is a thoroughly delightful dream, if we take it as a dream and nothing more, and if we do not, the fault is the reader's, not the author's. "When Things Were Doing" is one of the best possible antidotes to "Looking Backward." Bellamy's book, first published twenty years ago, was written before there were any Socialists in America worth mentioning, and it has kept us busy explaining that we are NOT trying to establish the paternalistic, pottage-of-lentils paradise that he pictures so artlessly and sincerely. "When Things Were Doing" is a story of the struggle of the victors, or the working class, and the measures it will take to run things.

Every Socialist, with a sense of humor will enjoy the book, and if he hasn't this important quality the book may develop it so that he will enjoy a second reading. And the story is just the thing to hand to a friend who is not yet a Socialist. It is full of go from start to finish, and the story is told with a breezy humor that is contagious. If you want to wake a man up and jar him loose, start him with "When Things Were Doing."

"When Things Were Doing" is now being printed and bound in handsome style, in good, clear type, on paper of extra quality, with durable cloth binding. The price, including postage, to any address will be ONE DOLLAR, with special terms to our comrades. Order one now, and see with you could get a dozen copies for Christmas presents. Address,

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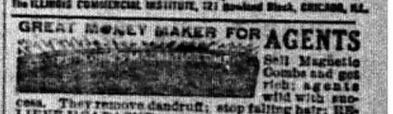

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$11.25 for this large handsome steel range without high closet or reservoir. With high warming closet and reservoir, just as shown in cut, $17.25. Reservoir is second in heat, heavy cast top with 6 full size cooking holes. Large square oven, regular 8-16 size. Body is made of cold rolled steel, top and all castings are heavy iron. Order by number the front of main top, brackets and ten shelves on warming closet and oven door, etc. Highly polished with nickel trimmings, any shade you wish, oven door, etc. Highly polished with nickel trimmings, any shade you wish.

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TO-DAY

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"A TRIP TO GIRARD."

An oasis in your life will be the trip to the home of the APPEAL. You have so long and so loyally worked to make the APPEAL what it is and now you will have the chance to see it. By the time you reach here the APPEAL family and all the machinery and equipment will be completely installed in their new home, which has been so appropriately named the Temple of the Revolution. No prize you might win could give you greater pleasure, and the memories of the pilgrimage you will treasure until your sun begins to set and you "hear once more the birds of love sing in the leafless branches of the tree of age."

Join the Bundle Brigade by subscribing for ten copies per week for one year at $2.00, and I will send you particulars of "The Trip to Girard" contest.

FINANCIAL COLUMN

BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR.

For some two or three years past the higher grades of money captains have felt that a large increase in the production of gold might be a good thing. For over a year past they have felt sure of it, and as the government funds have been transferred from the treasury to the national banks to maintain a precarious credit basis from day to day, the opinion has grown. It has become the duty and privilege of the Standard Oil to provide for this increased gold production, that remarkable group of gentlemen being experienced in such matters as "developing" new fields of oil, etc., in a way that has proven their ability to do the work promptly, effectively and at little cost to themselves. They have often did such things before, as I have said, but it is probable that you have never read of it, because in the first place the average newspaper doesn't know it, and in the second place might not print it if it did. But this time we will do it slightly different and show you how those brave and noble philosophers who do all the work set out upon romantic adventure in golden El Dorados, and for the benefit of the capitalist hunt gold and starve and often die.

It is not my custom to consider that the Standard Oil has made a mistake until that fact is in direct evidence. That the gentlemen who compose the leadership of the Standard Oil sometimes err is beyond doubt, but that they make a business of it is equally unsupposable. Hence, recently, when grave discussions as to the feasibility of the trust being able to curtail production and thus avoid the worst features of panic began to appear in the financial papers, referring especially to the evident over-production in copper then going on, I did not stay awake at nights for fear that Rogers and Rockefeller were about to make a terrible blunder. In fact, it occurred to me that the Standard Oil, in its oil business, frequently found it desirable to discover that too much oil was being produced in one section of the country, while in another the same corporation was badly handicapped by insufficient production. Meditation and prayer usually enabled one to note that in the one district a lot of oil producers were shortly skinned out of all that they had, while in the other, excited by the high prices paid for crude oil, prospectors and would-be speculators dug thousands of prospect holes trying to find oil for the Standard. This trick is a regular stock-in-trade performance of the Standard Oil. It is kept on hand and can be furnished at a moment's notice, in any size, design, with or without trimmings, and guaranteed to give satisfaction, and to be absolutely unrecognizable by the victims that it plucks.

So, when the Standard Oil, pushing copper to such a phenomenal price as 25 cents a pound, without making any sales, continued to work its mines under a full head of steam, knowing that the high price was also encouraging every other copper mine to run to utmost capacity, I did not think that Mr. Rogers' troubles had turned his head, or that Mr. Rockefeller was running the copper business on an altruistic basis.

I didn't know exactly what they were doing, but when they did it I could easily see what had been done and how and why.

The greatest copper mines in this country are at Butte, Mont. In those hills are enormous deposits of the red metal and under the surface and in the smelters tens of thousands of men labor without ever ceasing except in cases of shut-downs—for the Butte mines and smelters are worked on three eight-hour shifts and there is no pause in their producing capacity. It requires three months to start up the Amalgamated Copper company's plants at Butte and get them in complete working order. It has gathered there the greatest body of expert metal miners in the world, and it is not without good reason that the Amalgamated company closes down this enormous plant, throwing out thousands of men, and practically abandoning a great industrial city to the ravages of time.

This has been done, however.

Why?

Because the banking interests of this country want more gold. It may be that you cannot see in what way the closing down of the Butte mines would affect the gold supply, but just read this press dispatch:

Butte, Mont., Oct. 15.—Thousands of miners, thrown out of employment by the closing down of the mines and smelters, are leaving the city to prospect for gold. The Union Pacific ran three sections of one train today, carrying over fifteen hundred miners, all of them bound for the gold fields of Nevada. Every train for days has been crowded, and the exodus is enormous. Large sums of money have been withdrawn from the local banks by the outgoing miners.

Logically, if the Butte miners were thrown out of work in Butte and were unable to secure employment elsewhere, as they cannot, because the mining forces are being generally reduced, they would go prospecting. They would first go to the banks and get their money, and pay part of it to the Standard Oil-Union Pacific railroad to haul them to the gold fields, and after they were there they would prospect for gold, at their own expense. At their own expense, please note. Thousands of these men will use up the savings of years in a fruitless effort to locate a mine in Nevada. Some of them will succeed, and the capitalist, who did not discover the Butte mines, but owns them, will also own the ones that are to be found. Out of all the prospectors, one will be permitted to become a millionaire, just in order to encourage the others. He will be a full-fledged-Sunday-edition hero, and one will get the idea that all he has to do is to go out and prospect and become wealthy in an hour. But we observe that Mr. Rogers, Mr. Morgan and other gentlemen of that ilk, never take this pleasing method of making some easy money.

The struggling trail of the miners' exodus was not yet out of Butte before Mr. Heinze's savings bank went skyrocketing upwards, without about $3,000,000 of money that the workers had deposited in it. It closed its doors—apparently all of the miners that were going to prospect for gold had gone, and there didn't seem to be any use in paying out good money to the ones who were left. So the bank just calmly and quietly called for a receiver, who will soon issue the customary statement that "the depositors will be paid in full."

In commenting upon the failure, the Wall Street Journal of Oct. 19th says:

Less than twenty savings bank depositors out of nearly 7,000 were at the bank when the institution opened Thursday morning, but after paying off two small checks, the officials decided to anticipate a possible run and closed the bank. The bank has savings deposits in excess of $3,000,000, and claims to have a reserve of 23 per cent, though the August statement shows only about 15 per cent, the amount required by law. The statement also shows that the bank borrowed $150,000 during the month. Vice-President Chapin claims that the bank had more than $800,000 on hand and in other banks. The State Savings Bank is a depository for a number of labor unions, and thousands of working people.

It certainly has all the ear-marks of a disgruntled three-shell game man at a country fair, who is unable to see anything further in it for him. Some twenty depositors out of seven thousand happened to be in the bank at once, and, whether you believe it or not, two of them had the audacity to present "small checks." So the officers of the bank, seeing that "it was all going out and none coming in," judiciously closed the doors, thus proving conclusively that we have the best banking system on earth. Mr. Heinze, who had over a quarter of a million dollars of the depositors' funds, was trying at the moment to corner United Copper in New York.

So, you have before your eyes, if you care to keep them open, the picture of some thousands of homes broken up in a few days; some thousands of families left destitute by the breaking of the bank in which the prospecting miner has left what little money he could for the use of his family until he could get somewhere and send for them—and on the alkali desert of Nevada, as you read these lines, thousands of men are searching feverishly and examining minutely every bit of rock they see, wasting their lives and their time and money in an endeavor to serve the interests of those who play with them as though they were but chess, to be moved and placed at will. And, in truth, that is what they are! Chessmen! Chess upon this Board of Life, too unintelligent to do more than dumbly suffer at the will of the Masters of Bread—suffer themselves, want and cold for their wives and children, separated by hundreds of miles of trackless sand, and nothing to hope for in the way of reprieve except the one chance in ten thousand—that of striking Pay Dirt.

When the Amalgamated Copper company wants them again, it will snap its finger, and from the cactus of the Western Desert will crawl forth the Army of the Beaten Fools, slavishly glad that it can once more go down into the mines of Butte and into the smelters and work before the fierce furnace fires for Bread and a little money to deposit with the banks—only to be taken back again or used at the will of the Boss when he wishes it.

For what have the Butte miners now to show for their hard labor of years? A grub stake, a deserted town, a ruined bank. And the grub stake is handed them, not because of any intelligence on their part, but so that they can go out and add to the World's Supply of visible Gold.

THE FINANCIAL CRASH.

New York, Oct. 23.—J. Pierpont Morgan has assumed control of the financial situation here and is effecting an organization of the New York trust companies' officers for mutual assistance. A run on the Trust Company of America is in progress and stocks are irregular and weak. Stock of the defunct Knickerbocker Trust company was quoted last year at $1,250 a share, and paid a dividend of 40 per cent. Charles T. Barney, ex-president of the Knickerbocker, was a director or officer in thirty-four corporations, seventeen of which are banks and trust companies.

Pittsburg, Pa., Oct. 23.—The Pittsburg stock exchange suspended operations today with the announcement that the Security Investment company, a concern formed for the purpose of handling the affairs of the Westinghouse interests, was embarrassed on account of the money market stringency. Petitions have been filed and are being prepared asking that receivers be appointed for the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing company, the Westinghouse Machine company, the Security Investment company and the Nernst Lamp company. Secretary Cortelyou came to the assistance of the Pittsburg banks with deposits of government money, which are to be increased if necessary.

Carson City, Nev., Oct. 23.—The State Bank and Trust company, with headquarters in this city and branches at Goldfield, Tonopah, Manhattan and Blair, closed its doors this morning through inability to realize on securities held on a $400,000 loan made last year. The Nye & Ormsby bank has also closed for three days to gather funds for an anticipated rush.

Philadelphia, Oct. 24.—The Fisheries company, of which Joseph Wharton, the millionaire iron merchant, is president, has been declared insolvent, with liabilities exceeding $430,000, and receivers have been appointed.

Birmingham, Ala., Oct. 24.—An involuntary petition in bankruptcy was filed against the Southern Steel company today. The company is capitalized at $25,000,000, and operates steel plants, rod, wire and nail mills, coal mines, ore mines, coke ovens and other properties.

New York, Oct. 24.—It is estimated that $25,000,000 of government money has been poured into the banks of New York since the Knickerbocker failure. A pool of bankers headed by J. Pierpont Morgan has been organized to lend this money on the stock exchange and relieve the money shortage which has been so great as to at one time command as high as 150 per cent on call loans.

Providence, R. I., Oct. 25.—The Union Trust company did not open at the usual hour this morning, but posted a notice on its doors to the effect that it would not open today on account of the stringency in the money market. A receiver has been asked for by a director and appointed. The deposits exceed $25,000,000. The New England Trust company has posted a notice to the effect that depositors must give ninety days' notice before removing deposits.

Reading, Pa., Oct. 25.—The Pennsylvania Knitting Mills of this city, against which a petiton in bankruptcy was filed yesterday, is in the hands of receivers appointed by the federal court.

COMPLETING THE ALTON DEAL

It must not be supposed that the charge against Theodore Roosevelt in connection with the looting of the Alton was inspired by any personal feeling toward the president. It is quite true that the Appeal and Mr. Roosevelt are political enemies, bitter, relentless and implacable, but this had nothing to do with the case in question. Whatever the Appeal may think of President Roosevelt and his official conduct, it would not debase itself by lying about him in such a matter, nor would falsehood have any other effect than to recoil upon the head of its author.

Along with thousands of others the Appeal was astounded when the disclosures were made about the Alton. Accustomed as we are to unbridled rascality in the capitalist system, this looting of the Alton was, we must confess, a shocking surprise to us. The boldness of the buccaneers, the magnitude of their booty, the extent of their recklessness, going so far as to mortgage a projected branch line that had not been built, were so startling as to daze the reader. We did not dream at the time that the president had any hand in this unparalleled knavery, and were astonished beyond measure upon seeing an editorial in the Wall Street Journal charging Theodore Roosevelt with signing the bill, while governor of New York, which made the now notorious Alton "Deal" possible.

To make certain that there was no mistake, and to avoid doing injustice to the president, the Appeal at once proceeded to investigate the matter, and after securing all possible data and information from authentic sources, the Appeal was convinced beyond all doubt that the charge was true, and that Theodore Roosevelt, while governor of New York, had officially co-operated with Edward Harriman, by signing the bill introduced by the latter in the legislature, making Chicago & Alton bonds a legal investment for savings banks.

Certified copies of the laws in question, and other documentary evidence fully set forth in our issue of October 19th, prove the case against Mr. Roosevelt, silence his defenders, and place the matter beyond all controversy.

The Wall Street Journal first made publication of the remarkable facts in this case. We again quote from its issue of April 27th, 1907:

"A FACT OF EXTRAORDINARY INTEREST IN VIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IS THAT THIS LAW WAS SIGNED BY GOVERNOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT. THUS THE SIGNATURE OF ROOSEVELT COMPLETED THE ALTON DEAL BY GIVING THE ALTON BONDS THE PRESTIGE WHICH ATTACHES TO A SAVINGS BANK INVESTMENT. YET AT THIS VERY TIME THE ESSENTIAL FACTS OF THE ALTON READJUSTMENT—STOCK-WATERING AND ALL—HAD BEEN MADE PUBLIC."

The above statement by the Wall Street Journal was not maliciously made, nor prompted by any opposition to President Roosevelt's railroad policy. Quite the contrary, the editor is the personal and political friend and supporter of the president, as will be seen by the following closing paragraph in a letter under date of June 14th, 1907, from the editor of the Wall Street Journal to the editor of the Appeal:

"As a matter of fact, I am a strong supporter of Roosevelt's policy toward the railroads."

The editor of the Wall Street Journal simply stated the fact. The Appeal first verified it and then brought out its true significance.

This fact is, as clearly set forth by the interstate commerce commission (Report No. 943, pp. 337-346), that the Chicago & Alton was plundered by E. H. Harriman of millions of dollars under the cloak of "reorganization," and that this gigantic steal was consummated by special legal enactment of the New York legislature, which had the executive approval of Theodore Roosevelt, then governor, without which it would have been an impossibility.

The plain, unvarnished facts in the case place Theodore Roosevelt in the pillory from which his partisan friends, however powerful, will never be able to extricate him.

Roosevelt's Answer.

The answer of Roosevelt's friends to the APPEAL'S exposure of his connection with the Alton deal is a threat to have its editor again indicted by the federal grand jury, which convenes in Fort Scott in a few weeks.

United States District Attorney Bone, of Topeka, has been instructed to go before the grand jury and ask for an indictment and a warrant for our arrest. The charge will be that in publishing the articles reprinted on the second page of this issue, the APPEAL violated section 498 of the United States postal laws. It is not claimed that those articles in themselves constitute a criminal act, but that they were printed on the front page, upper right hand corner, and were exposed to view as the papers were transmitted through the mails.

Had the paper been inclosed in a wrapper with the subscriber's name on the outside, there would have been no violation of the federal laws.

The two copies of the APPEAL, dated January 5th and January 12th, were addressed to George Barry and Clifford Atherton, Frisco, Colo., the address label being pasted on the front page in the usual manner. These papers, with others addressed to the same town, were wrapped in plain paper and directed to the postmaster at Frisco, Colo. The postmaster tore the wrapper open and handed the papers to the subscribers. It was while handing the papers to the subscribers that the offensive matter was exposed to the view of — the postmaster! And the federal statutes violated! And the APPEAL editor is to be indicted by the federal grand jury if the instructions of Attorney General Bonaparte are carried out.

The absurdity of the government's position in this case is apparent to any one who will stop and look the proposition squarely in the face.

I don't believe that any jury composed of twelve men will agree to an indictment on such a flimsy charge. Of course, the APPEAL'S side of the case cannot go to the grand jury. Only the government's side is heard. And such is the reverence for the high and mighty that if Bonaparte says indict, that's what will happen.

Stronger Than Death.

Upon the day that the Temple Scroll was sealed within the corner-stone there came a letter that touched me to tears. With reverent thought and tender hand I turn it over to my readers:

Dear Comrade.—My son, N. L. Truax, died yesterday at Medford, Ore. It was one of his last wishes expressed to me that his name should be enrolled on the Temple Scroll for the corner-stone vault. He was 22 years of age, and a brilliant agitator and pioneer of Socialism, and a martyr to the cause. Inscribe his name in full, Nee Logan Truax, and ease a father's broken heart. I enclose $1.75. Send seven subscription cards to me.—W. W. Truax, Garford, Mich.

Where, in all the sacred history of the Social Revolution, can we find a finer inspiration than this devotion to humanity's cause which not even the cold hand of Death could conquer? Here is a zeal that spans the gulf of the grave and passes beyond the Inscrutable Curtain. How can mortal man, with his paltry enmity and puny efforts, hope to overcome that which even the King of Terrors has not the power to awe or abate?

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

With bowed head and dropping tear that name was reverently placed within the Temple vault, along with those of thousands of living Pathfinders of Progress, more worthy than many that are emblazoned upon proud tablets in the Hall of Fame. And I ask for it another perpetuation—I earnestly request that it be embalmed in the amber of love's eternal remembrance within the heart of every loyal comrade whose own name keeps it company through the silent years in the vault of that corner-stone.

This hero is dead, but still is deathless. His body sleeps in earth's embrace while his name is sealed within the corner-stone—the mausoleum of a martyr's fame—but his splendid spirit has found fellowship in the Valhalla of the never-dying years.

Padlocked!

The federal government has undertaken to put a padlock upon the APPEAL and appoint an official turnkey for its special benefit. It has come to this at last. The APPEAL has become offensive to the standing committee of the looters of the nation, generally called the administration, and it must now be censored by an inspector or suppressed by force.

The decree has been issued, the wheels of the federal machine have been set in motion, and before another issue of the Appeal reaches its readers the staff may be under arrest and the plant silent as a tomb.

A new injunction has been entered against the APPEAL; a fresh process has been served, and what makes it more galling than if it were merely the petty persecution of local or state authorities is that the proceeding has been initiated by the national administration and the order for its rigorous prosecution issued at the seat of power in the federal Capitol.

The APPEAL has long been a menace to the ruling capitalist despotism. In spite of all the artifice that has been employed to arrest its march, it has rapidly advanced, its power has increased and its hold upon the masses has grown steadily stronger.

It is this fact that has created consternation in the capitalist camp, and in its corollary, the capitalist administration.

Well do these enemies of the common weal know that the APPEAL cannot be bought, nor wheedled, nor cajoled, nor bluffed, nor intimidated into submission or silence, nor even into compromise.

The power of courts and the restraint of jails must therefore be appealed to. This is always the last refuge of despotism.

A free press, an unfettered voice, is the inalienable right of the people.

To question it is infamous; to attack it treason.

The APPEAL refuses to bend the knee to capitalist tyranny; it will not be swerved from its true course, and if it is silenced it will be by superior force.

Warren is already facing the bastile, but this is not enough. The APPEAL will still be running and Warren's imprisonment will but augment its prestige and power. Still more drastic measures must be employed. Its columns must be censored, the truth eliminated and the rest diluted, that its spineless anatomy may become a thing of loathing and its name excite derision and contempt.

We have made up our minds. There will be no submission to such despotic censorship until the last of us is behind prison bars and the federal key has been turned on the APPEAL office.

Sunshine or Moonshine.

The Catholic Sun, of Syracuse, N. Y., wishes the "Socialist sheet published out in Kansas" to know that the Roman Catholic press and clergy did not begin the fight they are at present waging against Socialism. The Sun asserts that Karl Marx began the fight over half a century ago, and that "the war was thrust upon the church long ago, and it is yet being forced upon her."

How ridiculous is such an assertion in the light of facts which are matters of general knowledge! Has any Socialist publication in America at any time ever issued an anti-Catholic edition? The Sun has just issued an anti-Socialist edition filled with mis-statements of the Socialist philosophy and misrepresentation of the Socialist movement. There is scarcely a Roman Catholic publication in the United States that does not attack Socialism in each and every issue. Does any Socialist publication in the United States persistently assail the church? To be sure it has been necessary for Socialist papers to answer the questions put by Catholic workingmen who have listened in amazement to the false statements of capitalist-inspired priests; but, so far as the Appeal is concerned, we have touched upon these matters affecting all churches only in self-defense, and then with reluctance.

We do not yet believe that there is any ground for antagonism between any church and the Socialist movement. We do see that the aristocratic clergy of the Roman Catholic church is possessed body and soul by the capitalist class, and as a consequence is using its influence to support capitalism and combat Socialism. But it has not yet been established that the priests and editors are the church. There are thousands of working men in the Roman Catholic church who need Socialism, who believe in Socialism and who work for Socialism. Part of the hard-earned wages of these workingmen go to support the very priests who are not content to perform their legitimate services in a religious way, but have become political agents for capitalism to use their training and position to keep their own people in subjection to capitalist masters. If these sycophants are really and truly the church; if their word is law and the working class members of the church have nothing to say in regard to whether their church shall be so misused, it is certainly bad for the church, for it will surely become divided on this vital question, as certain Protestant churches divided on the question of negro slavery.

What Socialism seeks to accomplish is apparent to all who take the trouble to investigate. Socialism is a purely political movement for economic ends and does not affect any man's religion any more than do the republican, democrat, populist or prohibition parties. What a political party advocates is stated in the party platforms and cannot be hidden from anyone who knows how to read. But our cunning enemies never quote a Socialist platform. They hark back to some individual and parade his private opinion on religious questions as the very essence of Socialism.

Karl Marx was born a Jew. It is a fact worthy of mention that the Jews have done much of the best brain work in the world's history, but their religion would not do for a Christian. Must we throw away all the acceptable work a man does because his religious ideas differ from ours? Must we reject Marx's economic ideas because we can't agree with him on every other subject? Is it logical for the church to antagonize a party that accepts Marx's economic ideas because the church is opposed to other of his ideas?

Although the Sun intimates that such is proper, it is evident that the Romish priests do not follow such procedure, and the best possible evidence of that is the recent address of Bishop Michael J. Hoban in the cathedral at Pittsburg, Pa. In the usual tirade against Socialism Bishop Hoban is reported by the Pittsburg Gazette-Times as saying: "Although Emperor William, of Germany, is a Lutheran, he has to rely on the Catholic clergy to keep him on the throne and protect him from the socialistic element which has 2,500,000 votes."

Martin Luther probably did the church of Rome as much damage as any individual who ever lived; and yet the church protects one of his followers in the possession of a throne, while those who accept the economic doctrines of Karl Marx are all condemned because of his personal ideas in regard to religion. Isn't this sufficiently ridiculous to discredit all such silly talk? How can the statements of the priests and the press they dominate be taken seriously when they cross themselves in such a fashion?

But we are willing to be shown. If the Roman Catholic church, as a church, is necessarily opposed to Socialism we should like to know it and know the reason why. We know why the priests are opposed so largely to Socialism, but we are not yet prepared to believe that the priests are the whole church.

EVERY case of public corruption is by a republican or democrat official; and every one of them became corrupt because rich men debauched them. Under Socialism these same corrupt officials, because of the different relationship they would bear to the public, would be as good and efficient public officials as any who are now Socialist. It is not that men are inherently bad, but because they are under bad environment. You recognize this law when you surround your boys and girls with the best possible environment instead of willingly permitting them to be raised under bad environments. And men and women are susceptible to this law the same as children. So all public or private corruption flows from the system of private capital, or capitalism. It corrupts all who touch it; some more, some less. You and I are touched by it and are different from what we would be were we not in such contact. That is why I am a Socialist, because I recognize this law that influences you and I. Corruption will become unknown when the conditions that produce corruption are removed. If you would have your daughter chaste, she should not associate with the depraved. If you would have good public servants you must remove private enterprise, private ownership of jobs and a special private interest in laws, away from them. That can only be done by that plan of society known as Socialism.

THE newspapers point with pride to the sixteen battleships that will soon sail around into the Pacific to run a bluff on the nations of the Orient like a big booby of a boy flourishing a pistol before frightened girls. Five million pounds of food will be consumed by the 12,000 men aboard the sixteen bomb-throwing machines, each of which cost enough to found a university or build a small city. A sane society not bent on plunder would have just about as much use for this fleet as you have for a policeman to guard your door while you eat your dinner. But Teddy says that we must have more warships. What for? In the name of decency and common sense, what for?

Do you think the American Revolution would have been won had Washington and other generals in the rebel army been intimates of Lords Howe and Cornwallis, and been dined and wined and complimented by them? What an absurd question, you may think. But to me it is no more absurd than to expect Labor to come into its own when its leaders are wined and dined and complimented by the rich and their newspaper mouthpieces. To see labor leaders associating with Civic Federations and Belmonts and capitalist-protecting congressmen looks to me just like Washington doing as Arnold did, and then hoping for success. Get rid of labor leaders who consort with capitalist emissaries.

American Socialists in Russia.

William English Walling, the well-known American Socialist, and his wife, were arrested in St. Petersburg October 20 by the Russian government on the charge of aiding the Finnish revolutionists. Strange to say, the United States government interfered and secured their release, and the capitalistic press is severely criticising the action of the American embassy in going to the assistance of "undesirable citizens."

The Kansas City *Journal*, official organ of the Santa Fe railroad, thinks that inasmuch as the Wallings criticised the United States government and were Socialists they should have been left to the tender mercies of the Russian butchers. The *Journal*, and others of its kind, give expression to the class-consciousness of capital in editorial statements to the effect that no American is entitled to the protection of this government unless an unquestioning supporter of the party in power.

This attitude of the plutocratic press may be a trifle disconcerting to those who have long nursed the popular illusion that all American citizens are equal before the law and equally entitled to protection at home and abroad, but it is nevertheless in harmony with the autocratic spirit of capital, as many are being reluctantly compelled to learn.

As a matter of fact, Comrade Walling, whose contributions to the American and European press are well known as careful and judicious presentations of facts, was on the point of departure from Russia, where he had been for some time investigating conditions. The Russian government evidently dreaded the disclosures that would be made and hoped to suppress the material he had gathered through his arrest and detention.

It seems that both Walling and his wife had been under the constant surveilance of the police, who knew that he had learned many things concerning Russian methods that would not look good to the world. They were arrested only when about ready to leave St. Petersburg for Berlin, from whence they intended to go to Paris, thence to London and then to New York.

One would expect for such work the approval of all who favor political freedom and, of course, the opposition of all who prefer despotism; and the expectation is realized in the capitalist press of America espousing the cause of the czar with bitter attacks on the active friends of Russian liberty. It makes a point plain on which the American public has been anything but clear.

A remarkable parallel of the Walling affair is that of the French nobleman, Lafayette, with whose assistance of the American colonists in their struggle against the English king every American schoolboy is familiar. From an old copy of the *French Royalist* the following comment has been translated:

"It is reported in the latest advices from the North American colonies that the Marquis Lafayette, who made his presence unendurable by his espousal of seditious doctrines of democracy and has joined the rebellious American subjects of His Majesty of England in efforts to overturn the royal authority and bring about the disruption of society, has fallen into the hands of the British and has applied to France for interference in his behalf.

"It is inconceivable how Lafayette, who spurned the divinely appointed rulers of his own country and joined with the canaille in rabid treason, to the nobility to whom he owes allegiance by birth—it is inconceivable how he can now turn to government for assistance when undone by his own plottings against government.

"It is true that the relations existing between the royal families of France and England is not such as to warrant any particular efforts of the French in behalf of England; but there is the common interest of maintaining the institutions of royal prerogative upon which the very existence of social security depends: an institution against which Lafayette has resolutely set himself, but to which he now comes when in collision with authority.

"Since the once noble son of France has fallen so low as to consort with the sans-culottes and turn his sword against his own kinsmen in behalf of the rabble, let him bear the consequences of his indiscretion as a warning to others who may be tempted from their sworn allegiance by sentimental considerations."

FLURRY in Wall street? O, no! That is just an exhibition of the practicability of the present dog-eat-dog competitive system. Banks failing, and you hear the siren songs of the skinners trying to reassure their victims that all is well. "The banks are solvent!" And these liars know that the banks of the nation today could not pay off ten cents on the dollar if they were called on to pay their depositors. Interest rose in New York to 70%—and the laws of New York make taking more than 6% a felony! But you don't hear of any one being jailed for breaking the laws. Not on your life. The competitive system is just having one of its shake-downs—confiscating the property of some of its victims who have offended the Standard Oil interests. In fact, the Standard Oil is the government! It owns the public treasury; it controls the officials of the nation. The scenes about the failed banks are said to have been a frenzy that was pitiable—but, then, the fools believe in the system and let them suffer. They have no faith in government by themselves, but they have lots in the corrupt banking system—so let them have it good and hard. Socialism is impracticable, of course—but losing millions to Standard Oil is exceedingly practicable! Say, gilly, how much more evidence do you want that the world has outgrown the private ownership system? How often must you have your fingers burned before you will learn that the stove is hot? You are worse than little children.

THE APPEAL was graciously informed by Inspector Chance of the postoffice department that the penalty for the offense with which it is charged is a fine of five thousand dollars, to which may be added five years' imprisonment. As more than six hundred thousand copies of the issues complained of have been circulated, the editor is liable to imprisonment for thirty (30,000,000) million years, or, if the judge is inclined to be lenient, he may let him off easy with a fine of three billion ($3,000,000,000) dollars, which would lift the APPEAL far above the Standard Oil company, with its insignificant fine of twenty-nine millions. At this rate John D. may soon be office boy for the APPEAL.

ECONOMIC CLASSICS

The Class Struggle.

The Law of Surplus-Value has shown us that there is a deep-seated, ineradicable conflict between the direct class interest of the proletariat, which coincides with the true interest of the human race, and the direct, conscious guiding interest of the class who own the means of production and distribution. There is here a direct clash between two hostile interests. This fact has been skilfully hidden from the eyes of the workers in the past, but the modern Socialist movement, aided by the growing brutality of the capitalist class, is making it impossible to fool them in this way much longer. In other words, the workingmen are becoming class-conscious, i. e., conscious of the fact that they, as a class, have interests which are in direct conflict with the selfish interests of the capitalist class. With the growth of this class-consciousness this conflict of interests must inevitably become a political class struggle. The capitalists, the economically privileged class, struggle to retain possession of the state that they may continue to use it as a weapon to keep the working class subjugated, servile and dependent. The proletariat, the working class, struggle to obtain possession of the state, that they may use it to destroy every vestige of economic privilege, to abolish private property in the means of production and distribution, and thus put an end to the division of society into classes, and usher in the society of the future, the Co-operative Commonwealth. As the state is in its very nature a class instrument, as its existence is dependent upon the existence of distinct classes, the state in the hands of the victorious proletariat will commit suicide by tearing down its own foundation.

Until a man perceives and is keenly conscious of this class conflict, a conflict which admits of no truce or compromise, and ranges himself on the side of the workers to remain there until the battle is fought and the victory won; until the proletariat shall have conquered the public powers, taken possession of that class instrument, the state (for so long as the state exists it will be a class instrument) and made it in the hands of the working class a tool to abolish private ownership in the tools and the land, in the means of production and distribution, and to abolish all classes by absorbing them all in the Brotherhood of Man; until a man has thus shown himself clearly conscious of the Class Struggle, with its necessary implications, his heart may be in the right place, but laboring men cannot trust him as a leader. The fact that the hearts of many popular reformers, political candidates and so-called friends of labor, who ignore the class struggle, are on the right side, but gives them added power to mislead and betray workingmen. Workingmen, I beg you to follow no leader who has not a clear enough head to see that there is a class struggle, and a large enough heart to place himself on your side of that struggle. But remember that you are not fighting the battle of a class alone. You are fighting for the future welfare of the whole human race. But while this is true it is also true that your class must bear the brunt of this battle, for yours is the only class that, in the language of the Manifesto, "has nothing but its chains to lose and a world to gain"! The rich have much to lose, and this very real and tangible risk of loss not unnaturally blinds the eyes of most of them to the more remote, though infinitely greater compensations that Socialism has to offer them. The middle class, even down to those who are just a round above the proletarians on the social ladder, love to ape the very rich and the capitalist magnates. It tickles their silly vanity to fancy that their interests are capitalistic interests, and their mental horizon is too hopelessly limited for them to perceive that the proletariat whom it pleases them to despise as the great army of the "unwashed" are in truth fighting their battles for them, and receiving, instead of gratitude, contempt, gibes and sneers.

I have said the class struggle is a compass to steer by in the present struggle for the emancipation of the working class. If we steer by this compass we will resolutely reject all overtures from political parties representing the interests of other classes, even when such parties in their platform endorse some of the immediate demands of the Socialists; we will "fear the Greeks bringing gifts"; we will not be seduced for a moment by the idea of fusion with any so-called Socialist party which is not avowedly based on the class struggle; especially as individuals will we avoid giving our votes or our support to any middle class party which we may at times fancy to be "moving in the right direction." The history of the class conflicts of the past shows that whenever the proletarians have joined forces with the middle class or any section of it, the proletarians have had to bear the heat and burden of the day and when the victory has been won their allies have robbed them of its fruits.—*Robert Rives LaMonte.*

THE prosecution and persecution of the active workers in the Socialist movement are shameful to the last degree and argue powerfully for the overthrow of the system which relies upon such brutal tactics for its preservation. At Adams, Ore., recently, Comrade Bertha Rugh was arrested, and her husband along with her, and fined $27 for selling the APPEAL and advocating Socialism. When a benevolent gentleman who stood by paid the fine the beastly officers of the law (?) went to a dive and there gave themselves to revelry with the proceeds of their atrocious persecution of a woman who is as far above their beastly comprehension as an arch-angel is above a viper. There is nothing too vile or infamous for the spawn of capitalism to resort to in dealing with those who advocate a better system and in whose honesty they see a menace to their graft.

NOT CENSORED OR SUPPRESSED.

Before the Appeal is suppressed we hasten to get in this word to say that as soon as these forms leave the press the forms for a fifty thousand edition of our new "Message" go on the big machine. Four pages size of this, and will tell you a lot you are all curious to know about the progress of Girard Industries. Will be mailed to all our regular lists of customers and to others who ask for it. Some lady will get a $25.00 gold watch or the cash. It may be you. The "Message" will tell you about it. Address,

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