

Number Copies Ordered of 257

475,050

If No. 256 is on your label your subscription expires with the next number.

THIS IS NUMBER 255

FIFTY CENTS A YEAR

Appeal to Reason.

J. A. WAYLAND.

GIRARD, KANSAS, U. S. A., OCTOBER 20, 1900

Published Every Saturday

For Public Ownership of MONOPOLIES

Clubs of Five, one year, 30c
Clubs of Ten, 25c
Entered at Girard, Kas., P. O. as second-class matter.

The APPEAL is NEVER sent on credit; if you receive it, it is paid for. Nobody owes a cent on subscription.

Rudolph Strauss of Wyoming, O., gets the farm this week—160 yearlies.

We have to-day very nearly one-half million copies of No. 257 ordered. As it stands it is the largest edition of any socialist paper ever put out on this planet. When the orders pass 750,000 it will be the largest edition of a bona-fide paid in advance paper ever put out since the world rolled beneath the shining sun. That in itself is something worth working for. It is the handwriting on the wall for the capitalistic system and the very size of the edition indicates that the socialist movement is manned by the most energetic and virile crew of reformers that has ever engineered a revolution since the dawn of history. This week should add your order to that of your thousands of comrades. You should swing into line and swell the already magnificent display. For it is by actions that the world judges. By YOUR work the Appeal to-day stands forth as the marvel of the American newspaper and political world. Thinking men judge by evidence, and in the Appeal they see the evidence of a strong and fearless sentiment. In every newspaper office and in the offices of the great political managers of this nation there is one real PARAMOUNT issue and it takes the form of this question: "What is the actual strength of socialism in the United States?" We are on trial Nov. 6th, and the Appeal depends on you to do your duty. Place as many of these 257s in the hands of voters as possible. It costs you but little—and the difference between what the vote is and what it may be, may be the difference between the respect for your opinions or the contempt for them for four more years. If you do not assist now you can feel no pride in the magnificent record the gang is going to make. The price of No. 257 is per 1,000 copies, \$4.00; per 250 copies, \$1.00. They should be ordered now. They will reach you in time.

Wings of Private Wealth.

HENRY B. Courtney founded the gigantic Diamond Match monopoly. To him this was a glorious social system. Note this dispatch and see how glorious it has proven to his flesh and blood, as it may prove to yours: Wilmington, Del., Sept. 8.—The daughter-in-law of a man who had millions has been sent to the county almshouse. Mrs. Sarah P. Courtney, the widow of Charles P. Courtney, is the victim of abject poverty, notwithstanding the fact that her husband's father the late Henry B. Courtney, founded the gigantic Diamond Match trust. The woman was found today with her 12-year-old son sleeping in an out-building in this city. She was ill, and the police sent her to the poor house for treatment, while the child was turned over to the care of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. For some weeks the mother and son have been sleeping in hay lofts and in any other place that would afford them shelter. Do you believe a social system good that raises up to wealth and casts down to miserable poverty the same family? Would not a system that would insure every one against want be much better? What satisfaction is there in feeling that the rich of today may be the beggars of tomorrow? And this fortune, lost to Courtneys, does not go back to its creators. It goes into higher and stronger hands continually. The breaking of great fortunes, if they went to the workers, might be looked on with complacency, but they do not scatter. Other richer men get the whole fortune. Let's establish Socialism and none of these incidents will appear.

The latest thing in trusts is on vegetables, and the place is New York. The first thing necessary to make it practicable was to get the city to levy a license too large for the farmers to pay, and that forced them to sell to a company of men who farm the farmer, and these men proceed to cut the price of articles on the farmer and raise them on the buyers. Nice game and very easy to work. It does not take much persuasion to induce the rascals who usually control the cities that it would be a good thing for them to get more money out of the hucksters. And the thing is done.

The Chicago Times-Herald smells a mice. It says, "Let us not in disposing of Bryan raise up Debs to be reckoned with in the future." But Debs and the Social Democratic party will be raised up just the same, and will sweep the country at the polls some of these fine days, and the papers of the millionaires and their masers will be going to Europe to live with the nobility whom they love.

Election riots in Porto Rico is proof that the masses are not fit to govern and a king should be selected. The monarchists of this country should use this to prove that democracy is a failure.

The Appeal might dilate by the week and month and year upon the desirability of the 320 acres of ground of South Missouri land which it is handing out in premiums. Then, when it DID get done talking about it, there would be much left unsaid. Leaving in obscurity the magnificent apples and peaches and plums and berries and vegetables and all things that grow which are good to eat, did you ever consider the question of water? Or, are you so fortunately situated as to have always had access to highland streams and wells? Any way, the water in this South Missouri locality is pure and good. That is because the land is located in the famous Ozark mountains—though folks from the mountain regions of the west would only call them hills. But hills or mountains, as you choose, the water gushes forth from myriads of springs—pure, cool and refreshing. There are no springs on this land the Appeal is handing out, but there is an abundance of healthy and pure water just below the surface. Again, the air is cool at night—indeed one may comfortably sleep under cover the year around. That is no small boon, as those of the hot South will testify. The winters are mild—the summer all that could be asked. And there you are. Some of these tracts have been taken. Some 27 of them yet remain—and if you will send in the most YEARLY subscribers next week this office will send you a deed to a full larder for all time to come, if you are willing to become your own employer and pay the penalty of nature by manual labor on this ground. There will be 31 others—you may co-operate if you wish. You can build factories—but why talk about it? The winners of the ground are ones to decide what they want to do. Yearly postal cards count on this.

Dog-on-It.

UNTIL yesterday Richard Croker had the honor of owning the most costly dog in the United States, an English bull pup, named Rodney Stone, for which he paid \$5,000, but on Saturday's steamer Mr. Pierpont Morgan received a Scotch collie named Southport Perfection, for which he is said to have paid \$8,500, the highest price ever given for a dog in the world. Mr. Morgan had previously paid as high as \$4,000 each for several collies imported for his famous kennels.—William E. Curtis, in the Chicago Record, Oct. 1, 1900.

And then follows a list of \$3,000 to \$4,000 dogs owned by our nobility. It must be a great "honor" to have paid the highest price ever paid for a dog, and know that the money was sweated out of the working people of this country, many of whom are forced to live on a few cents a day that the masters may have more to pay to some English snob of a title for one of his royal dogs. Great honor, indeed! It is Mr. Curtis' idea of honor. There are no American dogs mentioned in the whole list. Only British dogs are worthy of having a price. American dogs, like American working people, are too cheap to be mentioned in the same day with English dogs. All our nobility dote on the English. English capitalists own most of this country; they have as partners in the ownership a few American families. All have a higher appreciation of dogs than men—especially Americans who are so ignorant that they vote for their masters to own the property and thus have enough money unearned, to pay thousands for English dogs. I do not blame them. Working people who vote to perpetuate such conditions have not as much sense as the dogs. The dogs would bite people who would mistreat them—but the workingmen vote for the capitalists who mistreat them. It must make the working people who are for McKinley and Bryan swell up with pride to read about how "we" have paid the highest price for dogs ever paid. "Free" labor is so cheap and profitable that dogs sell for more than the best black slave used to bring! The white slaves are so cheap today that they have no value, and can be seen at all times tramping over "their" country hunting for some master who will let them work for enough food to keep them from starving! The black slaves wanted to get away from their masters, and the most intelligent ones were trying to get to Canada, but the white slaves are so helpless that they want to find a master! Oh! Are we not prosperous? And it strikes me that something must be wrong with the law of supply and demand when dogs bring \$8,500, and working people in the mines can not be paid enough to keep them from starving. How about this?

The San Francisco Examiner says that Hanna is back of Debs and his party. The Examiner knows this is not true—that Debs represents a great principle and the party is made of men who read and study social problems and are not dupes as are the men the Examiner is haranguing to vote for a social system that enslaves them, ties them to the chariot wheels of corporation lords and barons. The Social Democratic party is the party of the near future. The Examiner fakes it on a parallel with the lie got out that Debs would withdraw in the interest of Bryan.

This is Practical.
THE cost to Britain of the Boer war amounted to \$15,000 for each Boer, says the Springfield Republican. The Socialist sees that it would have furnished the land and machinery for the employment of 700,000 workmen, enabling them to make the world better and happier, instead of filling it with woe and injustice as its expenditure did. But the rulers of England would prefer a greater than a less cost. They made a profit on every dollar of it and it caused an issue of bonds that will forever pay them interest and keep them above the common herd.

A national debt is a blessing to those in power. It furnishes a legal means of making the masses pay the classes an income. The masses do the fighting and dying, pay the expenses, and those who live through the war and their children pay an interest on the loan of the guns and ammunitions with which the fools killed each other. The 50,000 dead workmen who gave their lives at the command of the queen's premier, are too cheap to be counted as a cost. War is glorious! Let's have an empire here!

It's Coming.

THERE has never been a campaign in this country when there has been so little interest taken by the people. There is a sullen, don't-care regard for the questions of the day that presage a great mental change. And mental changes precede political upheavals. Nothing the old politicians are able to do seems to arouse any enthusiasm. Four years ago the people were in little knots on every corner, in every public place. Today this is all changed. There is a evidently a feeling among the people that they are being buccored. After this election, when the Socialist vote is announced, there will begin a greater campaign than this one. It will keep up day and night until the whole country is aroused and this nation is educated to see that the only way to make earth a heaven is by adopting the common ownership of the means of production and distribution, that all may have employment and all receive the full results of their toil. The real campaign for liberty—industrial liberty—will commence next month.

Is this Usury?

THE payment of a dividend of 75% by a Fall River manufacturing corporation is remarkable, in view of the fact that has been expressed that the cotton manufacturing business was going south, never to return.—Boston Transcript.

And these Fall River mills only a few weeks ago announced a cut of 10% in wages because they asserted that they could not pay more and do business. The cut fell through because some of the mills refused to go into the skinning business before election. When the public owns and operates the mills that make the clothing of the nation the mill hands will get an increase of wages that will absorb that 75% profit or the price of goods will be reduced that much. How foolish working people are to vote for men who oppose the public (themselves) owning the property by which they must have a living. The rich vote for any scheme that will benefit them. The workers vote for anything their masters tell them to.

The Highest Wages.

DOES high wages or low wages produce the best citizens? The highest wages can be paid under Socialism, because the workers will get ALL they produce and more than is produced cannot be given. You can give the producers less, but not more than is produced. By giving them all, and nobody has a right to what others produce without an equivalent, they will be enabled to live in good homes, with best environments, have the best food and clothing and enjoy the highest class entertainments. That will make better people. But if you believe that it would not make better people, you believe that the lowest wages are the best, and that the best citizenship can be found among the most wretched workers. If you want the highest possible pay for your exertion, establish Socialism; if you want the worst pay possible, keep the present system.

Make Your Vote Count.

DON'T throw your vote away on Bryan or McKinley. Every vote cast for Socialism—for Debs and Harriman—means something, and will help startle the nation to its senses. In strong democratic states your votes are not needed for either, and in strong republican states they are not needed for either. Every Socialist who votes for Bryan in such states as Massachusetts, not only throws his vote away, but aids in perpetuating the present industrial hell. Cast enough Socialist votes, and the rumbling now dimly heard will increase at once and keep on increasing until the earthquake of Socialism shall change the face of the industrial world. Your vote counts nothing for Socialism for either of the old parties. It counts if it helps startle the nation to its sins.

Avalon College, Trenton, Mo., has been changed to Ruskin Hall. The English working people have given it a fund of \$20,000 from a fund they have been accumulating for the purpose of spreading the system in England and America. John Ruskin will have an increasing influence on the world as years go by. He lived to a purpose.

The Socialist (or half way Socialist, rather) who votes for Bryan this year with the idea that he will get "half a loaf" is throwing away a vote for nothing that he might cast for principle, and thus help to command respect for Socialism, and assist in bringing it on. McKinley will be elected by an overwhelming majority—possibly by the largest any candidate ever received. After he is elected a panic will come that he cannot stave off. That panic will have the same effect on the nation that the firing on Ft. Sumpter had—only it will make Socialists instead of abolitionists. Cast your vote this year for principle, and put up the beacon light to guide the nation through its coming perils. Vote for Debs and Harriman.

If you are at all observant you will notice that in certain quarters it is being claimed that trusts make employment and reduce the prices, and on the whole are a very good thing. The people are to be educated up to this belief so that the reign of the industrial kings may be prolonged. Another set of men are claiming that competition reduces prices and employs more people! The trusts are behind one statement and the rapidly disappearing little dealers are behind the other. And the consumers, who are the great majority, are getting it in the neck. As the thing stands, the little fellow will soon be out of the race, and he will have time to think. Then he will knock the big fellows out by electing Socialists, who will at once proceed to make all the trust properties public property, and have them operated for the benefit of the people. Socialists look on the "increasing combinations and the disappearing little fellow with the greatest complaisance—they know it will go on just so far and then the reversion will come that will change the whole thing. In the meantime, it is amusing to see what opposing statements are taken by the people without a grain of salt.

Prince Albert, of Belgium, got married the other day, and of course, the other parasites wanted to give him a "demonstration" when he got back to Brussels. The Social Democratic party issued a request to Socialists to take no part in the reception. The city authorities tried to have this request recalled but the Socialists refused to do so, and as a result the proposed demonstration fell flat. The parasites are getting some good hints in Europe these days. The working classes are beginning to see that they produce all the wealth and are getting a good sized contempt for the loafers who absorb that wealth. In this country in the next few years you will see the same thing repeated. The time is coming when the people will only turn out to honor men of brains, who have performed some great public service. The present McKinleys and Bryans and their ilk won't be able to get a corporal's guard.

The street cars of Terre Haute are tied up because the employes want a few cents more a day out of the millions that company is making. But the millionaires won't see it that way. But they would mighty quick if the working people had elected Socialists to office. The street car magnates have been in politics in the past, and have the boys at a disadvantage. Vote the whole Socialist ticket, and see how differently demands for decent wages turn out.

For asking a republican speaker a question at a meeting in Los Angeles the interrogator was arrested and jailed. It has become a crime in America for a slave to question the king's emissaries. The king can do no wrong.

The Kansas City Star (Republican) notes that there is no political excitement in Oklahoma, and that it "is impossible for either party to get a crowd." Then the esteemed Star concludes that the crops are so big that the people prefer to stay at home and read. The Star is wiser than it knows. The people in Oklahoma are staying at home, and they are reading the Appeal and thousands of books on Socialism. The wind-jammers of the old parties do not interest them any more. Oklahoma is engaged in thought.

The Quincy, Ill., Daily Herald recently is authority for the statement that the Des Moines, Iowa, Globe, a republican paper, is openly advocating a monarchy for this country. And not only that, but quotes a second article in defense of its position. Every intelligent man knows there are many thousand of monarchists in this country among the rich and powerful. We long ago ceased to have even the semblance of a republic—money rules, and the men who own and control the money are the real nobility.

I want AT ONCE the State Social Democratic tickets in all except the following states:

- Colorado,
- Indiana,
- Kentucky,
- Montana,
- Massachusetts,
- North Dakota,
- Ohio,
- Texas,
- Iowa,
- Kansas,
- Michigan,
- Missouri,
- Nebraska,
- Oregon,
- Utah,
- Washington.

Send in your ticket at once EXCEPT in the above named states.

Let's Make a Change.

DISPATCHES in the Des Moines News of October 4, state that little girls in the mills at Scranton, Pa., are put to work before they can read, and the little boys are herded in the mines at equally tender years. They are employed to compete with their parents, that goods may be produced for less money cost to enrich the rich owners of mills and mines. It is the national game of "business," don't you know. If one mill or mine owner would not do it, he would soon find himself bankrupt. One great, greedy operator can force the others to do the same crime or become bankrupt. Now the majority, the very great majority, are working people. In this country, at least, the majority are supposed to have the right to rule. Would it not be much better for this majority to have an equal ownership and voice in the management of the mills and mines, that instead of having millions go to enable a few families to live in idleness and ease, that it go to the workers? It seems to me that nothing could be more natural for the workers than to want to live well off their own labor, and not to keep up other people who live in idleness. That the present methods of industry does not permit them to live well is plainly evident from this and like instances from every city, town and mine. Public employment pays the workers best. Then why not have the public take over all the employments, put the children to school, feed, clothe and entertain them, while the parents produce the wealth, and when they grow up they will love their country, for it will be theirs, and not belong to the millionaires of this and other lands. The parents can produce all the wealth the whole population can consume. There is no need of the children working until they come to maturity, except such work as they will do in the industrial schools that should be provided for each and all of them. Under Socialism, such items as this from Scranton would never be seen, for no such crimes against the helpless children would be committed. Vote for Socialism and do away with the crime and injustice that hover over the workers. Let the majority vote for a system that will give them the most happiness and development. Debs and Harriman stand for that system.

J. S. C. Abbott, the historian and scholar, in his book, "History of Christianity," displays his utter ignorance and contempt for Socialism in the following words: "Socialism, communism and nihilism are simply different names for the same anarchic force arrayed against the existing order of things. There must be less tyranny on the part of rulers, or there will be more Socialism. If rulers will sow to the wind they must expect to reap the whirlwind. There is positively no excuse or reason or apology for Socialism in a free country, where majorities rule, where the people make and execute their own laws. Socialism is an unspeakable outrage."

If Abbott could reason, he would not have written that. He admits that tyranny creates Socialism. Then it logically follows that the rapid growth of Socialism in this country is here because of tyranny. Tyranny is not always from titled or crowned heads. It is from industrial lords and barons as well, and that is what the protest here comes from. And if this be a free country, what other process than organizing a party to express the hopes and aspirations of the people? They have that right, and to denounce the right of the people to make and execute such laws as they want, is of itself tyranny. The people have the same right to make and execute Socialist laws that they have to make any other kind. But Abbott shows his lack of analysis or his dishonesty, when he intimates that the people here make and execute their own laws. Representatives make and execute the laws, and the people have no voice in making their laws—they never have a vote on the laws. It is therefore, not a free people.

As I write this a convention has been called by the miners to get a vote as to whether they will accept a few dollars a year advance in pay and go back to work, while their employers may ignore their union. If they do, they are selling themselves very cheap. They practically have the strike won, and their bosses fear they will get mad and vote for the Socialists, and then the bosses would be helpless. If they go back to work without recognition of their union, they will soon find their places filled with negroes and non-union men, and they will be hitting the road with the tramps. If they settle without recognition it will be because they have been badly advised by their leaders.

Lawrence Gronlund died as he had lived, about two years ago, in abject poverty. His whole life was spent in the preaching of Socialism in the days when Socialism was not as strong as it is now. He was able to speak many languages, and he told it in all of them. Many times he spoke in buildings and then went out and slept under the building that had held the meeting. He was one of the very best writers the movement ever produced, and if you are one of those who believe that Lawrence Gronlund's work is not finished—though he is dead—you need a copy of his great work "The Co-Operative Commonwealth." Postpaid, 30 cents.

DIRRECT LEGISLATION.

An Address Before Meeting of Charter Framers for Los Angeles, California, by Dr. Haynes.

THE question is: Shall direct legislation be incorporated in the city charter of Los Angeles, now being framed by the board of freeholders? Los Angeles is now governed by representatives elected for a definite period of years, and during their term of office, they, instead of being our servants, are our absolute masters. The city council has the legal right to pass and enforce an ordinance in opposition to the desire of every elector of the city; and they have the power to refuse to legislate, even if every elector prayed for it.

The people have absolutely no redress during the incumbents' term of office. Even at the expiration of their term of office, through ward machinations and cliques, aided frequently by the influence of the employes, and the money of wealthy corporations and syndicates, a majority of the same offending council may be returned to office. And this, despite the fact that they represent but a fraction of the city's total vote and despite the fact that they have repeatedly legislated against the best interests of the city.

Representative government, that is to say, the rule of officials for a definite period, is practiced by all modern nations, except Switzerland, certain portions of Australasia and a few of our states.

Representative government does not represent the will of the people. For instance, "if it is a city election, the man who wishes to vote for the public ownership of the water system, may find that the candidate who advocates that proposition is also in favor of a 'wide open' policy as to certain forms of vice and, in that case what shall the voter do? It is manifest that if the voter could vote directly there would be no difficulty in registering his wishes. It is only when he has to vote for a representative who has a general authority of representation, that the voter must consent to be misrepresented on many questions in order to be represented on one."—Dunlop.

From its very nature, representation can only roughly approximate the wishes of the community. Only a few great interests can be thus determined. Where many issues are before the people, it breaks down completely. Representation, fails because of the weakness of human nature, and the concentration of corruption. Elected representatives owe their nominations to the machine and its boss, and so render first allegiance to him and not to the people.

Has representative government been a success in Los Angeles?

Do you know that this city spends more money in the government of 100,000 people than the United States spent for civil and miscellaneous business when it was a nation of 3,000,000?

We spend \$800,000 per annum, and this does not include the interest on public debt, expenses for the fire, police and school departments, nor our expenses for grading and opening streets, sewers and numerous other items—\$800,000 expended, with but little to show for it. We receive value only to the amount of 50 or 60 cents for any 100 cents expended.

This is not my computation, but that of one of our most important officials, who served in office two terms.

We frequently pay for school and fire house sites from two to four times the amount that individuals would pay. If you doubt this statement, I will be very happy to give exact figures upon specific lots.

I can go from department to department and you all will undoubtedly agree with me that there is hardly a single one in the city that we can be proud of. If you would like more explicit information concerning various steals and a hundred and one other things, not to mention our board of education, under control of a gentleman who is with us no more, go to some ex-members of grand juries. Do not misunderstand me, I am not attacking those estimable gentlemen, the office holders, but the vicious system under which they have the misfortune to act, a system that places them beyond the control of the people they are supposed to serve during their term of office. Would not the owners of large manufacturing concerns be considered actually promoters of dishonesty should they appoint for a definite period of years all their officials without reserving the power to interfere with the actions of those officials, reserving only the right not to re-appoint them at the end of their respective terms of office?

That representative government has proved most wretchedly inefficient and corrupt in this city, as well as in most American municipalities, no disinterested, thinking man will deny.

To remedy this condition of affairs certain changes have been proposed.

I. Councilmen at large. This has been tried and failed disastrously in a number of cities, and markedly in Philadelphia. Moreover, the machine will still control the election of councilmen at large. Instead of the ward machine, you have the general machine to contend with.

II. Civil service reform is suggested as a panacea for our evils. Though a genuine civil service is essential to the existence of good government, and no one is a more earnest advocate for it than the speaker, yet the civil service control does not extend to the heads of departments. It would there, fore, not remedy the evils which, under present conditions, affect the appointment and election of those chiefs.

III. Transference of the administrative power from the council to the chief executive of the city, the former body retaining only its legislative function.

This simply means a change from nine-man power to one-man power, and if that one man prove unfit such transference would not remedy our evils in the least. This is proven by the experience of the cities of Philadelphia and New York. Rendered desperate by the terrific corruption of the old-time city government, they have given their mayors autocratic power, and the result is that there is but little, if any, improvement. The machine in Philadelphia has instituted rotation in office among its leaders, and the man who is mayor there today, was an office-holder there fifteen years ago, and has been in office every since, I believe, and I do not know for how many years before. The mayor of Philadelphia is the obliging friend of the corporation that controls all the street railways of the city, and two or three years ago, he signed an ordinance passed by the city council selling the gas works of the city (against the protest of a large majority of the people of the city) to a very wealthy and powerful corporation for \$10,000,000 less than was offered for the plant by a Boston syndicate.

Now listen to the descriptions of Philadelphia's government by that old conservative Quaker organ, the Philadelphia Ledger, a journal noted for its conscientious regard for truth and fair play, and esteemed by the typical Philadelphian second only to his Bible: "In Philadelphia the municipal gov-

ernment is of, for and by the practical politicians, who make of politics a trade, in the pursuit of which they prosper exceedingly. The ward combine is an organization which selects municipal officers, though not of its own free will, but in accordance with the orders of the so-called leaders, who are practical politicians, and who by making politics their business, reap rewards of their enterprise. The members of the ward combine obeying instructions of their political masters, determine who shall and who shall not be the candidate of the party of the majority." And we all know that the experience of Philadelphia is that of numberless American municipalities.

IV. Another remedy suggested is the election of honest men to office.

All who have watched the up-hill thankless struggle carried on for 25 years by the various citizens' leagues, reform leagues, committees of a hundred and similar associations for remedying the evils inseparable from our present representative system, know how absolutely fruitless have been their efforts to obtain good government by electing honest men to office. After Herculean endeavors they succeed, occasionally, in electing honest, responsible men, who find their hands tied to a great extent by the machinery that has been in motion for years with the sole object of working for its own interests, which are of course opposed to those of the people. Again, the men who we believe to be honest, very frequently turn out, after becoming office holders, to be weak brethren when they are invited to partake of the loaves and fishes.

Think of it—one million and a quarter of dollars was paid to the legislature of Illinois by the Yerkes syndicate to get for a nominal sum a 50 years' surface railway franchise for Chicago streets, and a very large sum, estimated at \$500,000, was paid to the board of aldermen of Chicago to ratify the action of the legislature.

Thus, he who runs may read what a stupendous failure is the present representative system alone, when it offers immense premiums to honest men to become rogues.

We went to Australia for a ballot law, and now let us go to Switzerland, to our New England towns and to the pilgrims of Plymouth Rock for a plan that is practicable, that has been tried and found as nearly perfect as the greatest enthusiast could wish. It is direct legislation.

What is direct legislation?

Direct legislation is the exercise of the right of the people to propose laws, to accept or reject laws made by their legislators and to recall those representatives who abuse their trust.

To the American born it would seem that to the above propositions—"government of a people, by the people, for the people"—there could be no valid objections. Yet there are numerous objectors whose arguments must be fairly met.

All who understand direct legislation believe in it.

They say first, that direct legislation is an experiment; that it is a dream of visionaries, anarchists, rainbow chasers, Socialists. To all these we say emphatically, no. Well objectors demand (and rightly) to be answered not by theories, but by men of experience. No one will dispute the claim of Dr. Albert Shaw, Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, Prof. L. S. Rowe, and the Hon. Bird Coler, controller of the city of New York, to experience in municipal affairs. After two years' of ceaseless labor in studying the experiences of American and European cities, these men in committee have drafted for an association of citizens of New York and Philadelphia, a detailed program of municipal reform. What do we find in the program? We find that they not only express a clear, uncompromising adherence to the principle of direct legislation, but embody in one article of their municipal corporations act a method of putting the principle into practice. Now we know at least that neither this nor any other article was admitted into their program, without undergoing a severe and prolonged test. Once admitted, we can feel sure it is arrived at by the careful sifting of all opposing arguments and by the observation of hard facts.

I will not detain you with the text of the direct legislation article (in the report of this committee of the National Municipal League, 1899.) It is briefly summed up in the final examination of the reformed program at the close of the report:

"It is proposed to leave each city free to establish a system of direct legislation; so that the qualified voters of a city may submit and a majority thereof voting thereon, may decide, by direct vote upon propositions relative to city matters." (Report 1899, p. 237.)

That the system is an experiment is, as we have seen, a fallacy, easily confuted by reference to the labors of the above mentioned authorities. But I will further remind you that the referendum, in its present form, has existed in the local mass meeting (of town, village or school district) of New England, "since the first settlement of the country." And the town meeting is still flourishing in Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, also in New York, Michigan, Illinois and other states. "No other part of the country," it has been said, "can be compared to New England in the completeness of the local improvements, yet no where is the debt so small as in New England towns; no where else are the voters so well informed; no where else is such ample provision made for the education of children."

The recent movement toward direct legislation in certain states is so striking that I cannot forbear giving you two or three instances.

In November, 1898, the people of South Dakota adopted a constitutional amendment securing the initiative and referendum in state and municipal affairs. And again, "the Oregon legislature has passed a direct legislation amendment which, if approved by the next legislature, will be voted on at the polls in June, 1902. The vote in the legislature was overwhelming and absolutely non-partisan."

As a matter of fact, in the last few years, direct legislation amendments or laws, have been introduced in almost every legislature in the country, for instance New York state, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Georgia, Colorado, Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska and California.

"Nearly all the states of the union came into the union with constitutions, which had received the direct sanction of the people," and the people have not stood still at sanction. The right of constitutional amendment is theirs, too, and the vote is for or against separate amendments. In this form, therefore, actual statute legislation has again and again in various states, been the work of the popular vote, and constitutions have become by the same progressive movement, "more

of the nature of codes of law instructing the legislature."

In Europe, Switzerland affords the richest mine of experience. Here "the people have been trained to direct legislation in the local assemblies for half a thousand years," and, in its modern forms, referendum and initiative—the system has, for 50 years, continually gained a firmer hold, extended from canton to canton, and finally, in 1874, has become a vital part of the federal constitution. A further emphatic endorsement of the success of this "experiment" was the adopting of the federal initiative in 1891.

In Switzerland we have seen it spread to Catholic-Protestant cantons, from agricultural to industrial regions, from radical to conservative communities. We have seen it finally bring together, in common decision on public affairs, voters as different in race, language and traditions as separate nations could be.

And if we again look further afield we see the principle of direct legislation recognized and a determined movement made of late years, for its establishment in the great democratic British colonies—New South Wales, South Australia, Victoria, Tasmania, and New Zealand. In South Australia the referendum has once already been put into practice, and recently in Western Australia, on the important question of federation.

The work on which we are engaged now has been initiated by a citizen of Los Angeles, and our work will be referred to the people for their acceptance or rejection. Few of you would be so bold as to claim the right that this board of freeholders should make a charter without referring it to the people, but how many of you claim that your representatives in the city council may have the privilege of granting valuable franchises for a long period of years, and making large appropriations of money? Yet you look upon it as a dangerous innovation to refer such action to the people.

But you will perhaps urge a second objection, namely, that direct legislation will necessitate frequent elections at great expense.

Special elections will seldom be called to vote on proposed changes. Laws will be defeated or adopted at the regular elections. Moreover, the very existence of the voting power of the people will obviate the necessity for its use, because the legislatures will not introduce corrupt and private bills which will not pass muster at the polls; the larger part of the most objectionable legislation will not have to be killed, it will die "a-borning." Look at the existence of Switzerland. In 20 years there were but 68 laws passed in progressive Zurich—50 of these were accepted and 18 rejected. Berne, with 530,000 inhabitants, and 120,000 voters, averages only three laws a year. (The referendum in both these cantons is compulsory.)

And as to the cost, it will be more than balanced by the great economies resulting from pure government and pure laws. The Swiss, (perhaps the most economical of communities) vote, as before mentioned, on all important measures, national and municipal. A marvelous reduction in taxation has resulted where the system of law making by the people has been most thoroughly carried into practice, as for example, in Zurich.

Thirdly, it is objected that legislatures will be useless, ineffectual bodies, if the people are to make the laws.

We reply to that that so far from the legislatures being robbed of their effectiveness, emergency legislation is left entirely to them. "Besides, they have full power in other directions, subject only to the people's revision." They are the advisory and drafting committee for the citizenry.

Fourthly, you say, "Consider the difficulty for the uneducated citizens to judge of the merits of laws proposed."

On the contrary, it is easier to form an opinion on a measure set plainly forth in black and white than to guess of an unknown candidate will act if elected, and how far he will care for the interests of electors who return him, especially when under the influence of the almighty dollar.

Fifthly, we are often assured by objectors that radical and hasty law making will result.

The contrary is proved by experience. Sir Francis Adams, British minister, after long official experience of direct legislation in Switzerland, says: "The referendum has struck root and expanded wherever it has been introduced, and no serious politician of any party would now think of attempting its abolition. The conservatives, who violently opposed its introduction, became its earnest supporters when they found that it undoubtedly acted as a drag upon hasty and radical law making."

Prof. Bryce says of direct legislation of the United States: "A general survey of this branch of the inquiry leads me to the conclusion that the people of the several states, in the exercise of this, their highest function, show little of that haste, that recklessness, that love of change for the sake of change with which European theorists, both ancient and modern, have been wont to credit democracy."

In 1891 the people of Switzerland by a large majority, rejected the proposed purchase by the government of the railways. In 1895, when the measure was again submitted to the people, it was sanctioned by an overwhelming majority.

In California in 1892, five out of nine amendments proposed by the California legislature were defeated by the people, and in 1896, three out of six amendments.

An objection sometimes raised to the initiative is that the people are not competent to frame laws—they don't know enough. But there is little doubt that these citizens who will set a new law on foot, will be of an intelligence equal to the average councilman, and in the matter of drafting laws, expert help can be as easily obtained outside as inside the council chamber.

We are told that only a small percentage of the electors will vote on measures. Why, it is the intelligent citizen who goes to the polls to declare for or against a measure; the ignorant and indifferent citizen does not, thus the intelligence of the city is represented.

In 1892, the ballot, at the November election in California, called on the people to vote on the following propositions, (five constitution amendments and four propositions.)

	No. of Votes	Yes	No.
1—To increase legislative session of senate to 100 days	36,442	153,431	
2—To limit debts of counties, cities, towns, townships, board of education, and school districts to a year's revenue, except by two-thirds vote	18,942	59,548	
3—To increase duties and compensations lieutenant governor, and removing limitations on pay of clerks in state offices ..	43,456	128,743	
4—Manner in which officers of the state may incur a deficiency, and prohibiting legislature appropriating money to pay same			

if otherwise incurred ..	62,236	87,708
5—On manner in which cities containing more than 3,500 inhabitants, may frame and adopt charters	114,617	42,076

PROPOSITIONS.		
1—Election of United States senators by direct vote of the people	187,958	13,342
2—San Francisco depot act ..	91,296	90,430
3—Educational qualifications requiring every voter to be able to write his name and read any section of the constitution in English	151,320	40,059
4—Refunding of the debt ..	79,900	85,604

In 1896 the total vote cast for electors was 290,466 (that is \$7,521 more than the average), and 70% of the electoral voters voted on the amendments submitted that year by the legislature. The vote in New York state at the election of November, 1896, upon the forestry constitutional amendment was 321,480, for, and 710,505 against the same, while the vote for president was 1,423,896. In other words, of nearly 1,500,000 voters only about 300,000 voters of those voting for president failed to vote upon an amendment which was little understood and which might be said to have not been discussed at all. This clearly shows that the argument raised against the referendum, that the people would not vote in large numbers upon laws referred to them, is not founded on fact.

Even friendly critics sometimes point out that under direct legislation administrative abuses would not disappear.

But they forget that the remedy lies in the citizens' hands namely, the imperative mandate. The corrupt councilman or other official is never safe from the popular vote which can recall him from office.

The difficulties in the way of bribery would be far greater under direct legislation. "Legislative bribery derives its power from the concentration of temptation resulting from the power of a few legislators to take final action." The same is true of administrative bribery, and when all the voters can keep effective watch on administration, the departments must necessarily keep straight.

The chief objections raised to direct legislation have now been met.

What are its advantages? Direct legislation helps on reforms.

First, the introduction of reforms. Philadelphia would not have been robbed of her gas works if she had had the referendum.

Instead of spending \$22,000,000 upon her public buildings, Philadelphia would have taken that money and enlarged her water system, not leaving it, as now, to distribute filth and disease, that the council might carry out a boodling scheme.

Direct legislation means pure government. Syndicates, corporations and others will not attempt to bribe representatives, because the special legislation which is their price, can and will be vetoed by the people. The briber and the bribed will practically cease to exist.

The Broadway Surface Railway Co. some years ago paid the New York board of aldermen \$500,000 for the Broadway franchise. How much would it have cost to buy up the referendum vote of the city?

Another case: The Philadelphia council submitted the questions of bonding the city for \$12,200,000 to be used for a variety of public improvements (November, 1897), but they refused to submit to the people the question of leasing the city's gas works to the United Gas Improvement Company, which already owns the gas works in over 30 cities, although the people demanded a referendum with indignant vehemence. The Inquirer had a referendum vote taken in the Twenty-eighth ward, with ballot boxes and regularly printed ballots, just before the lease, and the vote was 32 in favor and 2,582 against it—31 to 1 against the action of the council. The vote polled by this ward is believed to be a fair index of the vote that would have been cast by the entire city.

Direct legislation will be the death of the lobby, as it will be impossible to lobby the people. It comes from good authority that two-thirds of the Albany legislature is purchasable, whereas careful computation has shown that not more than one-tenth of the people are purchasable.

Blackmailing by representatives will cease to exist. One reason of our great corporations owing the majority of legislatures is self defense, otherwise they would be the subject of endless blackmail.

Partisanship will be eliminated from city affairs. Citizens will vote on measures as they believe their interests require and having the opportunity to study the proposed measures for themselves, will not be likely to go against their own interests at the bidding of a party machine. The Belgian jurist, Deplonge, a severe critic of the referendum, frankly admits (at the conclusion of his study of direct legislation in Switzerland) the absence of party spirit under the system.

Machinery and Labor.

There is a steam harvester that reaps and binds ninety acres a day, with the attention of three men.

In the shoe factory one man, with the McKay machine, can handle 300 pairs in the same time it would take to handle five pairs by hand.

In the agricultural implement factories 500 men with machinery now do the work formerly required of 2,500.

Nine men with machinery can turn out 12,000 brooms in the same time that seventeen men used to take to turn out 500 dozen.

A watch factory with machinery can turn out two watches a minute or half a million a year.

In modern steel works, with the help of machinery and electricity, eight men can do the work that formerly required 300.

The latest weaving looms run without any attention during the dinner hour and foran hour and a half after the mill is closed at night.

In leather manufacture modern methods have reduced the necessary number of workers from 10 to 50 per cent.

In the manufacture of carriages it used to take one man thirty-five days to make a carriage; now a carriage is made by one man and machinery in twelve days.

And yet there is destitution and despair throughout the land, not because of the application of machinery in production, but because of the inequality of distribution.

The most disputed record among towns is held by Huddersfield, Yorkshire, says an exchange. It owns itself. Beginning life in a model dwelling, owned by the town, the young workman goes to his work in a municipal tram. He gets his gas or electric light from the city; his wife hires her gas stove from the city, purchases her provisions from the city market, and sends the week's washing to the municipal washerwoman. Their children play in the city parks, their dusting is cleared out by the town authorities, and their letters are collected by a tram, the property of the town. If they are ill they are removed to the town hospital; if they are unlucky in financial matters they find a home in the municipal lodging houses; and when they die, rich or poor, they are buried by the town in a cemetery owned by the town.

Borrowed Plumes.

Anything that will lead working men to quarrel among themselves is "quail on toast" for their employers.—Muncie Trades Journal.

If things keep on as they are going in the retail meat line the butcher won't have much surplus cash to monkey with in a side political bet.—National Provisioner.

Socialism embraces all labors for all, loves all, and redeems all. No narrow boundary of party prejudice nor national patriotism can confine it. It knows no sect, no country, nor race, nor creed, nor condition.—Melbourne, (Australia) Tocsin.

There is no Socialism in the democratic platform, none in the democratic candidate and none in the democratic party. If you want Socialism you must vote for it. Mr. Bryan is an individual supporting a capitalist system.—San Diego, (Cal.) Chieftain.

A vote for Debs means a vote against government by injunction. He has been behind the bars six months on account of this tyrannous law. The record of the other parties is not the best on this score.—Galesburg (Ill.) Labor News.

The bakeries of the future will be models of cleanliness, and will, if the master bakers persist in their foolish opposition against all reform, come to stand under the direct control of consumers and producers.—The Bakers' Journal.

The republican party commenced business with 7,000 votes. The Social Democratic party will have at least 1,000,000 votes to its credit this election. And yet there are some people who say there is no hope for the Socialist and his theory of government. Omenee (N. D.) Herald.

Under Socialism the people would rule absolutely, which they do not now, and yet there are some men who believe that the people would inflict greater wrongs upon themselves than do now the present millionaire rulers under our present system. Great heads.—Omenee (N. D.) Herald.

According to Mark Hanna the Standard Oil Co. is a good trust. It controls one-fifth of the money of the country; and its head, John D. Rockefeller, enjoys an income of \$30,000,000 a year. It certainly is a good trust—for public ownership. Let the nation seize it.—Enterprise, (St. Ignace) Mich.

We fail to distinguish any difference between the republican and democratic parties and Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman have done more for the laboring people than all the politicians in the two old parties and deserve the vote of every working man in the United States.—Miners' Union Magazine.

As the old political parties are clamoring about the motto that are to be placed upon their campaign badges we would suggest that the democratic and republican parties combine and use a joint emblem, say something about like this: "A Free Silver Dinner Pail Filled With Embalmed Beef."—Motorman and Conductor.

We brought nothing into this world and we can take nothing out of it. All the interest in material wealth that we can possibly possess is the right to use while we are here, with no right whatever to deprive others of equal access to the common bounty. In the very nature of things nothing can absolutely belong to us, and hence we are only stewards during the brief period of our occupancy.—Equity.

Why can't we have postal savings banks for the people? Hundreds of millions would be deposited without interest because the deposit would be safe. The government would never need to issue a bond, and taxes would be reduced one-half. The answer is this: The banks who rule the country will not permit it, because it would break up their business of speculating in deposits and then suspending periodically—richer than before.—Southern Mercury.

Were there any laboring men's wives in that parade, you ask? Well, I guess nit. The products of labor were there, that's all. The decoration of vehicles was very fine, but it was not done by the drones who paraded. It was done by the hands of the poor shop girl and male decorators who are half paid, half clothed and half housed. It is all a fake and fraud, for that is the order of things.—Faribault, (Minn.) Referendum.

New York Typographical Union No. 6 has voted, in its board of delegates, to declare a boycott on the republican party because, it is alleged, that party is giving support to the New York Sun. Just what party the members of No. 6, will support has not been disclosed, but it is safe to say they will vote for a party that is supporting a daily newspaper that is giving aid to the New York Sun. We fear Big Six is getting tangled up. But when didn't a trades union get tangled up that tried to choose between the devil and the deep sea of democracy and republicanism?

Why not vote for Eugene V. Debs, and have a pleasant taste in your mouth after it is all over?—Chicago Federalist.

Illinois, like many other states, has a pure food law designed to prevent conscienceless capitalists from mixing poisonous material with food products they put on the market. The law has just been tested in the courts, and it is found "impossible to enforce it." Just like in other states. Is it any wonder that the law cannot be enforced when 95% of all food products are adulterated, according to a U. S. congressional committee investigating the matter? And the worst of these products are the cheaper ones consumed by the working people. If you are satisfied to be slowly poisoned, vote either of the old party tickets, which uphold the present system of production. If you are opposed to wholesale poisoning, vote for Socialism, under which system food will be pure because the greed for gain would naturally disappear with the passing away of the fear of poverty.—Cleveland Citizen.

Those who scoff at the declaration made by those who favor government ownership of railroads, that under that system a passenger could ride from New York to Chicago for \$2, or across the continent for \$5, should know that in Switzerland where the railroads are owned by the government, one may ride day and night for 15 days for \$6. To those who cannot believe until convinced by a practical demonstration, what more proof do you want? If the government owned the railroads of the United States, working men of New York or other northern cities could visit the beauties of California every winter, those of torrid southern cities could take a week off to visit the cool retreats of the Adirondacks, or of the Rockies, every summer; and those of both north and south could revel in seasonal fruits and vegetables the year round. Are these not reasons enough why working men should work for the system of public ownership? There are other reasons, scores of them, but are not these enough?—St. Louis Labor Correspondent.

Why I Shall Vote with the Social Democracy.

IN 1896 I voted my first and only national democratic vote. For some years before, I had voted any ticket which at the time seemed to promise most to break up the old party alignment. I had contended that neither party stood for any principle which it could really carry out, without doing one of two things—either it would disrupt and destroy itself, or it would continue to pillage and betray the country, as both parties had done in all of the states and in the administration of national affairs. But in 1896, in common with the great body of populist and independent reform votes, I was convinced that at last a real fight was on hand between the new born democracy and betrayed republicanism. The money-lenders had attempted to double the value of all debts owed to them and to double the burdens of all the debtors and the revolt was so widespread and spirited that for many months, both before and after election, it really seemed as though the usury takers were all going into the republican camp, thus leaving a free democracy to gather into its own ranks in the final fight the balance of the whole people and under such a re-organization of political parties the radical democrats would become and remain the controlling democrats and it seemed to me that the government under their control might cease to consider dollars only, and attempt to provide for the common welfare of the people themselves. But today the situation is entirely changed. I came into the democratic party because certain other parties were going out. I am going out now because they are coming back. Not because I have any personal quarrel with any of them, but because their return indicates more clearly than anything else can possibly do, that there remains no chance for the sharp division of the country on radical lines between the old parties. I am aware that the democrats attack imperialism, and I believe that imperialism abroad means a military despotism at home; but I know full well that commercialism and not McKinleyism, except as the two are one, is responsible for imperialism. I know that a campaign against imperialism by commercialism, whether under the leadership of McKinley or Bryan, will be helpless to destroy imperialism. I know that imperialism abroad cannot be destroyed nor a military despotism at home be averted, except the breeding pens of both shall be closed out in the overthrow of commercialism as the dominant factor in American life. This neither Mr. Bryan nor his party, by any utterance whatever, have indicated any intention of doing. So as an anti-imperialist, I must vote for the only party which striking at commercialism, will make imperialism impossible. The democratic party promises to destroy the trusts. But it would be just as reasonable for it to promise to destroy frosts, whirlwinds and the moonshine. I do not want the trusts destroyed, nor any other labor saving device. I want them socialized and all the people made sharers in their benefits. The great trusts are the inevitable outcome of the great machines and of the world market. The partnership was not able to do the business which the great machines made possible, and so made the corporations necessary. The corporations underbid each other for the same market, and were obliged to organize larger corporations, or trusts, in order to protect themselves from mutual destruction. As the market has become a world-wide market, the trust is becoming a world-wide organization also. It is the creator and defender of modern imperialism. To submit to it, means universal industrial bondage. To destroy it means a return to imperfect means of production, and a plunge into universal bankruptcy as well. But we need neither submit nor destroy. We may socialize. To submit is the republican program. To destroy is the democratic program. To socialize and so bring its benefits to every one of us is the program of the

Social Democracy. Until that can be done nothing can be done worth the doing. I shall help the Social Democracy what I can in carrying out its program. The democratic party promises direct legislation; but it has been doing so for some time in several states. And in the campaigns in these states, as in this national campaign, while it declares for direct legislation, it neither advocates it before the people, nor practices it in the government of itself. I do not believe that a party which will not govern itself by direct vote of its own members, can be trusted to undertake the government of the country in such a way. The Social Democracy practices the direct vote and will extend it to the affairs of the country as rapidly as it is able to advance itself. The democratic party promises the free coinage of silver, but it explains that it will be powerless to secure it, and the opponents of free coinage are comfortable and satisfied in supporting the ticket. If Mr. Olney can come back to the party because it cannot possibly secure free silver, no one needs to vote for the party for the sake of free silver. Certainly no one who believes as I do, that free silver was an important issue, not for the sake of what the measure itself would secure, but for what its agitation might lead to in the reorganization of parties, can find any reason for voting with Olney hoping to get what Olney does not want. I know that the evil of trusts, the coming of imperialism, and the theft of the money conspiracy, are all of them but incidents in the program which gives the producer a certain producing power, and then pays a wage which enables him to buy back only a portion of his products, and leaves the rest in private hands and makes the foreign market necessary. If Mr. Bryan does not go after the foreign market with a gun, he must get it some other way equally as disastrous for the workers both at home and abroad. I am not greatly interested in the question whether it shall be sought for with a gun or some other way. What I want is such a purchasing power for the workers at home, as will make it possible for them to buy out of the market all that their labor puts there. Then there will be no chasing after a foreign market either with or without a gun. There will be no robber so foolish as to put in his time trying to subjugate people that he cannot rob. McKinley justifies subjugation. Mr. Bryan attacks subjugation. I want to stop the robbery at home, which provokes the subjugation abroad. Neither Mr. McKinley nor Mr. Bryan will consent to that program and neither can have my vote. There is just one thing which will carry out that program, and that is to put into one party those who produce more than they get; and into another, those who get more than they produce. The overwhelming majority will be with the surplus producer. The non-producing surplus getter, trying to find some one to buy the goods he cannot use, will be out of power, but he need not be out of a job. The producers, once in power, will proceed to place the means of production within the reach of all, including the sometime non-producer along with the rest. The class struggle will be over, the useless class will have joined the ranks of the useful. The useful class will become universal, and humanity at last will be conscious of itself. The practical question for a dozen years, has been to bring about this division. I am persuaded that a vote for Mr. Bryan or Mr. McKinley will in no way hasten its coming. A million votes for the Social Democracy will compel the reorganization, and that not by converting either of the old parties, but by compelling their union against the new party, and the speedy overthrow of both. If we cannot then all the more reason for beginning at once, for it will take a million votes in the new party to compel the re-organization by which imperialism will die, the trusts cease from troubling, the money conspiracy lose its power to enslave, and government come to be administered by direct authority of the people themselves. I want to be one of the million, and shall, therefore, vote for Debs and Harriman, the candidates of the Social Democracy. WALTER THOMAS MILLS. Bowen College, Berrien Springs, Mich.

and only 50 boys are needed for all shifts. Five thousand dozen socks are made daily. By the old method this work would require 50,000 men. A machine, or process, or something has been developed and installed in Chicago that prints bill heads, statements, etc., in two colors, ruled and furnished on good quality of paper at less than \$1 a thousand. The press or machine prints and rules from 10,000 to 20,000 an hour. The American tobacco trust has absorbed several more independent plants and its cigar branch is securing control of several more large factories. It is also reported that the combine is securing control of tobacco lands in this country and Cuba and other surrounding islands. In 1850 we consumed 1,000,000 kegs of beer. In 1900, with a population two and one-half times greater, we consumed 37,000,000 bbls. In 1889 we consumed 506,076,400 gallons of liquors and wines. Seven years later we had increased the consumption to 1,189,379,488 gallons. Deaths from alcoholism have increased 15% in the past 25 years. When in full running order the Homestead mills of Pennsylvania employ 7,000 men. At least 12 or 15 men are injured every day. This includes all kinds of accidents from the tearing off of a thumb nail to the severing of a leg. At this rate about 4,200 men are injured yearly in the great iron works. The railroad firemen are growing because the big engines that are now being used are so hard to fire that they nearly kill the men who are assigned to them. The same engines do a little more than twice the work with the same crew that the engines did that were in use ten years ago. So some of the firemen, at least, have been relieved from this terrible hard work. For the consolation of the remainder, it is said that an apparatus for mechanical firing is being experimented with on the Chesapeake & Ohio, so that they can all take a vacation in the near future. Several years ago Edison made this statement: "The discovery of a way of converting coal directly into electricity will be the turning point of all our methods of propulsion. Steam will be entirely superseded by the current. There will be no boilers nor any of the necessary externals which go with steam engines. We are rapidly approaching the time of the steam engine's end. The large Atlantic liners are slowly reducing their time on their trips, but that must soon stop. Then we shall have to wait until coal is turned directly into electricity. I believe it will come, and then we will cross the Atlantic in four days or less. We can get 90% of the efficiency of a dynamo against 6% or 10% of an engine." Since these words were uttered the wizard of Menlo Park has been at work upon the problem which he propounded for himself. It is now announced that he has attained at least, a measure of success, and has already brought his invention to a point where it is expected to be commercially valuable. A company has been incorporated to control it. The principle upon which the apparatus works is to generate a current from metals which are alternately heated and cooled. The principle is not a new one, but the practical application of it is. If he has succeeded as announced, the steam engine is already doomed, because the new apparatus will exert nearly 80% more of the energy of the fuel. Prepare for another great industrial revolution.

Vote Right. SEVEN million votes will elect the next president of the United States. Seven million voters do not own their own homes and if the present conditions continue never will. It is the monied aristocracy with Bryan and McKinley as their promoters, against Eugene V. Debs and the masses. Every four years the two great parties, owned by the money kings, hold conventions and nominate their tools. Then the bands play: the sky-rocket shooteth, labor divides its vote and howls with delight over the full dinner bucket, while the owners of these United States lay back, smile quietly and say softly, "Go it, you cripples. Whoop her up. We win any way." For years those who have taken the lion's share of the product of labor who have had plenty and to spare, while thousands who produced what was necessary for their comfort were suffering for the want of it, have been able to convince the laborer that his interests could best be served by continuing a system that takes from him the larger part of his earnings to enable an idle class to live like princes. The proposition offered the voters by the owners of the country, through Messrs. Bryan and McKinley, is that the same opportunities are open and equal to all—that every man can be a president or a millionaire, if he is industrious, frugal and persevering. Since Grant's first term as president, how many people of this country who have been frugal and industrious, according to the opportunities offered, have become presidents or millionaires? Think of the vast amount of wealth the working people have created in the past thirty years and what they hold as their share to-day. Think what your chances will be of bettering your condition if the same system of production and distribution continues. The Social Democracy claim that there is an abundance of the necessities and luxuries of life produced for all, and that those who work and produce these necessities own them and are justly entitled to enjoy them to the fullest extent. This proposition is ridiculed by those who are at present living on the labor of others, and, strange as it may seem, the majority who are being so systematically robbed, appear to enjoy it. The leaders of the two great parties call it anarchy for the people to ask for what belongs to them by the right of production and sound business principles that allows the idle to absorb the wealth and live on the products of labor. Which of the two classes do you call the anarchist? It would seem an easy matter for the voters to decide this question. Will they try and do it? Will enough of them think the time has come for those who work to receive sufficient for their labor to live in peace and comfort, and vote as they should, for Debs and Harriman?

The Appeal in it [as Usual]. SANTA MENICA, CALA., Sept. 22, 1900. EDITOR APPEAL TO REASON. I was walking down Main street in Los Angeles last night. A crowd attracted my attention. Of course it was a political discussion and "parliamentary issue"—no it was "Trusts". An honest democrat and a good republican were in a wordy war, hammer and tongs. The "Hannanite" had far the best of it, but it seemed as though I had heard that argument before. "Now! you read that in the APPEAL!" retorted the discomfited Bryanite. "Well, you hadn't read the 'APPEAL' too, you wouldn't have known it," replied the exasperated republican. This led to a general discussion as to the merits and demerits of the "APPEAL TO REASON". Great Scott! what are we coming to when the old parties have to refer to Wayland to clinch their arguments and then get called down by their opponents for not placing the credit where it belongs? And just think of the advertising that little weekly got right there from old plate's adherents. C. S. W.

American Notes

To our Comrades and Friends: The persistence with which the report is circulated that I have resigned, or intend to resign, in favor of the democratic candidate, impels me to issue this denial of the falsehood originated by the capitalist press to deceive and mislead our friends and supporters. Comrade Harriman and I have been nominated as candidates for vice-president and president, respectively of the Social Democratic party, and we shall stand as such candidates to be voted for on election day, all reports and rumors to the contrary notwithstanding. It is not at all improbable that this report may be sprung fresh on the very eve of election, too late to be met and contradicted by the weekly socialist press of the country, and for this reason I take the liberty to request all socialist papers, and others that may be friendly to our party, to publish this statement and keep it standing in the last three or four issues preceding the election. EUGENE V. DEBS. Terre Haute, Ind., Sept. 21, 1900. People's Paper, Santa Barbara, Cal., has come out for the S. D. P. Twenty-five laundries were closed in Chicago last week by the trust. The Wisconsin Social Democrats have put up a state ticket, making the twenty-eighth state in line. Nearly 4,000 bicycle travelers in this country have lost their jobs since the bicycle trust commenced its run. About 200 trusts control wholly, or in a large part every conceivable product and industry of the country. It is reported that Social Democrats in South Dakota have put up a ticket, and the same action will be taken in Delaware. The Standard Oil Company has gobbled up the independent wells of California, and now appears to have a complete monopoly. A Jewish weekly has been started in New York in the interest of the Social Democratic party. A similar weekly was started in Chicago. The total vote in Maine for the Socialist ticket is now about 1,200, which is not bad, considering it is the first time a Socialist ticket has been up in the state. While Kansas is proposing to send 1,000,000 bushels of corn to feed the Hindus, the Hindus are sending 40,000,000 bushels of wheat to England to feed Englishmen. The average daily compensation for the general officers of the various railways in the United States is \$7.47 per day, while the average of the working employees is \$1.60. The Great Northern will utilize the water power along its tracks in Washington for the purpose of motive power for trains, converting the water power into electricity. Good-by, coal miner and fireman. The larger brass companies are getting up

Shall WE Own the Earth?

I would like to say only a few words to the men who are not satisfied with present social, political, and industrial conditions, and are working for reform. I don't mean this for men who have always voted as pap and grandpap voted—men who never had the least idea what they were voting for, or what government is, or could be, and should be. Men who inherit their political faith, are like children who inherit consumption—the latter's chest is too narrow for lungs, and the former's head is too narrow for brains. But you men who wear a 7 and 7/8 hat, and who are looking for reform, don't look for it in the democratic party. That party does not want reform. Democrats may talk reform and promise reform, but they never yet attempted to make conditions better for the working people. Never in a single instance. When a young man, I was led out of the republican party by the advocates of a paper (Greenback) currency. I still believe in that kind of money, but the democratic party swallowed the old greenback party, and the greenback principles were buried out of sight. Did the democratic party ever make a single attempt, while in power, to return to a paper currency? Never a single trial. I was in Colorado in 1892, and left democracy to join the populists. I still indorse every plank in the populist platform. In 1896 the democratic party came around and swallowed my party again—swallowed it on the single issue of free coinage of silver. They never intended to give the people any other reform. Like the whale, they swallow every reform Jonah and the republican party throws overboard, but never puke them out again. Indirectly they are helping along reform. Their treachery to reform, has driven all honest and sincere reformers out of the party, and socialism owes its rapid growth to the treachery and hypocrisy of the democratic party. Socialism owes nothing to the republican party. That party never promised reform, never wanted reform, and hates reformers like Satan is supposed to hate holy water. I am not the least bit afraid of any intelligent reformer voting for McKinley. Not the least bit afraid that any posted and strictly intelligent laboring man will vote for McKinley. His party depends entirely upon the wealth and the ignorance of America. But there are a lot of half-awakened republican working men who are looking through the mists of political sophistry, and searching for a way out of this hell of competition; and a lot of democratic voters who want more than free silver

and an income tax; these are the men now hesitating, and are undecided whether to support Bryan or Debs. No man who wants a better industrial condition and an equal chance in the world to gain a livelihood, ever for a moment thinks of voting for McKinley. The republican party boasts only of its power to slander the people, and of the patriotism of the phrenological bigmies who are getting plundered. It promises nothing but wage slavery and the unlimited victory of capital over labor. The laboring man who supports that ticket is beyond the reach of common-sense talk. I talked to such a man a few days ago—I persuaded him to read the Social Democratic platform and tell me frankly what he thought of it. He read it over carefully, and then handed back the paper with the sarcastic remark: "Oh, you socialists don't want much—all you ask for is the earth!" I slapped him on the shoulder and replied: "You have guessed our position to a finish, Charley; we DO WANT THE EARTH! The earth belongs to the people living on it, and the living people will take possession of it, just as soon as they know their right to own and possess it." But this was all lost on Charley. Charley inherited his republicanism—inherited his abject spirit of servitude and willing slavery. He never knew that he had a share in the earth. Republicanism and democracy have taught the people that the earth belongs to capital, and labor must pay rent and tribute to capital for the privilege of living on dry ground. But you voters who know that the people have a perfect right to demand possession of the earth, why listen to the sophistry and false promises of Bryan democracy? If there never had been a reform party to swallow democracy would still be fighting a sham battle over "tariff reform." If every socialist voter supported Bryan this fall, would democracy give you any other reform, after having successfully downed socialism? Should socialism be completely wiped out of existence at the coming election, it would take half century to build it up to its present magnificent importance. And the way to wipe out socialism, is for socialists to vote for Bryan. You one-step-at-a-time socialists, please remember that if we all vote for Bryan and the one step toward reform, there will be no reform party in 1904 to force democracy one single step farther. The old parties are run by capitalists, and capital only moves when forced to do so. Every vote lost to social democracy this fall, weakens the reform force that is slowly but surely driving capital into a corner, and forcing it to give back its plunder to the people. Here in Pennsylvania a vote for Bryan is a vote thrown away, even if Bryan were with us. The leaders have already given this monopoly-cursed state to McKinley. Every vote for Debs counts one step toward reform. Every vote is a victory for socialism—a step towards ever and everlasting desire—to own the earth. JACOB HUFF.

Social Democratic National Ticket for 1900.

For President: EUGENE V. DEBS, of Indiana. For Vice President: JOE HARRIMAN, of California. THE PLATFORM. The Social Democratic party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights. In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist, and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor. Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will necessitate the adoption of socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare. The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty. Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing the political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system. Therefore, the Social Democratic party of America declares its object to be: First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists. Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism. The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule. The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction we make the following demands: First—Revision of our federal constitution in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex. Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water works, gas and electric plants and other public utilities. Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and other mines and all oil and gas wells. Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production. Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the em-

ployment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose. Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public. Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible. Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment, and want in old age. Tenth—Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women. Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters. Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

Here's a Hot One.

A "wage-slave" owner in Chicago, who runs a large packing house, made a statement, which appeared in the Buffalo Evening Times, Saturday, Sept. 22, that a workman has no right to marry. Hold on a minute! Who furnished the "slaves" for the rich man? Does the rich man furnish them? Oh, no! The wage-slave furnishes them. Then, say the workmen for fifty years to come, should not marry, who would furnish the wage-slaves for these inconsistent plutocrats, who fill their stomachs with good food, wear good clothes, squander money, (and their slaves have not enough to live on) and have not enough brains to know who is furnishing them the wealth which rightfully belongs to the men who have "no right to marry?" A man who makes such a statement could never have done an honest day's work. I wonder how a man who has not intelligence enough to know who is furnishing the wage-slaves for him can ever have acquired enough wealth to own a large concern of this kind. Well, Mr. Voter, this is the state of affairs: Your employer tells you that you have no right to marry. Your employer also denies you enough to live on; and when you strike for "a little more pay," what does he do? He asks the governor to call out the National guards and forces you to work for the same pay against your will. What a beautiful thing it is to live in a grand free country! Yes, free, but not to you who have to slave for the paltry few dollars you get; but the rich—oh, that is different. They have a right to look on this as a free country; they own everything—even the Supreme court, while you have nothing but misery, and should not expect anything because you are a workman. If you are satisfied with the above conditions, vote for Wm. McKinley or Wm. Jennings Bryan; but, if you are not, vote for Eugene V. Debs, the man who knows what an honest day's labor is, candidate for president on the Social Democratic ticket. JUST A PLAIN PRINTER.

Thirty Years Hence.

The New York Journal in its editorial of Sept. 23, 1900, figures out that the Standard Oil Co., alone, will in thirty years absorb the entire wealth of the nation—if allowed to do so, that it will own the last one of us, body, soul and breeches, and that its clear profits for last year were \$48,000,000. The Journal further says that "Mr. Bryan and the attorney general whom he promises us to appoint will put a stop to this sort of thing," and no doubt they will (in a horn.) Half that yearly revenue will buy a dozen Bryans and a gross of attorneys-general such as he is able to select from his capitalist retainers. That would-be capitalist politician, who is above selling out for ten or twenty millions in this day and time, has yet to be born, and if he should be, cannot possibly attain maturity, before the Social Democracy will be steering the ship of state and will easily have nationalized the Standard Oil company and all other trust companies, and will be conducting their various industrial plants for the general benefit. The Social Democracy of the world is the only political party, to whose leaders money is no inducement to eat crow at this late day; they would not know what to do with such a pile of capitalistic poker chips. They are training their gobs for molder game and that they will hit their mark is as certain as fate. CHAS. F. SCHROEDER. Oasis, Fla. Remember No. 257, boys

Order a bundle of 257 for distribution and watch the plutus squirm.

THE JUDGMENT DAY.

Now all the mighty toiling hosts. Whose veins are full of live, red blood. Are rising up against the ghosts Of ancient terrors, like a flood.

be provided for all; so it wasn't much use to make a fuss for this short life, anyhow. In spite of all these charitable efforts—or because of them—matters grew worse and worse.

Two Items of Interest.

WHILE reading a republican paper a few nights ago, I came across a couple of news items which I believe ought to be read by more of the laboring people.

Washington's Opinion of Trusts.

In 1778 General Washington's army was not in a very good condition. It needed food and clothing, in fact the soldiers were in rags, and with their officers lived on the plainest of food, principally roots.

Read the Platform.

My Dear Wayland—I would rather live in this world if the world itself belonged to the public and everything else belonged to private individuals, than to live in it if the earth belonged to private individuals and everything else belonged to the public.

Don't Mention It.

I see nothing in your paper about the shooting affair at Detroit, Minn. Last winter two of the boys secured about 200 subscribers for the Appeal, and these had so opened the eyes of the people that last spring they voted and carried a proposition for an electric light plant for the city by a majority of five to two.

Everywhere the Same.

Two years ago we had only two Socialists in this congressional district. Now in this town we have 32 members enrolled, with hundreds of others getting interested, and they are the best, as well as prominent citizens.

Reads the Appeal.

The chairman of the national democratic committee must be a close reader of the Appeal. He writes me that the reference to "Bryan's non-union printed books" in a letter, as Bryan had nothing to do with the issuing of that book, not even remotely.

Appeal Army

Fifteen scalps from Comrade Behrens of Sedalia, Mo. Bunch of ten from that old-timer, Allen, of Hattiesburg, Miss.

Comrade Allen of Oneida, N. Y., take a bunch of five copies weekly. Comrade Ridenbach gets to the bat with ten annuals from Milwaukee.

Comrade Fain of Anthony, Kas., takes a bunch of 20 of those postal cards. Comrade Crosse of Duncan, I. T., added six scalps to our list last week.

Comrade Walker of Webster, gives our already large Massachusetts list a lift in the way of 27 yearlies. Comrade Mulbarger of Indianapolis chased 14 Indianapolis boxers to cover last week and lifted their scalps.

Comrade Wood of Manti, Utah, got to the bat last week with an order for 16 yearlies and 500 copies of No. 257. Comrade Goodrich of Eaton Rapids, Mich., joins in the fray with a snort of defiance—485 campaign subscriptions.

Comrade Schoen of Sheboygan places an order for 2,750 No. 257. Wisconsin has a peculiar faculty of being always in it. Comrade Chappell of Stockdale, Tex., dropped a bunch of 40 yearlies in on us the other day.

Comrade Bell, a physician of White House, Texas, drops in a bunch of four yearlies on us. Some day we will be getting subs. from the White House, Washington, D.C.

Comrade Peden of Mt. Vernon, Mo., orders 250 of No. 257 and says that the old party politicians who have been canvassing the county express surprise at the large number of socialists they run against. They will express more surprise when the votes are counted. The socialists have their stinger out this year.

Comrade Fink of Castalia, S. D., renews his subscription and says that we cut him off the list like we were mad when his time was up. Every subscriber is taken off the list the moment his time is up. There isn't any hard feelings over the matter at all—unless the name is removed promptly the office ball dog will bite the subscription clerk.

Comrade Elliot of Slocan City, B. C., sends in the subscriptions of 24 miners for a year and says that over 75 per cent of the miners of that country are socialists. Better run 'em across the line and let 'em help us vote this year. Then the Army editor will bring the army over and vote it in Canada at the right time. In this way we can soon carry one or the other country.

Get those one or two subscribers that are always waiting to be picked up. The Army editor likes to see the small lists—they are what knock as well as the big ones. It's only a little trouble to you and it gives the Appeal thousands monthly that it wouldn't otherwise have. It makes converts. Get your work in on every one. It's no disgrace to send in small clubs—please remember that.

Here's three orders from Oklahoma one right after the other. The Army editor, who is getting somewhat tired of this Oklahoma business, will bunch them all together. One thousand copies of 257 and an order for eight postals from Farnsworth of Newkirk; 15 subscriptions from Richey of Stillwater and two subs. from Tucker who seems to be brandishing the tomahawk in Perry. These are the reasons that the people of Oklahoma won't go to the old party meetings, which the Kansas City Star complained about last week.

Comrade Smith of Ocala, Fla., takes \$10 worth of those cards. They are very handy in taking subs. as you sell your victim the card and then he and us do the rest. You are out of it as soon as you get your money back. We are out of it at the end of the year. Your victim isn't out of it though until the new civilization is established. Isn't it worth your while to make a new convert? You will do it with every subscriber. Not in fifteen minutes—we don't say that—but you start him along the road that ALWAYS land them in the socialist camp.

Last week the Appeal broke the weekly record on receipts—\$1,054. As every dollar of it went out, or will go out in socialist matter at the lowest possible price, you can form some idea of the smashing campaign the boys are putting up. One thousand dollars per week is far and above any ordinary commercial business in this country and the man who does it considers himself a success in life and refers to himself as "self-made." But this business is different. It is built by the workers and it is run in the interest of the most gigantic propaganda the world has ever known. Do you know that this is the 25th anniversary of making great social and economic changes in the systems and customs that are centuries old? The old method for arranging for such changes was by word of mouth, but the up-to-date Appeal Army uses linotypes, fast perfecting presses, and paper by the carloads. In fact, gents, while the trust is tooting the horn, we are on the band wagon. A little work from each of you every week will keep the receipts up \$3 a thousand dollars weekly.

Things People Ought to Know. That a republican form of government is one in which the laws are made by representatives of the people and the chief executive officer—the president to administer the laws is elected by representatives of the people (presidential electors). It is essentially a representative government.

The democratic form of government is one in which the whole voting people make the laws, and elect or choose their president or chief executive officer. That a Socialist government derives its powers and orders from the people, for whom it is established and maintained. That the people make the laws, choose their president, cabinet officers and other servants, tell them what to do and how to do it, and hold them responsible for their acts.

That every person who is not a Socialist must be the opposite—an anarchist. That politics is the science of government, but campaign politics deals with people and policies rather than principles. That all livings come from the soil. That morally speaking no man has a right to a hundred livings so long as a neighbor has none.

That labor produces all wealth, and is therefore entitled to the first consideration. These are a few of the many things the people ought to know. A. D. M.

Unearned Increment. Has a man any more right to hoard intellect than he has wealth? If the unearned increment of land values belong to the community so does the increment of intellect. It is the increase of population that causes the increase of land values. On an island and the sole occupant, the most intellectual man in the world would amount to naught. He might just as well not exist. His intellect is only of value when associated with population. Does the man not owe the increment to the community? It is the community that makes what he has valuable. The intellect of the child is unfolded by the common school education that he receives at public expense of which he receives at the state university at public expense, and by his association and contact with other people. When he has received his diploma his intellect is valueless unless there is a community of people with whom to co-operate in the affairs of life. Can we say that we owe nothing to the community? Certainly our relations are reciprocal. Man cannot live to himself alone.

There is a vast mental estate bequeathed to mankind by the ages of the past. The scholars and philosophers of antiquity investigated, experimented and studied, and as a result of it their collective labors and researches have handed down to us great intellectual wealth to be held collectively by this generation. Each coming generation will have the advantage of the gain of the preceding. This wealth of intellect belongs to the people in common. Any one who desires may acquire all of it or as much of it as his mental capacity will permit. In obtaining it he robs no other man, because there is as much left when he has acquired his mental fill as before. All men and women can have an equal opportunity with this mental estate. It never diminishes but on the contrary increases by the using of it. Battle Creek, Mich. CHAS. EMMET BARNES.

Trust Methods. The San Francisco Call explains how the Tobacco trust successfully worked a bluff on the dealers of Los Angeles not long ago. The method of dictation is not limited to the Tobacco trust, but is a weakness afflicting all the other trust monopolies. It is nothing but a realized "Stand and deliver" command of the old fashioned highwayman. This is the Call's story: "I'll give you just 15 minutes to stop the sale of all outside tobacco and handle only the goods of the American tobacco company," said Herman Heyneman of this city, as he faced the tobacco dealers of Los Angeles at a meeting in that city a few days ago.

Coolly pulling out his watch Heyneman noted the time, and laying his timepiece on the table, proceeded to explain his position more fully. "We want you to handle our goods, and I haven't the time to argue the question with you. If you do not agree at once to do so, all that I have to say is that I have a carload of goods here and thirty-five men to sell them. If you do not agree within fifteen minutes to handle our goods exclusively I'll set these men to work and cut prices 50 per cent."

And the bluff worked, according to the story going the rounds, and generally believed in business circles. The dealers came to time before the 15 minutes expired, and entered into an agreement to handle exclusively the goods of the American tobacco company, which Heyneman represents.

The boys write me so much that they want space in the Appeal for this or for that, that I have opened one column for advertisements in which they can make their wants known. I have made the price less than half the rate usually charged for a paper of the Appeal's circulation. I could sell the whole column to one firm by the year, but prefer to make it useful as a medium of communication between Socialists. The money from this goes into the cause, and I think it very reasonable at 60 cents per line. Any unobjectionable ad. accepted. Cash must accompany order, as we keep no books.

Whatever may be claimed as to the surrender by the voluntary act of the individual, though I deem this right to a place upon the earth inalienable and indefeasible, the right of the child can, in no manner, be transferred, forfeited, or imperiled by any act of the father, nor its relation to the land, or to society, be affected in any way. The tenancy of the whole people is not only a common tenancy, but to each person it is a life and only a life tenancy into which man "enters" at his birth, and "quits" at his death. To deed away such a right is impossible.—J. K. Ingalls.

Now please note in the daily press about this time of bets in large sums made on the election. Betting is prohibited by law in every state. But perhaps the public officials in the cities where these bets occur cannot read the daily papers and therefore do not know of the violations of the law! But the rich can do no wrong. The boys who shoot craps for pennies—they are arrested. They violate the law!

ADVERTISEMENTS are accepted under this head at 60c per line per week with order. Ten words make a line. No discount for time or space. Only one column will be sold.

YOU NEED THIS! For \$2c I will send you an Automatio Lead-Pencil and one box of leads, enough to last five years. Jon Wayland, Girard, Kas.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Edited by A. M. Simons. Monthly, 64 large pages, handsomely printed on extra paper. No. 1, July, 1900, contains articles by William T. Brown, H. M. Hyndman, Jean Longuet, Prof. Estlin Viack and Max Hara. No. 2, for August, contains articles by S. G. Lindholm, Dr. Alessandro Schiavi and H. Quenich, besides the great address by Paul Lafargue on "Socialism and the Intellect" and the address by Theodore Delsa. The review contains articles by Eugene V. Debs, Job Harriman, Chas. H. Vail, and Robert Rives LaMonte, while all the numbers contain strong editorials on current events. Future numbers will be as good or better. Price, 50c per copy; \$5.00 per year. The official

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BOOK

for 1900 will be ready about October 15th. It will be a book of 128 pages containing the facts and statistics that every socialist wants. The price will be 25 cents, but to any one sending 50 cents before the end of October we will send the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW three months and a copy of the SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BOOK. Address:

Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Publishers, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

PORTRAIT IN OIL OF EUGENE V. DEBS, at cost, 2x27 in. \$5.00. 4x5.00 in. \$10. Cash with order. J. E. Bassett, Hudson, N. H.

SEND 50 IN STAMPS for "A New Plan of Industrial Co-operation" Address, Peoples' Union, Independence, Mo.

I TEACH Shorthand by Platt. Full Course, \$12.50 in application to Theodore Delsa, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill. L.R., 310 Globe Building, Saint Paul, Minn. 351-61

Social Democratic Party.

Organize the socialist in your community. Full instructions as to organization of Social Democratic branches sent in application to Theodore Delsa, 126 Washington St., Chicago, headquarters of the Social Democratic Party of America.

Looking Backward

This great book by Bellamy sells for 50 cents in the United States. It can be had postpaid for 10 cents in U. S. stamps, by addressing H. B. Ashplant, 706 Dundas street, London, Canada.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY LEAFLETS FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

- No. 1.—To Unorganized Socialists. No. 2.—An Open Letter to the Average American Working man. No. 3.—Machine Production: Where the Profits Go. No. 4.—Tollers of America. Vote for Your Freedom. No. 5.—Industrial Crises: Cause and Cure. No. 6.—Platform and Debs Epigrams.

100 COPIES, 15C. 1000 COPIES, \$1.00.

Large portrait of Eugene V. Debs

10c EACH, 20 FOR 60c.

DEBS and HARRIMAN BUTTONS

2 FOR 5c. 20c. A DOZEN.

Campaign Stickers, 500 for 50c.

WE PAY POSTAGE.

National Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party,

126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

Producers and Parasites.

Counting permanent and transient guests, it is reckoned that the first-class hotels in New York take care of about 50,000 persons a day. The average cost of entertainment, as estimated by three expert hotel men, is \$4.25 a day. At the Mills hotels—there are two of them—the cost of living, including room and board, is 65 cents a day. These cheap fare houses are magnificent structures. On cost a million dollars and the other a half million. They are kept scrupulously clean. The beds are spotless and thoroughly comfortable. The food is wholesome and well prepared. The dinners, which cost fifteen cents are served in courses, and each guest receives more than he can eat.

The 50,000 first-class hotel patrons who now expend \$32,500 a day, could live at hotels like the Mills houses for \$32,000 a day. That is to say, the difference between \$312,500 and \$32,000 is expended for luxury, pure and simple, and not for anything that is really needed for the comfort of the guests.

The hotels in the United States are the most costly and splendid establishments of the kind in the world. The more magnificent they are made the more profitable they are. The Waldorf-Astoria, which cost \$12,000,000, is a great money-maker. It is filled all the time—summer and winter—though it accommodates 1,500 guests, and has 40 public rooms. In this hotel and in others in New York the payment of \$75 to \$100 a day for rooms, exclusive of meals, is not at all uncommon.

The cost of furniture alone in the Waldorf-Astoria was \$1,000,000. A New York millionaire, who occupies a suite of rooms at the Waldorf-Astoria, the transient cost of which is \$500 a day, is said to live in greater splendor than any monarch in Europe.

Even the structures devoted to trade and commerce in this country are palatial in their appointments. They are richly ornamented with carvings of brass and marble and are furnished at a lavish cost. The bricker lobbies in mahogany chairs and scatters cigar ashes over rugs that cost more than a hewer of wood and a drawer of water could earn in a year.

The desire for all of these things is growing and its gratification is becoming more general. What will it lead to and what will be the end of it all? The American schoolboy still declaims courageously about the enervating and corrupting effect of luxury on the ancient Romans, whose profligacy was really poor and simple as compared with the indulgence of modern millionaires. An occasional note of warning, pointing to danger ahead, is heard from the rostrum and the stump, but these admonitions are taken as needless signals of alarm from radical agitators.

The nation is yet too young and strong, it has not gotten far enough away from wholesome beginnings, to show the demoralizing effects of extravagant living, but is there, in fact, any reason for the hope or the belief that the rage for luxury, which is growing in the United States of America, will, if unchecked, have any other termination here than that which has come to pass in all other lands where it became a passion?—Kansas City Star.

Difference of Opinion.

Those who chance to think alike get together and form a political party, a society or a sect, and take it for granted they've got all the wisdom of the world grabbed—that beyond their little Rhode Island of intellect are only gibbering idiots and plotting knaves. When a man fears to subject his faith to the crucible of controversy; when he declines to submit his ideas to the ballista and battering ram of cold logic, you can safely set it down that he's either a hopeless cabbage head or a hypocritical humbug; that he's a fool or a fraud, is full of buncombe or bile. It is a difference of opinion that keeps the world from going to the dogs. Independence of thought, doubt of accepted dogmas, the spirit of inquiry, the desire to know is the mighty lever that has lifted man so far above the brute level that he has begun to claim kinship with the Creator.—Brann.

The chairman of the Iowa republican state committee says in a letter dated September 29, which was mailed one of my readers who has ceased to be a republican, and who sends it to me, that "never before in the history of the state has there been so much apathy on the part of the republicans." And the same thing is noticeable on the part of democrats. There is a sullenness on the part of the people that bodes no good for the capitalist rulers. There is no enthusiasm anywhere except with the Socialists. The people are getting ready mentally for the great change. Capitalism is doomed.