

Put your principles in the ballot boxes of the Nation next Tuesday.

THIS IS NUMBER 257 FIFTY CENTS A YEAR

Appeal to Reason.

GIRARD, KANSAS, U. S. A., NOVEMBER 3, 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 it.

UNION LABEL
If No. 258 is on your label your subscription expires with the next number.

A Chance for Easy Street.

At Hortense, Tenn., a station on the Louisville & Nashville R. R., I have bought a store building with two dwellings and three acres of garden ground.

I propose giving the entire property, free of encumbrance, conveyed under a warranty deed, to the man or woman who will send in five yearly subscriptions at 25 cents each per week to the Appeal for the longest length of time.

In doing this I am but following out the policy of the paper in giving good, substantial rewards to its workers in return for the assistance they give the paper.

Heretofore all such premiums were based on the largest number of subscribers sent in within a certain time.

The result has been that the small worker, upon whom the paper largely depends, was debarr'd from the opportunity, because his location was such that he could not secure a large club.

On the present plan no one need stay out, because there are few who can not raise at least five yearlies per week.

And even if they happen to miss the number they can buy the difference in yearly postal cards which they can sell at their leisure. It costs absolutely nothing to make the effort because the subscribers pay for the paper, and if you purchase postals you get your money back when you sell them. It costs nothing to make the effort, and I tell you that the winner of this property is independent for life.

The store building is a good one (6x20), the only one in the small place it is located in. Out of the house has four rooms and the other three. The garden patch is one of the best producers in that locality.

Possession cannot be given for four months from date, as I leased it two months ago for six months. The parties renting it wished a year's lease, but I declined, not knowing but what the winner might want immediate possession. And although the lease is not up for four months yet the rental will be turned over to the winner the moment the contest is decided. If you do not care to go there the place will easily find renters—it has never been vacant to my knowledge.

THE LOCATION FOR A STORE IS FIRST-CLASS. THE NEAREST COMPETITION IS THREE MILES—THE NEXT NEAREST IS SIX MILES. IT IS SIX MILES FROM THE COUNTY SEAT. THERE IS NOT MUCH OF A TOWN THERE, BUT THERE IS A GOOD TRADE IN THE COUNTRY SURROUNDING.

The principle products are ties, cord wood and stove bolts. These are handled by merchants who ship them and credit the receipts to the account of the men who turned them over to him. Settlements are made every thirty days, as the wood products are taken by the iron furnace, the railroad company and the Standard Oil company. They are sure pay. The present principle crop is tobacco, which is invariably bought by the tobacco trust—they have the largest tobacco buying agencies and warehouses in the south at Clarksville, 25 miles north on the road passing Hortense.

The merchants of the south do not carry large stocks. As a usual thing they start with from \$50 to \$100 stock, if successful they built up to \$500 or \$600.

I am convinced that a good rustler can go into this location with \$50 and make several thousand dollars in the next few years. The reason he can do this when merchants in other parts of the country will go broke is because all the produce offered him is such as is consumed by the corporations.

What THEY want they will buy and pay for, and this location seems to be ideal in the way of handling raw material for the large corporations.

JUST BACK OF THE TOWN THERE ARE IMMENSE IRON DEPOSITS WHICH THE MANAGERS OF THE IRON FURNACE LOCATED AT CUMBERLAND, TEN MILES NORTH, ASSURED ME WOULD HAVE TO BE OPENED IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

If this is done, whoever has this location with a stock of goods will be right in it.

Personally, I do not set much store by the opening of the iron mines because it likely is that the next panic will get there too soon for them—possibly before they are even opened.

But panic or no panic, the winner of this place will be secure.

His other business will carry him through and make him a competence—though the opening of the mines would at once float him into a harbor of fortune.

The contest will not be opened until further notice.

In the next few issues, I want to tell you about it and what you can do with it, so do not send in any clubs on this until the time is set for it by the Appeal.

The one who sends in Five yearlies per week at 25 cents each, for the longest length of time, gets the property. In my years of experience in the newspaper business, I never knew a worker to send in a club for three weeks in succession, and there is not one worker in a thousand who sends in a club two weeks in succession.

Therefore I do not look for the contest to last very long.

The point about this contest is that while the number of subscriptions required weekly are very small.

They must come each and every week.

Any one can enter this contest except the employees of the APPEAL, my relatives and those related to employees of my office.

The next issue of the Appeal will contain more information, but remember the

...Contest is NOT yet open...

The Appeal will tell you when it is. If you want a chance to secure yourself for life, this is the time.

If you are not now a subscriber to the Appeal send in your subscription and learn all the further particulars.

Lincoln, Neb., May 7, '97.
Mr. F. G. R. Gordon,
Manchester, N. H.,
Dear Sir:—You ask me whether I am in favor of Socialism and define it to mean "the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution," and desire an answer 'yes, or 'no.'
I answer, NO.
(Signed) W. J. BRYAN.

If there is no Socialist ticket in your state to vote for, write the word "SOCIALIST" in large letters across the ballot and let 'er go. Of two evils, choose neither. Make your protest as strong as you can. Give no vote to uphold ignorance nor tyranny. Choose ye not either the Duke of York or the Duke of Lancaster, but vote for humanity to rule—your country, your family and your God.

Socialism will never come until you vote it in. And if every one went on the half-loaf program the full loaf will never come. Remember you have nothing to lose by voting for Debs this year—you have much to gain. You can't be put on the hog much worse than you are now.

Prosperity is spreading its paternal wings over the miners of Pennsylvania. They have voted for prettily uniformed soldiers, Gatling guns and lead biscuits, and are receiving their rations. How nice to get what one votes for.

The life of a political party is in the number of votes it can command. If you are a socialist and vote for some other party you simply take energy from the party that represents your beliefs and give it to a party which opposes them.

With this issue the Appeal closes the campaign of 1900. It marks the finishing post of four years hard and unremitting labor for the cause of SOCIALISM. The fruit of its work, which is but the result of the labor of thousands of men and women throughout this country, must be indicated at the polls next Tuesday. If you are a republican, and believe in the private ownership of trusts the Appeal expects that you will vote for McKinley. If you are a democrat and wish to return to the days of small things (which it is impossible to do) it expects that you will vote for Bryan. If you are a socialist and believe in the co-operative commonwealth, then the Appeal may rightfully expect that you will vote for Debs and Harriman. But whatever you do on Tuesday next is encouragement or disappointment for this paper. It is a smoothing out the road ahead or it is making it rougher. It is a reward or a rebuke—is this ballot that you will deposit. For it is to the end that that ballot may be cast for YOUR interest that this paper lives and moves, and has a being. The Appeal, on behalf of its magnificent band of workers, passes the question to the jury—the American Voting King, with a hope that in his action this year we may have reason to be well pleased.

Getting Ready for Socialism.

THE telegraph, telephone and cable companies are being combined, preparing for the public to take possession and operate them in the interest of the living people of the nation. There will be only one set of exploiters to deal with, and all the other people will have interests against them. Let the monopolies complete themselves. Whooop! Great times, these!

Men and corporations are denied the right or opportunity of investing money or operating a postal system, and nothing is thought of it. Would it be any different if they were denied the right to carry on the railroad, express or telegraph business? Are they not of exactly the same character? Why not let men manipulate the postal as well as other lines of transportation? Why deny men the opportunity of getting millions by transporting the mails? What kind of a thinking machine have you?

Get the socialist vote of your section to the Appeal on the first mail. The plutes own the wires, but the people own the mails. Let's startle the nation by its volume.

The Appeal cannot get the socialist vote unless you mail it as soon as learned. That is as important as casting the vote.

E. V. DEBS.

The following is a portion of an article written by Eugene V. Debs for the St. Louis Chronicle of September 3, in which he outlines his position and the position of socialists on modern problems:

The economic basis of society is changing more rapidly today than ever before in human history, and as the character of society and all social institutions change unerringly to correspond to their economic foundation, this is pre-eminently an age of social evolution.

In swift succession change follows upon change in the mode of production and distribution. Cheaper and cheaper production, more rapid and still more rapid methods of communication and transportation, are demanded to supply the world's shifting markets.

Everything must be done on a scale even at all, for in the operation of the remorseless law of competition the weak, the aged, infirm and all who lack the latest modern equipment, are driven from the arena by the more powerful rivals with little compunction as a champion of the prize ring experiences when he sees his "opening" and administers the "knock-out" blow which determines the fate of his ill-starred fistic competitor.

At this very hour—believed by many to mark an era of unparalleled prosperity, commercial collapses are occurring at the rate of a thousand or more a month, forty for each business day in the round year, in the United States.

Concentration, swift and irresistible, is a part—an inevitable part—of the economic development. The individual business man has long since been supplanted by the firm, the firm by the company, the company by the still more powerful corporation, and latterly the corporation has been swallowed up by the trust. And this concentration not only continues in spite of threat and protest uttered by the thousands ruined or menaced by it, but is steadily accelerated as each revolution increases the momentum of a train rushing downward on a heavy grade.

McKinley thinks it isn't right and Bryan is certain it ought to be stopped.

Why? Because evolution is a crime? No; because the victims are more numerous than the beneficiaries, and they have votes. This accounts for the opposition (?) of McKinley to the trusts; likewise that of Croker. The rapidly declining middle class is still powerful; not nearly so large as the working class, but very much larger than the big capitalist class, and hence a potential class in the control of elections.

Totally obvious, seeming, of the plain and unmistakable trend of the economic transformation in progress, the middle class is easily made victims of the illusion that, Joshua-like, the politicians can halt, not only the sun, but make the whole world stand still.

Concentration and co-operation are supplanting division and competition. Scattered small property is being absorbed and concentrated in colossal enterprises. Every failure, every bankruptcy hastens the end. The propertyless class grows large in inverse ratio.

Here are some approximate estimates: Of our total population 6 per cent are in the capital class, 19 per cent in the middle class and 75 per cent in the working class.

Of our nation's wealth 82 per cent is owned by the capitalist class, 15 per cent by the middle class and 3 per cent by the working class.

The day of small production and competition is passing, and the state of society it developed is passing with it.

Socialism, the new (and destined to be the controlling) force in the social and economic progress of mankind, is evolving steadily from the existing capitalist system, which has reached the climax of its development and bears increasing signs of decline and decay.

One state of society succeeds another in the ceaseless process of evolution by virtue of which mankind reach higher evolutions in the scale of being, and each period is so distinctive, so clearly marked that it is readily distinguished from all others which preceded or succeeded it.

The present capitalist system was quickened into life in the womb of feudalism and sprang from that system. In its early days it was received with ridicule and contempt and the incipient capitalist was treated with the same lofty scorn by the feudal baron and subjected to the same social ostracism that the modern capitalist has decreed for the Social "agitator."

Social Democracy proposes the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution of industry in the interest of the whole people, the utilization of every machine and every worker in reducing the hours of daily labor, the equality of all men and sexes in respect to rights and opportunities, the elimination of rent, interest and profit, the full product of labor to the producer, the abolition of property, the end of the economic freedom of every human being, and thus emancipated from the cruel and degrading thralldom of the capitalist system, the Twentieth Century will be, as Victor Hugo prophesied, "The century of humanity."

Seven millions of men and women are marching proudly beneath the banner of International Socialism. Almost 100,000 voters were registered for Socialism in the United States in 1898.

What shall be the poll in 1900? Wait and watch!

Without question a report will be circulated on the eve of election that Debs has withdrawn. Don't be played for a sucker.

Debs as a Union Man

I first joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, in Terre Haute, Ind., Feb. 27, 1875, and have been a member of organized labor continuously from that time to this. I organized the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen, which has since changed its name to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. I also made of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association a national organization. I shared the fate of the A. F. of M. in the strike of 1894. I have organized every class of working men in the whole list of trades and have actively participated in the strikes of almost all these trades. I have made thousands of labor speeches on almost all conceivable labor occasions. I have been made an honorary member of a large number of labor unions of all kinds.
E. V. DEBS.

These Men Stand for the Principle that Americans, not Foreign and American Corporations, should Own America.



EUGENE V. DEBS.
Social Democratic Candidate for President.
FOR twenty-two years Eugene V. Debs has been a worker and leader in the labor movement, but it is since he led the world's greatest strike and went to prison rather than obey the order of a court that attempted to suspend the right of free speech that he has become well known to the public.
Mr. Debs was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in the autumn of 1855, and at the age of 15 began his work as a railway employe in the Vandalia car shops. In 1892 Mr. Debs founded the American Railway Union, and took a leading part in an important strike on the Great Northern Railway. Later he assumed leadership of the great Pullman strike in Chicago, and was imprisoned for his valiant efforts to protect the rights of the down-trodden railway employes. About this time Mr. Debs declared himself a Socialist, and during the past few years he has devoted his time and splendid oratorical gifts to the propaganda of Socialism, carrying its doctrine into almost every state of the union. Mr. Debs is the only presidential candidate in the field having a Union card.

JOB HARRIMAN.
Social Democratic Candidate for Vice-President.
JOB HARRIMAN joined the Socialist movement in 1889. He was born in Indiana in 1861, and the early part of his life was spent on a farm. He attended Butler University, of Irvington, Ind., and was minister of the Christian church for three years. Later he took up the practice of law, and in 1886 he removed to Los Angeles, Cal., where he took an active part in the Socialist movement. In 1898 he was the Socialist candidate for governor of California and made a very energetic campaign. He spent the following year in organizing the Socialists of California, traveling through the state in a van. He was nominated in January, 1900, by the Socialist Labor party for President, but upon the union of the Social Democratic party and the Social Labor party, became the candidate of the united party for Vice-President. He has made a reputation as an orator and a student of political economy, and commands the respect and confidence of the working class.

Socialist Combinations.

From the New York Tribune.
The capitalist and captain of industry in these later days has set himself to demonstrate that the theories of the Socialist are sound. After some centuries of adherence to the principle that individual competition brings the best results and the greatest progress for the individual and for society, suddenly many thousand employers and capitalists rush out of business, give up the positions they occupy and the plants they own in order to avoid competition, and set themselves to prove that society can be best and most cheaply served, and the workers and managers from highest to lowest can get better returns, if all productive work in each branch is performed by a single centralized body, controlling prices and wages at pleasure, abolishing agents and middle-men, restrained by no competition and responsible only to society as a whole. If this theory is true, does it not follow as a matter of course that society as a whole might better take possession of the plants and control the business, and absorb for itself the profits of production, or the gains by cheapening production at its pleasure?

The philosophy of the competitive period in human development has been sustained by the most rapid and healthful progress ever known thus far, but the Socialist answers that better yet is attainable. Grant that this past stage of development was necessary, its best fruitage is a higher stage in which the costs and the losses of individual competition can be avoided, and in each branch of service all can freely do their best for the benefit of all. Abolish the spur of competition, driving each to seek the latest inventions and the best devices, for they have been secured. Take from traders and manufacturers the intense pressure of battle against each other, and give all of them a

sure profit for a regular service to society. Let the multitude of employes be also emancipated from the tyranny of competition, which closes some works and drives others to reduce wages, and let them all have their regular pay for service to society, increased by the elimination of the losses through competition. When experience proves, as the Socialist holds it will prove, that the greatest progress and the highest conditions yet attained are not comparable to those to be attained by abolishing competition, then no man but an idiot will question the wisdom of society as a whole taking control of all the processes of trade and industry, and the harmonious adjustment of all, with power to cheapen products or enlarge profits in each, as may best serve the general welfare.

If the modern combination proves that competition is no longer a benefit, but a curse, that individual struggling for success is no longer needed to evolve the best inventions and devices and bring them into use; that the monster corporation can work more cheaply and at the same time more wisely and ably in handling many establishments of different kinds, far apart and under different circumstances, than the individual owners who have created them; that it can prevent the frequent stoppage of the weaker works while the stronger continue to thrive; that society no longer needs any defense against monopoly, because the monopoly must always cheapen in order to enlarge business, and that workers, consumers and employers will all gain by elimination of competition, then, indeed, the Socialist has only to demand the logical completion of the journey. There will be no sense in leaving the big corporations to blunder along, sometimes losing and sometimes hurting society by unwise, when society itself can appropriate their plants, direct their labor, make and bear its own blunders and pocket its own gains.

Something to Remember.

Do you know that the government may legally take over the telegraph lines at any time it wishes to do so? The only thing necessary to do is to appoint appraisers to appraise the value of the property. This is provided for in the following Postal Laws (page 56, 57 and 58, Postal Laws and Regulations:)

Section 93. Companies to File Acceptance.—Before any telegraph company shall exercise any of the powers or privileges conferred by law, such company shall file their written acceptance with the Postmaster-General of the restrictions and obligations required by law. (R. S., pp. 52-68.)

Section 96. Postmaster-General to Select Appraisers for the United States.—The United States may, for postal, military or other purposes, purchase all the telegraph lines, property and effects of any or all companies acting under the provisions of the Act of July 24, 1866, entitled: "An Act to aid in the construction of telegraph lines, and to secure to the government the use of the same for postal, military or other purposes," or under this title, at an appraised value, to be ascertained by five competent disinterested persons, two of whom shall be selected by the Postmaster-General of the United States, two by the company interested, and one by the four so previously selected. (R. S., pp. 52-67.)

Section 97. The following named companies have filed acceptances pursuant to section 93 prior to Dec. 5, 1892, and on the dates respectively stated: Western Union Telegraph Co., June 8, 1867; Postal Telegraph Co., Aug. 31, 1882. Ninety-eight other companies, which include every company ever organized, have also signed it. This agreement covers every mile of privately owned telegraph line in the United States.

The Vital Issue.

By E. V. Debs.

The only vital issue in this campaign springs from the private ownership of the means of production. It involves the whole question of political equality, economic freedom and social progress. The alleged issues of the old parties are all rooted in the existing economic system, a system which they are obliged to preserve and perpetuate, and a system which the Social Democratic party is pledged to abolish. The contest today is for the control of government by three separate classes, with conflicting interests into which modern society has been mainly divided in the development of the competitive system. The dominant capitalist class is represented by the Republican party. The middle class is represented by the Democratic party. The working class is represented by the Social Democratic party, and each of these parties is committed to the economic interests of the class it represents. The Republican party is the representative of the capitalist class. Prosperity galore; give us four years more. The Democratic party is the wailing cry of the perishing middle class; calamity without end. The Socialist platform is an indictment of the capitalist system by the exploited working class, and its ringing declaration in favor of collective ownership of the means of production is the clarion voice of economic freedom. Parties, like individuals, act from motives of self-interest. The platform of a party is simply the political expression of the economic interests of the class it represents.

WHAT BEVERIDGE SAYS.

"The Republican party is in favor of expansion—acquisition of foreign territory—colonial policy. Why? Senator Beveridge says, 'Because they are the trustees of Jehovah,' but Senator Depew of New York is somewhat older, and we will permit him to answer the question. In his speech at the Republican National convention in the city of Philadelphia he said: 'We produce two billion dollars more than we can consume; we must find a market for the surplus, or we go back to poverty and stagnation. The Atlantic markets have been largely closed up. We must now turn our eyes to the Pacific. There are 900,000,000 inhabitants, who furnish a market for our surplus products.'

The Democratic party is violently opposed to this policy. It is denounced as imperialism and declares that it is the burning issue of the campaign. The expanding market for which the large capitalists are struggling will extend the lease of power and greatly augment it. The middle class, represented by the Democratic party, have no surplus products to dispose of. They are not interested in expanding the markets. If the Republican party succeeds in opening these markets the vast foreign trade thus secured will develop their resources more rapidly, increase their economic power and enable them the more easily to crush out their small competitors in the middle class, and this is the bone of contention between the Republican party and Democratic party in respect to what is called the burning issue of imperialism.

"My friends, there has been a complete economic revolution in our country during the past 50 years. A great many well-meaning people have been so completely engaged in this competitive struggle that they are utterly oblivious of the fact that half a century ago, and even less, work was done by the hand, and a simple tool was used and the workman who used it owned it. He could employ himself. He did not rely upon the arbitrary will, upon the permission of another for the opportunity to work.

WORKINGMAN WAS MASTER.

"Not only this, but he was the master of what he produced; he was in a large sense an economic free man, the more industrious he was, the more he produced; the more he produced the more he earned; the more he earned the more he enjoyed. In this closing year of the nineteenth century the more industrious he is, the more he produces the worse he is off. The market is flooded, there is overproduction and under-consumption, and when the consumption of the product ceases the factory closes down and he is out of employment. Half a century ago he worked for himself; today he works for another for a profit that represents but a small share of what he produces. If we examine the official reports issued by our National Commission, we find the production has increased from 20 to 44 per cent during the last 50 years. Upon the other hand, the consuming capacity has rapidly diminished, because at that time the labor was performed by the hand of man, whereas at the present time, on the other hand, the same articles are turned out by means of modern machinery in fabulous abundance, the public is not able to consume what is produced and therefore there is a lack of market. There is a surplus product every now and then. We produce so much of everything that we suffer for the want of everything, consequently there is a universal stop, a stagnation.

"Examine the reports again and we find the workmen received in wages about 2,000,000,000 during the past 12 months; we find during the same period of time the capitalist received in products about the same amount; under the present development of the wage system the workingman is compelled to produce a dollar for the capitalist for every dollar he produces for himself, but he is compelled to produce a dollar for the capitalist before he is able to produce one for himself. Then the goods he produces filter through the middle class, they are sold to him at retail prices and we find that he is only able to buy back about 20 per cent, or one-fifth of what his labor produces.

HALF A CENTURY AGO.

"Compare this condition with the condition that existed half a century ago. If a man were a skilled shoemaker and he received orders for more shoes than he could make he hired a shoemaker to help him, but he was compelled to pay that shoemaker the full equivalent of the value of his work, or, if he failed to do this, the shoemaker could quit and with a few dollars that he had saved he could buy a small stock and open up a little shop of his own and make shoes for himself. It is true that it was a very slow age, meager of results, involving long hours of toil, but each man was his own master. At this time the tool was touched by the magic wand of genius, and the revolution began in full force. This tool expanded to the proportions of a ponderous machine which necessitated the co-operative labor of men. This tool, which supplanted the labor done by the hand of the laboring man became costlier step by step as it increased in size and capacity and was the price of the working man's independence, and the man who first owned the machine in its simple form and acted in the capacity of an employer emerged into that of the capitalist, the employer became the wage worker; the division between the classes began to grow apace, and the division has been steadily widening from that day to this, until today we find that we have a class that represents a sixth part of our population who have about 55 per cent of the wealth.

age of our population that creates all the wealth by its labor—in other words a very small capitalistic class and a very large working class. The capitalist class own the machinery of production; they don't use it. The wage-working class use it, but they don't own it. The capitalist class demand that they reap the profit. The greater the wage the smaller the profit, the smaller the wage the greater the profit.

CONFLICT BETWEEN INTERESTS.

"You will find between these two classes a decided conflict of interest; their interests are diametrically opposite. What is good for one is not good for the other, and it is this conflict that finds expression in the strikes. When work was done by hand, every workman could look forward to the time that he would be an employer instead of an employee; there was some future for him; there was some incentive for him to apply himself, but today all those doors of advancement have been closed and barred against him.

"The modern wage worker remains the wage worker, and there is no possible escape for him except through the back door of suicide. A department clerk is always a department clerk; he is never foolish enough to imagine, even under the influence of Democratic or Republican oratory, that the day is to dawn when he will be anything more than a wage worker. Is there a clerk in one of the large department stores or bazaars or emporiums who is silly enough to imagine that he or she is to be anything but a clerk? I admit that it is possible that some exceptional young man might rise above his environment and reach a greater height, but he would be an exception who only serves to prove the rule. The fruit of this system is before us. We are told that the country is prosperous.

NO REAL PROSPERITY.

"I do not hesitate to say that it is a ghastly farce; that there is no real prosperity in the land. Rockefeller is prosperous; Russell Sage is equally so, so is Gould, so are some of the rest of the owners of the means of production, but so far as the middle class, so far as the wage working class is concerned, there is no prosperity in any proper sense of the term.

"I said in the beginning of my address that the Social Democratic party was essentially the party of the working class, but it also appeals to the principles and judgment of the middle class, if not to the immediate interest of the middle class. The small production upon which the middle class was reared has been revolutionized. This is an era of large production carried forward on a gigantic scale, a scale of tremendous proportions, in which the middle class is doomed to be crushed and ground between the upper millstone of capitalism and the nether millstone of great poverty. The great factory crushes out the life of the small producer exactly as the large department store absorbs the smaller merchant, and saps his life.

"The large farm is equipped with the improved machinery, and is operated on a scale with which the small farm cannot compete; it crowds out and obliterates the crude implements of a quarter of a century ago, and this course of events is going steadily forward. If in spite of the protest of the Republican party and the objection of the Democratic party, the Social Democratic party would push this evolution to its logical and inevitable termination the Republican party would have the sun stand still, and the Democratic party would force it backward on its shining track, but the Socialists contemplate with serenity the exit of capitalism and with equal serenity the rise of Socialism.

THE TRUST PROBLEM.

"The Republican party declares that there are certain vicious combinations in the country that ought to be regulated, restrained, suppressed, if necessary, by law. The letter of acceptance of President McKinley says substantially the same thing, but do you know of a Republican who has ever drawn the line between combinations that are vicious and combinations that are otherwise? Let me draw the line. Every privately owned monopoly is a vicious combination. Every publicly owned combination is a good combination. The Democratic party charges that all these combinations have gone forward under the Republican administration. These combinations would have gone forward under any administration. It is a matter of economic development. As we legislate the ebb and flow of the tide or the rising and setting of the sun. If the Republican party is opposed to trusts—I don't know whether it be or not, for, according to Mark Hanna, there are no trusts in the country—but, if the Republican party is opposed to the trusts, why has it not legislated against trusts? It has been in control of every department of the government for the last three years.

"The Democratic party charges all of these evils to the Republican party. Seven hundred trusts have been developed within the last three years. Now comes the Democratic party and says when we get into power we will dissolve these monopolies. We will revive competition and then the country will be overwhelmed with prosperity. But they don't tell us how it will be done. Competition is orderly. It goes forward to a certain point; the smaller and weaker is crushed out by the larger; it is driven to the side by an opponent, and it is swallowed by the combinations. They are the economic masters of the situation. Can the world be forced backward? The world moves forward, not backward; therefore, in the course of competition the smaller is absorbed by the larger and stronger. These are the great forces of the age economically.

CENTRALIZATION INEVITABLE.

"Those of you who have studied the economic development of the world know that when the machine first appeared, a little over a century ago, there was an outcry against it on the part of the working class. It displaced the workingman; forced him into the street; made a tramp of him. The weavers and spinners of England organized and violently took the cotton spinning machinery from the factory, feeling that if they could destroy the machinery they could regain their former employment. They did not know enough to know that the machine had come in obedience to an economic law; that it was a mere factor in the industrial development of the world. They were doomed to disappointment. It is precisely the same with the attempt of today to destroy the trusts. No power on this earth can arrest the force of centralization. Those who attempt to are doomed to failure and disappointment. Individuals who were competitors against each other have concluded that co-operation is better than competition; that in increasing each other's labor and expenses they decreased each other's profits, and therefore resolved to combine in a partnership; from an individual enterprise partnerships have been formed; partnerships have merged into corporations and the corporation has been finally swallowed up and absorbed into the trust or combination, as a result of economic conditions and development."

Without question a report will be circulated on the eve of election that Debs has withdrawn. Don't be played for a sucker.

The SITUATION

BY J. J. HARRIMAN.

YES, comrade, (you who mean to perpetrate the G. O. P. vote) its leaders know full well they cannot make their promise of continued prosperity good except through the acquisition of new markets. And are even willing to agree with "Bird of Freedom Sawin" that "civilization does go forrard sometimes upon a powder cart."

And rightfully or wrongfully, by diplomacy or conquest, they mean to acquire new territory. Yet, though they were able to girdle the earth with their territorial possessions, it would only be a staving off of the period of stagnation which must at last come. But why should Socialists stoop to aid them in their dirty work? Indeed, it seems to me highly unbecoming in a Socialist to countenance such a policy.

And comrade, I believe it is not necessary for you to throw your vote away on the Republican party; I think it is in the air that they will win without the aid of a single vote of ours.

Then cast your lot with your own party, whose principles mean something, and do yourself the distinction of handing down to your children the honorable gratification of claiming that you was among those who brought about the unequalled social conditions under which they will live.

Otherwise, you may be the means of belittling our cause in the eyes of the American people, and call down disdain, derision and humiliation on the heads of all true Socialists, and give the final triumph of our principles a set-back of perhaps several years.

The volume of votes polled by a new and struggling party means much for its future advancement and success, and the measure of respect it will win will be entirely dependent thereon. A few thousand votes, a mere hand-full of political degenerates—a million votes or more, a reputable body of thinking men. And surely, you will agree it is necessary for a party to put a ticket in the field that it may know its strength, and therefor shape its policy accordingly. If it should poll an unquestionably large vote, its course will be plain—a straight fight for victory.

On the other hand, should our party, for instance, poll say a million and a half votes this fall, we would certainly hold the balance of power in a general election, and in all probability it would be to our interest to use it, for we could wring concessions from either of the two dominant parties, which would place one or more of the planks in our platform, upon the rolls of legislation.

Comrade, let us resolve to make the 6th of next November a red-letter day for Socialism in America. Let you and our Bryan infatuated comrade agree tacitly to change your intentions, each taking it for granted the other will do so, and thus make the defection in the two old parties about equal, and raise the vote of your own party to a point that will reflect honor upon it, and give you a large measure of satisfaction for duty done.

You agitate for Socialism, of course; you discuss it with all comrades on all occasions; then why not be consistent and include in your advocacy of Socialism the necessity of voting for Debs and Harriman, and when election day comes around, practice what you preach—vote for the adoption of those principles in which you believe.

In the name of common sense, comrade, if you and I and all who claim to believe in them, do not vote for their adoption, who will, and how and when will they ever be adopted?

The Socialist who designs perpetrating the democratic vote, justifies his action by arguing more or less in this manner: I fear the election of a party friendly to an imperialistic policy, and think I foresee a great and irremediable calamity to the republic. I fear that four years more of trust creating, territorial expanding policy cannot be undone by any other party. Therefore, I want to see a party in power which is opposed to that policy, and to vote for that candidate who is the best of the two having a winning chance.

Now comrade, is not that just what all the people who vote a capitalistic ticket honestly believe they are doing? Voting for the best of two candidates or parties.

You will not presume to say that the mass of the voters who support Mr. McKinley are not prompted by the same motive as yourself. Then it is plain you have no higher ideal politically, than all the people in all the campaigns since the foundation of the republic; and that ideal makes for the perpetuation of capitalism.

And why should you help repeat the old and hoary game of ins and outs, only to witness the time-honored custom of throwing the blame on the other fellow when the industrial stagnation begins; and have the republican finger of denunciation pointed at you, and your attention called sneeringly to the fact that "these are democratic times;" and hear the superficial observer declare: "this thing could not happen under the G. O. P. rule." Far better that every one of us should vote for the re-election of McKinley and put an end once and for all to the vaunting claims of the republican party by letting them bear the responsibility of the crisis that is sure to come during the next administration. Put their boasts to the test and their influence will be lost, and their loss will be our gain. While on the other hand, if Bryan is elected, nothing will be proved in regard to the counter claims of the two old parties, and their supporters will continue to stand by them, and the end of another campaign will see the ins out and the outs in again—another change.

And, in the event of Bryan's election, how will you answer those who will upbraid you for your action, when the industries of the country are at a standstill? Will you answer them as a Socialist knows how to answer them? No, you cannot consistently, for you have been instrumental in placing a party in power whose principles are diametrically opposite the Socialist's argument.

You have lessened your efficiency as a Socialist because your theory and your practice do not correspond. And worst of all, during this campaign, you have weakened your influence as a propagandist.

And all this because of a mistaken idea that the democrats would give "you a half loaf!"

Comrade, it is because poor humanity has been willing all through the ages to accept the half loaf, that it has never been offered more; and often, ay, too often, been compelled to suffer the martyrdom of no bread at all.

The half loaf bait but too surely means for the workers, that they shall continue to be half fed, half clothed and miserably sheltered. And as for your forebodings, no party can impose conditions upon us, in this campaign at least, that will be final. Let capitalism, through its political tools, once openly brave the plain people by some high-handed act of oppression, or a direct blow at the foundation of our political liberty, and the best of our American manhood would be as prompt to resent it as our forefathers

were to resent the tyrannical acts of old George the Third. It may be that our grand republic is approaching a condition as degrading, as humiliating, as has ever yet existed in any civilized nation. The beginning of the end may be here, but the end itself is more than one campaign away; and we yet have ample time to shape it to our ideals.

We are not playing our last game on the political diamond; we are going to have our innings before long and be in it till we win, regardless of the runs which the other fellows are making.

That is if we, the "holders," do our whole duty, and not go helping the other fellows make their runs!

No, comrade, we have not yet reached the last ditch into which plutocracy designs to throw us; nor is our condition so desperate in the political waters, that we must needs grasp at the straws thrown out by the democrats.

It is said of the populists that they are only the tail to the democratic kite, but even in that capacity, there is honor for:

"We know that in the flying art."

Tails play a most important part."

But what importance or influence, honor or dignity, can we Socialists claim, should it come to pass that we are only rags in the tails of the various kites now flying in the political horizon?

Comrades, let us not give our opponents the opportunity to characterize us as having so little stability of purpose that the conflict finds us divided and scattered among all the opposing forces now in the arena.

As a political organization, it is true we have a hard pull before us, but let us at least, make it a pull altogether. Let us help now in the dead-lift stage of our political existence, and not withhold our support until the day arrives when, perhaps, our votes might hardly be needed.

And we should remember too, that our comrades across the seas are watching, with deepest interest, our progress; and await with intense eagerness and anxiety the result of this campaign. And should Socialist ballots be recorded in numbers according to their hopes, we can imagine the measure of encouragement and gratification it will give them. You know how it is with yourself, when you hear or read of unusually large election returns from over the sea; how you are cheered and encouraged, and mentally applaud them for standing solidly against capitalism; and point with pride to the advancement of Socialism everywhere.

And shall we not also give them proof of our full strength and progress in the only way in which it is possible to do so, and enhance their gratification and bring our cause world-wide prominence?

And why vote, anyhow, with the object of relieving, even in a slight degree, the stress and tension of present conditions, when we have been saying all along that the American working worm has not yet been trod on hard enough to make him turn; that he is simply squirming, though squirming more vigorously as the pressure increases. Why not let the squeezing go on unchecked until the point is reached where the pressure can no longer be borne?

And as for trusts, have we not hailed them as the logical and natural fore-runners of the co-operative commonwealth?

They are brooding nagians of commercialism, whose exactions and gigantic proportions will at last frighten the competitive Lilliputians into co-operating for their common safety.

And you should remember, too, that Bryan not only evaded the question of public ownership of the trusts, but has even spoken for the perpetuation of private ownership of trusts in his advocacy of that which he considers the settlement of the trust question—licenses.

Nor need we wait for the democratic party to come into power again to learn their attitude towards labor.

The present house committee on labor, some time in May, reported the bill to extend the eight-hour law to all laborers employed under contract on government work. The bill compels all government contractors to have their work done on the eight-hour basis. Bailey, the acknowledged leader of the Democrats in Congress, spoke against the bill, claiming that the right of a citizen to contract to sell ten hours of his labor a day should not be denied, and that he would not agree that an American citizen is incompetent to make a contract for his personal services. But we know the American laborer has been robbed of the opportunity to exercise the right of contract, his competency is shackled by his necessities.

But the above is the kind of rot you will always hear from an anti-Socialist politician.

And now, as a final probing of the case, and as a last appeal, I will make the situation a personal one for you:

A large and growing number of us voters of the nation, honestly believing that certain radical reforms, if carried out, would wonderfully improve the conditions of the whole people, have progressed to that degree where public interest and attention has been drawn to us.

And the conclusion has been reached that in order to place ourselves and our principles before the people in a comprehensive and influential manner, it is necessary to organize ourselves into a political body and prepare for the battle of the ballots.

Not that we hope to win in the first encounter, but that BY CHARGE AFTER CHARGE, EVERY MAN OF US DOING HIS DUTY, we will at last so weaken the enemy and strengthen our own position that the eventual charge will at last be made, which will bring us victory.

Having admitted the necessity and wisdom of this course, we proceed to the selection of a candidate who is one with us in principle.

YOU, comrade, are the one upon whom we agree.

The campaign is begun, you work with noble interest and unflagging energy for one who is sure of defeat, encouraged and sustained by the belief that each and every avowed comrade will at least stand by you.

The day of battle arrives—the order to advance is about to be given, but before doing so you glance back at your faithful followers.

Alas! The far from well-filled ranks have been thinned and broken by desertions all along the line! But it is too late now to withdraw, the plan of battle is arranged; the enemy confronts you; the trumpets are sounding the signal for the contest.

The charge must be made even in the face of ignoble defeat, and the derision and contempt of the foe at the insignificance of your following.

Comrade, have you come out of the conflict with feelings cut to the quick?

Of course you have, you expected defeat, but you comforted your soul with the flattering notion that those who believe as you do would share that defeat and its results to a man.

Has it provoked you into declaring that laboring for the people's interests is, after all, a thankless task? It would be a wonder if it had not.

Has it so disgusted you with reform and

unstable reformers that you succumb to the tempting offers of those who never scruple to corrupt the leaders in every noble cause? If so, those who failed to support you, have no right to reproach you.

They justified that right when they joined the ranks of our opponents.

Comrade, let us remember that great principles cannot be established by mere theorizing, but by the hard struggle of give and take, and a willingness on the part of their supporters, to brave the harsh buffetings of adverse opinion. Then let us be steadfast, unswerving and persistent, and compel the respect of our opponents as our forefathers compelled the respect of the monarchial governments of the world.

Without question a report will be circulated on the eve of election that Debs has withdrawn. Don't be played for a sucker.

Review By Job Harriman of the Situation

(NOTE—It has been necessary to reduce Mr. Harriman's excellent article owing to lack of space. It can be had complete in the October number of the International Socialist Review upon sending ten cents to the publishers, C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.)

THE reason why neither the democratic nor the republican parties ever proposed to abolish this wages system, this system of taxation without representation, is because those who frame the platforms are the representatives of the capitalist class who do the taxing. The power derived from taxation is to them sweeter than justice. They blindfold the working class by referring to the little business flurry just past as a wonderfully prosperous period, but they never mention the fact that the government wasted about 1,000,000,000 of dollars in prosecuting the war and the boom only lasted while we were spending it. It was only an opiate which stimulates for a moment, but leaves a wreck of its victim.

Instead of reminding us that they have thrown away 1,000,000,000 of dollars, which the working class must pay, with interest; instead of reminding us of the fact that expansion is only an extension of the American capitalists' power of taxation without representation; instead of telling us in so many words that they love the workingman for what they can get out of him; they "renew their faith in protection of the worker," while they renew their Gatling guns in protection of the "legitimate (?) interests of the corporations"—that is, of themselves. The injunction sets the law in operation, and the standing army is sent to the Coeur d'Alene, the state militia to Croton dam, the United States marshals to St. Louis and Harison. The capitalist class, with the machinery of government, protects their interests against the working class, who produced the capital. The Democratic platform condemns government by injunction and declares for government by arbitration. Were arbitration made binding by law, there is no reason to believe that the arbitrators would show any more interest in behalf of the working class than do the present injunction judges. In such cases the arbitrators would set the law in motion, the terms would be binding, and the capitalist class, being in possession of the powers of government, would enforce these terms at the point of the bayonet, the last vestige of the workingman's liberty would be gone. Both protection and arbitration are but baits on the capitalist's hook to catch the worker's vote.

It is apparent that the live issues of this campaign have been forced to the front by our industrial development. Starting with the wages system, the first result is a surplus which develops the autocratic employer on the one hand and the workman as his subject on the other. As the surplus increases the employer develops into a capitalist, then into a corporation "without a soul," but with "legitimate (?) interests," while the workman remains a subject with no voice in the management of affairs. When the surplus grows still larger it represents more power with which the trust is organized, and the prices to some degree controlled, with the working class still in subjection.

As the trust becomes more powerful the surplus seeks foreign markets and the workers in foreign lands who are being fleeced are considered even less capable of acting intelligently than are the American workers, and thus political imperialism abroad as added to industrial imperialism at home. Instead of compulsory education, with state support, both the Republican and Democratic parties favor educational qualification, and in some states agitation is being made for property qualification. As the surplus product increases beyond the market, men are thrown out of work. As men are discharged, competition for positions begins among the workers and wages go down; as wages go down the worker is less able to own property or to school his children, and thus a process of disfranchising the working class begins, imperialism rears its head from the industrial into political affairs, and taxation without representation becomes the political as well as the industrial policy of our country. The capitalist will diligently support the wages system and loudly declare that capital, though the product of labor, has "legitimate interests" antagonistic to labor, because it is by this process that they gain their power. They will multiply the issues and magnify their importance in their mad greed for power. A vote for either the Democratic or the Republican parties is a vote for the trust, for expansion, and for imperialism, because these issues are the logical and inevitable result of the wages system; which they both support. Not until the working class organizes a political party, managed by and for the interests of their class, and through the instrumentality of that party, conquer the powers of government, and reorganize the industrial institutions, to the end that each producer shall have an equal voice in the management thereof, and that all productive capital shall be owned in common and that the wage system shall be abolished, and that worker shall receive an equivalent for his total product, will the problems of imperialism, taxation without representation, expansion, trusts, corporate greed, and labor wars, be settled, and the two now warring classes be making war upon nature for her fruits in making war upon nature for her fruits instead of upon each other.

This devolves upon the working class. It is to their interest. They have the votes, the power and intelligence, and it depends upon the concerted action of the Socialists to deliver to them the necessary information as to its exercise.

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The twelfth annual report of the Bureau of Labor statistics of North Carolina, says the Average daily wages paid in tobacco factories of the state for skilled labor amounts to the magnificent sum of \$1.27 for men and 64 cents for women, while unskilled labor receives: Men 64 cents, women 37 cents and children 26 cents. In the woolen mills skilled labor gets—men \$1.10, women 25 cents per day. Other industries compensate the persons employed at proportionate rates.

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THE ARMED CAMP OF COMMERCIAL PIRACY.

These Trusts Levy Tribute on the American People Greater Annually than all the Crowned Heads and Titled Families of the Earth—The People must Own the Trusts or the Trusts will own the People and all the Property of the Nation.

Table listing various trusts and companies with their respective values, including Alkali American Alkali Co., Asphalt, Axes, and Automobile.

Table listing various trusts and companies with their respective values, including Gas-Trenton Gaslight Co., Granite Ware, Graphophones, and Glass.

Table listing various trusts and companies with their respective values, including Tobacco and Cigars, Tomatoes, Tow-Mills, and Tubes.

What do you think of the showing, eh?

BOTH ARE EXPLOITERS.

Table with two columns: REPUBLICAN PLATFORM and DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM. Lists names and amounts for various candidates and trusts.

It will be readily observed in glancing over the above lists, that there are about ten demost who are millionaires, in the U. S. Senate to where there is one republican.

Here are Your Weapons--Use Them

- List of candidates and party affiliations for various states including Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma Ter., Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

DEBS' SAYINGS.

The world is my country. I happened to be born in the United States, but that is no reason why I should hate my brothers in other countries.

Go Old Party Voters.

Will you please tell me what YOU have got out of it? You have howled, and whooped and talked vigorously for the "Grand Old Party."

No Hope for Traveling Men

Baltimore, Md., Oct. 16--Theodore Marburg the capitalist, and brother of William Marburg of the tobacco trust, delivered a speech on trusts at a meeting of commercial travelers here yesterday.

Trusts and Socialism.

The following editorial is reproduced from the Denver Republican: The strong point of the trust is that it exists and wins solely because it can produce any commodity it handles at a relatively small cost.

Wanted--A Trust.

A respectable, middle aged gentleman of large means desires a trust suitable for the needs of a family of 75,000,000.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

Table showing the following figures show the marvelous growth of Socialism all over the world. Columns for Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Serbia, Spain, Switzerland, and United States.

ADVERTISEMENTS are accepted under this head at 50c per line net cash with order. Ten words make a line. No discount for time or space. Only one column will be sold.

\$1,102,725 already pledged towards establishing a co-operative commonwealth here and now. The move is endorsed by Comrade Job Harriman and many other prominent social democrats.

MAGNETIC HEALING. Hypnotism, Vital Magnetism and Mental Science, all thoroughly taught in one book for only \$1.50.

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.

Social Democratic Party. Organize the socialists in your community. Full instructions as to organization of Social Democratic branches.

THE PLATFORM. The Social Democratic party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

Ohio. Elector--A. Neuber. Secretary--L. F. Heinse.

Texas. Electors--E. H. Duescher, J. E. Karaziewicz, Dr. W. H. Smith, H. B. Cochran, Z. Giddens, John Kerrigan, W. C. Moore, Alfred Hammond, H. M. Hollinger, L. Brownson, G. G. Morris, Wm. Tullis, W. Roper, W. Roper.

Tennessee. Electors--W. G. Pennington, John Ray, J. T. Rowland, W. G. Markland, E. D. Morgan, H. Kleiser, J. T. Hines, J. E. Voss, R. N. Morris, L. H. Gibson, Wm. McCaul, W. Martin, Governor--C. H. Stockwell.

Utah. Electors--J. Ward, W. D. Clays, G. B. Hobbs, M. Wright.

Washington. Electors--Henry Wieck, Lewis Thompson, Governor--W. C. B. Randolph Auditor--C. S. Wallace.

West Virginia. Electors--H. A. Leeds, J. C. Kautz, John Bachman, A. M. Hanes, J. M. Hill, P. R. Garrett.

Wisconsin. Electors--F. J. Eiring, Joseph Brown, E. H. Rooney, W. Anderson, Jacob Hunger, F. Guthell, Otto Kundert, Frederick Althen, E. P. Hassinger, Vincent Bezucha, Governor--Howard Tuttle.

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