

The Political Situation.

By Rev. C. H. Vail. We are again in the midst of a national campaign and every man is asking himself, or should be asking himself, to what party he should give his allegiance. Unfortunately, however, the majority accept without question the policy of the party to which they happen to belong, and instead of endeavoring to ascertain if the party represents their interests, are rather endeavoring to find arguments to bolster up their partisanship. It is to those that are willing to think that I would speak.

The political situation is exceptionally clear in this campaign. The three parties are distinct and stand equally for the interests of the three classes into which modern society is economically divided. The republican party represents the interests of the large capitalist class, the plutocracy; the democratic party represents the interests of the middle class, the small capitalists, small producers, and traders; and the socialist party represents the interests of the proletarian class, the class of wage and salary workers. A careful examination of the platforms of these parties will show the class interests they are intended to subserve.

The rapid economic development of the last few years which has resulted in the concentration of capital, together with the outcome of the Spanish-American war, has given rise to new issues. The democratic platform declares imperialism, or expansion to be the paramount issue of the campaign. Conditions have been forming for years which were bound sooner or later to bring this question to the front. To understand the underlying causes for this, we need to comprehend the nature of capitalist industry.

Under the wage system the product created by labor is divided into two nearly equal parts, one goes to labor in the form of wages, the other to capitalists, landlords, and other gentlemen at large in the form of rent, interest, and profits. To be exact, the laborers receive in this field but 47 per cent of the values they create. The workers can, then, buy back but 47 per cent of the product. Nor even that, for the value here given is the factory price. But workmen do not buy at factory prices but at retail. To the factory price is added the profits of a long series of middlemen and retailers which results in doubling the factory price. The laborer, then, when he goes to the markets to purchase the things he has produced, finds that instead of purchasing 47 per cent, he can only purchase about 23 or 24 per cent of the things he has made, and even this estimate is perhaps excessive. When we take into consideration money spent for rent, doctors' bills, insurance, pleasure, etc., it is evident that he cannot purchase over 15 or 16 per cent of the goods he has produced.

The capitalist, on the other hand, being comparatively few in number, are enabled by their best efforts, to consume "their" portion of the product; and thus a large surplus is left on their hands for which there is no commercial demand.

How to procure an outlet for this surplus product which they have compelled laborers to give up is the great question of the capitalist class. The use of machinery has so increased the productivity of labor, that unless some outlet can be found, production must cease at intervals until the excess is consumed. The question, then, is for the capitalist to turn this surplus value into cash. How can they secure purchasers?

The laborers would gladly consume more, but their wages will not permit them to do so, and all the while the tools are becoming more expensive and are turning out ever increasing product, while wages if not remaining stationary or declining, at least do not increase in proportion to the increased product. Laborers are less and less able to buy back the product of their toil.

The only outlet, then, is in foreign markets. Capitalism has reached that point of development in this country—a point long since reached in Europe—where it must expand or burst. We must teach heathen peoples the blessings of civilization and compel them to wear "pants" so they will buy them—and "pants" with pockets, too, else how can we pick them?

To show that this is not merely the theory of a socialist, but a cold and solid fact, let me quote from a few capitalists and their representatives. Chauncey M. Depew said at the Philadelphia republican convention:

"What is the tendency of the future? why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at the gates of Peking? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why these parades of people from other empires and other lands? It is because the surplus production of the civilized country of modern times is greater than civilization can consume. It is because this over-production goes back to starvation and poverty."

"The American people now PRODUCE \$2,650,000,000 MORE THAN WE CAN CONSUME. By the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates we have our market in Cuba, we have our market in Porto Rico, we have our market in the Philippines and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 people with the Pacific as an American lake, and American artisans producing better and cheaper goods than any other country in the world."

It could be shown, if space permitted, that the shrewdest of the capitalist class have realized for some years the necessity for expansion. At the banquet of the American Manufacturers' Association, January 27, 1898, Hon. C. E. Smith, McKinley's postmaster-general said:

"The past century has been the age of internal upbuilding; we approach now the age of external activity. From 1840 to 1890 the population of the United States more than tripled, but the mighty tide of its manufactures expanded eighteen fold. A greatly increased capacity of consumption has followed this magical advance, but it has not kept pace with the magnified power of production, and the ECONOMIC PROBLEM OF THE WORLD TODAY IS THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURPLUS. Under this stress the great nations of Europe are struggling for empire and trade. They are scanning the whole horizon for new fields to conquer, colony and commerce. In this strenuous rivalry are we to stand with folded hands and let the prizes slip? High national policy and broad commercial expansion go hand in hand. Trade follows the flag in the world around. We have come to a point in our national development where we must decide. The end we aim at is clear; the means within our reach. We must have among other things, a navy that shall command respect for the voice of our authority. China and Japan are the surpassing and magnificent revelations of these latter days. There around the Yellow Sea and the adjacent waters is a population of 500,000,000 and a potential trade of thousands of millions. Why should we not play for our legitimate share of the great stake?"

Representative Brownwell of Ohio, recently spoke to the same effect. He said:

"If the Chinese empire is to be divided, I am certainly in favor of getting the proportion of territory that belongs to this country. The fact that we have the Philippines will not insure us full economic advantages if China goes into the hands of Europe. We may be sure that those countries are not risking everything to get some Chinese territory for the fun of the thing. It is commerce and trade they are after, and we can not afford to be a minute behind in the same course, except that ours can be done under restrictions, and in keeping with our policy of going alone and independent of other nations."

Preparations have been making for this "expansion" for some time, and the Spanish-American war merely gave the capitalists an opportunity for which they had been looking. It gave

them an excuse for seizing the Philippines which they were not loathe to accept. It is often suggested that Dewey should have sailed out of Manila Bay after destroying the Spanish fleet. But the administration knew the interests it was there to serve—the Philippines were needed as a base of operations in China, and they were retained. Anyone who knows of the doings of the American China Development Company knows why the islands are kept and also the hypocrisy of the administration in its professions.

THE REPUBLICAN POLICY. The whole foreign policy is the result of greedy commercialism. It evidences the criminality of capitalism which does not hesitate to sacrifice the life and liberty of a people in the interest of private profit. The capitalist class must have markets and opportunity to invest their surplus capital, no matter at what cost to others. All that is needed to exist the blind support of the people in carrying out their nefarious schemes is to cover them with the cry of "patriotism." Such great wrongs have always been perpetrated in the name of "humanity," "civilization," and "patriotism." It is only those that the ruling class can gain the moral support of the people.

REACTIONARY DEMOCRACY. The republican party, in declaring for expansion, is but voicing the interests of the class it represents. The democratic party is opposed to the republican expansion policy, not because it is more virtuous, but because the material interests of the class it represents would not thus be subserved. The industrial activities of the middle class are very limited and its surplus capital still more so; consequently they are not interested in the policy of the trust magnates, but rather opposed to it, for they know that the growth of the trusts means ruin for them. With but little or no manufactured products to export and no capital to invest abroad, it is not strange that they should oppose this policy, and it is less strange, when we take into consideration the result of this investment on the stability of the middle class. I will refer to this again presently.

The democratic party, in representing the interests of the crushing middle class, has become thoroughly reactionary. It faces backward on every great question of the day. Its middle class anti-trust program is absurd. Its position on the money question is also in accord only with middle class aims.

THE SOCIALIST POSITION. Now let us inquire what the socialist has to say on the question of expansion. Socialism is not anybody's ready-made scheme or device; it is a scientific philosophy, and rests upon a historical, economic, and scientific basis. The mission of the socialist is to point out the truth regarding the working of economic laws, and show that the present system is destined to work its own downfall and usher in a more cooperative commonwealth. The socialist points out the necessity of modern capitalism to expand—it MUST have foreign markets. The socialist is not an expansionist like the republican nor an anti-expansionist like the democratic—he merely points out the facts. The interests of the class he represents cannot be served by either policy. Socialism, as I have said, represents the interests of the working class. It also represents the true interests of every member of the middle class (and I might also say the true ultimate interests of the capitalists, not of course, as capitalists, but as men; but like the slaveholders of old, they are blind to their higher interests).

Socialism is the only economic salvation for humanity. It means a nobler and true civilization. It thus represents the real interests of every person. But it does not stand for the economic interests of either division of the property class, for their CLASS INTERESTS signify these measures which make for the perpetuity of their class. Socialism means the destruction of all classes. But the initiative must be taken by the proletariat, the workers; it is the mission of this class to inaugurate the new order. An advance has been made by class struggles, a class below overthrowing a class above. But the triumph of the working class is necessarily the abolition of all dependence, for it can only emancipate itself by socializing the means of production and distribution. There are thousands, however, of the other classes who are realizing the hopeless struggle and are joining the cause of progress.

The socialist party, then, as representing the interests of the working class, calls their attention to the fact that the surplus product which the capitalists are trying to sell abroad, is wealth which they have produced and which has been exploited from them through the wage system. Every dollar's worth of goods shipped abroad represents surplus value which has been appropriated from the product of the workers. How long will laborers rejoice at the opportunity of capitalists to sell foreign nations the things they themselves need?

The cry for foreign markets is the cry of a vicious system. Foreign markets only add to the profits of the profit seekers. Think of the absurdity of working men pointing to the long list of exports and rejoicing because the products of their own toil, which have been reaped from them, are being sold abroad to enrich the coffers of the capitalist class.

I protest, in behalf of the thousands of unfed, half-clothed, and homeless workingmen against such a policy. What socialists want is that these goods produced by labor should go to labor. IF EVERY MAN RECEIVED THE FULL PRODUCT OF HIS TOIL THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR FOREIGN MARKETS.

Socialism would secure to the laboring class this wealth and so do away with the need for foreign markets, and it would also do away with the crises and industrial depressions which result from the accumulation of a surplus in the hands of the capitalist class.

As production is carried on for profit, it ceases as soon as profits are threatened. Production can only be sustained by consumption, and consumption is limited by wages. The wages paid will not buy the product created, consequently a glut takes place and depression results. We are then confronted by a condition of over-production, or rather under-consumption (for there can be no such thing as the former as long as men are in need). If laborers received the full product of their labor they would quickly dispose of the surplus. Until society is organized on a cooperative basis we shall experience the same fortunes that have befallen us for the last century—periods of so-called prosperity, followed by periods of depression and business stagnation.

The competitive system leads to disaster, not by a straight road, to be sure, but by a wave-like path—comparative prosperity alternating with industrial depression. These crises are of periodical occurrence. Industry runs in a circle which is called the vicious circle of boom, seven to ten years. Beginning with the crisis of 1815, nine such catastrophes have afflicted this country; they are world-wide and nearly contemporaneous in all the great nations. The causes are inherent in the present system—the anarchy of private enterprise and the exploitation of labor.

It must be evident to every student of the economic question that the better times we now enjoy will be followed by harder times than we have yet experienced.

Let us note here in passing that when capitalism has developed to its present status prosperity can only mean prosperity for the few. Today the wage-slave can more easily find a master than he could a few years ago; but the laborer who had steady employment then was better off than he is today. Although his wages may have advanced 10 per cent, the cost of living has advanced 20 or 30 per cent. Inasmuch as wages depend upon the average cost of living, they necessarily rise in excess of such, but often remain stationary or rise but little, while prices temporarily at least, go skyward. It is owing to this

economic law that no prosperity, under the present system, can secure to laborers more than the average livelihood.

The next period of adversity will in all likelihood strike us within the next four years, regardless of whether Bryan or McKinley is elected. Do you think this a mere socialist dream? So thought many in 1891 and 1892, when the socialist called attention to the ominous signs of the times which meant that disaster was near at hand. People pointed to the great industrial activity of the time, not knowing that such activity reaches its consummation just previous to the crash. But a depression may come on gradually without a financial panic, or the panic may appear as the first evidence that the body economic is out of order. After a depression has lasted for some years the glut is relieved and society begins slowly to recover. It begins cautiously, but orders increase, and soon the bank panics are forgotten and the engines of production are again driven at full speed, each producer trying to outdo his competitor, and all producing in the dark without knowledge of the extent of the demand. This procedure invites another catastrophe, and it comes in response to the call.

There are indications even now that the capitalist class has overreached itself. In many quarters the cry of over-production is being raised, factories are slowing down and in some instances workmen have been laid off (as in the iron industry within the month). It would surely be unfortunate for the democratic party if it should again get in power just in time to be engulfed in the next crisis—such a plight would put it permanently out of business. But what if it comes under republican rule, after all their boasts of prosperity? It looks as if there will be a misfortune to either party to win this fall. Of course there are circumstances such as foreign wars or a general condition of markets that will prolong present conditions; but only for a little time. It might possibly be the next administration escape, but I do not think probable.

Every great nation today, is in the same condition, and all are now engaged in a scramble for China—the last undeveloped market left. As Depew says, we can produce better and cheaper goods than any country in the world, and THIS MEANS THAT THE LABORERS OF AMERICA RECEIVE A SMALLER SHARE OF WHAT THEY PRODUCE THAN ANY WORKERS ON THE FACE OF THE PLANET. Even the Chinese laborers at five cents a day can get compete with the American laborers, because the latter have invented for themselves such perfect tools that they produce a hundred times more wealth. It is due to this fact and the more complete development of capitalism in this country that we can compete with the nations of Europe.

But it will not be long at the present rate before capitalism will be as much developed there as here, and the competition will be fiercer and fiercer. With all capitalist nations standing on practically the same mechanical basis, there must take place a leveling of wages. With the same mechanical means the foreign laborer will become as efficient as the American, for skill is being eliminated by automatic machinery. It is quite evident that wages here will soon fall to the level of the "pauper labor of Europe." We have now reached the point where protection will be but little or no benefit, for we now produce more than we can consume, and so must seek the markets of the world. But this search for foreign markets, although necessary to capitalism, is bound to react and at length to work its own downfall. The markets of Russia, Japan and Australia are already being closed; they are developing into industrial states and will soon supply their own wants. They are introducing our methods and will soon cease to be customers and become competitors. The capitalists have recognized this fact, and have seen the need of transplanting industries in the far East. With the acquisition of the Philippines the capitalists can organize great plants there, and with the cheap labor of the country can control the markets of that section.

But the acquisition of the Philippines is really only a basis for operation in China. The capitalists are bound to have the cheap labor of the Chinese. If they can not get it here, owing to the exclusion laws which the laborers have had the power to enact, they will take the machines to China. The capitalists are bound in the end to produce in the east the goods needed to supply the eastern market. They will also produce there to meet the competition of Europe. If the goods are produced there, less will be produced here, and less labor will be employed. Capitalists will produce where they can produce the cheapest. And who knows but what the cheap goods produced in the far east will be sold in this country in competition with American-made products? As capitalists will produce where they can produce the cheapest, so they will sell where they can sell the dearest. If the middle class cannot now compete with the trusts what would it do under such conditions? Have we not here the reason for the middle class anti-trust and anti-imperialistic policies? Let the laborers also remember that every dollar's worth of goods produced in the east for the American capitalists means just so much less employment for laborers here. If the industries of this country can not run continuously now, even with our foreign markets, what will be the result when these markets are closed?

The laborer's condition is surely not encouraging. Unless the capitalists have foreign markets they cannot dispose of their "surplus," and so will not allow labor to produce more. If they have the foreign markets they must adjust production to meet foreign competition, and so reduce wages to the foreign level; and finally they will be compelled to establish industries in the east in order to meet the competition of other capitalists who are producing there, and so cease to employ as many workmen here, which will so overstock the labor market that millions will be unable to find employment at any price. The "industrial reserve army" would grow to gigantic proportions. It never disappears even now in times of greatest industrial activity.

Thus, for the wage worker, democratic and republican politics is a game of "heads you win, tails I lose." Expansion means lower wages; non-expansion means less employment; for both propose to confine the wage system, under which men can work only when the employer can get a profit on their labor.

Well, what is the laboring class going to do about it? As already stated, the socialist party points out the only remedy—the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. The problems of expansion and foreign markets, and, in fact, ALL THE PROBLEMS AND EVILS THAT CONFRONT SOCIETY TODAY HAVE THEIR ROOT IN THE WAGE SYSTEM.

THE BETTER CHOICE.

The workers are not compelled to choose between republican capitalist expansion (trusts, Chinese cheap labor, low wages) and democratic middle class anti-expansion (over-production, unemployment, hard times). They may choose socialism—the universal combine with all workers on the inside, the whole product for the worker, and no worry about foreign markets, no need of foreign war.

Socialism will solve the problems and abolish the evils by doing away with the wage system and establishing the Co-operative Commonwealth, wherein peace, justice, and plenty will be secured to all. We ask you to join the great world-wide army which is marching under the banner of socialism, and aid in establishing a system wherein those who create the "surplus" and all wealth, shall be able to keep it and enjoy it themselves.

Oklahoma City, Okla., voted for city ownership of the waterworks on July 24. Vote stood 1,010 for to 203 against.

Should a young man make it his chief purpose to get rich?

Before answering the question it will be well to understand just what is meant by getting rich. It must mean having more than the average of wealth. Then the question is, how much more? It is not because you have a certain amount of money or property that you are rich. Here, everything is a matter of proportion. It is having more than others, and thus being able to command their services, through the power of the things you have and the things they need, that constitutes you a rich man. To be rich is to have enough of the world's wealth to be able to live without labor by the labor of others—to have other people support you. Not that the man who is rich is necessarily idle. He may work harder than the men he employs. But the fact that he has property enough to be carried through the world by others, if he chooses to be idle, makes him rich.

Well, it follows inevitably that most men must be poor; that all cannot be rich, and that but few can be. Suppose every man was worth a million dollars? Would everybody be rich? Not at all. Would you expect another millionaire to black your boots for you, or do your scavenger work for you? By no means. If everybody had a million dollars, no one would be one whit better off than if everybody had ten dollars and no more. It is the inequality, in having more than others have, that the riches consists.

But, if most men must be poor, if 99 men out of 100 are bound to fail to get rich, what odds you are struggling against when you set out to get rich. What would you give for a ticket in a drawing in which there were 99 blanks and only one prize? To set out to be rich is therefore a gambler's desperate venture, with the chances against you at a ratio which must be appalling. Unless, therefore, you want to spend your life and your energies in a struggle that is well-nigh hopeless, it is not wise for a young man to start out in life with the intention of devoting his energies to amassing property.

And if you do, it is something outside of your self and foreign to yourself in which you seek a reward for your efforts. A man's life does not consist in the abundance of the things he possesses. It is what you are that really counts in this world, rather than what you have. You may argue differently, but you know, down deep in your heart, that it is true; and that, although men may tend to the rich who have nothing but their wealth to recommend them, they despise them. Such men may be feared, but they are not loved.

It is true that the ability to accumulate wealth is an ability that is admired, and that we are inclined to set the successful man on a pedestal and worship him because he has succeeded. He has displayed the power to amass wealth, which is a different thing from the power implied by merely possessing it, and all men envy him the former power. And the game of business is simply a contest to decide who has and who has not that power. When the world grows wiser, other kinds of power will be more admired than this power to get and keep material things that you can't use except by making other men your slaves. The present worship of success is barbaric. It is only to the extent that we have higher ideals than this, and cherish possessions that cannot be bought or sold, that we are becoming civilized. The man who is capable of sacrificing fortune for sentiment is on an infinitely higher plane than the one who crushes sentiment to make a fortune. We cannot live without material things—food, clothing and shelter—but when we permit those things to become our masters, instead of making them our servants, we magnify the creature more than the Creator, and make unto ourselves gods of wood, hay and stubble. If it is well to subordinate the highest things to the lowest, to live over in the basements of our natures and forget that we are the children of the Highest, it may be well to make money-getting, or the accumulation of property, the main object in life. But if we realize that we are born for a higher destiny than that of earth, and that life is well spent or ill spent as we grow nobler or baser in character, we shall more correctly estimate the value of the goods which the undeveloped man so eagerly covets, but which so fatally hamper him in the race that is set before him.

W. H. Young.

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The Kindly Rich.

When a reverential amateur photographer recently sought to take a snapshot of the late Senator Fair's daughter her ladyship, with a surprising access of modesty, sprang indignantly into her automobile and went in quest of her husband, who advanced upon the presumptuous photographer, knocked the camera from his hands and stamped it to pieces. The wretch got off cheaply, for it seems that the Oelrichs number lettres de cachet, or their equivalent, among the means by which they teach the proletariat to respect rank.

A painter, intruded upon the grounds of these nobles and was ordered off by the lady. Being an American he returned warm language for insult and in consequence was not only beaten by the husband but sent to jail. There he has remained a prisoner for two months. Mrs. Oelrichs paying \$3 a week for the satisfaction of keeping him imprisoned.

America of the present not being France of the eighteenth century, a painter has brought a number of suits to recompense him for his bruises and loss of liberty. The dispatch from Newport giving this account of the doings of the aristocracy says: "The jail where Harrison, the painter, is kept in close confinement is hot and poorly ventilated, and his imprisonment has aggravated a chronic heart trouble, so that he has been attended by a physician almost constantly."

Of course photographers who take snapshots of women without permission are nuisances, and painters who are lured by the beauty of nature to trespass upon private grounds are not to be encouraged, but there are other ways of dealing with them than by applying the fist and throwing them into jail—ways in which ladies and gentlemen need no instruction. The merely rich, of whom the violent-tempered and aggressively vulgar Oelrichs are extreme types, need a severer course of lessons in the valuable social art of controlling that arrogance of wealth which renders those who display it odious to every well-bred man and woman, and which helps greatly to cultivate a class hatred that in the end never fails to find disastrous expression. The combination of several million dollars and a cad infallibly produces precisely the results that Newport is suffering from.

A Socialist's Opinion.

D. M. Saechter, of Dubois, Pa., says in Pennsylvania Grit: "I would like to give a socialist's view. To call off all strikes? No, sir! We must strike but not the old fashioned way, in rioting and boycotting, etc. We must strike intelligently and strike only one day in the year, and that is on election day. Strike for your own interests, and not those of your masters. To accept the best terms of our employers? Has the proletariat ever had its own way? Have not the majority of strikes been settled at the employees' own terms? To put every man to work you can find a place for? Yes, sir; that is very well, but there are not enough places; the market is packed with idlers; the labor-saving machine has taken their places. Some will say: 'Can't a man be displaced by machinery turn to something else?' Well, shall he turn to shoemaking? But the machine is there. Shall he turn to furniture making? The machine stares at him there also. Shall he turn to farming? He has neither land nor capital, and capital is required to get machinery to compete with the bonanza farms. Wherever he turns his hands he finds thousands striving for the same thing. Some say that socialists are opposed to machinery, and that they trace the misery to the machine itself. No! Machines are a blessing to society, if owned by the people as a whole, but a curse if owned by individuals, and as long as those machines are owned by individuals there can be no unity. All workmen must unite and vote to own the machinery and work it co-operatively. It is the only way to get rid of striking, riots, boycotts, corrupt politics and poverty. To cast your vote as a body? We certainly must do so, if we ever intend to emancipate ourselves. But to vote for any capable man, no matter what party he belongs to, will never do. Vote to own the machines, and we will have means enough to help the oppressed that are coming here to seek a livelihood. We cannot do anything now, for we have a hard job keeping ourselves."

The Reformer.

Reform Press. As we cast an eye backward over the history of the ages, and view the seas of blood through which the reformer has passed; the gibbet, the rack, the stake, and devouring flames, and such torture as only demons could devise, it seems but proof positive that man is a creature of circumstances, and himself to a greater or less extent the creator thereof.

The conservatism of man seems to have no limit. The tenacity with which he clings to old customs; no bounds, causing him to oppose all progress that tends to better circumstances. Whenever the human intellect has advanced sufficiently to discover that his surrounding conditions are not what they should be; he starts out for new fields, to be met with opposition on all sides.

The reformer's pathway has ever been a thorny one. He has always been a rebel against fixed customs—which are laws in the absence of law—a heretic in the church, and an outcast from society. He has opposed unjust laws and customs, whether established by church or state. To denounce the crystallized creeds of men, and to shatter their idols has been the unceasing work of his hand.

Terrible indeed has been his suffering from the vengeance of established power, which rests severely in its ease in the possession of the best that the earth affords. And so these conservative wrecks in human form cling to old ideas long since outgrown, by the onward march of human intellect and the necessities of the community.

Lillie D. White said: "To follow the reformer on his arduous and lonely journey, must be at the cost of ease and comfort, home and friends, respectability and popularity." Few accept or choose the rugged pathway. Fewer still possess the courage and strength to follow it to the end. To the reformer it is the voice of truth which says: "Unless ye forsake all and follow me, ye are not worthy to be my disciple." How many times the would-be Christian who claims to obey the author of these words is the worst and most cruel enemy of the reformer.

Old Party, Intellect.

At Kinley Junction, Ind., Henry Winsted and John Barnes have made a wager. If McKinley is elected, Barnes is to get down on his hands and knees in Winsted's orchard and engage in a butting contest with a Southdown ram that has a record of knocking a hole through a wall made of three-inch oak planks. In case of Bryan's election, Winsted will drink three pints of hard cider while standing on his head in an empty flour barrel.

At Burr Oak, Mich., Arthur Williams has entered into a written agreement to support George Stebbins' mother-in-law during the rest of her natural life if Bryan is elected president next fall. Should McKinley be re-elected, Stebbins is to publicly twist the tail of a vicious mule that Williams owns, repeating the performance every day for three weeks or until the twister is permanently disabled.

In Illinois Horace Wilkes of Peru and Walter Cartwright of La Salle have made an election bet which is strange, but true. Wilkes, who is an ardent republican, agrees if Bryan is elected to give up his present business and hire himself to Cartwright as nurse for the latter's twin babies, now six months old, at a salary of 50 cents a week in silver, continuing in such service until voluntarily released by his employer. Cartwright has signed articles in which he promises if McKinley succeeds himself as president to look after Wilkes' furnace and keep his sidewalk cleaned next winter without remuneration of any kind. Furthermore, he is to have the right side of his head and face shaved twice a week for four years, but the left side is to be touched neither by shears nor razor during that time.

A RALLY.

London Justice. The bullet shrieks, to fix a doom; A far the hungry maniacs rave; Murder and famine, ghosts of gloom, Attend the century to its grave.

chere and other radicals are denouncing such a course in bitter terms. Meanwhile the socialist movement is steadily gaining ground. The trade unionists and socialists of England are declaring in conventions and by resolutions that they are opposed to the government carrying on military operations in the Transvaal or China.

15 mills on the dollar valuation for taxation of \$1,600,000, bringing in a revenue from taxes of \$24,000, or about \$2 per capita per annum. We have levied no taxes for water purposes, the revenue from the works being sufficient to pay interest, operating expenses, repairs, and for the extension and improvement of the system.

Electricity has just been applied to the making of cigarettes and cut tobacco, with the result that 180,000 cigarettes and 5,000 pounds of cut tobacco were produced in one minute. Hundreds of hand-workers will be displaced.

ten hundred years ago, and yet, strange to say, many workmen who profess intelligence, believe him and are willing to obey. The republican politician is not so pleasant in his address, and makes no pretense at flattery. He simply says: "Look here, you greedy hireling, if it were not for us you would starve to death; you are living off our bounty."

FOREIGN ITEMS

Belgium socialists have elected another member to the Chamber of Deputies. For every million inhabitants in Russia there is only an average of ten newspapers.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Danvers, Mass., has a municipal coal yard. City ownership of the electric lighting and fuel gas plants went through with a whoop at Brockville, Ont. Large numbers of women voted.

Our total debt is \$74,000, and we could sell our waterworks and lighting plant, upon twenty-four hours notice for over \$300,000. This makes our net assets about \$228,600, nearly \$20 per capita.

Speaking about inventions, here is something worth remembering: Three years ago there were no pressed steel cars in operation on railroads. Now a half a dozen have owned at least 10,000 of these cars, and one row clears \$5.38 a mile with each car operated, or more than twice as much as with wooden cars.

The Socialist party is a progressive organization, unhampered by bosses and office holders. It is simply a party of principle, and we do not hesitate to make the prediction that should McKinley be re-elected this year that the Socialist party in four years will be a most important factor in public elections.

Do You See the Point? Do not fail to make a distribution of the Appeal at old party meetings. A bundle every week will put you in shape to do it. 25 copies 3 months \$1.50.

American Notes.

The lock-step has been abolished in Sing Sing prison. The profits of the Havemeyer sugar trust in 1899 was \$300,000,000. A machine to renovate and straighten out old tin cans is being successfully operated in St. Louis.

Spirit of the Press.

Mark Hanna looks on the workmen voters as "cattle." It is because of the experience he has had with them.—Common Sense. When a busy man has time to think about it, he wonders how the idle people with no means of support manage to dress so well.—Atchison Globe.

Social Democratic Party.

Grant the socialists in your commands. Full instructions as to organization of local branches are sent in application to Theodore Debs, 120 Washington St., Chicago, headquarters of the Social Democratic Party of America.

In Thuringen and in Waldenburg, Germany, the social democrats were triumphant in bye-elections for members of parliament. Just before adjourning the socialists hammered a bill through the French Chamber of Deputies providing for compulsory arbitration.

The profits accruing to the city of Auburn, Maine, under municipal ownership of the waterworks system seem to be very satisfactory, says the Waterville Mail. The net profit for the last year was almost \$9,000 and the total net profit for all the time since the city acquired the works is about \$57,000.

The Cleveland, Ohio, Central Labor Union has passed resolutions to carry banners bearing socialistic mottoes on parade. California socialists have been making ineffectual attempts to drag the democrats into debate. They will now challenge republicans.

The entire structure of business depends for its support upon the people who purchase their supplies. Labor in its capacity as a consumer is the chief employer of labor in its capacity as a producer. Why then does it not pay itself enough for its services to furnish a godly living? Perhaps it does not know how but it will sometime.—Equity.

Books, keen-edged with wisdom. "Empty thy purse into thy head." Shakespeare. Five Cent Books. After Capitalism, What? Municipal Socialism. The History of Socialism. The Evolution of Socialism. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. Imprudent Marriages. The Society of the Future. The Labor Question. The Socialists. The Socialists. The Socialists. The Socialists.

PILGRIM.

My foxy friend with lots of good grub and a good place to sleep, did you ever think what life is in the tenement bells of the big cities this kind of weather? One or two small stuffy rooms, unventilated and with insufficient light is all that many of the lowly poor have today.

The man that votes for the old parties in order to "get half a loaf" is abroad in the land. The two old parties have brought him to the condition where he has to vote for "half a loaf" and he is dod-gasted idiot enough to think that he can get back part of what he lost by pursuing the same course that caused him to loose.

Union labor is now up against it. There is a candidate in the field who carries a union card. His name is E. V. Debs and he is running on the Social Democratic ticket for president of this great and glorious nation of niggers.

Recently the street car employes of St. Louis went on a strike and from present appearances they will lose out on it. It has cost them their jobs. Now it looks to me that the street car employes could do better than that.

A whole lot of you jaspers think that Americans own this country. But you're off. When Huntington passed over the divide the other day people thought he was worth at least one hundred million dollars.

The Courier-Herald, a labor union paper published at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., has a gleeful word to say because the democrats had their convention printing done in union offices.

One of the Paramount Issues.

Four years ago the paramount issue of the presidential campaign was the question what our of a dollar we should have. This year the paramount economic issue is the question who shall own whatever dollars there are and lucratively themselves along with them.

Thirty years ago the Standard Oil Trust had a capital of \$1,000,000. Now its nominal capital is \$110,000,000 and the actual value of its stock, based on market quotations and earning capacity, is over \$500,000,000. It has increased its wealth over 500 times, or 50,000 per cent in thirty years.

Each of the 35,000 workmen may be presumed to have at least a wife and three children—175,000 people in all to be supported from an income no larger than Mr. Rockefeller's. At an average wage of \$2 per day, each person in a Standard Oil workman's family would have forty cents a day to live on—including food, clothing, shelter and luxuries.

Similar proportions prevail in other enterprises. Mr. Carnegie's individual income from his steel works is greater than the combined incomes of all the workmen in his employ. When a few men are compounding their incomes at the rate of 50 or 100 per cent, and the masses of the people live from hand to mouth, saving nothing, and lucky if they can pay their daily accounts without asking for charity, it does not take a very elaborate mathematical calculation to show that the few will soon own all the wealth of the country.

Suppose he and Mr. Rockefeller each were to hold some cherished principle of government and suppose each went to Washington on the same day to urge his views upon the President, which would get the more respectful reception? Suppose the workman was sitting in the President's ante-room when his employer came in, would Mr. Rockefeller wait his turn?

HERE you have a very good analysis of the industrial system and every socialist knows that the only remedy lies in the public ownership of the properties controlled by the trusts. And the Examiner, one of the most powerful exponents of Bryanism and democracy tells you that this is not an issue in this campaign!

It will be no difficult task for you to fix yourself for life with land on the Appeal's offer to give ten acres each week for the largest club of yearlies. Ten acres is all any man needs unless he is a farmer.

The republican national committee Wednesday decided on the campaign button. The largest size will bear a picture of McKinley, underneath which will be a picture of a full dinner pail.

The Socialist Vote. Table with 2 columns: Country and Number of Votes. Includes United States (91,749), Germany (2,250,000), Great Britain (55,000), Switzerland (36,468), Spain (28,000), Italy (134,496), Serbia (50,000), France (1,000,000), Denmark (32,000), Belgium (634,324), Austria (750,000).

APPEAL ARMY

Comrade Seely of Caldwell, Col., places an order for 25 copies weekly. Comrade Cramer of Portsmouth, O., lifted 9 Filipino scalps last week.

Comrade Reilly put a shell into our factory the other day containing ten yearlies. The Retail Clerk's Union of Gainesville, Texas, take a bundle of ten for 6 months.

Comrade Aydelott of Memphis, Tenn., touches us up with 19 yearlies and an order for 25 "Merrie Englands." Comrade Hall of Portage, Wis., takes 20 of those postal cards at \$5.00 and a bundle of ten weekly for 6 months.

Comrade Richards of Quincy, Mass., orders 1,000 of those drop cards. They contain curiosity arousing remarks on socialism. Per 1,000, postpaid, 60 cents. The committee of striking St. Louis street railway men returned to the charge last week with a club of 17 subscribers.

A Colorado comrade puts \$4 to the credit of the fund and says: "Lots of people think Debs is running to keep votes from Bryan, but I think Bryan is running to keep votes from Debs." Don't fail to lift these two or three scalps that invite lifting. Five hundred or a thousand of you pass them by every week thinking they don't count. But, great scotch! they do count.

Comrade Gage of Hoquiam follows his list of \$15 on the campaign fund with another of \$10. Gage is blackened with the smoke of battle but his big gun continues to regularly toss its shells into the enemy. The B. of L. E. of Cincinnati got to the front with an order for 20 copies weekly.

Comrade Baker of Kansas City went to bat last week, spit on his hands and turned in an order for four subscriptions for five each week; one year and five single yearlies. What did Hanna pay you for that, Baker? When Comrade Feist's shell struck the building it jarred the army editor of the chair. Fifty copies every week for 6 months, yearly subscriptions and campaign fund for trimmings. Feist is a druggist at El Paso, Texas.

Comrade Oneal of Terre Haute, Ind., got behind his machine gun last week and lifted us from a chair with an order for 600 copies weekly during the campaign. The press threatens to fly to pieces unless Oneal is properly punished. Jaspers, jump in and win one of those ten-acre farms in Arkansas. There's eight of them already disposed of and now we are going to hand out one every week for the largest club received between Monday morning and Saturday night.

The following comrades have subscribed for a bundle of 10 copies per week 6 months at \$1.00: J. A. Sevier, Alexandria, Ind.; F. A. Lymburner, Dubuque, Iowa; A. W. Wymer, Dubuque, Iowa; Alvin Bauer, Dubuque, Iowa; Nic Theno, Dubuque, Iowa; Adam Young, Higbee, Mo.; Henry Crouse, Moab, Utah; W. R. Young, Bluefield, W. Va.; W. T. Lyford, Los Angeles, Cal.; J. J. Bryan, Vina, Cal.; A. S. Baldwin, Golden, Col.; A. B. Cornelius, New Haven, Conn.; E. K. Conrad, Van Wyck, Idaho; J. McNulty, Chicago, Ill.; E. S. Pope, Indianapolis, Ind.; Richard S. Russell, Nora, Ind.; C. S. Thompson, Ponda, Iowa; W. A. Schriver, Newport, Ky.; W. W. Winegar, Boston, Mass.; W. T. Richards, Quincy, Mass.; A. B. Outsum, Chelsea, Mass.; Thos. H. Dunn, Abington, Mass.; J. J. Fox, North Abington, Mass.; H. S. Wells, Battle Creek, Mich.; Fred Gasswiller, Red Lake Falls, Minn.; Chas. E. Kenner, Harrisonville, Mo.; Henry Jacobson, Kenmare, N. Dak.; D. L. Day, McHard, Ore.; Harry D. Darrah, Reading, Pa.; W. W. Swan, Frankfort, S. D.; G. M. Fisher, Henrietta, Tex.; H. M. Coon, Gainesville, Tex.; Mrs. Margaret Sargent, Olive, Tex.; Dr. P. M. P., New Wharton, Wash.; Thaddeus Hill, Wash.; E. W. Ericson, Florence, W. Va.; Hon. S. Smith, Gasconade, Ont.; W. A. Hall, Sr., Thurston, Wis.; Walter Scott, Vancouver, B. C.

Debs speaks at Van Horn, Iowa, Sept. 11.

Postal Subscription Cards

Each one of these cards are good for one year's subscription to the Appeal. When you take a subscriber all you have to do is to give him one of these cards to fill out. He inserts his name and address in the blank spaces and mails to us. No writing letters, holding back names or getting money orders. 20 of these yearly cards cost \$5.00 and all that you buy counts toward the award of one of those 10 acre farms for the week in which they are bought.

Troubles of the Plutes. Look at the ways of the millionaire. Given his million, he gives up his house and builds himself a small, first-class hotel in some big city, which for the greater part of the year is occupied by servants. He next erects a country palace at Lenox or at Newport. This he calls a cottage, though it usually looks more like a public library or a hospital or a club house.

The Appeal in Bundles. Table with 2 columns: Quantity and Price. Includes 25 copies weekly 3 months (\$1.50), 50 " " " 3 " (3.00), 100 " " " 3 " (6.00), 250 " " " 3 " (14.59), 600 " " " 3 " (27.50), 1000 " " " 3 " (49.00).

The Campaign Fund. Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes O. T. Fellows, Pasadena, Cal. (\$1.00), J. L. Weyrich, Polasky, Cal. (1.00), W. L. McDonald, Santa Barbara, Cal. (1.00), W. S. Geron, " (1.00), J. K. Martin, East Las Vegas, N. M. (5.00), J. W. Yenne, Salt Lake City, Utah (1.00), E. T. Brookins, " (1.00), Joe Richardson, " (1.00), W. T. Richards, Quincy, Mass. (1.00), H. B. Cochran, Powderly, Tex. (1.00), Chas. F. Allen, Harrisonville, Mo. (1.00), W. H. Baird, St. Louis, Mo. (1.00), Emil Bergmal, Port Angeles, Wash. (1.00), W. H. Hall, Waukegan, Wash. (2.00), Wm. F. Luebkens, Sacramento, Cal. (5.00), Cash, Oakland, Cal. (4.50), J. A. Knight, Woodburn, Ore. (1.00), Cash, Pluton, Cal. (2.00), Cash, " (2.00), Cash, Salem, Ore. (1.50), Geo. W. Weeks, Salem, Ore. (1.00), M. H. Spangler, Fondleton, Ore. (1.00), W. R. Bowler, San Francisco, Cal. (1.00), Geo. C. Peckins, Newark, N. J. (20.35), C. L. Hoagard, Chicago, Ill. (1.00), F. B. Lewis, Kansas City, Mo. (1.00), A. C. Pagett, Beloit, Kan. (1.00), John Siedmann, Arcata, Cal. (1.00), Thos. M. Mischings, Arcata, Cal. (1.00), Frances M. Wilson, Salsioy, Cal. (1.00), W. T. Royer, Wickliffburg, Wash. (1.00), H. C. Crockett, Seattle, Wash. (1.00), David W. Phipps, " (1.00), J. S. Bretz, Pine Ridge, Cal. (4.00), E. F. Allen, Coffeyville, Kan. (1.00), J. J. Padrick, San Diego, Cal. (1.00), E. M. Billm n, N. Oatario, Cal. (2.00), Geo. Hogg, " (1.00), E. A. Gouser, Hoquiam, Wash. (1.00), E. B. Verkins, " (1.00), G. V. Reuter, " (1.00), O. Holme, " (1.00), Veter Girard, " (1.00), Jas. Miles, " (1.00), Chas. DeBruler, " (1.00), M. Weinberger, " (1.00), Wm. Banks, " (1.00), Roy C. Brown, " (1.00), Tom Gallager, " (1.00), D. L. Boyd, " (1.00), J. C. Campbell, " (1.00), V. J. Norant, " (1.00), Douglas Lawson, Anaconda, Mont. (1.00), Thaddeus Hill, Tacoma, Wash. (1.00), H. C. Muscott, Dallas, Ore. (1.00), Louis Golden, New York, N. Y. (1.00), C. E. Harris, Orofino, Ida. (1.00), Mrs. M. C. Carter, Orofino, Ida. (1.00), Frank Franke, Redlands, Cal. (5.00), H. Feist, El Paso, Tex. (2.00), J. S. Mattos, Ogden, Utah. (1.00), R. D. Morrison, Milas, Mo. (1.00), Geo. Peague, Towner, N. D. (1.00), J. A. Berg, LaCygne, Kan. (1.00), Cash, Waukena, Cal. (4.50), David P. Black, Carnero, Col. (1.00), F. P. Keriston, Portland, Ore. (1.00), L. Hall, Courtland, Kan. (1.00), W. C. Dawley, Detroit, Minn. (1.00), Frank Lien, " (1.00), Cash, " (1.00), A. J. Bennett, Bridgewater, Iowa. (1.00), Wm. Stamm, Washington, Kan. (1.00), Fred Hittig, Guthrie, Okla. (1.00), John Phillips, Decatur, Ala. (1.00), W. C. Wagener, St. Louis, Mo. (1.00), A. J. Bottorf, New Castle, Col. (1.00), Cash, Linden, Mich. (1.00), T. E. Tabor, Thayer, Mo. (1.00), W. E. Wadsworth, " (1.00), Fred King, " (1.00), Cash, " (1.00), Andrew Reasler, Nashville, Kan. (1.00), B. S. Sweeney, Wichita, Kan. (2.00), E. H. Kinley, Parkersburg, Ore. (1.00), J. B. Leclerc, Lyons, Kan. (1.00), J. D. Fitzsimmons, Coalinga, Kan. (1.00), Louis Huguenin, Emporia, Wash. (1.00), Peckskill, Peckskill, N. Y. (1.00), Frank Murdoch, West Grove, N. S. (1.00), Jas. E. Woods, Abilene, Mo. (1.00), J. H. Johnson, Beaslee, Ala. (1.00), I. L. Kirby, Chicago, Ill. (1.00), Cash, Joplin, Mo. (1.00), Mrs. Wm. Elstrup, Casiden, Wash. (1.00), E. G. Grimstead, Wichita, Kan. (1.00), Geo. Alden, Cal. (1.00), Cash, McPeters, Rancho, Tex. (1.00), J. B. Gillespie, " (1.00), J. O. Killebuck, Lacrosse, Kan. (1.00), J. G. Garrett, San Francisco, Cal. (1.00), Wm. Shaw, Philadelphia, Pa. (1.00), W. Smith, " (1.00).

A Ten Acre Farm EACH WEEK

The APPEAL will give to the worker who sends in the largest number of subscribers each week a clear deed to ten acres of good land in the heart of the fruit belt of northern Arkansas. The subscriptions may be sent in at any time during the period specified and will be counted. This land is fertile and is located in the county (Sharp) which took the premium for apples at the World's Fair growers have to beat the fruit off the trees to keep them from breaking under the load. It is in the Ozark hills far away from the swamps, which have given the state a bad name, and but six miles from the county seat. It will raise apples, pears, peaches, plums, quinces, sweet and Irish potatoes, rutabagoes, radishes, onions, and vegetables of all kinds, and berries of every kind grow prolifically. Strawberries grow luxuriously and thousands of dollars worth are annually shipped from this county usually through the cooperative fruit growers associations which the growers have organized. Chickens, turkeys and ducks thrive wonderfully in this location. The water is good and springs are abundant. The climate is warm both summer and winter and owing to the high altitude, the nights are always cool and air is fresh and pure. Employment is easily secured but only at making at 12 cents a tie. The land is covered with timber and will have to be cleared. It costs \$3.00 an acre to clear it. When this is done and it is improved a man can make a good living right from his own ground regardless of what the trusts do or do not do. The winner of this land, by putting his spare earnings on it can in a short-time build him up a refuge to which he can retire when the strife of competition becomes too much for him. That is what the APPEAL offers for. This is the basis of a home. It will cost you nothing if you can send in the most yearly subscriptions received during any one week while this offer is in effect. Orders for postal subscription cards at 25 cents each count as subscribers.

FREE LAND!

The APPEAL, desiring in some small measure to remunerate its workers will give every week a ten-acre tract of fine fruit land in Northern Arkansas. This country is the finest fruit region in the United States, and one of these tracts will support you in comfort when all the doors of employment are closed to you. Do not fail to tackle this proposition—some of them are going for a very small number of subscriptions. Yearly postal cards count on this offer. Twenty for \$5.00.