

The advance orders for the issue are rolling in at the time it goes to press. It may be two weeks before some of the orders are filled. But the presses will be kept running until they are filled. The advance sales reach something like 200,000.

This is Number 338. 25 Cents a Year. Appeal to Reason. Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., May 24, 1902.

Published Every Saturday FOR THE OWNERSHIP of the EARTH AND THE FREEDOM THEREOF By ALL the People, and Not by Part of the People.

Arouse, Ye Sleeping Citizens of America!

Over a quarter million desperate coal miners -- desperate from poverty -- struggling to obtain a living from their greedy masters; Drivers of express companies' wagons, in nearly every city throughout the land; Street Car men, Bridge men, Teamsters, Carpenters, Engineers, Gas employees, Glass workers, paralyzing business by refusing, righteously refusing, to work and starve at the same time. Thousands of miserable workmen, skilled and unskilled, striking for Human Food and Human Treatment. Such is the picture of National Peace, Prosperity and Contentment painted in cold, black type by the daily newspapers. The whole nation is in an uproar. With songs of peace upon our lips we are in the midst of war; war as cruel and relentless, as bestial and savage, as ever wielded the hatchet or club. Are the American people blind that they see not these things, or are they so stupid as to not grasp their awful meaning? Are they so cowed by the powerful oppressor that they no longer dare to speak? Has the spirit of Lexington and Bunker Hill departed from the nation? Have we become a race of base, ignoble slaves to a few commercial despots? And this is the same America, once known as the land of the free and the home of the brave. At one time to be an American was to be a sovereign with powers and privileges surpassed by none. How much right does your American birthright now confer? Ask yourself the question, ponder deep and long, for it is a question of life and death. Do you realize your position? Do you grasp a little of the plans devised by dark devilry? You have seen your legislatures debauched; your courts, established to perpetuate justice, defiled by foul birds of prey. You have waited, long and in vain, for lawyers, judges and legislators to bring peace. But there is no peace. Throughout the land the oppressed struggle with the demon of insatiable greed. The capitalistic cormorants hold high carnival over torn and bleeding humanity. How long, O Citizens of America, how long are you going to support a system that make you and your children slaves? How long will you endure the encroachments of capitalistic greed before shaking off the mental torpor that is death? Rouse, ye slaves! not to do deeds of violence; not to wreak vengeance for your injuries; but with human care for humanity, point out the better way that will lead out of this death valley to the high lands of peace and true prosperity. Make every candidate for a legislative office publicly pledge himself to support a measure that will give the people the right to vote on any law if five per cent of the voters petition for it. Don't forget that this is your country; that the officeholders are your servants, paid with your own money; and that it is time for public servants to learn their place and do the will of the people. Unless you do this now, you will do worse, later. Bad industrial conditions produce revolution; this is as true of America as of Russia, France or Cuba. Strike a rational blow for freedom before both hands are tied. Agitate, educate, organize! Organize to restore through Direct Legislation the law-making power to the people. Work along every line to carry this point. Push it into the platform of every party. Make legislative candidates of every party publicly commit themselves to it. A dozen earnest men can force the pledge from any candidate to the legislature. At the meeting of the state legislatures next winter you can get this measure through IF YOU WILL ONLY DO SOMETHING AND KEEP DOING IT. Now, are you going to do it? Is there in your heart enough love of country and devotion to home to move you? If you truly wish to do something for your country, copy the following pledge on the head of a petition and circulate it among your neighbors: WE, THE UNDERSIGNED VOTERS OF AMERICA, HEREBY PLEDGE OUR SACRED WORD AND HONOR TO VOTE FOR SUCH LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES ONLY AS PUBLICLY PLEDGE THEIR ACTIVE SUPPORT TO MAJORITY RULE THROUGH THE REFERENDUM (People's Veto) AND THE INITIATIVE. Solicit signers to this petition irrespective of party, and hold this list of pledges until every candidate has publicly declared his position. This is real. This is feasible. Do it, and in the doing lose no opportunity to create sentiment favorable to the movement.

AUTOGRAPH CLUBS.

The hustlers on the firing line might just as well make autograph clubs of those they are sending in. It may take a little more time, but you can get just as many and possibly more subscribers by requesting them to sign the paper; and then your subscriptions will count on the Girard property. If you don't want this property it is because you have a wrong idea of what it is. If you do want it, it is time to be getting after it. That Girard property which the Appeal offers to its workers is a corner lot, one hundred feet east and west, two hundred feet north and south, and four thousand miles deep. No one has yet explored its total depth, but the surface is composed of a fair quality of dirt that will grow roses or rag weed to suit the taste. By this you will understand that the eight-room dwelling thereon doesn't entirely cover the lot. There is a small grass-covered lawn in front, a garden in cultivation at the rear, and room for walks, trees and cistern, all of which are already there. There is plenty of room overhead, no skyscrapers to shut out the light, atmosphere or rainfall. In fact there are probably more cubic yards of fresh air resting on the lot than any one family will consume; for it is piled up so high that no one has ever been to the top of it. You will not be annoyed by the street cars, as they do not run by the door. If you want to take the cars it will be necessary to walk a few blocks to the next town where they have them, or ride on the Santa Fe or Frisco railroads. There are several things the prize property has not, as well as the several things it has. But do not forget that it is worth having, and the friends of the Appeal will miss the opportunity of their lives if they don't make an effort to get it.

CONDITIONS.

The valuable property mentioned above will be deemed free of incumbrance to the person who sends in the largest number of subscribers to the Appeal by September 1st, 1902. Every subscriber counted in this contest must sign his name to the list sent to this office. The object of this condition is to prevent those who have surplus cash from faking a list from the tax rolls of their county, paying their own money for the subscriptions and thus defeating the purpose of the Appeal, which is to get the paper into the hands of people who, having their money invested in their subscription, will read it. This requirement places all our friends upon an equal footing in the race, and the poorest worker for the paper stands just as good a show to win as the fellow with a pocket full of money. This is a chance for our friends to do just the kind of work for the cause that the paper needs and at the same time obtain a home where in the trying days just before us shelter from the exactions of the landlord can be found. With this double incentive to action, I trust the workers will not delay, but take time by the forelock, get out among the people who are waiting for you and push the good work to a finish.

Representative government cannot represent the will of the people.

For instance: "If it is a city election, the man who wishes to vote for the public ownership of the water system may find that the candidate who advocates that proposition is also in favor of a 'wide open' policy as to certain forms of vice and, in that case, what shall the voter do? It is manifest that if the voter could vote directly there would be no difficulty in registering his wishes. It is only when he has to vote for a representative who has a general authority of representation, that the voter must consent to be misrepresented on many questions in order to be represented on one."--Dunlop.

In Switzerland, Direct Legislation has become effective in both agricultural and industrial communities, among radicals and conservatives alike. It has brought together in common decision on public affairs voters as different in race, language and traditions, as separate nations could be. It makes people think; and thinking people respect the opinions of others. Ignorance of public affairs cannot be common under Direct Legislation. The people know what they want and when they have the right to make laws they always improve their country.

Under Direct Legislation the democrat who favored high tariff could vote for his party candidate and yet vote his conviction on that point; and a republican who favored free trade could vote his party candidates and yet cast his vote in favor of free trade. At present one has to swallow all the planks put up by the politicians whether he likes them or not, or fly to the other alternative of voting for other measures by voting for other parties with things in them he does not like.

In Switzerland when a measure is to be voted on by the people, a copy of the bill is mailed to each qualified voter, explaining the intent and purposes of the proposed law. A ballot accompanies the bill, and the voter has several days to consider the matter and can personally deposit the ballot or can mail it free to the proper officers, when he has signed it up. If the law involves an expenditure, the amount involved, what it is to be spent for and how, what provision is to be made for the collection of the sum, a diagram of the property to be bought and the price, to whom to be paid and all other matters connected with the proposal are sent to each voter with his ballot. The voter can then see and judge for himself whether the deal is clean and desirable. This familiarizes the people with the laws. It prevents jobbery and corruption. It takes the officers out of temptation to bribery by making bribery of them profitless, for they are not the rulers, and cannot enact laws without the people's consent, and no one would gain by bribing them. This method also prevents the passing of many laws, as in this country, most of which are in the interest of individuals and corporations, and not in the interest of the people. The Swiss people would not tolerate a law for private interest.

In our country, where the politicians prate about the freedom of the people, we have no right to make laws. That is arrogated by the politicians, who get pay for their peculiar habit of always making laws that benefit corporations or prominent (rich) individuals. In Switzerland the people initiate laws in their own interests. They do not petition the legislature to "please" pass a certain law, as is sometimes done in this free country. They DEMAND a law; and if the lawmakers do not pass the law, the people have the bill referred to them, and a majority vote decides what shall be done with the proposition. Over there the lawmakers are the servants of the people. Over here the lawmakers are the bosses of the people. Over there the people have Direct Legislation. Over here we have representatives who think their constituents are too ignorant to know what they want, and who, therefore, do not consider our wants when making laws.

The Imperative Mandate, that is the right of the people to recall a corrupt lawmaker and put another in his place at any time during his term of office, is the method that is used to prevent corporations from railroading a gigantic steal through the legislature.

When the senate passed the ship subsidy steal to please Senator Hanna, if the people had had the right of recall, several of our present United States senators would now be private citizens, or may be convicted. The Imperative Mandate is one of the provisions of Direct Legislation. The people will elect their own senators, and own them during their term of office; and the senators will do as the people want or be removed from office. The which same is a reason why the senators are opposed to Direct Legislation. They do not want the people to rule. The people might discover some very bad work that the senators have done.

Suppose a proposition is before a legislature to pass a bill that will give some set of men a fortune under the guise of doing something for the public, which is the way such things are done, do you think anybody would put up money to get legislators to vote for such a measure when the people would have the veto powers? Nixy. They are not given to bribery unless the goods can be delivered. Then if there were no private gain that could afford to pay the bribery, do you believe that the legislators would vote for such a measure? Nixy. They get something out of it for voting for bad measures. Direct Legislation will knock the bootlicker. When the people vote on the laws, if they petition for it, bad laws will not be proposed. And would be defeated if they were.

There are those so afraid of injuring our country by revising the constitution. Lovers of liberty do not fear an injury to freedom by improving their organic law. In Geneva, Switzerland, for instance, the people are given an opportunity every fifteen years to revise their constitution. Thus twice in a generation, the people have the right to make such changes in their organic law as the progress of the world demands. They do not allow their liberties to slip out from under them as we have in America. The people there are the government. Here the politician who can control the most votes is the government.

The president of the Swiss republic is simply chairman of the executive council. He is but first among his equals. He has no rank in the army, no power of veto, no power with the judiciary; he cannot appoint military commanders, or independently name any officials. He cannot enforce a policy, declare war, make peace or conclude a treaty. In short, the people of Switzerland govern themselves by means of the Initiative and Referendum.

No court in Switzerland can reverse the decision of the Federal Assembly (Congress). Laws cannot be repealed by any power but the people themselves. The people are the supreme court.

Under Direct Legislation, machine leaders can make no profits for themselves or the corporations that pay them. They cannot hold the reins that decide the outcome of a measure. They can sell no votes nor command rewards from workers. In every New England village, nearly all the citizens are qualified by experience to take charge of their town meetings and conduct them through an entire day when the town laws are made for the following year. There the people make the rules that guide the village work. The people know how to govern themselves, and recognizing this as a free country, they do it.

The cantons, or states, of Switzerland do not have two legislative bodies. In none of them is there a senate. The cities have no mayor, the cantons have no governor, and if the title is used in the American sense, the republic has no president. Instead of a single irresponsible executive head, the Swiss employ an executive council. Deadlocks are impossible. The people have the right to demand all proposed laws referred to them for final passage.

The prophets who saw the beginning of endless strife in the introduction of the Referendum in Switzerland have long since hung their evil hot air furnaces out to cool. The people do not quarrel over who is to be elected or what proposals are to come before them. They know they have the deciding vote. Argument is welcomed, but bossism is out of date. There the people have practically buried partisan politics, because they, and not the politicians, are the lawmakers.

"The people of Zurich, Switzerland, have proved that the science of politics is simple. By refusing special legislation, they evade a flood of bills. By deeming appropriations once revised as in the most part necessary, they pay attention chiefly to new items. By establishing principles in law, they forbid violations. Thus there remains no profound problems of state, no abstruse questions as to authorities, no conflict as to what is the law. Word fresh from the people is law."--J. W. Sullivan.

There are always pessimistic, evil thinking souls, who are ready to say of all steps to make this old world a better habitation for the race, "It looks nice, but you can't do it. It might do for angels, but it won't do for us. We're too mean." That man or woman ought to say something like this: "You never can accomplish such a good thing as that, so long as the majority of people are as mean as I am; so long as the people won't investigate; so long as the people are as ignorant as I am you cannot inaugurate anything that will make the people free."

Why this continual progress toward a purer democracy? Why do the people continually demand more rights, and therefore more responsibilities? Because the masses of the people have always found it necessary to revolt against plutocracy and corrupt politicians who make a business of exploiting the country. The representative system is fruitful of bad legislation. And for a peaceful revolution the masses of Switzerland have found the Initiative and Referendum the means by which the people can free themselves from the corruption of those who like to live without work.

Our people are as intelligent as any people on earth. They have as good judgment as any people on earth. Americans are as capable of voting upon laws as any people are. And they are establishing the Initiative and Referendum whenever the politicians give them a chance. More than that, the people are establishing these methods of honest lawmaking over the lawmakers' heads. This country is supposed to be a government of the people, and the people are making that old statement into a fact. Hitherto it has been a political boomerang, but when Direct Legislation becomes a fact, the old saying will be a truth.

Direct Legislation, which means that the people will have the power to propose laws and have them voted on; that the people will have the right to vote on laws proposed by legislators, when petitioned, and will have the right to recall derelict officials, would be the greatest step--the only step--that can be made toward putting the people in control of their government. It is not a measure in the interest of any party, but in the interest of the people as a whole. No person who believes in a government of the people can oppose it. If the people could vote on the trusts they would make short work of them--but so long as legislators and courts have the power, the trusts will continue to flourish in the future as they have in the past.

The great changes in the history of the world have not been made in its halls of parliament. They have been the result of what the common people thought. The men who made history have been the workmen. What the common people talk and believe is what marks the progress of the earth. The subjects of conversation among the millions is the real power. The men who are talking to the fellows in the humble walks of life are changing the control of the affairs of the world. Their names may be forgotten, may never be known, but like the coral, they are building the future of the race. Don't look to Washington for the change--look to the agitators who are among the people. They are changing the ideas that control the people, and creating the new hope that is to do away with the present industrial and political system.

Under Direct Legislation there will be no such thing as abuse for a man who disagrees with his party. At the present time we call him a "bolter" and heap all manner of insults upon him. What for? For exercising his own free will as an American citizen. Why is this? Because the party machine is the ruler of the country, and all the party members are nothing less than slaves. They have to swallow the party as a whole or be denounced as a traitor. Direct Legislation will give each voter a chance to vote on measures instead of men. This will make men free to decide upon the merits of a proposed law instead of the worth of a man or party. It will give the people a chance to rule themselves.

This thing of putting good men in office is another one of those beautiful hallucinations that disappear as you approach it, like a desert "lake." Honest men may be elected to office, but they always find their hands tied so that they cannot do what they promised to do. The remedy for this is in Direct Legislation. Order all laws referred to the people and the lawmakers will be careful what they do. But even though good men should get into office, the majority ought to rule anyway. This country, or any country, ought to be run by the majority rule of its citizens and not of its politicians. With good or bad men in office, let us have Direct Legislation, and run the government as the people want it run.

What a relief it will be for the people to be freed from the rule of the ward heeler, politicians and bootlickers when they get Direct Legislation. The whole political atmosphere will brighten. Citizens who have always stood opposed to each other in politics will often vote with each other for some public measure, while voting for their party candidates. See in Chicago how 143,000 citizens voted for public ownership of street cars, while voting opposite tickets for men to fill the offices. Direct Legislation will bring the citizens closer together and create a better feeling than they have ever known for each other.

There may be those who will criticize the Appeal for devoting a whole issue this week to Direct Legislation. But the Appeal is helping to make history. The Appeal considers Direct Legislation one of the most important questions that can agitate the people. It means the first step for self-government; it means the downfall of the politicians; the abolition of the lobbyists; the uplifting of the people. When it shall arrive we shall be able to bring before the people public questions that will greatly educate and get them to understand many things about government that they are ignorant of today.

By your votes you put men into office, and those men make any kind of law they please. And by your votes you can order the men you elect to refer all laws to you so that it will be your votes that make the law. All of this can be done at the ballot box and at the very next election. You do not have to abide by the decisions of the politicians. You have the power to order certain laws referred to you for your approval. No candidate will refuse to promise to obey orders if he thinks there is any doubt of his election.

The man who is elected to pass a certain bill and fails to support the measure by word or vote, is a traitor to the people who put their confidence in him. But with Direct Legislation the people will not worry about what their legislator does because they will have the deciding vote. The legislators will simply do the preliminary work and submit the question to the people. This will relieve lawmakers from bribery.

The vote in Chicago of nine to one in favor of the nominations of candidates by a direct vote of the people, instead of conventions and trickery, shows that the people, a very great majority, want matters referred to them. That's how popular Direct Legislation is, and the purposes for which the people want it.

Nothing but Direct Legislation will make possible majority rule.

Direct Legislation is the key to self-government.

Except the corporations and the politicians in their pay, everybody who has read about it favors Direct Legislation.

No party opposes Direct Legislation. It is not a law simply because the attention of the masses has not been directed to it.

Direct Legislation will give the people a voice in making laws. The people will soon take a new and purer interest in public affairs.

Direct Legislation is not a party measure. It is a method of applying public sentiment to legislation. It means a rule of the people and the innocuous desuetude of the politician.

The American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor, the greatest labor organizations in the New World, have in convention endorsed and recommended Direct Legislation. This places nearly a million votes back of the movement.

Direct Legislation is urged on the theory that if the people have sense enough to vote on a constitutional amendment, they have sense enough to vote yes or no on important laws affecting them. Those who believe they have this intelligence favor Direct Legislation--those who believe the majority have not this intelligence oppose it.

When Direct Legislation comes in the occupation of the bootlicker and ward heeler in politics will be gone. There will be nothing "on the side" for aldermen and legislators, for the corporations will not pay them for laws which the people will be sure to veto. Then men who are willing to work for the public good can afford to take office.

In Switzerland, where Direct Legislation prevails, when the people have voted in a law no court can set it aside. Here the courts set aside an act of congress, or a constitutional amendment voted in by the people. Here the courts are higher than the people who made the courts. Liberty is not where the many can be ruled by the few.

By the Swiss making their own laws, they have made them so plain that a layman may be judge in the highest court. In this way have they forestalled monopolies. With no learned (?) judges to dispute over the law while the corporations run off with the swag, the people get along very nicely by being their own judges, and thus their own counselors as to what is best for them.

If the people had a vote on the trust question they would make short work of them. They would vote as unanimously for the public to take and operate them for the public good as they did to have the public take the street cars of Chicago. The hope of the trust owners lies in preventing the people from having a vote on the matter, for when the people once realize that a majority of them favor public ownership they will have it.

The hope of electing honest men to make and execute laws is an iridescent dream. Politicians may be honest, but their idea of honesty is so far removed from the common ordinary voter's that there is no resemblance between the two. Having failed to elect men who will or can make good laws, there is only one way out of the difficulty, and that is to establish Direct Legislation and make our own laws. At the next primary we can make the nominees pledge themselves to refer every important law back to the voters, and if we do, no bad law will be passed.

Instead of permitting the politicians to say what the majority of the people want and enacting it into law, under Direct Legislation the people would say what they wanted. We would know whether a majority wanted the expansion of government; the gold standard; the tariff; the rule of the trust; the destruction of government money. These matters would be submitted to the people to vote on and a majority would rule. As it is today we assume that certain things are the will of the people because one party has been elected, a majority of whom want certain things. Under Direct Legislation we would know.

No other part of the United States can be compared to New England in the completeness of local improvements, yet no where is the public debt so small as in New England towns; no where else are the voters so well informed in regard to public affairs; and nowhere else is such ample provision made for the education of children. All of this is the result of the town meetings, at which the voters discuss matters of public importance and decide upon the merits of each proposition. The people make the laws. In other words, the New England towns are run by Direct Legislation, or the People's Court.

THE REFERENDUM IN A NUTSHELL.

Issued By the Referendum League of Illinois—Headquarters No. 1108 Unity Building, Chicago, Illinois.

STATUTE For the Submission of Questions of Public Policy.

An Act providing for an expression of opinion by electors on questions of public policy at any general or special election.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the people of the state of Illinois, represented in general assembly: That on a written petition signed by twenty-five per cent of the registered voters of any incorporated town, village, city, township, county or school district, or ten per cent of the registered voters of the state, it shall be the duty of the proper election officers in each case to submit any question of public policy so petitioned for to the electors of the incorporated town, village, city, township, county, school district or state, as the case may be, at any general or special election named in the petition: Provided, such petition is filed with the proper election officers, in each case not less than sixty days before the date of the election at which the question or questions petitioned for are to be submitted. Not more than three propositions shall be submitted at the same election, and such proposition shall be submitted in the order of its filing.

Sec. 2. Every question submitted to electors shall be printed in plain, prominent type upon a separate ballot, in form required by law, the same as a constitutional amendment or other public measure proposed to be voted upon by the people.

Approved May 11, 1901. [In effect July, 1901.]

HISTORICAL

The foregoing is one of the most important laws that was ever enacted in this state. In August, 1901, within a month after the law went into effect, the Referendum League was formed in Chicago to secure to the people of this city such benefits as the new statute offered.

From a number of questions of public policy which presented themselves three were selected as being the most immediately pressing, the first two relating to traction, gas and electric light and heating, and the third relating to the direct nomination of candidates for city officers.

Petitions were at once put in circulation asking that the three questions be placed upon the ballot at the election April 1, 1902.

After several months of hard labor by the members of this League, assisted by the voluntary aid of several thousand public spirited citizens, the petitions, containing over 109,000 signatures, were duly filed with the election commissioners on January 31, 1902.

Corporations interested in preventing an expression of the will of the people on the propositions secured paid attorneys and alleged experts, and endeavored to invalidate the petitions and cause them to be rejected by the election board. After an exciting struggle of several days' duration the League won its case, and the three propositions were ordered to be placed upon the ballot.

At the election held April 1, 1902, the vote stood on the several propositions as follows:

"For ownership by the City of Chicago of all street railroads within the corporate limits of said city 142,826 Against 27,998 Majority (5 to 1 in favor) 114,828

"For ownership by the City of Chicago of the gas and electric lighting plants, said plants to furnish light, heat and power for public and private use, 139,999 Against 31,364 Majority (6 to 1 in favor) 108,635

"For the nomination of all candidates for city officers by direct vote of the voters at primary elections to be held for that purpose 140,860 Against 17,654 Majority (7 to 1 in favor) 123,206

This was from 75 to 90% of the aldermanic vote at the same election.

This vote was an agreeable surprise to the friends of the Referendum principle, and a disappointment to its enemies. The vote was very large, and surprisingly decisive.

THE PRESENT LAW INSUFFICIENT.

The present law, valuable as it is in giving the people an opportunity for an expression of opinion on public questions, is not mandatory in its provisions. Officials who have no regard for public opinion may disobey with impunity the expressed wish of the people.

A new law which shall contain mandatory features is therefore needed if the people's will is to be obeyed, and if this is indeed to be a government of the people, by and for the people.

The present law has another defect, which at the first attempt to put it into operation in Chicago came very near causing a failure. Reference is made to the excessively large number of signatures now required (25% of the registered voters) in counties, cities, and other minor political subdivisions of the state, in order to place propositions upon the ballot at any election.

THE NEW LAW SOUGHT.

The defects can be remedied by recourse to the plan which gives majority rule, and comprehends:

First. The Initiative: by which a certain number (say 8%) of the voters can by petition compel the submitting to themselves of any new legislation they may desire.

Second. The Referendum: meaning that upon demand of a certain number (say 5%) of the voters in the district affected any measure passed by the law-making body shall be submitted to a direct vote of the people for enactment or rejection, at the next election.

To accomplish this result the Referendum League of Illinois has prepared a petition for circulation throughout the state, which under the present statute must receive 112,000 signatures in order that the proposition mentioned in the petition may be placed upon the ballot at the election to be held next November. This League hopes to secure 400,000 signatures to this petition.

The first proposition on the petition, if carried affirmatively, will call for a law allowing the voters of municipalities to invoke the initiative and referendum in local affairs.

The second proposition on the petition, if carried affirmatively, will ask that steps be taken by the general assembly for amending the State Constitution so as to incorporate the use of the initiative and referendum principle in all acts of the general assembly.

So much interest has been manifested of late in the manner of choosing United States senators that the third proposition on the petition was also chosen in order to give the voters of the state an opportunity to express their opinion in regard to that great subject.

WHY THE REFERENDUM LAW IS NEEDED.

The Referendum Law is needed in order to restore majority rule to the voters. In theory we have majority rule today, through our re-

presentatives; but in practice we are governed by aggressive minorities, who co-operate more or less closely with party bosses.

Bad laws and ordinances are constantly being passed, and much needed laws and ordinances are constantly left of enactment; and the people seem helpless in either case.

Under the present system almost the only hope of making progress in legislation or securing any reform is through party platforms. Party leaders, naturally unwilling to relinquish their own power, and fearing to lose votes, are always slow to adopt new measures regardless of their merits. Under the present platform system a man often must vote for one or more things, he does not approve, in order to vote for another which he does approve; and often he has to elect some unworthy person to a public office in order to save some measure which he approves.

Party platforms are too often deceptive and simply vote catchers and not intended to be lived up to; being as someone has said, like car platforms—good to get in on, but not to stand on.

Often good measures fail of enactment because the voters lack confidence in the political party which chances to advocate the measures. Party allegiance is so strong in the minds of many that they will vote differently on a proposition bearing a party label than on one coming to them independently and on its own merits.

Under our present system, while the legislator may fairly represent the elector on one public question, he may and often does misrepresent him on many other questions.

The present system requires the elector in almost every case to vote for men rather than for measures, while the Referendum will allow the elector to vote for measures as well as for men.

Each year, under our present system, the adoption or rejection of public measures depends less and less upon the result of debates on the floor of our legislative halls, and more and more upon the decrees of party caucuses or the secret work of committees.

Under the Referendum there will be more freedom and honesty in debate, with a desire to arrive at a knowledge of the truth, because all measures will be passed subject to the veto of the people.

Each year as business interests, already gigantic, increase in size, and favoring or adverse legislation becomes more and more important, corrupt men with votes to sell have a growing incentive to seek seats in legislative halls; while honest men, dreading the odium that sometimes attaches to the law-maker's office, and noting the obloquy that not infrequently is poured upon the incorruptible legislator, have less and less reasons for sacrificing themselves in such public service.

Under the present system the venal legislator may be so well rewarded by those who purchase his evil services that he does not care for re-election, and if he can escape the penitentiary the public has no recourse but to elect a successor who may be as corrupt as the first one. In this respect the public cannot even "lock the stable door after the horse is stolen."

The public today in regard to their legislators are like a careless business man who signs his checks in blank for his clerks to fill out. The prudent business man signs his checks after they are filled out. Voters should have the power to ratify or reject all laws after they are passed. If one of our great business houses had no more control over its agents than voters now have over theirs (the legislators) that firm would likely be wrecked by unscrupulous employees in a few months.

OBJECTION TO THE REFERENDUM. To say that the people, (from whom is derived all power) are not entitled to revise or veto the acts of their representatives is to say that the creature is greater than its creator.

SOME PERSONS HAVE ERRONEOUSLY SUPPOSED THAT UNDER THE REFERENDUM THE PEOPLE WILL BE OBLIGED TO VOTE UPON EACH STATUTE AS IT IS PASSED. IT WILL BE SEEN, HOWEVER, BY WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN SAID, THAT THE CALL TO VOTE WILL ONLY OCCUR WHEN THERE ARE OBJECTIONS TO ANY PARTICULAR MEASURE; OR WHEN A LAW IS DEMANDED WHICH THE LEGISLATURE OR COUNCIL HAS FAILED TO PASS. THE IDEAL CONDITION WILL BE ATTAINED WHEN NO REFERENDUM OF LEGISLATION IS NECESSARY.

In Switzerland (where the people originally held town meetings which, when the population grew too great for convenient assembling together for law-making purposes, were abandoned for the representative system; and when that system became corrupt because of the evils of government by the few through the party system the Referendum was inaugurated) some of the cantons require every law to be submitted to the voters, but in the passage of their federal laws their reference to the voters for their action is determined by petition. The practicability of the Referendum is shown by the fact that in Switzerland between the years 1874 and 1893, according to DePloige's book "there have been 208 federal laws which might have been voted on. Twenty-six have been submitted to the people on demand, of which seventeen have been rejected and nine accepted. During the last seven years the Referendum has been demanded only seven times, and four laws rejected and three accepted."

THE REFERENDUM NOT OPPOSED TO THE REPRESENTATIVE PRINCIPLE. Under the Referendum the passage of vicious laws by the legislative bodies will practically cease, because "bribers will not pay for goods that cannot with certainty be delivered." If bribery is to cease corrupt men will have no incentive to become members of legislative bodies; and in consequence a better reputation will be given to law-makers, and a better grade of men, with long tenures of office, will soon be found in our general assembly and council chambers. Thus, instead of menacing the representative idea, the Referendum in reality rescues it.

The irresponsible power of our legislators has a tendency to corrupt them. When we remove from them the final power to enact laws they will be lifted to the old and high position of counselors or advisers to the people.

The wisdom of the Referendum has been sometimes questioned on the ground that it is not safe to entrust so much power in the hands of the people. The answer may be made that while legislative bodies may be, as they often have been, bribed by privilege-seeking interests, the mass of the people are too numerous to be bribed, even if that were morally possible, which it is not. The people as a whole are honest, and self-interest alone would prevent them from long perpetrating wrong upon themselves. The experience of Switzerland has been that the people became conservative when full power was placed in their hands.

People often form an erroneous estimate of the numbers of the criminal and openly vi-

olent classes in our large cities. These classes generally vote and work together as a unit, and when the great body (say 85 or 90% of the people) are nearly equally divided upon some political issue between the two leading parties the vicious element (comprising say 10 or 15%) can often by shifting from one side to the other carry the elections to suit themselves; and this change of votes would depend upon which side offered them the most concessions. Under the Referendum, measures would be submitted on their merits, regardless of politics, and hence the influence of the vicious classes would be greatly lessened.

An analysis of the Referendum vote in Chicago shows that in those wards where the most of the vicious classes are generally supposed to live, the percentage of those who voted for or against the three referendum propositions, as compared with the aldermanic voters, was much less than in those wards usually deemed to be the most intelligent in the city. In a few of the more intelligent wards some of the Referendum propositions actually received more votes than were cast for all the aldermanic candidates combined. THIS SEEMS TO SHOW THAT UNDER THE REFERENDUM THE INDIFFERENT AND THE UNWORTHY DISFRANCHISE THEMSELVES BY NOT VOTING.

Men who constitute the aggressive minorities already referred to, who under our present system are constantly securing legislation favorable to themselves, are not as a rule more selfish than others. Their natural instincts towards justice and humanity are overcome by their love of money; and given the opportunity they yield to temptation. On subjects not directly affecting their own interests they usually act on the higher plane of morals. Society as a whole needs the help of all its members in order that its legislation may be just to everyone.

It is not proposed through the Referendum to legislate men into morality, but through law to remove temptation as far as possible from all our legislative bodies.

The principle of the Referendum cannot be called an innovation in Illinois, since it has been used before in the ratification of our State Constitutions, in local option liquor laws, in laws adopting civil service, and in those regarding the issue of bonds. The Initiative and Referendum in reality adopt the principle of the town meeting to the more complex conditions of modern life.

As the Referendum principle is the key to all other reforms to be secured through legislation, the Referendum League is non-partisan as to measures, and seeks as far as possible to be inter-partisan in membership, appealing with confidence to all worthy citizens of Illinois to co-operate with it in its efforts to restore to the people of this state their God-given sovereignty.

The Referendum League of Illinois. Chicago, June 1, 1902.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE REFERENDUM. All of the states of the Union excepting Delaware have the compulsory Referendum in constitution making, which is the most important form of legislation.

In New England the petition of ten voters will insert any matter in the town warrant. In 1857 Nebraska, Iowa and Arizona passed Municipal Referendum laws with varying conditions.

In 1858 South Dakota and in 1900 Utah secured the Referendum in state and municipal affairs by constitutional amendments.

In 1899 the legislature of Oregon, and in 1901 the legislature of Nevada passed enabling acts for constitutional amendments giving the Initiative and Referendum in state affairs.

The cities of San Francisco and Alameda, Cal., Buckley and Seattle, Wash., and Blackburg, Va., all have the Referendum.

Yearly, every city in Massachusetts votes on license or no license.

In Missouri, Minnesota, California and Washington municipalities have the privilege of making their own charter by a species of direct legislation.

In the last few years Referendum amendments or laws have been introduced in nearly every legislature in the country. Referendum planks are in the platforms of all the official parties of over thirty-eight states and of the national democratic, peoples, the middle-of-the-road populist, and the Social Democratic parties.

The trades-unions are using direct legislation on a large scale, and with members not only in every part of the United States but also in Canada. Over 3,000 papers and magazines in the United States favor the Referendum.

REFERENDUM LITERATURE. MAJORITY RULE, in January number of the American Federationist, by Geo. H. Shibley, No. 423 G street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Price 10 cents.

DIRECT LEGISLATION RECORD; Vols. I. to VIII. Quarterly. Eltwed Pomeroy, A. M., Editor, 25 cents per year. No. 44 Hill street, Newark, N. J.

DIRECT LEGISLATION, by Prof. Frank Parsons, C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa. Price 25 cents.

POLITICAL EGYPT AND THE WAY OUT, C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa. Price 5 cents.

DIRECT LEGISLATION, by Eltwed Pomeroy, in Senate Document No. 340-55 Congress, 2d session, July 3, 1898, 327 pages.

THE REFERENDUM, Herman Lieb & Co., Chicago. Price \$1.00.

DIRECT LEGISLATION, by J. W. Sullivan, Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan. Price 10 cents.

THE REFERENDUM IN AMERICA, by E. P. Oberholzer, Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. Price \$2.00.

GOVERNMENT IN SWITZERLAND, by Prof. J. M. Vincent, The MacMillan Co., New York. Price \$1.25 net.

THE REFERENDUM IN SWITZERLAND, By Simon DePloige, Longmans, Green & Co., London.

Wayland's Monthly. BEGINNING with the June number, WAYLAND'S MONTHLY is to be improved and enlarged to four times its present size. It will be printed upon a special size press, upon good book paper and will be enclosed in handsome colored covers.

The object of the Improved Monthly is to provide the subscriber with literature in convenient form at the least possible expense. It is an undertaking which should appeal to every worker as you realize the need and advantage of such a publication.

To Make the Monthly a Success. We must first have a circulation, and the price has been fixed down to the point where subscribers should be readily obtained. For the present the Monthly is offered at Twenty-five Cents per year either in clubs or single subscriptions.

Autograph Clubs for the Monthly will count on the contest for the Girard property same as those for the paper. Get a Monthly Move on You and everybody else in a club for the MONTHLY next week.

The Referendum in the U.S.

John Bates Clark, L. L. D., in the New York Independent.



ARE we to have referendum in America? If what we mean by that word is the power to control legislation the question is equivalent to asking whether we are to have democracy in America. The self-government that we have consists more in the power to control the measures that the government will adopt than it does in the mere selecting of the men who shall do the governing. In the selection of men we have comparatively little power. The bosses do the nominating and we ratify the nominations, though in the ratification we have a choice between two nominees. We usually elect them on some issue, and the election determines at least one action which the government will take; but it leaves undetermined a vast number of other issues over which the actual power of the people is small. We manage to control general policies, but over everything of a detailed character we allow our rulers to have their way. Their way is mainly the bosses way, and that, too frequently, is the way of the men who make campaign contributions.

The real issue, then, is whether we shall do our self-governing in an awkward and imperfect manner, which invites corruption, or in a direct and efficient way which tends to suppress corruption. Contributions that figure so largely, and in a moral way so badly, in American political life come because the legislator is able to actually "deliver the goods" that are contracted for. If he could not do it, or if there were even much uncertainty as to his ability to do it, contributions would either be not forthcoming or would be forthcoming on a much smaller scale.

Quite long ago an Englishman spoke of Switzerland as the "accursed country of the referendum." "After one has with great difficulty secured the passage of a bill in the legislature," said he, "it is still a matter of uncertainty whether the people will not defeat it." The man actually thought that he was arguing AGAINST the referendum. Would it not be well for the people of America to have the option of defeating now and then a measure which some one has "with great difficulty" and expense forced through the legislative body? The most essential issue in this connection is that the expense, in cases where that is incurred, would either become less or vanish altogether if the referendum were impending. The man who gives his check for one hundred thousand dollars in order to get a bill through a lawmaking assembly can obviously not rely upon the popular support for it. The presumption is against a bill of that character, and if the single fact of the costliness of it were to become known or suspected, the chances that the referendum would be applied to it and that the bill would be defeated would be very great. Large expenditures are rash and unbusinesslike expenditures where legislation is passed under the scrutiny of the people and is liable to be revised by them.

Of course, all legislation can in some way be revised, and if necessary reversed, by the popular vote, and that, too, without any change in our constitutional forms. If corrupt measures are passed, can we not turn out those particular rascals who enact them and put in others? The troubles connected with that policy are numerous and serious. If the new men whom we put in are adherents of another political machine, henchmen of another boss, the practical gain may be small and transient. The change of parties may do the one thing that we are determined to have done, since it may reverse one particular measure, but it will leave the field open for other measures many of which may be as corrupt as the one that we suffered from before.

"Measures, not men," used to be the popular political cry. Some years ago we grew tired of it and were even inclined to substitute the opposite cry, "Men and not measures." We found that accepting unworthy men in order to secure the adoption of our general line of policy was often in the end a losing bargain, for it involved accepting a multitude of more detailed enactments which these unworthy men were sure to give us. The worst of it was that, whichever cry we adopted, we adhered to the system which merged in one the choice of men and the dictation of measures. We could not do the two things separately and therefore we could not do either in any satisfactory way. We cannot now. Dictating measures in and by the act of choosing men is a hopelessly clumsy way of governing ourselves. Ultimately we must have more power than we now have to choose men; but we must certainly have, in the near future, very much more power to control measures.

In two years, if the legislature of New York takes no action on the excise question, the people of New York City will, in their present clumsy way, apply the referendum to that issue. The election of 1903 will become to a considerable extent an appeal to the people concerning the policy to be adopted in reference to saloons. Can they decide that question on its merits? If they want one result, they will have to accept with it government of the city by Tammany Hall, with everything which that means. If they want the other result, they will accept with it government by those who are called the fusionists. Would it not be well to separate, in this instance, the discussion of the measure from the election of the party that is to rule. Is it well to stand where the adoption of a course of action that the people really want would have to mean a return to Tammany? This is only one striking instance of the evil that comes from dictating measures in and by the act of choosing men. With the institution of the referendum in working order he could first determine what policy we will adopt in regard to saloons, and then we could select the men to whom we wish to intrust the general interests of the city.

It is discouraging enough to try to purify American politics. It means eternal vigilance, but it also means eternal work against UNNECESSARY difficulties. We could remove many inducements to corruption if we chose to do it. We could put the bosses where they could not receive large pay for political "goods" because they could not promise, with any confidence, to deliver them. We could put the people where they could detect the rottenness of such compact, and in a glaring case would be sure to defeat them. We could make it possible for voters to have their way in controlling measures of government without being forced, whenever they prescribed a measure through the medium of an actual election, to accept with it men and rings that they do not want in general control of the state.

Of course, there are objections to the referendum. It would involve a little labor on the part of the people, and would cost something. That objection counts for so nearly nil that it is scarcely worth stating. The people will never purify political life, and to the extent

to which this would do it, at any such trifling cost as this would entail.

"You can never get a full vote in applying the referendum." In the majority of cases you cannot. In some important cases you can. The cases in which you do not draw out a full vote are those in which many persons have no decided opinions and wishes. Those who have opinions and wishes that are worth expressing represent, on such an issue, the real popular choice. They are probably men who know more about the measures and about the way in which they would effect the well-being of the public. The vote decided by such men is far from being worthless, since it may register the only decision that can in any sense claim to have the popular will behind it. Very important in this connection are two facts—namely, first, that any conspicuously bad measure would be apt to draw out a full vote; and, secondly, that it would be hazardous for any corporation to pay much to a boss, in order to secure the enactment of a bill, if it were afterwards to take its chance on the issue of a vote in which even a minority of intelligent citizens should take part.

There is danger that we may sacrifice something of the essence of democracy in order to save one of the names by which we are accustomed to call it. We have long been proud of the extent to which we have developed the "representative" principle. We early discovered difficulties in the way of direct self-government by a populous nation, and hit upon the plan of selecting a few men to do the governing, presumably as we would like to have them. Very early we began to assert the right to prescribe what they should do after their election, and now we know that we must do that at every step if self-government is to be a fact. The representatives must actually represent, and we must continually strive to make them do it. IN REALITY WE RESCUE THE REPRESENTATIVE PRINCIPLE WHEN WE MAKE THEM DO IT. A large measure of dictation by the people makes it possible to allow the original framing of laws to be done by a few men, and IF THESE MEN ARE COMPELLED TO BE TRUE SERVANTS OF THOSE WHO ELECT THEM, THE SYSTEM IS SUCCESSFUL.

A very striking fact is that on major questions affecting the public welfare the referendum actually allows legislators to use their own judgment to an extent to which they scarcely dare to use it now. They now legislate "with the ear to the ground," lest in revising their action by the present clumsy method the people turn them out. IF A GREAT MEASURE WERE DESTINED TO BE ACTED ON BY THE PEOPLE WITHOUT DANGER TO THEIR REPRESENTATIVES THESE MEN WOULD BE BETTER ABLE TO MAKE THE PRELIMINARY DECISION IN AN UNBIASED WAY. THE DEFEAT OF A MEASURE NOT TAINTED BY CORRUPTION WOULD NOT NECESSARILY CARRY WITH IT THE CONDEMNATION OF THE MEN WHO EXECUTED IT. Not less dignified and much more secure than it now is would be the position of a legislator in a state having the referendum.

The problem is not whether we shall or shall not dictate measures. We are trying to do that in a clumsy way, which makes politics corrupt, and causes policies to reflect very imperfectly our actual will. We can do it in a more efficient way, and in the process we can purify and elevate our political life. THE GREATEST "EVILS OF DEMOCRACY" COME BY A THWARTING OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, and therefore the reformatory spirit should make common cause with the present popular tendency. Honest politics and real self-government go together, and prosperity goes with them.

The Appeal to Reason.

The Appeal to Reason is a peculiar publication. There is no earth, or in the planet, so far as heard from, no other paper just like it. Its object is to make people think. How successful it has been in its efforts can be fairly estimated from its circulation, which has been built up and sustained entirely by its friends.

This week the Appeal will reach many people who have never seen it. The friends of the paper are sending thousands of sample copies to their friends because of the doctrines it advocates and to enlarge its circle of acquaintances.

Next week the Appeal will contain an interview with a Russian student, who was a participant in the recent political disturbances in the Czar's dominions. On June 28th a special edition for the American farmer will be issued; and every week will bring forth some feature that is of moment to the people in these eventful times.

If not a regular reader of the paper we would like to have your name upon the subscription list. At the reduced price of only twenty-five cents per year it is hoped that many thousands will avail themselves of the opportunity and become students of true economics as herein set forth.

A Gold Watch.

There is always something going on at the Appeal plant, not because of the editorial, business or mechanical force, but because the boys way out on the firing line are continually sending in for ammunition.

A paper devoted entirely to the farmer and his relation to economics is the next thing, and will be issued June 28th. This will be mailed out to addresses furnished at one-half cent per copy. To encourage the boys the Appeal will give to the person sending in the largest list of names, a fine gold watch, either lady's or gentlemen's.

Every list to count on the watch must be mailed on or before June 10th. Are you in it?

Herr Burkill, the father of the Referendum, in speaking of the advantages that Switzerland had derived from the obligatory Referendum, said: "The plutocratic government and the grand council of Zurich, which had connived with the private banks and railroads, were pulled down in one great voting swoop. The people had grown tired of being beheaded by the office-holders after every election." And ever since the politicians of Switzerland have been going down before the will of the people. The majority rule in Switzerland.

Army Combination.

For the benefit of the Appeal Army of Propagandists the following combination will be sold at less than one-half regular price. This is done to enable the workers to support themselves with ammunition for the coming campaign. Direct Legislation..... 10 One Way to Co-operative Commonwealth..... 10 When Laborers will be Rich..... 10 The Secret of the Rothschilds..... 10 The Labor Question..... 10 The Secret of the Rothschilds..... 10 Liberty by Debt..... 10 Things as They Are..... 10 Socialism in a Nutshell, by Miller..... 10 Our Republican Movement..... 10 The Concentration of Wealth..... 10 The Secret of Money..... 10 Address by Henry D. Lloyd..... 10 The Secret of the Rothschilds..... 10 We'll Fight Common Law..... 10 Wages, Scale and Harvest..... 10 Foras for the People..... 10 Wanted, A New Conscience..... 10 Total..... \$7.00

75cents. This Combination 75 cents.

DIRECT LEGISLATION

By Elwood Pomeroy in the Standard.

THE average voter is ignorant of many things, but he knows what he wants and in the present state of his mind he knows what is best for him better than any one else. He may not know the ideal condition nearly as well as the student, but he knows far better than the student the actual, next, practical step. One of the glaring faults of the so-called better classes is that they want to do for the masses and are not willing the masses shall do for themselves. Often they become so attenuated by study, so anemic by over-breeding, so supercilious in their pride of belonging to these so-called better classes, that they have really become separated from the great, warm, throbbing heart of the common people, and do not know, cannot know what the people really need and can use. In fact, one short step in advance actually taken by the masses is worth ten times that advance proposed and even enacted into law by superior persons. The first is a solid advance from which further advance may be made. The second is almost sure to become unenforced legislation, which cumber our statute books and clogs progress. A benevolent, smooth-moving despotism is not as good for the people as a struggling, striving democracy. Then the "studious, conscientious, competent legislator" does not exist, at least within our legislative halls. He does not get there. By only one reform can he be gotten into our legislative halls. Legislators such as we have desire to become such because of the irresponsible power that they have. They transmit the people's business for them. This inevitably corrupts them. Irresponsible power always corrupts. When we take away from our legislators the final power to enact laws, then they will be lifted to the old and high position of councilors or advisors to the people. From this function we derive our municipal name of common council. When the legislature does not have the final power to enact laws, but only the right to advise as to their enactment, then the men who seek power for their own selfish ends will not care to get into legislatures or to control puppets whom they may nominate and get elected to legislative office; and then the high-minded men who desire to serve their fellow men will have opportunity to enter legislative halls. Two objections to direct legislation are that it is impracticable and unconstitutional. Shortly after Fulton had invented the steamboat a body of scientific men gathered in New York and passed a resolution that it was absolutely impossible for a steamboat to cross the Atlantic. They adjourned and within a month the first steamboat to cross the Atlantic reached New York from Liverpool. The answer is that it is being used and wherever used, its use is extending. It is used in almost every form of government in Switzerland, and the model republic is not to be dismissed with a sneer to its size. Some of the cantons of Switzerland are small, but the Swiss country as a whole—and direct legislation is not only municipal and cantonal, but also national—in Switzerland—contains more people than all but three or four of our states. Certainly, then, direct legislation can be applied to our state politics. Delaware is the only state in the union in which amendments to the constitution are not subject to the obligatory referendum, a vote of the people. If the people are fit to pass on the fundamental law of the land, they ought to be fit to pass on the statute law. It is embodied by a constitutional enactment for all legislation in the constitutions of South Dakota and Utah and the people of Oregon vote on a referendum amendment next June and such an amendment has passed the Nevada legislature, and if it passes a second time, the people will vote on it. There is strong probability of the legislatures of Massachusetts, Maryland and Missouri passing direct legislation amendments within the next two or three years. The New England town meeting is one of the finest forms of direct legislation and it has been in use in rural New England since the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. It is satisfactory. Not a voice is heard advocating its repeal and it is spreading to other states. San Francisco, Seattle and some other cities have complete municipal direct legislation, while Nashville, Minneapolis and Detroit have it regarding all franchises. Local option is nothing but the application of direct legislation to the liquor question. Three-quarters of Georgia, Arkansas and other states are under an enforced prohibition because of local enactment and hence a sentiment exists behind the law when it is to be enforced which enforces it. Yearly every city of Massachusetts votes on license or no license. Colorado votes next fall on applying local option or local direct legislation to the question of taxation. In Missouri, Minnesota, California and Washington, municipalities have the privilege of making their own charters by a species of direct legislation. "We, the people of the United States ordain this constitution," is the beginning, as my remembrance goes, of the fundamental law of the United States, enacted over a century ago. It would seem as if, unless this document was annulled, that it would be rather hard to say that direct legislation is unconstitutional. It is true that some detail of a direct legislation law or some local application of it has once or twice been declared out of agreement with some part of the constitution, but never has a direct legislation amendment to a state constitution been declared unconstitutional. On the contrary, the decisions are all the other way. From the official opinion of Attorney General Stockton, of New Jersey, in 1892 or 1893, when he asked this question by the legislature, down to the opinions of hostile supreme courts in South Dakota and California in 1901. Lastly, direct legislation is growing and spreading with a sturdiness, a spontaneity and a rapidity not shown by any other reform. It does not command the blatant, paid enthusiasm which a movement which has jobs, offices and contracts in it always gets. There is no money, office or anything else personal or selfish in direct legislation for any of its advocates. Hence the advocacy it gets is quiet but most effective. It is becoming lodged in the hearts of the people. It is the method of democracy. It deserves De Tocqueville's words: "The progress of democracy seems irresistible, because it is the most uniform, the most ancient, the most permanent tendency which is founded in history."

MORGAN'S ELEGY IN A COUNTRY GRAVE YARD.

My whistles toot the parting of my day,  
My lowing herds wind slowly o'er my lea;  
My plowman homeward plods his weary way—  
With my consent—and leaves the world to me.  
Now fades my glimmering landscape on my sight  
And all my air a solemn stillness holds,  
Save where my beetle wheels his droning flight  
And drowsy thinkings lull my distant folds.  
Save, too, that from my ivy-mantled tower  
My moping owl does to the moon complain:  
Like helpless men, he grumbles at my power  
And frets beneath my solitary reign.  
Below my rugged elms, my yew tree's shade,  
Where heaves my turf in many a mouldering heap,  
Each in his narrow cell forever laid,  
The rude forefathers of my hamlet sleep.  
Mark that I say each in "his" narrow cell—  
All but those cells I claim as mine alone;  
I deed to them the holes in which they dwell:  
"Be generous, as they themselves would own.  
Let not ambition mock their useful toil,  
Their homely joys and lowly destinies;  
They cleared the forests and enriched the soil  
And put things into proper shape for me.  
Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid  
Some Carthage who lived on frugal fare,  
Who, for some streak of hard luck, never made  
Himself three hundred times a millionaire;  
Some Rockefeller that, with dauntless breast,  
Controlled the goose oil of the neighborhood  
And taught a Bible class, may be at rest  
Here, where the worms consider goose grease  
good.  
Some Russell Sage, who yearned for more and more,  
And never had ten plunks at once, may lie  
There where my briars are all tangled o'er  
That mound so nearly hidden from the eye.  
Some mute, inglorious Schwab, who never bucked  
The bank at Monte Carlo, may be here,  
Whose broken pockets from my fence obstruct  
The path that once was often trod and clear.  
But there's no Morgan here who might have run  
The earth if luck had favored him a bit;  
God had material for only one,  
And I, it is needless to remark, am it.  
If I to dumb forgetfulness a prey  
This sacred, anxious being e'er resign,  
I wonder if the earth'll whirl away  
And briars o'er me shall learn to twine.  
When I am numbered with the mighty dead  
My poets shall my wondrous tale relate,  
If chance, by lonely contemplation led,  
Some one shall come to ask what made me great.  
Let all the birds and all the bees say:  
"O'er him we seen him butting through the  
throne,  
Brushing with careless hands the crows away  
And generously helping God along."  
And when they raise the shaft where I lie cold,  
And wish to make an epitaph for me,  
Let this be carved in letters big and bold  
High on the marble where all men may see:  
THE EPIGRAM.  
Here rests his head, at last, upon his earth;  
He now belongs to what he made his own;  
He took the world for what he thought it worth—  
And God once more is ruing things alone.  
—S. E. Kiser, in Chicago Record-Herald.

ALL HAIL THE REFERENDUM.

Chorus.  
Fair morning comes! behold the dawn of direct  
legislation;  
The day of greed will soon be gone, along with  
competition.  
Great wrongs abound, we all must own, but,  
By Switzerland the way is shown—they call it refer-  
endum.  
Oh! think, comrades, by vote the nation can  
And soon it must own every trust, by the Refer-  
endum plan.  
When any city, town or state feels need of reform-  
ation,  
It will have power to formulate and force new  
legislation.  
When made, if laws are good, vote "yes," if not at  
once amend them.  
This plan is practiced by the Swiss—they call it  
Referendum.  
Chorus.  
With this reform the voter will give all laws close  
inspection,  
No trust can form a tariff bill for free trade or  
protection;  
Then politicians will not try to purchase votes to  
send them.  
As tools for rings—gold cannot buy nor bribe the  
referendum.  
Chorus.  
The people then will have their say about the coins  
of metal,  
Bonds and bank notes will pass away—free voters  
then will settle  
Taxation and a host of things; outlaw low dives  
and end them.  
Absorb the combings, trusts and rings, all with the  
referendum.  
Chorus.  
Then great monopolies will fall, with soulless cor-  
porations  
The friends of labor will prevail—each trust will  
be the nation's.  
The outcast poor in every land will feel our flag  
befriend them.  
For over all "Old Glory" grand will wave the refer-  
endum.  
Chorus.  
With this reform the people can retain the veto  
power,  
Frame laws to voice the rights of man, and make  
his tools for rings cover.  
Then let the Labor Unions break old party ties  
and end them—  
Vote for wives and children's sake; demand the  
referendum!  
Chorus.  
Take courage, men, and work today to banish  
want and sorrow,  
The morning dawns, a golden ray shall light the  
Old wrongs must die, new truths shall live, with  
strong arms to defend them,  
But equal rights we cannot have without the refer-  
endum.  
—B. M. Lawrence in New Century Song Book.

Direct Legislation in Practice.

J. W. Sullivan in "Switzerland."  
To recount what the Swiss have done by Direct  
Legislation:  
They have made it easy at any time to alter  
their cantonal and federal constitutions—that  
is, to change, even radically, the organization  
of society, the social contract, and thus to per-  
mit a peaceful revolution at the will of the ma-  
jority. They have as well cleared from the  
way of majority rule every obstacle—privilege  
of ruler, letter of ancient law, power of legisla-  
tor. They have simplified the structure of gov-  
ernment, held their officials as servants, ren-  
dered bureaucracy impossible, converted their  
representatives to simple committeemen, and  
shown the parliamentary system not essential  
to lawmaking. They have written their laws  
in language so plain that a layman may be  
judge in the highest court. They have forest-  
alled monopolies, improved and reduced tax-  
ation, avoided incurring heavy public debts,  
and made a better distribution of their land  
than any other European country. They have  
practically given home rule in local affairs to  
every community. They have calmed disturb-  
ing political elements—the press is purified, the  
politician disarmed, the civil service well regu-  
lated. Hurtful partisanship is passing away.  
Since the people as a whole will never willingly  
surrender their sovereignty, reactionary move-  
ment is possible only in case the nation should  
go backward. But the way is open forward.  
Social ideals may be realized in act and institu-  
tion. Even now the liberty loving Swiss citi-  
zen can discern in the future a freedom in  
which every individual—Independent, possessed  
of rights in nature's resources and in command  
of the fruits of his toil—may, at his will, on the  
sole condition that he respect the like aim of  
other men, pursue his happiness.  
With Direct Legislation no lobbyist will ever  
infest a state legislature. Such laws as will  
afford a paid lobby will be bad laws, and there  
will always be enough intelligent people in a  
state to demand (and under the law will re-  
ceive) a referendum of the matter to the voters  
before it can become a law. You can't fool a  
majority of the voters on the merits of a law  
when it is not connected with the election or  
defeat of a party.

Direct Thought Provokers  
For the People's Rule.

Direct Legislation would direct the results of legislation to the good of the people, or there would be some redirecting.

Direct Legislation would so change the whole political arrangement of affairs that the party boss would soon be found only in the museums.

Under a Direct Legislation system it would be impossible for congress to vote a large standing army on the nation unless the people endorsed it.

When the voters have the checkrein of a direct vote upon all laws passed there will be none passed that are inimical to the welfare of the community.

Direct Legislation might not be a panacea for all ills, but nothing could come nearer tearing down the walls of partisanship which now surround the citadel of justice.

One important item in connection with Direct Legislation is the fact that the people of Switzerland have a clean newspaper service. Party politics does not corrupt the press there as it does here.

There is nothing which will win votes like Direct Legislation, and there's nothing which will down plutocracy so quickly as the putting into practice of the rule of the people. Explain to your neighbors what it means and they will be with you.

No corporation will spend money upon a council or legislature which cannot barter away public property without the direct consent of the voters. Therefore the initiative and referendum will purge our councils and legislatures of boodlers.

Under the initiative and referendum the people might and probably would make mistakes. But they could then rectify them if it caused enough trouble to justify them in doing so. As it is purchased legislation is foisted on the public and it can do nothing about it.

Of course it wouldn't do to let the people vote on the laws to govern them. They might vote to hang themselves, or to stop the sun from shining, or the grass from growing. No one would work if he had the right to vote on measures instead of men.

When we elect an officer at the present time, he is our boss during his term of office. Under Direct Legislation, the people will be the boss, and by a majority vote, any bad representative can be removed at any time, thus making a government of the people in very truth.

The politicians who are paying the most to get into office are not advocating the initiative and referendum. The boodler does not like that reform any more than he does the grand jury. When the people can say what shall be done with public property, the boodler is simply "not in it."

Under Direct Legislation, that is with all laws being passed upon by the voters, the supreme court would be shorn of its power to set aside a law that had been demanded by the people. The people will decide whether or not a law is constitutional. One man will no longer make the laws of our country, as is the case at the present time.

The initiative and referendum makes it impossible for corrupt politicians to "deliver the goods" without the consent of the voters! Boodlers cannot boodle unless they can "deliver the goods." The candidate who does not advocate the initiative and referendum probably wants to be able to "deliver the goods" without the voter's consent. Turn him down.

We elect a man as head of this nation for a term of four years and then give him so much power that his word is practically law. He makes a great pretense of "listening for the voice of the people" and does as he pleases. If the people had the right to vote on every measure presented the president would hear the V. of the P. beyond question and would obey.

Switzerland defeated government ownership of railroads twice before voting to take them. This shows that as economic conditions change and people's minds change, that they can keep pace with it through the ballot. The Swiss provided themselves with a tool to do the work but the American voting king is afraid that he hasn't got enough intelligence to vote on the laws that govern him.

Out of nine supreme judges, if four should hold opposite opinions, as they frequently do with another four, the remaining judge can cast the deciding vote that pronounces upon the constitutionality of a law. In other words a mere handful of men have the power to declare unconstitutional a law that the people want. Under Direct Legislation, the people will be supreme judge when it comes to making laws to govern them.

Direct Legislation is the exercise of the right of the people to initiate or propose laws, to vote upon the final enactment of all laws made by their legislators, and to recall those representatives, who abuse their trust. In other words, it is the majority rule of the people. Legislators, nor governors, nor a handful of men called the supreme court, have the right to make laws. Direct Legislation is the people's voice upon the laws that govern them.

In Switzerland, political debates are not conducted over the worth or worthlessness of men, but of measures. The reason for this is plain. The people have the veto power, so it is immaterial to them whether a saint or a rogue goes to the legislature. He cannot make a law. The people do that. All he does is to refer the bill to the people, and they do the rest. And with no party spoils, no favors to dole out to ward heeled, or township bullies, the legislators spend their time attending to public business.

Who are the opponents of Direct Legislation? None but the money changers of Wall street, the trusts, the corrupt politicians, and the plutocratic press, which is fed by the trusts. Do not those same influences exert themselves against every move politically that if accomplished would shear them of their power and be a benefit to the masses? When the laboring people take the opposite side from Wall street and the trusts on political issues, they will have taken the first step in the right direction for the protection of their own interests. Direct Legislation would not be a favorable change for the trusts. It would for the common people, therefore the trusts oppose it. Workingmen and women,

think of these things. Think and act. Raise your voices in the matter of how this government "by the people, for the people," shall be conducted.

When the people make the laws by Direct Legislation, no political party can make a law that will strike their opponents dumb. Then it will not be treason to express your honest opinion on any public question. When the people rule the Declaration of Independence will not be considered an incendiary document, until the people by their votes decide to cast it aside. Politicians will no longer have the power to make laws suppressing free speech. In short, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people will make their own laws, and not be governed by politicians. Under Direct Legislation, we will have a republic.

What the Great Have Said About the Right of Majority Rule.

"Legislation direct by the people is the supreme demand of the hour."—Debs.

All deliberative bodies use the referendum. One member proposes a question, but it is left to the will of the majority.

"You can trust all of the people a great deal more than you can trust some of the people."—Abe Lincoln.

"The troubles of this country arise from its uneasy politicians, its safety depends on the tranquil masses."—Thomas Benton.

"The more I learn, the more my confidence in the general sense and honest intentions of mankind increases."—James Russell Lowell.

"The ground of liberty is to be gained by inches. It takes time to persuade men to do even what is for their own good."—Thomas Jefferson.

"The only government which can fully satisfy all the exigencies of the social state is one in which the whole people participate."—John Stuart Mill.

"The great hope of this land is in the fact that the mass of the people mean right and unless misled by demagogues, will do right."—James Freeman Clarke.

"The general welfare can be properly planned only if all have a voice, and the plans can be properly carried out only when all join their efforts."—H. D. Lloyd.

"The progress of democracy seems irresistible because it is the most uniform, the most ancient and the most permanent tendency which is to be found in history."—De Tocqueville.

"We have scarcely reached the half-way house of political progress. We shall have to move on to the goal, which is the fulfillment of democracy in the direct self-government of the people."—Prof. Herron.

"Corruption has overthrown every republic that ever existed before our own came into being, except, mark you, the republic of Switzerland, where they have direct legislation."—Thos. McEwan, Member of Congress from New Jersey.

"By nature every individual has the right to govern himself; and governments must derive their right from the assent, expressed or implied, of the governed and be subject to such limitations as they impose."—Thomas Jefferson.

Universal democracy, whatever we may think of it, has declared itself as an INEVITABLE fact of the days in which we live; and he who has any chance to instruct or to lead in his days, must begin by admitting it."—Thos. Carlyle.

"Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer the question."—Thos. Jefferson.

"The people must be trusted, and in so far as they are deprived of a share in civic affairs, to that extent they have suffered. If we are a republic and a democracy, we must return to that principle from which we have been straying."—William Howe Tallman.

"True representative government does not exist. We have a sham representation. It does not represent the people. It represents the politicians. We are law-abiding people. Yet our laws are made by the minority of the people, and by an irresponsible oligarchy more dangerous than our fathers revolted against."—Prof. John R. Commons.

"The most democratic measure conceivable is the referendum. No one who upholds that institution can be accused for a moment of not trusting the people or falling to acquiesce in the principle that the people themselves constitute the ultimate sovereign power in the nation. That is the true touch-stone."—St. Loe Strachey, editor London Spectator.

"Representative government has served its purpose. Time has demonstrated its fallacies, its weaknesses and its wickedness. The people have political liberty only in name now but it will come through Direct Legislation. We must soon choose whether we are to have an oligarchy or a democracy. All lovers of the human family, all who earnestly strive for political reform, economic justice and social enfranchisement must range themselves on the side of organized labor in this demand for direct legislation."—Samuel Gompers, President of A. F. of L.

Editing From Jail.  
Editor Appeal: You see I am editing the Referendum from the jail, before I would pay a fine of \$100 and costs for protecting society from one of the crimes of commercialism, and it is hard for my overworked wife, who must set most of the type, make up forms and make collections. Ask the Appeal Agent to send 20 cents for a four months' subscription to the Referendum. By this means I can keep the paper up until I get out and hustle.—E. B. Ford, Faribault, Minn.

Ruskin Combination.  
The Appeal has a few of the Ruskin Library Socialist pamphlets that are splendid material for beginners, and in order to create a deeper interest in the work, the following books will be sold for 25 cents.  
Socialism in a Nutshell—Muller..... 10c  
Things as I See Them—Weyland..... 6c  
One Way to the Co-Op. Wealth..... 6c  
Wealth Against Commonwealth, an address by Henry D. Lloyd..... 25c  
Our Republic—Monarchy—Vaidie..... 10c  
Five Wanted, A New Conscience..... 25c  
Total cost, 65c.  
25 cents. Ruskin Combination. 25 cent.

ADVERTISEMENTS accepted under this head at 75 per cent line, each insertion, net cash with order. No discount for time or space. Only one column will be sold.

RUSKIN COLLEGE, TRENTON, MO.  
Most business colleges teach you how to keep books, take notes by shorthand, or operate a typewriter so that you can make from \$10 to \$20 per week serving someone else. The Ruskin Business College of Trenton, Mo., is the only business college in the United States that trains you, in addition to bookkeeping, typewriting and other mere secondary positions in the art of business organization and promoting, by which nearly all the fortunes of the country are acquired.

Ruskin Business College alone has a complete course in the secrets of fortune-making, the forming of corporations, and capitalization of profits, bonding, funding, wrecking and re-organizing of companies. In other words Ruskin Business College teaches you how to get rich, as well as how to serve others and lays bare all the secrets, both fair and foul, by means of which the great fortunes of this country have been accumulated. In addition to teaching the business art to both servile workers and the future leaders of business, Ruskin College is directly associated with the great co-operative movement which is now employing new men as bookkeepers, managers and other good salaried positions at the rate of 100 new men per month. We not only teach you a vocation, but give you a position as soon as you are able to occupy it.—Address, W. A. Ross, Principal, Trenton, Missouri. 338-2t.

GRAFFLIN.

A Model Village Laid Out by Walter Vrooman.  
Three miles southeast of Kansas City, adjoining Swope park, a park containing 1,300 acres. In this village life is precedent of things. The Children's Paradise is the main feature, the stores and factories being secondary. It is a place, first of all to live in; secondarily, we buy and sell and make things. It is to be the manufacturing center for the Western Co-operative Association. Lots, \$25, \$50 and 100 each. One-fourth cash, the rest on time. We expect to increase the price about 25% every sixty days, as improvements are made. The best locations will be taken early.  
Address Grafflin, Western Co-operative Association, Century Building, Kansas City, Mo.

Co-operation.  
The Western Co-operative Association, organized by Mr. Walter Vrooman, has just engaged a score of the ablest speakers and organizers in the United States to extend the movement throughout the country. An experienced organizer can be had to wake up the people of your town and consolidate several small establishments into one if you will guarantee expenses from Kansas City. When the new store is in operation, those who advance this expense-money will be re-imbursed. Address Western Co-operative Association, 316 Century Building, Kansas City Mo. 336-3t.

IF YOU WANT TO EARN A HOME Address, Colorado  
Montrose County, Colorado. 336-2B.

WE PAY \$22 A WEEK And expenses to men with rigs to in-  
troduce Poultry Compound. Inter-  
national Mfg. Co., Parsons, Kansas 336-2B.

YOU may have something worth printing. It may be a book or  
pamphlet. The Appeal is equipped for the work, and will  
give you satisfactory prices.

REAL ESTATE. Sell farms and suburban property. Write for  
many bargains. T. T. Perry, Girard, Crawford Co., Kan.—336-2B.

ASTHMA. Do you suffer with it? There is no occasion for your  
doing so. Write a card today to Dr. F. O. Carter,  
Chicago, Ill., for particulars concerning a new treatment for  
this disease. Not a "Quack" cure, but one every asthmatic  
should know about.—336-3t.

NEARLY ALL PEOPLE would like printed stationery if they  
could get it cheap enough. We offer  
a 500 letter sheets, 200 1/2 inch (10 tab), and 100 white en-  
velopes, postpaid, for \$1.25. Printed stationery often saves con-  
fusion in names and addresses. Order by mail only in U. S.  
SOCIALISM IS RELIGIOUS. "Socialism" is the only paper in  
every phase of religion. 50c a year, 5c a copy. Push, Chicago, Mo.—336-2B.

ON ACCOUNT of the death of W. K. Kidd, late editor of the  
Dakota Herald, the family have decided to sell  
the paper, good subscription list, good advertising patronage,  
wide field and will be sold cheap. Address S. H. Cramer,  
Aberdeen, S. Dak.—337-2t.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is a thought-  
ful magazine. It contains some of the best work of the radical  
thinkers of our time. A man may not agree with its pages, but  
he cannot fail to have a keen interest in them, if he wishes to  
keep abreast of the evolution of thought in the world. In con-  
nection with the review, we publish a paper, "The Socialist Re-  
view," edited by Edwin Markham. \$1.00 a year; 5 months, 25c; single  
copy, 10c. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Publishers, 26 Fifth Ave.,  
Chicago.—337-2t.

JUST PUBLISHED: "The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-opera-  
tive Association," by Prof. Isaac Bromberg.  
Gives all the inside facts, liberally unpublished. Illustrated  
with 16 engravings from photographs. Every one who read the  
old Century Review will want the book. Published only in cloth,  
50c, postpaid. Also new enlarged edition of Socialist Songs with  
music, 44 pages, 25c, postpaid. Also new book by Her. Charles  
H. Kerr, "The Socialist Movement," 10c, postpaid. Charles H.  
Kerr & Co., publishers, 26 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

WHAT OF THIS BOOK? "The Flaming Swords says of it: "In  
a terse, clear way it tells a thousand things every voter and also every thinking woman ought to  
know. It lays bare the mechanism of the power which rules the  
people. Read it, and know of a truth that the few are beid-  
ing the nation's life to the impoverishment of the masses."  
"MONEY" in its Nature and Its Functionary. Paper, 25c;  
cloth, 50c. Address CHARLES BRONBERG, Rural R. No. 4, Salem,  
Ohio.

IF YOU KNEW You could buy a good watch of a com-  
rade at a lower price than you could get  
the same watch elsewhere. Would you investigate  
the matter and buy of him? I claim and can prove  
that I am selling standard watches at a lower average  
price than any other watch firm in America. I furnish  
the watches given away by this paper which prove  
I am no fakir. Write me for advice, particulars and price list.  
Always mention just what kind of a watch you want, unless  
stamp. Can give a very best of references. A. B. COVILL, sec'y  
of Verano Local, Verano, Ill.

The Socialist Party.  
Agitation plants the seed of socialism, education cultivates its  
growth and organization gathers the harvest. The harvest time  
has arrived. Now is the hour to organize the Socialist Party,  
and institute a government of the workers, by the workers and  
for the workers. For information upon how to organize a local  
branch of the Socialist Party address Leon Greenbaum, National  
Secretary, Room 47, Empire Building, St. Louis, Mo.

Be Your Own Morgan and Rockefeller.  
"Let it be No Bank or Common Stock, out every man be  
master of his own money."—Bacon.  
Send two-cent stamp for "SCIENCE OF INCREASE" by  
Depositor Industrial Investment Fund, Chas. S. Wallace,  
Trustee, Fairhaven, Wash.—336-10t.

SEND US NAMES  
OF MAGAZINE READERS  
\$12 to \$18 a week for this work  
Men, women and young people, here is a splendid opening. Write  
me, and I will send you a copy of the "Appeal to Reason," the Family  
and the P. O. BOX, PUBLICATION COMPANY, Dept. J, 123  
East 23d Street, New York.

R-PAIN'S  
There is scarcely any condition of ill-health that  
is not benefited by the occasional use of  
a R-PAIN'S Tablet. For sale by Drug-  
gists. The Five-Cent packets are obtainable  
on an ordinary occasion. The Family Bottle,  
50 cents, contains a supply for a year.

15c "Looking Backward"  
(UNABRIDGED)  
Costs 50c in U. S. A.—Can be had by mail  
from HENRY B. ASHLAND, 76 Duane  
St., London, Canada.  
15c Single, 25c two copies.  
\$1.25 doz., 50 copies \$5.

EARN A BICYCLE  
distributing 1000 catalogs for us in your  
town. Two-cent stamp for "SCIENCE OF INCREASE" by  
our wonderful 1000 offers.  
1902 Models, \$9 to \$15  
\$10 & \$12 Models, big size, \$7 to \$11  
\$500 Standard and Wheel  
all makes and models, good as new,  
an ordinary bicycle, \$10. Family Bottle,  
50c, contains a supply for a year.

MEAD CYCLE CO.  
Write at once for set price and advance  
for particulars. A very best of references.  
mead, all styles, half regular price.  
MEAD CYCLE CO. Chicago, Ill. 1898

Do Not Forget.  
Do not forget that the Appeal will be sent for  
four weeks to addresses furnished by you for  
two cents per name. A dollar will send the  
office a wo-or yao edim ud Ocmfwyp shrdluduo  
Appeal for a month to fifty families.  
An effort to form a Referendum League in  
Buffalo, similar to Chicago's, is on foot.



When the Republic was planned the government was divided into three departments with the intention of keeping each department independent and distinct from the other two.

There was the legislative branch, composed of the state legislatures and national congress, to make the laws; the judicial branch, composed of the courts, to interpret the laws; and the executive branch, composed of the executive officers of the states and nation, to enforce the laws.

The legislative branch through the manipulation of corrupt influences and the restrictions of courts, has become a farce; the executive branch derives its authority more from the consent of the courts than from the consent of the governed; and the judicial branch has become the whole thing, setting aside as unconstitutional what laws do not suit it, and allowing the executive to enforce only what it wants enforced.

Thus we find a theoretical republic practically governed by a supreme court, the members of which hold a life tenure upon their prerogative and are responsible to no one—not even the majority of the people, for their acts.

People wonder why a republic should drift into an aristocracy, giving official welcomes to a German prince of royal line and refusing to meet the officials of the Boer republic. It is evident that our judicial potentates who hold a life tenure of office wish to trot in their own class composed of the rulers of the old world monarchies, and feel little in common with the nominal rulers of the land who are soft and easy enough to be swindled out of their birthright.

Direct Legislation will re-establish the most important branch of democratic government, and prevent a court from setting aside the express wishes of the people when it suits the fancy of an irresponsible judge. What is your position? Are you willing to leave the reins of government in the hands of courts recruited from the ranks of railroad and corporation lawyers, or are you in favor of restoring the power to the people where it justly belongs?

A fertile field for the culture of grafts and grafters is the legislative halls of a representative government. Among the delegated lawmakers there is no lack of work in this line, and the corporations which have charge of the business pay well for the services of the expert who can make black appear white either by financial or other forms of persuasion.

If the operator is sufficiently smooth he can be elected to a seat in the body and draw pay both from the corporations which he serves and the people whom he betrays. When a politician begins operations upon the floor of a legislative house he is timid. He can't fail to see the possibilities of the situation but the size of the thing is overwhelming. The favors his position commands in the form of passes and privileges are of no great moment, but when some veteran grafter with a stocking full of coin wants to go to the United States senate he suddenly discovers that the vote which his silly constituents have given him for nothing is worth several thousand dollars. If he is too old-fashioned to yield to the soft and seductive allurements of the senatorial sack he has to run a gauntlet of similar attractions that have caught enough of such to make representative government a failure in every land.

In course of time the politician becomes accustomed to such things and naturally looks with contempt upon a people who turn their public affairs over to the tender mercies of a gang of piratical politicians.

There are signs, however, of a change of procedure. People who have been repeatedly sold out by their legislative servants are thinking of discharging the hired help and of looking after these important things for themselves. They have been studying the scheme known as Direct Legislation and find that that system of law making gives them an opportunity to enact laws beneficial to the whole people without the interference of the lobbyist or corrupt representative.

What are you going to do about it? If you are a grafter of the political persuasion, you had better hurry and line your nest, for little time is left for the abuse of the people's power. If you are not of that kind, the sooner you get the grafter out of power the sooner will the honest people of America enjoy a truly democratic government.

The politician is one of the most useless and expensive articles common to a representative government. His platform is always the one on which he can mount most readily to office and get the most plunder out of the office after once installed. The professional politician cares about as much for principle or his oath of office as a Texas steer cares for his grandfather. He is moved by one consideration alone—the money to be made out of the position.

To him a public office is a private snap, and the softer the constituency the softer snaps do they confer upon the political vagabond who is always looking for a chance to do something for the dear people but never works at it when he gets a job.

There is always a portion of the people in earnest when they express their preference at the ballot box, but the things that concern them are of a different order from those that actuate a mere place hunter. To him there is nothing so desirable as a salary easily obtained and the perquisites and opportunities for making something on the side that go with official position.

In short the professional politician is a nuisance, more noticeable perhaps before election but many-fold more dangerous after it, if elected.

But the man of so-called practical politics is not to blame for what he is. He is just what the people have made him. There has been a premium placed upon just such as he, and the supply has been fashioned to supply the demand.

Proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the State of Oregon—House Joint Resolution No. 1.

Section 1 of Article IV. of the Constitution of the State of Oregon shall be and hereby is amended to read as follows:

Section 1. The legislative authority of the state shall be vested in a legislative assembly, consisting of a senate and house of representatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislative assembly. The first power reserved by the people is the initiative, and not more than 8% of the legal voters shall be required to propose any measure by such petition, and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon. The second power is the referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety) either by petition, signed by 5% of the legal voters, or by the legislative assembly, as other bills are enacted. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not more than ninety days after the final adjournment of the session of the legislative assembly which passed the bills on which the referendum is demanded. The veto power of the governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people. All elections on measures referred to the people of the state shall be had at the biennial regular elections, except when the legislative assembly shall order a special election. Any measure referred to the people shall take effect and become a law when it is approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon, and not otherwise. The style of all bills shall be: "Be it enacted by the people of the state of Oregon." This section shall not be construed to deprive any member of the legislative assembly of the right to introduce any measure. The whole number of votes cast for justice of the supreme court at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the initiative or for the referendum shall be the basis on which the number of legal voters necessary to sign such petition shall be counted. Petitions and orders for the initiative and for the referendum shall be filed with the secretary of state, and in submitting the same to the people he and all other officers shall be guided by the general laws and the act submitting this amendment until legislation shall be especially provided therefor.

Adopted by the house January 27, 1899. E. V. CARTER, Speaker of the House. Concurred in by senate February 2, 1899. T. C. TAYLOR, President of the Senate. Approved February 6, 1899. T. T. GEER, Governor.

Now referred to the people for their decision, to be voted on at the June election, Monday, June 2, 1902.

In Old Party Platforms.

When the initiative and referendum theory of legislation was first advocated a few years ago, it was unmercifully pilloried by the press and by the speakers of both the old parties. There was no sarcasm too cutting, no ridicule too severe to apply to the pet plank in the populist platform. It was always associated with whisks, hayseed, anarchy and idioity. It might do for small republics, such as Switzerland, where it originated, but it was the height of folly to give the people a chance to legislate in a big state like Oregon.

It was expected that these shafts of ridicule would cause it to wither away and die; but its advocates still kept up the agitation. And the theory, once rooted, continued to grow in the minds of thinking people until today we see both of the big parties falling over each other in their efforts to recognize the once despised doctrine.

The amendment which comes before the people at the June election will be carried without a doubt, and it is because the leaders of both parties recognize this that it has been adopted in both platforms. It is not to be supposed that there has been any radical change in thought or any reversal of logic by these great molders of public opinion.

They have simply discovered that sophistry cannot always deceive, and that in spite of ridicule and opposition the initiative and referendum theory of popular government has grown to a mighty tree from which a splendid platform plank can be manufactured.

They know, too, that it will carry at the coming election, and they want to go on record as advocates of a popular measure. It is thus the little acorn grows to be a mighty tree.

How Can Majority Rule Be Had?

Even though an idea is good, the people want to know how it can be made of any use to them. How can it be brought about? The opponents of the people's rule tell us that the only way to establish the Referendum is to have an amendment to the constitution—a slow, tedious procedure. The constitution should be amended to extend this privilege to the people, but majority rule can be had in a quicker way.

This can be done by demanding of every candidate for legislative honors that he sign a written agreement to vote to include in each bill a clause to the effect that 5% of the voters may demand that the bill be referred to the vote of the people; and if he fails to sign such agreement, see to it that he is defeated for nomination, and that another man is nominated who will sign such a pledge.

Furthermore, make every candidate agree to change the rules of procedure in the city councils or the state legislature so that the majority rule will be accorded the voters. Do not take verbal promises that the interest of the people will be looked after. Get the signatures of each candidate in "black and white." The majority can rule by taking charge of the primaries at the next election.

The Referendum.

- It will simplify laws.
It will purify the ballot.
It will control monopoly.
It will suppress violence.
It will broaden manhood.
It will make people think.
It will accelerate progress.
It will banish sectionalism.
It will prevent revolution.
It will sever party bondage.
It will simplify government.
It will wipe out plutocratic dictation.
It will prevent bribery.
It will establish home rule in cities.
It will aid honest representatives to serve the people.
It will give us a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Suppose

Suppose you take a nickel from your purse. Suppose you collect nine nickels from nine of your friends. Suppose you prepare a list of one hundred farmers who should read the special farmers' edition (No. 343). Suppose you mail the fifty cents and the hundred names to the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas. Suppose you figure a moment on the possible results, and what do you suppose you'll do?

AT THE FRONT

Comrade Lemmer, of Mosinee, Wis., did it, too.

Comrade Saltzback, of Chicago, sends in a list for No. 338.

Comrade Ware, of Braymer, Mo., is sending No. 338 to a list of friends.

Comrade McCulley, of Mansfield, O., is not doing a thing to the Buckeyes.

Comrade Jennison, of Wellesly, Mass., is like all the rest. He wants No. 338.

Comrade Haworth, of Upper Falls gets in with a nice club for the Monthly.

Comrade Hall, of Fayette, Idaho, sends in a list of impressibles to receive No. 338.

Comrade Foree sends in for a supply of literature for the workers at Lyons, O. T.

Comrade Hummel, of Pine Grove, Pa., is making a stir in the shadows of the pines.

Comrade Gluck, of Detroit, Mich., invests a dollar in the right kind of reading matter.

Comrade Porter, of Frisco, captured everything lying loose around the Golden Gate.

Comrade Pinkus, of Davenport, Ia., went in the trophies of a hot chase among the Iowas.

Comrade Yeoman, of Tewksbury, Mass., fires in a list of eighty who need light on the subject.

Comrade Haney, of Dysart, Ia., spreads the good tidings with a list for the current number.

Comrade Elliott of Wilber, Neb., got into the procession and is marching to the tune of old 338.

Comrade Wornack, of Lexington, Okla., knows how to get a plenty when he goes after them.

Comrade Houghton, of Chase, Kan., sends in his order for the D. L. number and reports progress.

Comrade Hicks, of New Albany, Ind., is one of the old guard. He got in last week with another club.

Comrade Phillips is enthusiastic in the work at Enid, Okla. He sends in a neat club and reports progress.

Comrade Proctor, of Gales Creek, Ore., sends in a list of neighbors to receive the Direct Legislation news.

Comrade Schock, of Plateau, Utah, sends in for a bunch of No. 338. The workers in Utah are on the move.

Comrade Miller, of Huntington, Ark., sends for a bundle of 338. The boys in the south are making things hum.

Comrade Thompson, of Ft. Gage, Ill., is still in the harness and pulling the Illinoisans in the right direction.

Comrade Hawley, of Missouri, is telling a string of voters about the Initiative and Referendum through the Appeal.

Comrade Leonard, of Altman, Col., went out on the war path last week and captured a whole company, officers and all.

Comrade Malthasen, of Minden, Neb., could not miss a good thing, so he sends in a list to receive the Majority Rule number.

Comrade Breauelle, of Steelville, Mo., sends in for a batch of 338 and an assortment of literature along with five yearlies.

Comrade Craig, of Astoria, Ore., applies for five hundred copies of this week's paper to stir up the voters on Direct Legislation.

Comrade Wright, of Eaton, O., accumulated too many cards and sends for a bundle of Appeals to distribute and help sell them. A good idea.

"I don't do much, but will try and see that the Appeal shadow grows no less in this neck of the woods," says Comrade Comins of Sherwood, Mich.

Comrade Bower, of Peapack, N. J., sends in a list of 184 names to receive this copy of the paper, and confidently believes the seed thus sown will bear fruit.

Comrade Rice, of Brighton, Mass., is making it bright on the surface of the Bay State. His handsome club will have the effect of making part of New England newer than ever.

"I am in my 68th year and have to work hard for my living, but must do what little I can for the cause, for Socialism in our day. It's coming."—Comrade Pooler, Abilene, Kan.

"The Appeal Army is marching with eyes on the target (plutocracy) and hands on the gospel gun (the Appeal). Steady, boys; be ever on the guard."—Comrade McDannell, Giltner, Neb.

Comrade Eskey, of Guyandote, W. Va., orders a bundle of this issue and one of five yearlies and remarks that the Appeal is doing the work in that locality to the satisfaction of its friends.

The Army editor is authorized to present a lock of the Fiji's matchless curls to the comrade who will tell how to mention half of what the Army is doing in the limited space of one column.

Comrade Keefer, of Mountain Home, Idaho, who has been reading the Appeal for about a month, became interested and sends for a small bundle of No. 338 to distribute among his neighbors.

Comrade McClellan, of Hanford, Cal., reports activity among the comrades at that place and shouts "Long life to the Appeal. It is doing a great work." Comrade McClellan is also doing a great work.

We expected several thousand workers to get enthusiastic over the Direct Legislation number, but we didn't think everybody would want 'em in such quantities. Come along, though, while the paper lasts they can be had in any quantity.

A comrade who has recently come to this country from Scotland, writes as follows: "I enclose stamps to use in forwarding my Appeal to my address in Scotland where I am compelled to return to get a living which I can't get in this land of prosperity and full dinner pails."

A comrade at Evanston, Ill., sends in a list of former acquaintances for the Direct Legislation edition and makes the following remarks: "Was compelled to work extra Sunday, and believe a part of the money so earned will do more for bringing about what the church people say Christ wanted than it would if sent to the interior of China."

From Comrade Landrum, Durango: "Here I am with a club of five. This puts the Appeal ahead of any other paper that comes to Durango postoffice, and all of them single yearly subscribers. Is there any other postoffice in America that can say as much? If there is not I will have to claim a premium or a treat."

Comrade Klepstad of Hillsboro, N. D., sends in two subscribers and apologizes for taking the liberty, because he is not a member of the Appeal Army. The comrade is mistaken. When anyone sends in as much as one subscriber he at once becomes a regularly enlisted soldier, and is entitled to his share of the credit for the grand work the Army is doing.

The Appeal is the Patrick Henry of the revolution, the Uncle Tom's Cabin of the civil war, and a prime mover for a freedom and heaven on earth that has never been heard of before. The time is near when every loyal, liberty-loving man, and every thinking man will help

push this thing, unless they have selfish interests which may be sacrificed.—Comrade Hall, Wakefield, Kansas.

Comrade Thompson, of Santa Barbara, has devised a novel machine for selling copies of the Appeal. He attaches a pair of wire springs to a board ten by eighteen inches in size in such a manner that the springs will hold several copies of the paper. Above the papers is printed an invitation to the passer-by to take a paper and drop a penny in the little box which is attached to the board for the purpose. He gets five Appeals per week, fills up his board and hangs it in some business house in the best location he can get. If the merchant requires it he gives him the profits on the sale of the papers for the privilege.

The Representative's Prayer.

W. F. Clark.

Not copyrighted, but offered to be read before all congressmen who are opposed to the people making their own laws by Direct Legislation.

Oh, Lord, we thank Thee that we are wiser than our ignorant constituents. For behold, oh Lord, that the voters, who sent us here to make laws for them, do not know what is best; while we, their representatives, are blessed with that intelligence which enables us to legislate for their good! So we thank Thee, Oh Lord, that they have not been left without some one to guide them in the way that they could not find, were it not for our intelligence. We thank Thee that we have been placed here to the end that we can make good laws to guide our unintelligent voters into the way we think best. Were it not for us, Oh Lord, our constituents would not know what to do; and we thank Thee that we have been endowed with such great learning that we can discern what their untrained minds cannot comprehend.

Again we thank Thee, Oh Lord, that our constituents have not run off after that strange god—Direct Legislation; for if they should our great intelligence would fail to attract the attention that we try to give it on every occasion. We especially thank Thee that the American people are not as the Swiss, where the common voters make and unmake laws. Because that would drive the blessed lobby out of our sacred halls of congress, and deprive the legislators of the chance for emolument that so frequently presents itself to us under a representative government, which, as we have often told Thee, is the best government on earth (for us who profit by it). Pour out Thy blessings upon the Swiss so that their representatives may restore bribery and corruption to the benighted people, who have not known those accomplishments since the introduction of the people's rule, known by the name of Direct Legislation.

We beseech Thee, Oh Lord, to give us, Thy favored ones, more wisdom, so that we can convince those voters who sent us here that they do not know what laws would be good for them. Give us the power to impress upon their weak minds the importance of trusting all law-making to our exalted understanding. In no other way can we preserve our right to pass special bills to befriend certain corporations, that are very near and dear to us, for service we have rendered them. And bless us in our efforts to continue our own power by making us able to show the fallacy of the people making their own laws through the Initiative and Referendum; that foreign importation which has upset a few and caused them to want to be more powerful than we are. More than that, they want to be more powerful than the supreme court, when it comes to deciding what shall be law. These people want to supplant the supreme court, that august body which sets aside the mistakes that our distinguished minds frequently make. Then they would be independent of us, and more powerful than those nine judges who are the real lawmakers of our free country. Then we would be their servants, and we would be compelled to obey the voters who sent us here.

So we beseech Thee to let things go on as they are. Now our magnified intelligence directs in all things that concern our own peculiar financial interests, and we would be very thankful to have these happy circumstances made permanent, for the good of the people. All these blessings we ask in the name of the Republic, Amen.

Farmers' Edition.

On June 28th, Appeal No. 343 will be issued, dealing exclusively with the farmer and his relation to economics. This number will be an eye-opener to the farmer who is trying to work out his salvation at the end of a plow handle. The edition should go to every farmer possible, and will be mailed from this office direct to any address in the United States or Canada at the rate of one-half cent per copy. For fifty cents you can send the farmers' edition to one hundred of your friends and do them and the country more good than the amount could do otherwise.

This edition is prepared at the request of many workers and will have an enormous circulation. There will be a large amount of extra work necessary in addressing the wrappers for the paper, all of which must be done in advance. By reason of this and to encourage the workers, the Appeal will give a fine gold watch (either lady's or gentleman's) to the person who sends in the largest number of names for the farmers' edition at one-half cent each before June 11th. To be in the merry mill for the watch all lists must be mailed on or before June 10th.

The paper will also be furnished in bundles of 250 at \$1.00, but bundle orders will not count on the watch. This is the thing to stir up the farmers.

How much do you think corporations would give city councils or other legislators to pass a bill if it had to be submitted to the people before it became a law? Nothing. And if the law proposers were not bribed do you believe any of them would try to pass a bad measure? Hardly. Majority rule or direct legislation is the one remedy to remove the corrupt influences from the legislative halls.

Direct Legislation has been in operation in Switzerland for many years. Since its adoption there has never been any accusation of malfeasance in office. Americans are just as intelligent and honest as the Swiss, and given the political machinery, will do away with public corruption just as has the model little republic of the east.

Oregon will adopt the Direct Legislation principle next month. It will be the first democratic (self-governing) state in the Union. I predict that, like the Australian ballot, her lead will be rapidly followed by all other states in the nation. As soon as the people see the thing they will want it everywhere.

The people of Oregon will vote on a constitutional amendment next month for Direct Legislation. It has been twice passed by a republican legislature and governor before its submission. All parties there favor it in their platforms.

Direct Legislation means that before an important measure shall become law, it must be submitted to the people to vote on. If a majority vote yes, it is the highest law, not to be set aside by any court; if a majority vote no, it is as dead as a hammer.

The Appeal will furnish all of Chas. H. Kerr & Co.'s publications at the very lowest prices given by that firm to anyone.

Next Week.

Next week's Appeal will contain an interview with a Russian student who took such an active part in the recent political disturbances in Russia that a vacation in America was necessary for his health.

His description of the "underground press," and other mysterious features of the labor movement in that oppressed land is exciting; but better than that is the fact that readers of the Appeal can for once get a glimpse of the true situation in the land of the autocratic Czar.

Clubbing Rates.

"Whitire's Magazine" and the Appeal..... 1.00
"The International Review" and the Appeal..... 1.00
"The Comrade" and the Appeal..... 1.00

5c Books.

- Ten Men of Money Island..... Norton
(In English, German and Swedish)
The Unconquered Challenge..... McGray
Socialism in a Nutshell..... W. H. Miller
What is Socialism..... W. H. Miller
Practical Socialism..... W. H. Miller
The Trust Question..... W. H. Miller
Intemperance and Poverty..... Twining
Industrial Democracy..... Kelley
Socialism and Trade Unionism..... Max Hayes
The Relation of Religion to Social Reform..... W. H. Miller
Municipal Ownership—Facts and Figures..... W. H. Miller
The Real Criminal..... A. M. Dewey
Socialism; Reply to Pope..... Blatchford
Class War in Idaho..... Harriman
Unaccepted Challenges..... McGrady
Things As They Are..... W. H. Miller
God is Love and Man's Life Endless..... Irving
The Concentration of Wealth..... Irving
What the Other Fellows Are Saying..... J. A. Wayland
A Study in Power..... W. H. Miller
Christ, Property and Man..... Rev. Bruce
Socialist Cartoons and Comments..... Warren
Bad Boy, Illustrated..... L. A. Stockwell
Municipal Socialism..... Gordon
Socialism and Farmers..... Simons
Property vs. Liberty..... W. H. Miller
Liberty..... Debs
Prison Labor..... Debs
Government Ownership of Railroads..... Gordon
The Evolution of the Class Struggle..... W. H. Miller
Imprudent Marriages..... W. H. Miller
Factories and the Labor Question..... M. Simons
Wage Labor and Capital..... Karl Marx
Poems for the People..... W. H. Miller
The Mission of the Working Class..... Vail
Socialist Songs, adapted to familiar tunes..... W. H. Miller
How Acquired My Millions..... W. H. Miller
The Man Under the Machine..... Simons
After Capitalism, What..... W. H. Miller
Woman and the Social Problem..... W. H. Miller
Plutocracy or Nationalism, Which?..... Bellamy
The Real Religion..... W. H. Miller
Duck Quack Remedies..... W. H. Miller
..... Leon Greenbaum
Why I Am a Socialist..... Geo. D. Herron
Evolution of Industry..... Watkins
Socialism and Slavery..... Hyndman
The Machine Age..... W. H. Miller
The American Farmer..... Gordon
Panics, Cause and Cure..... Gordon
The Water Tank..... Bellamy
The Social Conscience..... W. H. Miller
Working Men and the Labor Question..... W. H. Miller
Why Railroad Men Should Be Socialists..... W. H. Miller
Title Deeds to Land..... Spencer
Socialism..... Simons
New Zealand in a Nutshell..... W. H. Miller
A Political Quack Doctor..... A. Corey
Possible Frontiers of Trust..... W. H. Miller
Where We Stand..... Sparga
Facts About Railroads..... W. C. Green

10c. Books.

- Cold Facts..... Cole
A Voice From England..... Father McGray
A Tramp in Society..... W. H. Miller
A City of Angels..... McGray
The Ideal Republic..... W. H. Miller
Labor, Liberty and Life..... Geclman
Direct Legislation..... J. W. Sullivan
Socialism in a Nutshell..... W. H. Miller
Our Republican Monarchy..... Voldo
Socialism and the Labor Question..... W. H. Miller
Coming Civilization..... Hedrick
To What Are the Trusts Leading..... Smiley
Merrie England..... Blatchford
The Labor Question..... Kuenemann
Pendragon..... W. H. Miller
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific..... W. H. Miller
No Compromise..... Liebknecht
The Drift of Our Time..... Parsons
The Secret of the Rothschilds..... Emery
Seven Financial Conspiracies..... Emery
Politics of the Nineteenth Century..... Emery
A Philosophy of Happiness..... W. H. Miller
The Outlook for the Artisan and His Art..... W. H. Miller
Scientific Socialism..... Liebknecht
The Right to Be Lazy..... Paul Lafargue

25c. Books.

- New Century Song Book..... Hallam
The New Slavery..... Mayday
Science of the Millennium..... Mayday
Modern Socialism..... W. H. Miller
Man or Dollar, Which?..... W. H. Miller
President John Smith..... George
A Perplexed Philosopher..... George
Protection or Free Trade..... George
Socialism and the Labor Question..... W. H. Miller
Money, Its Nature and Functions..... Bonshall
Government Ownership of Railroads and Telegraph..... Louck
Evolutionary Politics..... Mills
The Co-Opollitan..... W. H. Miller
National Party Platforms..... Frederick
Fabian Essays in Socialism..... W. H. Miller
News From Nowhere..... W. H. Miller
Six Centuries of Work and Wages..... W. H. Miller
History of the Paris Commune..... W. H. Miller
Socialism..... John Stuart Mill
The Future Commonwealth..... W. H. Miller
The Concentration of Wealth..... W. H. Miller
In Brighter Climes..... W. H. Miller
Politics of the Nineteenth Century..... Emery
The Truth About Socialism..... Collins

50c. Books.

- A General Freight and Passenger Post..... Covick
A Financial Catechism..... Brice and Vincent
Volney's Rules..... C. F. Volney
Looking Backward..... Edward Bellamy
Equality..... Edward Bellamy
Whither Are We Drifting..... Edward Bellamy
The American Plutocracy..... M. W. Howard
The New Zealand Labor Laws..... W. H. Miller
The Millennial Kingdom..... W. A. Redding
The City for the People..... Parsons
What's to Be Done..... F. O. Wiley
Negus..... Adams
The Land Question, Property in Land and the Condition of Labor, (1 vol.)..... George
Progress and Poverty..... George

Cloth Bound Books.

- Coming of Age..... 1.00
America Commenced..... 1.50
Newest England—Lloyd..... 2.50
A Country Without Strikes—Lloyd..... 1.00
Contemporary Socialism—John Rae..... 2.50
The Silver Cross—Buxton Stue..... 1.50
The Story of France—Thor. E. Wilson..... 50c
Two Vols., \$2.50 per Vol. Both..... 5.00
The Labor Movement in America—Ely..... 1.50
Problems of Today—Ely..... 1.50
Taxation in America—Ely..... 1.75
Social Aspects of Christianity—Ely..... 1.00
Social Reform and the Church—Commons..... 1.75
Proportional Representation—Commons..... 1.75
Municipal Monopolies—Demis..... 2.00
Socialism and Social Reform—Ely..... 1.50
Equality—Bellamy..... 1.00
Looking Backward—Bellamy..... 1.00
Christ, the Socialist..... 1.75
Wealth Against Commonwealth..... 1.00
The Future From Australia..... 1.50
Labor Co-Partnership—Lloyd..... 1.00
Socialism from Genesis to Revelation..... 1.00
Sprague..... 1.00
The New Economy—Grundlund..... 1.25
Things as They Are—Hall..... 1.25
Negus—Adams..... 1.00
Britomart the Socialist—Walt..... 75c

Miscellaneous Books.

- Civilization Civilized—Maybell..... 20c
The Conspiracy of Capital—Bancroft..... 20c
The Co-operative Commonwealth..... 25c
The People's Marx—Deville (Paper)..... 75c
National Ownership of Railroads—Vail..... 15c

THE APPEAL 25c A YEAR.