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# Appealed to Reason.

J.A. WAYLAND

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second-class mail matter  
FRED D. WARREN  
Managing Editor

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., September 21, 1912

**1** HE trial of the APPEAL editors for publishing the truth concerning the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, comes up at Ft. Scott November 11th, AFTER THE ELECTION. On November 5 your ballot will say whether you want free speech and free press in this country or not. Roosevelt and Taft have for seven years been prosecuting the APPEAL for telling the truth.

## How the American Farmer Has Been Robbed

I shall address myself exclusively to the farmer. In order to meet the psychology of the situation, or in other words, to understand the way the American farmer looks at things, I shall approach the subject from a new angle. If at first I do not appear to be in all respects in accord with the Socialist philosophy, read further and you will find I am.

**T**HE most stupendous fact in American history is that within four centuries a continent of land has been given away, yet that now more than half the inhabitants of America either rent their domiciles or hold them under mortgage.

Nations of Europe began the giving away of land in America. It is not necessary for me to more than remind you of the grants made to the London and Plymouth companies, to Lord De la Ware, to the Carverts, to the Jamestown companies, to the Swedish and Dutch barons. These things prove the giving away of the land. The revolutionary war was fought largely on the proposition that America belonged to Americans, and that European nations must no longer give its territory to court favorites.

In the early days European nations licensed piracy and traffic in slaves. America fought one war to stop piracy. She fought another to protect her seamen from arbitrary seizure by England. She fought a third because of slavery that had been introduced into America under license of kings. During the period of revolution in Europe America acquired a territory as great in extent as half a dozen nations of Europe, at a cost of a few pennies per acre, and this belonged to the people as a whole. So also did the territory acquired by conquest and purchase from Mexico, and Oregon acquired by occupancy. Since the domination of Europe was ended and this territory acquired, American history may be written with the one word, Land, reciting how it was GIVEN AWAY.

Since 1850 more than half the territory in continental United States has been given away. Two hundred and sixty-six million acres to railroads alone.

This last statement is an authority of Henry M. Hyde, writing in the *Technical World Magazine*. He says: "This is a bit of territory not far in extent from the total area of France and Germany, two countries which support between them a population much greater than the whole population of the United States when the last census was taken."

It is very difficult to figure from official sources the total number of acres that have been given to individuals as homesteads and the many acres that have been given to individuals and corporations, chiefly the latter, since 1850. The figures from the beginning of the twentieth century are available and are as follows:

**Public land sold . . . 216,255,306**  
**Public land homes'd . . . 39,990,508**  
**Total . . . 256,245,834**

These figures are on page 23 of the statistical abstract of the census, issued 1911. They are in nearly fifteen acres for every family in America. The great majority of these acres have been given away in this manner. The public land given away in this manner has been the basis of thousands of small fortunes and of hundreds of tremendous fortunes. We are wont to say that the great revolution already apparent has been wrought in the condition of the worker through machinery. This is true if you will make machinery to cover more than the mere physical machine. The giving away of the land had absolutely nothing to do with the physical machine. It was the working of the **POLITICAL MACHINE**.

SINCE farm machinery has been developed (and it has developed more in America than in any other section of the world), another change has taken place in the position of the farmer relative to the rest of the community. This change has not been entirely due to the physical machine, although that, to a degree, has had to do with it. The **FINANCIAL MACHINE** including the control of money, the corporation, the merger, have had considerable to do with this stupendous change. Let me present a few figures in illustrating what I mean:

**VALU OF FARM PROPERTY, 1910.**  
**Land . . . \$28,475,674,163**  
**Buildings . . . 6,325,451,528**  
**Imp. and Mach. . . 1,265,149,783**  
**Live Stock . . . 4,925,173,610**  
**Total . . . \$40,991,449,084**

This appears on page 126 of the census report and represents sixty-nine per cent of the entire wealth of the country. Let us compare these figures with the investment in manufacture and transportation reported in 1904. (See page 619 statistical abstract):

**MANUFACTORIES AND RAILROADS**  
**Mfg., Mch., tools, \$3,297,756,180**  
**Val. of railroads, 11,244,752,000**  
**Street railways, 4,840,546,909**  
**Total, \$19,383,055,089**

It will be noticed that this is SCARCELY ONE-HALF OF THE VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY. Let us see how the RETURNS on farming compare with the returns in railroading and manufacturing:

**Val. farm prod. \$8,000,000,000**  
**Val. mfg. prod. 20,672,051,870**  
**Net ear. railroads, 5,460,000,000**

It will be seen that the returns from manufacturing are MORE THAN DOUBLE the returns from farming, although the farmer has TWELVE TIMES AS MUCH INVESTED AS THE MANUFACTURER. The returns from railroading are TWO-THIRDS RETURNS on farming, although the railroads have less than ONE-THIRD the investment of the farmer. The returns from railroading and manufacturing combined, though having only half the value, were MORE THAN THREE TIMES those from farming.

is conservatively estimated at not less than \$3,000,000. It has been estimated at \$3,000,000. It will be seen that TWICE AS MANY are employed in agriculture as there are in transportation and manufacturing COMBINED, yet the returns are LESS THAN ONE-THIRD AS MUCH as the returns for these two other industries.

**T**HERE are reasons for all this. The reason is not altogether the physical machine. The American farmer has sensed some of these reasons, although they have signally failed to get to a remedy. They have talked about the iniquity of the **TARIFF**, which is a ma-

chine for aiding the manufacturers at the expense of farmers; yet they have never declared for absolute free trade or for an ending of the iniquity. They have seen how the money of the people has been under the control of a few capitalists and have dreamed of the **SEVEN FINANCIAL CONSPIRACIES**; yet they have never devised a plan for complete control by the people of the money and banking, so that the money deposited in the banks would be available for the whole people instead of for the use of the few. They have understood that every monopoly is backed by a **FRANCHISE**, by **LICENSE**, or by a **CHARTER**, all machines, creations of the state, all grants of piracy; but they have never come to the point of transacting business for themselves so as to break the power of these very active machines. They have felt that **WATERED STOCK** was giving an undue valuation to manufacture and transportation and enabling them to concentrate power in Wall street; but they have never devised means by which this social machine

presented the viewpoint of the American farmer. That viewpoint we must reach before we can make an adequate appeal to him.

I am making no one, but merely explaining things. It came naturally that Socialism should first adopt the viewpoint of the European, because we received from Europe its first analyses of conditions. But that viewpoint is inadequate, because Europe has neither farming as we know it in America (if we except Russia alone), or the trust, or several other governmental machines, as we know them. Moreover, Europe does not raise its own food. It depends on so-called "dependencies" for most food stuffs it consumes, and if called on to give them freedom, political and economic, would find it necessary to adopt a farm program more in accord with that demanded in America, where the food of the state—the army and navy—which makes the farm problem so simple in Europe—and correspondingly hard in her dependencies.

**W**HERE we in America have tried to adopt a farmers' program we have so far taken the viewpoint of the unionist rather than of the farmer himself. It is natural that we should have done so, from the fact that Socialism rightly began with those who were organized into a machine for combatting the masters—that is, into unions. But there is a growing unrest now. It has got beyond the trades unions into the industrial aspect, which

means, from being confined to skilled workmen it is reaching to the unskilled. More than that, it is expressing itself in syndicalism. We shall never end the danger of syndicalism by fusing at it, but only by providing a means that will make it useless. That means lies through a farmers program that is suited to the farmer; for it is becoming apparent now that the farmer will hear our message. The farmer has naturally turned to po-

likely to lead to a military movement, sabotage being its logical outcome. Moreover, he sees in the commercial machine, that has developed actual monopolies, the power to overcome all advantages gained through raise of wages, by merely raising the price of commodities. Lastly, here lies his strongest unexpressed feeling against the union idea:

**That it belongs to the city, and most naturally work for the dominance of the city over the farm; that it has helped other residents of the city in making the farmer subservient and the northeast dominant in politics and finances. The complacent claim of the farm program outlined by city dwellers that the farmer must ultimately come into the wage working class, he regards as little less than a willingness to betray him into slavery.**

are now idle in America and break the power of unemployment, while socialized banking would admit of it being used. The farmers are ready for a socializing movement and a political movement. Moreover, they would jump at such a declaration as the following, which would point the way to smashing the machines that have reduced them from first place in America to a very insignificant place compared to their rightful importance in numbers, investment and accomplishment:

**All franchises, licenses and charters are grants of piracy, and, being so, are illegal, and may justly be abrogated at any time.**

Smashing the political machine that have been used chiefly in making the farmer a subservient class, giving Wall street and the northeast a dominance of the country that their importance did not warrant, would destroy no physical machinery or anything of value. Recognizing charter and franchise as grants of piracy, would immediately break the machines, and place in the hands of the farmer the power to resume his rightful position in industry, and at the same time wreck the wage system. Wage workers cannot possibly do it, except as allies of the farmer, from the fact that they have no sound basis on which to predicate victory, and are by the very agreement of working for the master necessarily under their domination.

They are ready, in short, for actually socializing propositions.

IT remains to see how near the Socialists are getting to the farmers. They have declared for socialized transportation and socialized banking. They have also declared for the **USE OF LAND**, in a number of ways suggested in the platform, with an assurance that it does not contemplate the taking away of the land actually used by the owner thereof. They have declared for political action. They have outlined plans by which the unemployed may be immediately put to work, thus relieving the threat of sabotage and civil war. They are coming to an understanding of the psychology of the farmer, and from now on are going to make a close study of the many farmers' rebellions in America, in order to interpret matters from his viewpoint rather than from the psychology of the city worker. There is this year a closer approach between the Socialist declarations and the desires of the farmers of America, than there has ever been before.

Therefore, I ask the American farmer to vote for Socialism this year. It will mean a still greater desire on the part of Socialism to express your views, in your language. It will mean an end of the nonsensical criticism of Socialism as opposing the home and religion. It will mean a pointing of the way out of the immediate danger into channels of safety, and ultimately into full deliverance to all.

The psychology of the city does not appeal to him. It means to him only further enslavement. He naturally wants socialization.

THE farmer is ready for political action. He now represents a class in revolt, the largest class in America. He deserves attention as a stupendous force at hard work. The land also is the key to the situation. This is recognized by the efforts of sociologists everywhere to get the unemployed back to the land. Properly used, it can do more to end unemployment and raise wages than all the strikes and sabotage possible; therefore, the land is one key to the situation. Another key is money. Money and banking, if fully socialized, would place in the hands of the government the power to acquire all the industries with the money the people deposit with the government. It is significant that more than twenty years ago more than two million American farmers voted for socialized money and banking, as they understood it: for socialized transportation; and for such land tenure as amounted to practically socializing of a portion of the land. Since then millions of acres that were then socialized have been diverted to individual ownership. If they were now property of the people, and were USED by them, they would be ample to employ all who

Did you follow the APPEAL's suggestion to present the APPEAL's subscription proposition to your trade union? Scores of comrades have already done this and they report that it is not at all difficult to interest the entire membership in the proposal to subscribe in a body for the APPEAL. Most trade unionists pay considerably more than twenty-five cents for the papers they read and when some member of the local union suggests that the entire membership subscribes for the APPEAL at twenty-five cents per member, it looks like such a good bargain that it is readily voted to accept it. Let me urge if you have not already spoken of this matter, that you do so at the next meeting of your local union.

**THE AMOUNT INVESTED IN FARMING**

**THE AMOUNT INVESTED IN MANUFACTURES AND RAILROADS**

**THE INCOME FROM FARMING**

**THE INCOME FROM MANUFACTURES AND RAILROADS**

**THE FARMERS' PLANKS.**  
The demand of the farmers' rebellion (that is what the populist movement was) was along three lines, land, transportation and money. The Socialist platform demands the use of these things in the interest of the whole people. Here are the planks that do so:

**First, Land.**—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

**Second, Transportation.**—The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines, and all other social means of transportation and communication.

**Third, Money.**—The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

These demands are in direct line with the demands of the Omaha platform put forth by the farmers themselves. Wherein they differ is that they are more explicit and more practical. There is, for example, no talk about the KIND of money, but only a demand that money and banking shall be made public monopolies.

THE farmer fills the bag—and holds it.

THE fact that the boys leave the farm proves that the farmer is reduced to slavery, even more galling than the city worker is.

SOCIALISM has a place in America, from the fact that capitalism has a place here. It is a bacillus that destroys the germs of robbery, poverty and misery.

SOCIALISM will not take your farm away. It will make it so all who wish may have farms, and not have to pay the landlord for the privilege of using the earth.

THE mine is closely related to the farm because it is found in land. The solution of the strike and of the horrible conditions that prevail in mining lies along the line of socialization.

TENANT farming is exhausting the soil. The tenant is obliged to make everything out of the property he can and then he almost starves. It is no wonder he is ruining America for agriculture.

GERMANY is protesting against the high cost of living in that country. In that country the farmers are a subordinated class. In Switzerland, bordering on Germany, they have not been subjected. Meat that costs 32 cents in Germany across the line can be bought for 18 cents, yet the farmers get as much out of it in the one case as in the other.

It is not without significance that the head of the harvester trust is backing Roosevelt for president. He evidently sees in the farmer a good thing which he wants to exploit.

There are more farmers and town workers in the Socialist movement in America today than there are city workers. It is the most widely diffused idea in America.

**FREEDOM FROM BONDAGE.**  
It is because money and banking are private monopolies that we have gotten into what might be called the bond-age. The government has borrowed from individuals: states, counties, municipalities have borrowed from individuals and banks; and for these debts they are under bond. Profits might fall off, but the interest secured by bonds must be paid.

If money and banking had been public monopoly from the start there would be none of these debts necessary, because all the money in existence would have been available for use by the government, by the whole people.

At present perhaps nine-tenths of the business is conducted by checks. This is private money; but all these checks are cashed at banks. The banks control the entire money issued. The bankers have become the bond holders.

They not only have nation, state, and municipality under bond, but there is not a trust in existence that is not bonded. Carnegie owns nothing in the steel trust. He is a bond holder, and the steel trust is paying him interest, which it must pay or go out of business.

**SOCIALISM is not against religion.** It will make it so real religion and brotherhood may be practiced.

**SOCIALISM is not in favor of dividing up.** It is against dividing up with the man who employs you or the railroad which carries your goods to market.

**SOCIALISM is not against the home.** It will make it so every family may own a home rather than renting it as at present.

**SOCIALISTS are not unbelievers.** They have the great faith that poverty and war may be banished from the earth and are working to make it real.

**THE farmer fills the bag—and holds it.**

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**Is it Worth Your While**  
WHEN Frank Lane was crushed beneath the wheels of a defective coal car it so happened that we had just organized the APPEAL Legal Department. We were ready in a small way, at least to take up and prosecute such cases. We acted promptly by laying the facts in the case in the hands of our attorney, J. I. Sheppard, and further by giving it more publicity than any similar case that ever happened. We built a wall of public opinion around the case. In addition to the APPEAL and Coming Nation, both of which gave the case extended write ups, a string of dailies more than one hundred in number, also featured the case.

It was the men and women who pledged themselves to get each a Coming Nation subscriber a month for twelve months that furnished the means to prosecute the Frank Lane case. And to these men and women we not only owe the \$3,000 check for Frank Lane but the initial subscribers to the Coming Nation that made the magazine possible. To this also may be added another significant thing. The Kansas legislature promptly passed a workmen's compensation law. This law is defective and of little value to the working men, but it is a start in the right direction.

Now, we have a case bigger, if possible, than that of Frank Lane. John Wittman was injured eight years ago. This was before we had a Legal Department, or our law school, and before we had seen our way possible to take up such cases. The peculiarity about Wittman's case is this: He was robbed of his chance to sue the coal company by the fraudulent promises of the lawyers of the operators. His case became outlawed by a statute drawn by capitalist lawyers for just such fraudulent purposes. On the face of it, the case looks impossible, but Sheppard says that he can make it stick, and we have learned to know that Sheppard makes no idle boasts.

If we can win this case it will tear a hole in capitalist law, through which thousands of other similar cases may pass to victory.

Is it worth your while, comrades, to lend a hand to win this case for a poor crippled outcast of your own class? If so, sign the blank below, and help us make the fight.

**Cut out this Pledge-sign, and return to Girard, Kans.**  
**HELPING THE HELPLESS**  
Coming Nation, Girard, Kans.  
Dear Comrades—I herewith hand you \$..... and my pledge to send to the Coming Nation one subscription each month for twelve months with the understanding that the profits from this subscription campaign are to be devoted to the work of securing a hearing for John Wittman, the abandoned miner, whose case was outlawed by trickery and fraud by those responsible for his misfortune. I pledge myself to send you promptly on the first day of each month one subscription to the Coming Nation; failing to get the subscription I pledge myself to buy a subscription card in lieu thereof.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State .....

Subscriptions \$1.00 per year.

### ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

**Under Socialism who will own land and how will Socialism affect the farmer who now owns his farm?** Ownership of land is a fiction—not, will be a fiction, but is one now. Land is something no one produced; therefore, it cannot, strictly speaking, be owned by anyone but individuals or the state. The best thing that can be done is to regulate the possession of land so as to give all access to it. If a man now has possession of land which he is using himself, there is no reason why he should not retain that possession and be more secure in the possession than he is under so-called warranty deeds. There is no just reason, however, why he should be permitted to hold from usage even one acre, while others are without any land whatever. Socialism does not propose to take away your farm. Even where society will assume control of unused land it will be to the advantage of the man who managed or owned it. The only purpose he can have in holding that land from usage is to speculate on it or to save it for his children. If his children are enabled to secure land without purchase then there remains no longer any need for him to lay by land for them, and if it is possible for all to secure the use of land then there can be no further reason for the fiction of deeds. Socialism declares for the socialization, or use, or management, of sufficient land to break the power of unemployment and speculation. This is not a declaration that all land is to be taken or even managed by society as a whole, but only that land shall cease to become a means of exploiting others.

**I am a ranchman. We necessarily do things on a big scale and have to hire many men. Would we be permitted to do this under Socialism? Things that must necessarily be run on a big scale are beyond the power of the individual to manage without assistance, and an individual can't get assistance without exploiting his help. For this reason, sooner or later, only the government will conduct ranches and raise stock on a large scale. The workers would be paid their full social value and as a result would work for individuals. Private ownership on a large scale would, therefore, pass away. It does not follow from this that a man could not raise stock or farm under Socialism to the extent of doing the work himself, but only that he would have no right to exploit others in doing so. Big enterprises would be handled for the benefit of all.**

**If the city worker receives his full social product under Socialism will he keep his farm, or will the farm be so much that he could not make use of it as much? Who says he could not make one-half as much? The farm worker produces value just as great as the worker in the shop or factory. He is entitled to fully as great remuneration. There would necessarily be, under Socialism, some kind of a department to, in a measure, equalize matters to the degree that would be advisable to induce the worker to the place where his services were most needed, but this is probably all the interference that would be required.**

**If Socialists should come into power would there be a division of all land? No. Socialists do not stand for division. Socialized land is not divided into land held by individuals in divided land. Socialists do not ask that all land be socialized but merely enough to break the power of landlordism and unemployment.**

#### \$1,000 Reward.

W. F. Reis of Toledo, Ohio, offers \$1,000 in cash to any one answering the five following questions without using the Socialist answer:

1. Why are the great bulk of the people in poverty?
  2. Why do those who do the least work have the most, and those who do the most work have the least?
  3. Why is it that 82 per cent of the population of the United States do not own a home?
  4. Why is it that in the United States poverty and prostitution increase three times faster than our population?
  5. Why is it that every few years we have panics, and men are thrown out of work, and why have the farm mortgages in North Dakota increase 30 per cent from 1900 to 1910?
- Do you think it would be unfair to tell your old party politicians before the next election: "Unless you win that prize of \$1,000 we are going to vote for a collective ownership of trusts—which means socialistic control, through ownership of the government by the people, by means of universal suffrage, the initiative, referendum and recall?"

#### Radicalism.

I argue in this radical; if he is right he can't be too radical; if he is wrong he can't be too conservative.—Josh Billings.

MANY of you old timers, who have been on the APPEAL and the Coming Nation list for fifteen years, have formed in your minds a picture of Wayland, the "One Hoss," from his writings. But you do not know the man, nor you know him until you have read his book, "Leaves of Life," which will show you the man as he really is. To the outside world, Wayland appears to be merely a shrewd, keen, successful business man. Business, as it is conducted today, crushes the soul out of the average man, but it has not done this in Wayland's case, as those of us who are intimately acquainted with him, know. It was with some difficulty that I succeeded in persuading Comrade Wayland to write this intimate autobiography of his life and to permit the publication of his photograph in the book. Under no circumstances would he agree to the publication of the book unless it could be used to increase the circulation of the APPEAL and thus increase the spread of Socialism. That is how it happened that you cannot buy this book with money. It is not for sale and never will be for sale. You can secure a copy only by sending to the APPEAL twenty subscriptions at twenty-five cents each, or by purchasing \$5 worth of subscription cards. Once in your possession, this 260-page book, bound in full leather, will be your constant companion from which you will gather inspiration and encouragement.

## The Victory is Near

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

SOME twenty years ago, in a hearing upon the question of a reduction of railroad freight rates, Chief Justice Frank Doster of the supreme court of Kansas, announced from the bench, the then startling doctrine, that "The rights of the user are paramount to the rights of the owner."

Today, more than fifty million men and women, in all civilized nations of the earth, subscribe to that doctrine, as applied to all the great machinery of production and distribution of life's necessities, and they support their belief with all the economic and political power at their command.

As long as the farmer must ship over privately owned railroads and pay the exorbitant rates they demand; as long as he must sell his grain to the elevator and milling trust; as long as he must sell his live stock to the packers' trust; as long as he must buy his machinery of the harvester trust, his sugar of the sugar trust, his salt of the salt trust, his coffee of the coffee trust, his clothes of the woolen and cotton trust and his lumber of the lumber trust—in fine, as long as the farmer must sell his products in a trust controlled market at whatever price the trust owners are pleased to offer, and buy his necessities in a trust controlled market at whatever price the trust owners are pleased to demand, just so long will the farmer, his wife and his helpless children, slave to a pitance, as meager as that doled out to their wage employes, by these selissame trusts.

The material interests of the wage earner, the salaried employe and the farmer are identical.

They are each and all alike the plundered victims of a vicious system of robbery as ever enslaved the human race. They are, indeed, "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for a master class, as rapacious and insatiable as any that ever ruled and robbed mankind.

No other system of human slavery ever conceived in the mind of man or produced from the womb of time, and imposed upon the race, was as insidious and deceptive, as brutal and heartless, as is capitalism. Its beneficiaries hold forth to mankind the fatuous hope of individual success, of acquiring wealth and power at the expense of their fellow-men, all unmindful of the fact that where one individual under capitalism achieves fame and fortune or even a competence, ten thousand sink and die in poverty and are buried unheralded and unsung.

And the abomination of the system is, that it justifies this result on the ground that those who did not succeed were failures because they deserved to fail. In other words, that the millions who lived and died in ignorance and poverty, could have succeeded, under the system, had they so desired and willed.

The mirage of the desert which lures the traveler to certain death is no more cruel or deceptive than are the false promises of capitalism.

THIS idea of justification of capitalism, by its successful devotees, has been all the more easily enunciated and the more readily accepted, because, under capitalism, in nearly every civilized nation of the earth, the worker possesses the political power necessary for his own emancipation. Ignorant of how to use their own political power; lacking the knowledge and inspiration of any other system of society than capitalism, this political power of the workers has been a bauble, an empty, meaningless husk, instead of a potent instrument for their economic salvation.

Lacking the inspiration which a knowledge of Socialism would bring and accepting their ballot as an end, rather than as a means to an end, the workers of the world have fallen easy victims to the political sophistries of capitalism. Misled, deceived and dispirited by the cunning wiles of capitalist politicians, millions of men in the nation no longer exercise their right of franchise.

In their supreme disgust and discouragement, these workers have voluntarily abandoned the mightiest weapon with which mankind was ever armed.

These voteless millions who have voluntarily disfranchised themselves may well be likened to a great army, the greatest of the world ever known in point of number, equipped with modern machine guns, which abandoned its equipment and surrendered to an insignificant enemy—merely because, in the first skirmish, its soldiers who were ignorant and untrained in the use of modern machine guns, accomplished almost as much execution in their own ranks as in the ranks of the enemy.

TO these discouraged battalions of the world's workers Socialism comes with a message of true inspiration. It bids them to gain wisdom from experience; it teaches them that past failure to realize their hopes and inspirations through political action was in no wise a reflection upon the virtue of the ballot, but is chargeable directly and wholly to the misuse of it under the direction and guidance of capitalist politicians, who were well content to accomplish a political abortion inasmuch as it served to perpetuate the system of capitalism.

Socialism teaches that the ballot is more potent in human affairs than all the guns and munitions of war ever manufactured in the arsenals of capitalism. But the ballot is only potent for good when used with intelligence; in the hands of the politically ignorant, the ballot is as dangerous as dynamite in the hands of children.

The workers of this nation have voted the ticket of capitalism for more than half a century; they have been playing with political dynamite. Sometimes they voted for democrats; sometimes they voted for republicans; sometimes they voted for independents or progressives—but ever and always the workers voted for capitalism—for each and every political party of whatever name, was controlled by those who believed in and were interested in the maintenance of the capitalist system.

Now comes Socialism, full panoplied and full armed, to challenge the right of existence of this monster capitalism. Socialism challenges capitalism as an institution. It invites the workers of the world to abandon utterly all capitalist parties, capitalist policies and the capitalist system.

tion which does not challenge the very existence of capitalism. It invites the workers of the world, in factory and mine, in shop and on the farm, to unite upon the political battlefield, and vote this monster system of modern slavery out of existence.

It denounces the so-called "issues" of each and every capitalist political organization of whatever name, as being wholly false and utterly unworthy the consideration of any sane member of the working class.

Socialism defines the one supreme issue to be Socialism vs. Capitalism—Liberty vs. Slavery—Man vs. Mammon. And it declines to dissipate and destroy the moral grandeur of the mission of the Socialist party by deigning to participate in the discussions and squabbles and fake issues propelled into the arena of purely capitalist politics by capitalist politicians, in an effort to cozen the workers out of their votes.

The electrifying message of Socialism falls upon willing ears in this campaign; it is a message of hope and of inspiration—for those who toil. Its crimson banners are planted upon the very ramparts of the citadels of capitalism—and the marching hosts of the brotherhood of man proclaim that victory is near, in tones of gladsome joy.

#### Modern Captain Kidd.

From *Plunging*, New Orleans.

The progressive platform appears to have been accumulated pretty much in the same manner as Capt Kidd's treasure. First Mr. Bryan said Col. Roosevelt stole all this thunder, and the colonel admitted he took all he wanted; then the populists had to shut up shop because the progressives had all their lumber, and now comes Mr. Debs, the Socialist, with the complaint that the progressives have not only taken all their best planks from the Socialists, but have appropriated their party emblem, the red flag, or at least imitated it in the bandanna. Mr. Debs says the progressive party is not progressive, but reactionary, and that it will not succeed because it is "neither fish, flesh nor fowl." That he has the colonel accurately estimated, the following attests: "Mr. Roosevelt has shrewdly seized upon the prevailing popular unrest and has baited his platform like a trap to catch the votes of the discontented people."

#### Revolutionary Song

Working Class Freedom.

We have of our independence,  
We will not give up our freedom,  
And we will not give up our jobs  
To the masters who live on our backs.

"My country, it is of thee,  
But when we have lost our masters,  
No matter how strong and stout,  
We must turn round till another's found,  
But the masters will never see us."

Then wonder why our expectations  
Good workmen a job done;  
The men have made for the marks of  
Trade.

More wealth than their wages bear,  
And they who possess the surplus,  
Can't squander it, use nor sell,  
So the workers live in misery,  
And we are still.

Though we're hungry and ragged as well,  
Or starve for the crime of making  
Too much, and we humbly bow,  
Yet, it is not for this we voted,  
So why should we trouble now?

We vote that our sons and brothers,  
Be manly in mind and works;  
And have got them—on our necks,  
But what if the tolling masses,  
Grown wise by their want and shame,  
Should vote en masse for the working class,  
To vote a non-interfering law,  
Imagine the ballots sorted:

Ours, piled up to heaven would be;  
But you'd have to use a microscope,  
To count the votes of the other side.  
Say! then would we still petition,  
Bow down to the haughty drone,  
To beg and plead for the laws we need?  
Not much, for 't'd make our own,  
So why should we trouble now?  
Its products retain for use;  
While the idle class, till they learn to  
Would certainly help produce.

#### Chips from a Socialist Workshop.

As a man votes, so has he. Ignorance is the only extravagance. The best life insurance—a vote for Socialism.

"Preparing for a rainy day"—voting for Socialism.

#### A Good Suggestion.

Here is a scheme to boost the circulation of the APPEAL. Every member of the APPEAL Army must have felt the thrill of pleasure that I experienced to note the jump in the circulation from 528,324 on August 24th to 980,000 on August 31st. Ten weeks hence, unless we take care, there will be a corresponding jump downward. In order to prevent this happening in this section, I propose to write a letter in copying ink, make a hundred copies on a multigraph and mail them to the 104 ten-week subscribers here about four weeks before the terms expires, informing them how they come to be receiving the paper and telling them that provided they think the paper worth the money, they may renew for a nominal sum upon applying to the undersigned.

W. H. BAMBUKY.

#### Phœnix, E. C.

The cotton crop of 1910-11 was 12,120,096 bales. That of 1911-12 was 16,128,426 bales. Last year, though the crop was 4,018,000 bales greater, the planters received \$92,000,000 less money for it! The price of cotton products went higher, the pay for cotton was less, and the riches of the useless, speculating class greater. And yet the farmers will vote this fall for the private ownership of the cotton gins, compresses, storages, mills and factories that do this to them. The rich are glad that the common folks don't know when nor how they are skinned. If the crop had been twice as large it would not have paid for picking. Great system, eh? It seems to be just what satisfies the republican and democratic producers. It is a good thing they have a lot of cunning leeches to take their religion, destroy their family circle and become slaves and paupers! Do you see the point?

INSTEAD of spending millions for deepening the water ways it would be more to the point to spend a few thousand dollars in devising boats that would run swifter and draw less water. The one will give river traffic to a few; the other would provide river traffic for millions.

Comrade P. A. Purdy, Tacoma, Wash., sends me a big pile of his "The Case of the Man and the Money." At first I thought you were making a mistake, but after thinking over it I changed my mind. We will win this case, but I do not think it will be in court.

The workers suffer only the evils which they endorse at the ballot box. Why shouldn't the masters take them at their word?

### Clutching the Argument

EVERY agitator recognizes the necessity of clutching his statements by evidence that cannot be disputed. For instance, suppose the question up for discussion is the difference in the cost of machine and hand production. You make a statement that the actual labor cost today to manufacture a leather top buggy that sells for \$75 at retail is less than \$3. Your opponent questions the statement and demands your proof. You quietly pull from your pocket the 1912 edition of the *Arsenal* and turn to page 65 where you find a digest of the now long since suppressed Thirteenth annual labor report wherein we find that it requires thirty-nine hours, actual labor time, to produce such a buggy as described above. The average wages paid in the United States is twenty cents per hour. There you have the facts on the authority of the United States government itself. The little *Arsenal* furnishes a thousand such facts for ready reference. If you do not have in your possession a copy of this book you should send the APPEAL twelve subscribers at twenty-five cents each and ask for the 1912 edition. If you have one of the older editions, give it to some less fortunate comrade and order a new one.



WHILE the miner is digging the coal the master is digging him.

### Farmers Ripe for Socialism

THE presidential election is now less than fifty days off. At this date Taft and the republican party has so completely dropped out of sight as to be but little reckoned with and there is little likelihood of Taft campaign managers being able to create any enthusiasm in the republican ranks.

The democratic party is in but little better shape. The nomination of Wilson, on a platform void of even a suggestion of relief from economic conditions, has made the democratic party a very passive factor in this campaign.

This leaves only the Socialists and the Roosevelt party really in the field, Debs and Seidel, Roosevelt and Johnson are all ranging the country and drawing record breaking crowds everywhere. If these crowds are any indication of votes then these parties are the only ones to be seriously reckoned with in this campaign.

The Third district of Kansas (home of the APPEAL) outside of the mining district is a typical agricultural territory. What do we find here? Owing to the terrific campaign that we are waging to elect a congressman, perhaps not less than one hundred meetings are held in this territory each week. The farmers are attending these meetings in vast crowds. These farmers are being converted and joining the party. The farmer can be reached with literature. The days are past when the farmer will throw an *Arsenal* out of his buggy or wagon.

Ordinarily at the time of the year, men have made up their minds how they will vote. This year they have not. Right down to the day of election men will be open to conviction, and it is possible to change the vote of whole counties. Therefore, it is the hour for work. Every Socialist should give all the time, and the last penny he can spare to the campaign from now till election. Buy in quantities these splendid propaganda numbers of the APPEAL. Put them into the farmers' wagons on Saturdays when they come to town to trade. If you have local speakers hold school house meetings and at these meetings distribute your literature.

Do not concede these rural districts to Roosevelt, and thus help to create a semi-radical party, far more dangerous than those opposed to the party of Socialism. The APPEAL will furnish you propaganda material to reach these farmers. It is up to you to see that it gets distribution. A. W. RICKER.

### THE RIGHT TO RENT.

The *Democrat*, published in Dunklin county, Mo., objects to the APPEAL's war on rent of land that demands from \$2 to \$12 an acre, the non-taxing, non-landed. The *Democrat* argues:

"If a man uses even the eight acres, which the writer says is all we can handle and properly cultivate, in cotton, he will get at least 1,000 pounds of the crop, or 6,000 pounds. In average years he will get four cents per pound for this, or \$24 for the cotton. By allowing \$1 for 100 pounds for picking he still has \$23 left for cultivating eight acres. He can raise forty bushels of corn to the acre and can get fifty cents a bushel for it. He would have \$20 an acre for a corn crop after paying rent."

Accepting the *Democrat's* figures as correct for the sake of argument (but they are not), isn't that a magnificent sum for a year's work for an entire family of \$23 on the one case and \$6 in the other? For this the tenant is to pay, according to the *Democrat's* figures, \$6 rent!

The amazing thing is that the *Democrat* should support a non-resident landlord who owns so much land in the county, instead of the tenant citizens of that county. If one will consider, however, the financial hold that a few holders of land can gain in the way of swinging advertisements, he can understand why the country press is corrupt without realizing it.

Suppose you try to apply the principle to the non-resident landlord and insist that the public has a right to take from him from one-third to one-half of all his income, in the way of taxes, for the privilege of permitting him to own land in the county. It would be precisely the same principle applied to the capitalist which now he insists shall be applied to the worker, except the taxation would be on products that were not earned, while in the other it is on the labor, the very life of the individual.

Dunklin county, Mo., in common with thousands of other places in the United States, is ridden to death by landlordism. There can never be any real prosperity or advancement for any territory so long as this condition exists, and there can never be an ending of landlordism until enough land is socialized and made available for use at actual cost of maintenance by those who are now landless.

SEVERAL years ago when crops were good and no political campaign was looking on, the Texas legislature took a notion to build a new state house. The state had no money, but it had land to give away. The legislature gave a Chicago corporation 3,000,000 acres of land to build the new state house. The land covered about six counties in the western part of the state, and is today worth \$10 per acre. It is all under wire fence and not an acre is open to settlement, nor will it ever be, although there are thousands of honest, hard-working people in Texas who are homeless. That land, if held by the whole people today, and used by them, might break the chains of landlordism throughout the whole south.

### Land and a Home.

Free land is gone and you have no home. You have labored long. You have been economical, you have denied your family the ordinary luxuries of life but all in vain. You still work for wages or maybe still worse, you work for land for tillage. Do you know what renting a farm means? It means that you are giving the other fellow one-third of all you make and board yourself, or, in other words, you work for the other fellow one-third of your time for nothing. You did not and could not get a home when land was cheap or free. How under heaven are you going to get a home now, when land is higher than a Maltese cat's back and still going higher? The big farmer has the bulge on you. He sends his hired man out in the field with four horses and he can do more work in a day than six men could do forty years ago. Go to some Socialist and ask him how to get a home, then put on your thinking cap and think for yourself. If you do that you surely will subscribe for the good old APPEAL, the best paper in the world which has thrown mere light before the people that they may be able to see their way than all the political papers in the United States. F. F. LEAIA.

### Sure Thing.

"Vote for all that is the stuff" I wish to congratulate you upon your advice to the voters of the United States to vote the entire Socialist ticket. That is the thing to do. We would gain many advantages by having Eugene V. Debs in the "Red" White House, as Leroy J. Benson, of Lewisville, Ill., calls it, and Emil Seidel, presiding officer over the senate. Let me enumerate just a few advantages that we would have.

Debs would be commander-in-chief of the army and navy. This would stop the use of the army to intimidate the strikers. Debs would send the appointment of all foreign diplomats. This would give us a wonderful influence in foreign countries. Debs would have the appointment of U. S. Judges, where there was need of appointments. Last but not least, Debs would send messages to congress on economic subjects. Comrades of the United States, take the APPEAL's advice and vote the Socialist ticket straight. This is the Socialist year. CHAS. A. BYRN.



THERE is strong evidence that Rockefeller is investing heavily in some party's campaign. The price of gasoline has recently advanced two cents a gallon.

### INCREASE IN PRICE OF OIL.

Local Henryetta, Okla., has adopted resolutions favoring loans, the use of county credit for the establishment of collectively owned business. The resolutions are as follows:

Whereas, the national banking system is using the credit of the government to the extent of over \$14,000,000,000, and that the citizens of Oklahoma are given the privilege of using the credit of the county to finance the industries of the county; and be it further resolved, that the citizens of Oklahoma county have not the money with which to buy bonds, that they be permitted to draw from the county credit for a bond for the amount of \$1,000,000 to the county, to be deposited with the U. S. government as security for the issuing of 90 cent bonds, their face value in national currency, to be used as follows: \$50,000 to establish a county bank; \$200,000 to draw from the county credit for the purchase of 5 per cent cost of building per month, with 2 per cent annual mill paid, the county to retain the mill until paid in full; \$200,000 for operating mining industries; \$150,000 for establishing distributing points, one to be at Henryetta, Okla., and one at one of the towns of the county through the county bank, interest barely sufficient to cover cost of operation; \$100,000 to be held in reserve as an emergency fund.

That the county credit, whatever on the taxpayers, but simply using the credit of the county to lighten the burden, and the better conditions of all its citizens.

THE farmers' movement is taking a great deal the same tack it did in the early '90's. Co-operative stores are being established all over the country. The Hutchinson, Kan., *Wholesaler* calls attention to the tendency and says that the merchants will have to take it into consideration. America at one time had more co-operative stores than any country in the world, and those who are talking as though we knew nothing about co-operation are mistaken. The only thing is that Americans act quickly and forget quickly. The old co-operation has died and the new co-operation will die unless it takes the line of actual socialization.

THE biggest business in the world has just opened in America. More people are engaged in it than at anything else. More money is spent in it than in any other line of work. Half of it is conducted in the country. Moreover, it is a socialized business. It does not represent concentrated power, but defused power, because the unit of socialization is very small and the management lies in small bodies. That greatest business of all, that socialized business, that depends upon the education of the children of America in the public schools.

KANSAS has sold 2,333,000 acres of school land given the state by the general government when it was organized and has received for it \$7,500,000,000. This is an average of \$3.25 an acre. The land now averages from \$10 to \$40 an acre. How much better it would have been to retail this land as public property! This being done it could have been the means of employing every idle man in Kansas, and then some.

They who make the world rich live in poverty. They who feed the world live on refuse.

It is time for the farmer to raise Cain.

I could have done a whole lot better for lack of time. I ran against my opponents at one time and I sold you things from 200 to 500 per cent for goods sold, but all wrong when the purchaser might be given an opportunity to pay in 50 cent dollars. Great country, this!

### The Pioneer Farmer

IT was the pioneer farmer who faced danger from hostile Indians (made hostile by the cunning deception practiced upon them by the greedy property class and loss of stock from the wild life of prey. With the Indian and uncivilized forest before him and the greedy aristocracy of wealth behind him, the farmer's life was full of trials, dangers, and adventures. To turn back was to be the prey of a greedy, unscrupulous moneyed class, but to go on might mean financial success.

The rapid sweep of the agricultural class across this continent doubtless is unparalleled in the history of any nation, and it is an evident fact that his desire to free himself from and leave behind that class of wealthy vampires and parasites was responsible for his rapid westward move.

No sooner had the farmer reached the Pacific and turned to face the east than he found himself in the face of greedy capitalism from which he had fled. He had overcome and conquered the first obstacles to civilization, but the monster was yet unconquered and unsatisfied and upon his heels demanding the home in every meaning of the world—parents, children, and the comforts of life. He is defiant, strong, and vicious; his teeth and claws are dripping with the blood of his victims.

Where, where is the land of opportunity today? "Move on" is a twentieth century slogan; it is the voice of the beast. To stop or to work is by permission of the beast. By his permission and for his benefit are we today moving, toiling, and sweating, except a few hours that a few of us are giving from the daily grind and snatching to a moment that is for the first time in history. But retreat is now an impossibility. We must make a stand for or against. Where do you stand? With the old parties who believe in the perpetuation and continuation of the present system of greed and exploitation, with the progressive or conscript party concocted to decoy, deceive and fool the voters once more (the death struggle of capitalism), or for Socialism the one principle that gives to each according to their needs?

Take courage, comrade workers, there is hope. Arouse that dormant spirit within you that is thirsting for human brotherhood, justice and liberty. Throw off the blind bridges of past misleading doctrines, straggle again your prostrate and stooped form, raise your eyes and behold the glory of the coming day the glory and light that fills the beast with fear and starts his throne to crumble and fall.

### Use of County Credit.

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All subscriptions automatically expire. Agents do not force agents. If your paper should suddenly stop, remember, we do not send papers for longer time than paid for, nor do we send them on credit. Watch your paper. If you feel that you are not getting the paper, write us at once. We will take three weeks, you know.

### WALLWORTH and Lumber Catalog Sent Free

A postal card brings the greatest Millwork and Building Material Catalog we have ever issued. Offers 5000 bargains in everything you need to build, remodel or repair.

### PRICES SLASHED ON Doors, Windows, Mouldings, All Building Materials

Save all dealer's profits. Over 50 styles of doors, 75 and up. 50 square feet building paper, 37c. Corner blocks 25c. Mouldings, 10c. Lumber, 10c. Prices slashed.

### The Socialist Gains. Almost Won in Alaska.

In the recent election in Alaska the Socialist campaign was the most successful and independent progressive to congress by a vote of 2,500; Republican, Socialist, received 1,800; Democrat, 1,050. The interest of the last deserted the democrats and republican candidates in order to elect Wickersham as he felt that the Socialist strength of Socialism that he has secured the passage of a home rule bill for Alaska and also a miners' lien law. It is scarcely a year since the first Socialist local was organized in Alaska. It is no wonder that the fact that the Socialist party in Alaska was used as an experiment station for socialistic ideas. It is likely to be a permanent feature of the scene the first in the United States.

### Cheering Words from IGenes.

My Dear Fred—Have been on train day and night in various cities and no wonder that I write. Tremendous meetings all along the route, enthusiasm beyond description. The revolution is in full swing and the awakening of the people is only a matter of time. Every breath of the atmosphere is an inspiration. The houses are too small for the masses that pour out doors for the only true gospel of salvation. Socialism is sweeping over these Western states like a conquering army. To truly see your face and it will not be long before this is our earth and our heaven.

### Progress in Ohio.

The recent election in Ohio resulted in the adoption of a very liberal referendum. Suffrage was defeated because of the active opposition of the saloon interest. It is the feeling that the referendum is the only one that makes it a power in politics and that causes it to defeat the will of the whole people.

### Predicts Big Vote.

The Herald of Washington, D. C. predicts that Debs will receive the largest vote in the history of this country. Socialism is growing in this country," says the Herald, "with tremendous strides."

### Good Gain in Vermont.

Early reports of the vote in Vermont were not complete. A later estimate indicates the vote for Socialism was 10,000 in 1908. At Northfield the vote was 20 against 14 in 1910.

### Big Vote at Primary.

At the primary election at Knob, Cal. the vote stood for congress: Socialist, 27; republican, 8; democratic, 14.

### Debs Led All.

A straw vote taken in Stetson, Pa. gave Debs 15, Roosevelt 15, Wilson 28, Debs 25.

### The Work Before.

SOMETHING is in the wind. It sizes itself up to me in this way: Taft, alarmed at the apparent collapse of his campaign, and seeing Roosevelt having the Morgan support, has appealed to the great financier for aid. The later has agreed to contribute to his campaign fund if Taft will have the American army invade Mexico. Taft, who has been hesitating over the matter for two years, and who lost the Morgan support because of his wavering nature, is being drawn into the net, and a war may be forced before election in hopes of enabling the republicans to win. It will not aid the republicans, if it comes, but will rather elect Roosevelt. With a war in progress Taft would founder worse than ever; and the American people would fear to put at the head of the American army a man of no force, like Wilson. They would turn to Roosevelt, a man of vigor, committed to war and the policy of expansion. Therefore, in contributing to Taft's campaign fund, with an understanding of this kind, Morgan would be in reality assuring Roosevelt's election and could laugh at the idea of it. On the other hand, if Taft continues to hesitate as he has been doing, he will lose both the contribution and the election, for as I pointed out more than two years ago, Morgan, who is now the one dominating force in America, and who is backing Roosevelt solely because Taft wouldn't order the invasion of Mexico, while Roosevelt is ready for the job, is determined on securing possession of all North America; and the idea will appeal to many. The report that Americans have already lost more than half their investments in Mexico means only that the small investors have got scared and have sold, or will sell, to the "big fellows." The taking of the territory to the canal is scheduled before the canal is opened, and is scheduled as a work for Roosevelt to accomplish.

### APPEAL SEER.

From Banner, Nashville, Tenn. The real differences between Debs and Roosevelt are many and wide, but the most apparent is that the one is entirely sincere and stands for principle, while the latter is seeking any device that will tend to his own personal aggrandizement. Roosevelt really represents one-man power. That is all, and it is what he aims at, and it is the very opposite of the Socialism advocated by Debs. Socialism means the complete sinking of the individual into the mass.

### He Had a Chance.

From News, New York, R. I. Debs says Roosevelt did not act the progressive while he was president and his party is substantially reactionary. He thinks it is made up of too discordant elements to hold together, that it is based on one person instead of on a social or economic system, and he thinks it is bound to shrink as time passes.

### The Legal Department.

This is the beginning of the school year. The best time for study is from now on to the first of next April. Several months of diligent study can make great progress toward the completion of our law course. Each hour spent in study will do wonders. The APPEAL law school has been in operation one year. We have nearly one thousand students and of them nearly one hundred have graduated. Upon request of Comrade Fred Warren, I recently wrote a number of articles. Hundreds of letters were received, and not one among them was a discouraging nature. Extracts from these letters were published in pamphlet form, and upon request we will mail a copy with explanation of the course to any student who feels inclined to take the study of law. Ordinarily law has been considered a dry and uninteresting subject, but the system furnished by the APPEAL makes it very interesting and easily understood. The text is written in plain English, and all that is necessary to acquire a thorough knowledge of law is that the student be able to read and write the English language understandingly, and willing to devote a short period each day to the study of the law. I am very anxious that as many of our people as possible take advantage of the opportunity to acquire a legal education. It will be pleased to send particulars upon request. J. I. SHEPPARD, President of the APPEAL to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

### We Go Marching On

The national office announces picture slides containing Debs' and Seidel's photographs at 25 cents in black and 50 cents in color.

The Brotherhood Worker, a little magazine treating Socialism from a religious standpoint, has been started at Dallas, Texas, at 25 cents per year, six months 15 cents, three months' trial 5 cents.

A chair on Socialism has been installed in the university of southern California. This is going some in a town where Otis, Hearst and the M and M. association assumed to run everything.

Clyde J. Wright, the well-known Socialist agitator who is anything but offensive in his speech and manner, was eulged while speaking for Socialism at Emmet, Neb., recently. The Socialist vote will increase in Emmet.

J. L. Hicks, one of the best propagandists in the Socialist movement who has been out of the newspaper work for sometime, has started the Journal at Waco, Texas. It will prove a great addition to literature of propagation in the south.

So alarmed are they at the spread of Socialism in Tusahoma, Okla., that petitions are being circulated among business men, saying "Don't rent to, don't hire, or give any showing to a Socialist." These men might be prosecuted for conspiracy.

The Progressive Woman, the Socialist paper published at Chicago by Mrs. Kaneke, has been enlarged and wonderfully improved in appearance. It is a monthly at 50 cents a year, and in its new form should receive the ardent support of Socialist women and their sympathizers.

Bruce Rogers, Socialist, recently held a debate at Seattle with Orville Billings, standpat republican candidate for governor. Billings alluded to the workers as "common scabs" and a riot was almost precipitated by his remarks. He declared if you are poor it is your own fault, and the audience hoisted him.

C. Bradbury, a farmer Socialist and candidate for congress in his district, recently appeared in Carlton, Minn., in behalf of some farmers wanting a road established. The Vidette of the city says that although not a lawyer he handled the case skillfully and confused the four lawyers employed on the other side of the case.

The labor party of Australia, which has a plank favoring Socialism, has under the operation of the new land tax law, diverted \$90,000,000 worth of land from the landlords in the last year. This is destroying the home at a great rate. A bill is to be presented to parliament providing for a maturity bonus for indigent mothers. This is another severe blow at the home.

Two preachers in Austin, Texas, on Labor Day, made practically Socialist addresses. The Tribune in speaking of it says: "A careful study of the sermon by Dr. Bradford and Dr. Bishop betrays a trace of thinking which must be encouraging to Socialists and discouraging to individualists. To the Tribune it is all very interesting and decidedly endorsed by this paper."

A tremendous Socialist sentiment has developed in India and the English government in control of that country is instituting prosecution equal to that of Russia—fighting every attempt to educate the people in any way. Only 25 per cent of the males and 10 per cent of the females are able to read and write. India represents one of the farming countries that are kept in subjection, there they will have the same problem to face in socializing things as we in America have.

### SOCIALISM FOR BEGINNERS

All You Produce. SOCIALISM produces only one thing and that one thing is very simple. Socialism proposes to give the full social product to the producer of wealth. It will afford all the opportunity to work and the full social product will average, according to present production, fully five dollars per day. It may be made greater as better machinery is used. Why a workman should not vote for all he produces, rather than for giving part of it in the form of profits to others, requires an explanation to his wife and children.

### Instruction to Voters.

Complaint comes from Arkansas that Socialists are disfranchised because for some reason they were not able to pay their poll tax at the proper time. This makes a property or a tax qualification for voting and is illegal. You have a right to vote even if you have not paid the poll tax. The question of paying the poll tax is open. They may force you to pay it, but they can't disfranchise you because you have not done so. Word comes to the APPEAL from various sources that they are trying to prevent Socialists from voting because they are not registered. In case that is done in the state you are permitted to swear your vote in.

### Ethics of the Landlord.

Renter: Mr. Willis, I want to rent your house. Mr. Willis: I don't like to go back on my word; I promised it to Mrs. Jones a month ago. Renter: You told me the house rents for \$12. Mr. Willis: Well I'll let you know.

ENGLAND is adopting a cure for habitual tramps. It gives them an order for meals until they can get to a labor exchange, and secure employment. That is good. Now suppose she adopts some means of curing the habitual millionaire tramps who go from America to England and idle away their time spending money by the wholesale.

### Socialism and Capitalism.

From Undisfranchised Socialist paper. Capitalism (the present system) means that— Those things upon which all of the people depend, part of the people own. The work of all the people do, part of the people boss.

### A Reproach.

It is a reproach to religion and government to suffer so much poverty and excess.—William Penn. The best thing in Socialist propaganda material that I have seen is the Review for one year. The REVIEW is the largest illustrated Socialist magazine in the world. For 60c we will send the REVIEW six months and 20 Debs and Seidel post cards. Campaign post cards are sent free. Write to Comrade Mitchell and say "Copies"—they'll come by return mail.

### Plan to End Tenantry.

Local Columbia, S. C. has declared in favor of the following explicit language: We demand that the county should purchase a tract of land, either in connection with the county home or separate therefrom, for the purpose of giving work to the unemployed, and ordering that landless shall forever cease to exist in Richland county. This public farm should have the latest improved machinery, steam plows and steam reapers and other labor-saving devices. A fertilizer plant should be established on the farm enabling the county to manufacture its own fertilizer and to make the public farm so productive that it would be absolutely self-sustaining. The workers should receive wages equivalent to the full value of their product, reserving only enough for improvements and to purchase additional land whenever desirable. Near and comfortable cottages should be erected for the accommodation of the workers and their families. If they have any and a boarding house should be run by the county to accommodate those without families and any who prefer board to keeping their own board. Separate farms for white and negro workers.

This provision of our platform is for the protection of tenant farmers and the small land owners who are being driven off their land and to retain their holdings. It is only a matter of a short time when they will be reduced to a condition of pauperism and will be compelled to join the great and ever increasing army of the unemployed. To prevent this we demand that the county should invite the honest farmers and sturdy yeomen of Richland county to return from getting in the primary for capitalistic candidates, who only intend to vote and get a bigger one, and to vote the Socialist ticket in the general election in November.

To insure good health people must have something besides all work, or all idleness. Can over-worked and under-fed children living in filthy, unsanitary houses, shacks, chicken coops, pig pens and leaky roof sheds, develop into stout, healthy, intelligent men and women; emphatically, no!

EUGENE HOUGH—It matters little if you are millionaire or toiler; above your low level or groveling fear lie broad stretches of sunny life and strength and truth. It is attainable without the loss of anything save the fetters that bind you down. When released from this damning curse of exploitation which breeds uncertainty and fear, you join your strength with that of all society, and you become one with all and feel and possess the strength and courage of all.

L. S. WALSH, Spring Valley, Ark.—You propose to tell why one should vote the Socialist ticket. Ask: Why should one vote the old party tickets? This state has always been democratic and stands thirty-ninth in the scale of intelligence and God knows where in morality. The solid democratic south is the land of ignorance, poverty, peonage, superstition and crime. To vote for Wilson is to support the system that produced these conditions. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Why should one cast a vote for the bull elephant or the bull moose? If what Taft and Ted tell on each other is true neither is fit for president; if what they tell is false, both are hars, fit only to admission to the Ananias club.

M. L. HUGHES—Socialism would give absolute justice and equal opportunity for all. It would make it possible to bear our swords into plowshares and our spears into pruning hooks. Under Socialism you and your children would be greatly benefited by having time for development of your minds and bodies, by mingling with and traveling with people of the highest attainments in this life. You would also have a partnership in the public domain. Your lumber for buildings would come at cost of production. Coal, power, oil, and other raw material would be used by all on the same terms. Your children and you would forever be free, with the opportunity to work at any time. Always having a job you would never fear the wolf at the door and would have the privilege of using and using for calamities or rainy days.

C. F. EVANS, Los Angeles, Calif.—A change in our political views will accomplish nothing, a change in our commercial views will accomplish nothing, a change in our social views will accomplish nothing, a change in our religious views will accomplish nothing, unless we change the system under which they exist. Our present political system has proven itself to be a failure because it has been and is controlled by a lot of unscrupulous men who have the power of money behind them; it is a failure because it has permitted such laws to be enacted that enables a few unscrupulous despots to exploit labor and its products to the extent of want, misery and starvation among the masses. Our profit system is a failure because it ignores all rights and titles of the man who by his labor produces all that is; it is a failure because it has reduced the producer and consumer to a subject for charity, and a victim to want, misery and crime. Until we, as a civilized people, adopt a civilized form of government we will have to continue to suffer for our foolishness, and endure the oppressive conditions that we are imposing upon ourselves at the present time. The only means of escape that is offered to us today is to adopt an industrial and cooperative form of government, and it is our duty to vote for it and work for it until we are victorious; and perhaps in time some deep thinking student of social and economic affairs will find some system still better; but let us not wait for that; let us take advantage of what is already to us and thereby become better prepared for farther advancement when the proper time comes.

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### The Leopard's Spots

Comrades throughout the United States are buying the special Roosevelt issue of the APPEAL, No. 872, and using the front page as a poster. This front page, as you will remember, contains Ryan Walker's famous cartoon, "Can the Leopard Change His Spots?" This picture tells the story of Roosevelt's political career as no words have ever been able to tell it. There is nothing so vivid and so true as to see an honest man who will give five minutes' study to this cartoon can see for Theodore Roosevelt. Let me urge that wherever this man is to appear the comrades arrange for a house to house distribution of No. 872 and in addition use the front page as a poster on every available space that can be rented or secured in any other manner. When Roosevelt prances into town as the only champion of the common people let him see this picture staring him from every bill board and from every corner. It will embolden his auditors to demand an explanation of some of his previous exploits, such as ordering the militia to intimidate the strikers of Croton Dams when they refused to work longer hours than required by the state law; to let the infamous Alton steel which he assisted his friend Hurman to pull off; of the campaign contributions he denied receiving which he has later been forced to admit finding their way into his campaign fund; Roosevelt is the wolf-in-the-suit that the Wall Street interests have turned loose in the dismal swamp of capitalism in the hope of plunging the working class still deeper into the mire of slavery. Now is the time to head off this move and kill the progressive party. Extra copies of this poster edition of the APPEAL may be had postpaid at the rate of fifty cents per hundred.

Do you believe in taxing men or property? If you say men, then you favor each man paying the same tax, rich or poor—and you know you do not favor that. If property, why not tax it? You do not favor the tax rate and county purposes, but national tax is \$500,000,000 a year, or about \$40 for each family, which is paid by rich and poor in about the same ratio. If the government tax was raised as is county and state tax, from each according to his property, 31,000 families that hold three-fourths of all the property in the United States would have to pay three-fourths of the five hundred millions a year, or \$375,000,000. Do you not see why these families are anxious to have the amount raised by tariff and internal revenue system? To do so would relieve the masses of that much of the burden, which would have the effect of raising wages. The rich are very anxious to help the poor! And the poor are fighting each other to have more tariff to raise money for the rich. What are the animals are men, anyway; they cannot see a cheat so plain. J. A. WATLAND.

He Is On. Land Owner: "What are you doing, my boy?" Farm Boy: "Working." The boy who was suckering tobacco. Land Owner: "What do you get for your work?" Farm Boy: "Well, when I work I get nothing and when I don't work I get hell."

As to Goldstein. David Goldstein has given to the Catholic press a letter addressed to me in which he asks me to attend to an official APPEAL to Reason of his meeting at Springfield, Mo. Knowing he would lie about that as about everything else I procured a copy of several widely known magazines wishing to know the truth can write W. T. Kennedy, 724 W. Walnut street, St. Louis, Mo. Goldstein is also out with a challenge to me to debate the question. The teachings of the Catholic Church on Religion and the Family versus that of the Socialist Party, the standard of opposing judgment to be the literature officially circulated by the church and the Socialist party. I am willing to do much for Socialism, even to the skinning of winks, as he showed when he went out to challenge me. Goldstein's challenge only to find him sneaking out of that challenge, but just why any Socialist should debate the question involving a definition of several terms, I cannot understand. The Socialist party has no index, or "purgatory" or "suspension," and no "official literature" and no "teachings on religion and the family," and to debate this question would be identical with asking a Catholic priest to debate with a Socialist. The only question to debate with Goldstein or any opponent of several widely known religious classes should support the Socialist party.

The creditable and general character of Goldstein's challenge by holding how he makes his living. Hitherto the word for describing a man who had sunk to the lowest depths of poverty and crime was that of the one who made his living by exploiting the virtue of the poor out of "TWO MI-9-14 Appeal." We need a word now since Goldstein has created the trade by which he makes his living by trading the characters of the poor.

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### On the Boom in Oklahoma.

TRAVELER, Spiro, Okla.—Being a commercial traveler visiting every section of Oklahoma, I want to assure the APPEAL readers that there is no lagging in the onward march of Socialism in this state. Many meetings are being held every day, so many that to report them would take up all the space of the APPEAL. More earnest and determined workers never enlisted in any righteous cause and they are deserting the old parties in droves. In conversation with a passenger conductor on one of the trunk lines through the state he told me I would be surprised if I knew of the number of railroad workers who were going to vote the ticket, and in all walks and vocations there is a silent people seem in a condition of mind to grasp what it all means more easily and readily than ever. It is the particular place in evolution's field that is doing it. At a number of stations I saw them last week leading water-melons, cars and cars of them, thirty-five and forty-pound ones, at 2 1/2 cents a piece. It looked hard to see the old sunburnt boys put their big melons in the cars for that price. Some of them hauled eight to ten miles and their teams were worn and jaded. I wonder what our comrades have to pay for these melons up in the northern cities. I have talked with many of them and they are fully in favor of government ownership of railroads. The lesson is dearly learned.

Socialism's Wonderful Progress. Wonderful Meetings by Debs. By telegram to the APPEAL to Reason, N. Y. News-Letter, the following has determined to make her reception to Debs an event to be long remembered. Fully a dozen of the best comrades of the APPEAL met at the hotel at Debs' party. They formed in line of march, and with hand playing and banners flying paraded the principal streets after a short march on a tour of inspection through the various headquarters of the party in the city's municipal labor temple, and also to the headquarters of the Young People's Socialist League. The young comrades had a membership of 200 with the spirit and enthusiasm of the Young People's Socialist League. Their quarters occupy an entire floor space of one of the largest buildings in the city. A dance hall, symposium, library, recreation room, and a place open with the great work being done by the Y. P. S. L. of Los Angeles. Five thousand people attended the Debs meeting at the Shrine auditorium.

None can surpass the cordial welcome extended to Debs by the hosts of the hundred miles. One of the most enthusiastic among them was Charles Smith, of the National Citizens' League, who was giving his opponents a hard fight. Warren's baseball park the miners and their families gave an attendance of nearly 4,000 people. The crowd was a company of United States soldiers were equipped, guarding the border line of the Arizona-Mexico frontier. In the presence of the Socialist presidential candidate to hear him. Here is to your loyal class-conscious workers and their Socialist oppressors. ELLIS B. HARRIS.

Ryan Walker Meetings. Sunday, Sept. 23, Ryan Walker, "the magician of the people," held two splendid meetings, one at Seacombe, Kan., at 2.30 p. m. and the other at the Grand Opera House at Seacombe, Kan., at 8 p. m. The comrades filled their little theater to the door and report that no such entertainment was ever given in that little town. Ryan Walker, a man of great eloquence and a man of great courage, is a man who is not to be despised. He is a man who is not to be despised. He is a man who is not to be despised. He is a man who is not to be despised.

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### What Socialism Is.

To replace the system of private capital (i. e. the speculative method of production, regulated on behalf of society only by the free competition of private enterprise) by a system of collective capital—that is, by a method of production which would introduce a unified (social or "collective") organization of national labor on the basis of collective or common ownership of the means of production by all the members of society. This collective method of production would remove the present competitive system, by placing under official administration such departments of production as can be managed collectively (socially or co-operatively), as well as the distribution among all of the common products of all according to the amount and social utility of the productive labor of each.

News That Means Something. Because A. C. Carpenter, a Socialist editor of Wichita, Kan., criticized the boy scouts in a street speech, he was pointed out by the boys and severely injured.

Marshal law has been proclaimed in the strike section of West Virginia. Bad as that is it is considered by the miners as well as the distribution among all of the common products of all according to the amount and social utility of the productive labor of each.

J. L. Gibson writes from Hialeahville, Okla., that he fears an effort will be made to defeat Socialism by failing to supply enough tickets to be voted. It would be a good plan for Socialists in every precinct to make an estimate of how many votes will be polled and ask that they be furnished. They have a right to do this.

A judge in Minnesota has decided a legislative committee, appointed to investigate conditions, has no legal authority to act outside of the session of the legislature. This is another effort of the judges to run the country independent of the representatives of the people, and another reason why the recall of judges is an absolute essential.

J. Wesley Hill, the crook who swindled Methodist preachers out of their little all on a fake university plan, and who is now telling about how bad Socialism is, recently became so angry at the statements made relative to his lack of character at one of his meetings that he said: "Socialists should be shot or electrocuted." Socialists are more liberal than that. Hill should not be shot. He should merely be sent to the penitentiary for his crimes.

So unbearable did conditions become in the penitentiary at Jackson, Mich., on account of the unspokeable cruelties of the warden that the convicts revolted and for three days refused to obey orders. Instead of the government dismissing the warden, he sent troops there and they reduced the convicts to obedience. The warden immediately began beating these convicts. They were struck over barrels and padded into unconsciousness by the score. It is time that warden was dismissed. He ought to be sent to the pen and given a dose of the padding. If the people of Michigan haven't the nerve to demand of the governor that he be immediately dismissed, they are cowards and criminals themselves. It is time for the APPEAL Army to address the governor of Michigan, at Jackson.

Probably Had Hydrophobia! A really funny incident occurred today in connection with the little old APPEAL which I am sure will interest you. I was reading the last issue in the car this morning on my way to work, when suddenly a gentleman (at least, he wore the clothes of a gentleman) sitting opposite to me, called out: "Take that—paper out of my sight. Get off the car if you want to read that—rag, or I will!"

I replied that he had better get off, as I intended to read each and every individual word in the paper. He then became so abusive that the conductor butted in, and was informed by the choleric one that I was an anarchist and ought to be arrested. The conductor thereupon told me that I should have to leave the car or put away my paper. I refused to do either, but offered to put my (by this time) speechless vis-a-vis in for a year's sub. That settled it. He got off that car as if he had seen the devil sitting next to him, and the last I saw of him he was shaking his fists and spattering on the sidewalk.

He evidently has something to fear (or to lose) in Socialism, and had apparently made the acquaintance of the APPEAL somewhere previously. S. MAYOR, Toronto, Canada.

Great Gains in Mississippi. SOCIALISM, Magnolia, Miss.—Socialism is on the move in Mississippi. The cotton mill operators of this town are abject slaves in the estimation of their employers. The negroes of the south before their emancipation had more privileges in some respects than the Magnolia cotton mill workers do. Many of them are Socialists in sentiment, but dare not say so. The country is flooded with unemployed and the convict farm is overrun with inmates and the culture of want is hovering over many homes. The cotton mill, oil mill, textile plant, ice factory and compress company, in which many farmers and laborers took stock, only to be swindled out of their hard earnings, and now it all belongs to the Lampton-Mercers in a company, and some of the small stockholders got more of the fifteen cents on the dollar. Many of them got nothing.

Spooling "Great Prosperity." From Journal, Kansas City, Mo. "Mr. Roosevelt," says Eugene Debs, "has shrewdly seized upon the prevailing popular unrest and has baited his platform like a trap to catch the votes of the discontented people." He has done more than that. He has diligently stirred up the discontent in a year of other men's content, and abundance, for no other ambition for power. Even Debs himself has not been so great a mischief maker in that way.

### Carry the Emblem

The Emblem of the party on your watch—every comrade should have one of these watches and carry it as your chance to get out.

Read Below. 19 Jewels Adjusted Second. 25-Year

The Way to the Land

Years ago W. J. Ghent called attention to the fact that benevolent feudalism was imminent in America. But perhaps even he did not see the strongest tendency toward feudalism.

Feudalism is a condition that exists because of the land being dominated by a ruling class. That the farmers of America, the strongest of all workers in numbers, in investment, and in production, have been made a subjugated class is evident from the figures shown elsewhere.

The condition which exists today in America is merely following, with slight variation, the line of absorption of the land which brought the feudal age in Europe.

Attention has been called by others to a new aspect of things that is brought out by the last census, namely, the fact that three-fourths of the farm products of America are raised within a radius of five hundred miles of Chicago.

A large segment of the northern part of this circle, amounting to perhaps one-third of the whole, may be cut off because it impinges on Canada. It shows that the farm has become a mere adjunct to the city. It is a most remarkable evidence of coming feudalism that has been adduced to date.

Accompanying this manifestation is a development of big farm machinery which will mean necessarily syndicate or capitalized farming, unless socialized farming intervenes. There can be but one outcome of this—the full control of farming by the cities, or the further development of feudalism.

The preparation for this condition came with the GIVING AWAY of the land that began when the republican party came into power in the '60's. It was a deliberate effort to conquer and subdue the farmers to the cities.

It has progressed to the point now where everything is aiding that tendency. The tremendous advance in the price of land in this territory is a factor that will be used in concentrating farming around the cities. The outlying farms will become like the remote districts were in Europe during the feudal age.

The farmer is fighting for his life. His sole hope lies in collective use of a portion of the land. Without that use it will be impossible for the next generation to get to the soil, except as tenants, hired hands or serfs.

Five years ago the way to the land lay through homesteading. Now it can be had only through socialization of much real estate.

A PARTY OF ROBBERY.

It has been said that the republican party was founded to forward a great principle. I do not believe a word of it. I recognize that many who were in the republican party thought they were forwarding a great principle.

I thought so myself when I was in it. My father thought so when under the stars and stripes he fought through the civil war.

But the prime aim of the republican party was not the overthrow of chattel slavery. IT WAS THE GIVING AWAY OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

If you will take the early platforms of the party you will see that they declared for homesteading, and not only that, but for liberal grants to railroads. Slavery was overthrown merely as incidental to the other work. The real work of the republican party from the beginning has been to alienate from the public its great inheritance and to give it to individuals and corporations.

That it has done this is beyond question. It has made the masses of the people poor and a few tremendously rich, and it has done it intentionally and in a way that amounts to conspiracy.

The republican party is suffering today an inevitable consequence of its great social sin. Nor is it more than in the beginning of its payment for the evil it has wrought. Its entire work has been to desocialize the property of the nation, and it had no more right to give away what belonged to all than you have to steal a courthouse and give it to your favorites.

From the first its every act has been in the line of theft. It has never won an election except on the basis of alienating enough public property to pay everyone who voted its ticket not less than \$25. There is not in all history one case of such stupendous graft as that which has attended the republican party from its start.

The people are beginning to realize the facts in the case. It will come to them more and more as the years pass. The history of the republican party, instead of being the glorious thing that they have pictured it to be, will be considered one of unexampled infamy and crime, a conspiracy against the welfare of the whole people, and the proof that it succeeded will lie in the impoverishment of the many and the tremendous fortunes that have come to the few.

The capitalist invests your money made last year, and makes you pay dividends on it this. Next year you will have to pay dividends in what you are now making and the master getting.

Why You Should Vote the Socialist Ticket

The best reasons why you should vote the Socialist ticket come from the platform, adopted at Indianapolis and ratified by a referendum vote of the Socialist party membership. It is not only official, but it also expresses the views of the rank and file of the Socialists, of the actual toilers of America.

WORKING PROGRAM.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the Co-operative Commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP.

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the state or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.

3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:

(a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.

(b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.

(c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.

(d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.

(e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

6. The collective ownership of the banking and currency system.

7. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a workday of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages.

The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest, for the purpose of carrying on public works.

8. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax, and the extension in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin of the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

9. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

10. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.

11. The abolition of the senate and of the veto power of the president.

12. The election of the president and the vice president by direct vote of the people.

13. The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by congress. National laws to be repealed only by the act of congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.

14. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in a majority of the states.

15. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

16. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

17. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The bureau of education to be made a department.

18. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health, with such restrictions as will secure the full liberty of all schools of practice.

19. The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

20. Abolition of all federal district courts and the United States circuit courts of appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations.

21. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

22. The free administration of justice.

23. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax, and the extension in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin of the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

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The Big Moose Plot

BEFORE the Moose convention at Chicago the APPEAL, on July 20, 1912, announced its belief that Roosevelt meant to appropriate the Socialist platform entire, and that his candidacy is intended to serve the purpose of stemming the tide toward Socialism.

Relative to the platform to be adopted at Chicago the APPEAL said: "You may look for an eruption in the neighborhood of Oyster Bay that will take the form of a document as radical as words can make it."

To this was added the prediction: "We may prepare a facio such as we had in 1896. Steel trust millions will be poured out like water. Newspapers will be subsidized, and a flood of perverted oratory will be turned loose on the country that will make Bryan's 'crown of thorns and cross of gold' speech read like a problem in trigonometry."

On August 3 the APPEAL said relative to Roosevelt: "He is preparing a surprise that will take the breath out of most politicians and sweep the unthinking people off their feet."

The APPEAL has in its possession information touching the colonel's plans that would make the nation gasp. We do not care to make this information public, for the very good reason that no one would believe it radical change in his tactics.

We are now at liberty to say what that advanced information was. It is made known in a remarkable story by a staff correspondent of the Philadelphia Evening Telegraph on August 27.

The platform that Colonel Roosevelt carried with him to the June convention was a different instrument altogether. This correspondent is able to announce heretofore—that Colonel Roosevelt carried to the convention which rejected him a declaration of civilization in Columbia University, and Prof. Robert W. Bruere, secretary of the Society for Organizing Charities in New York City, brother of Prof. Henry Bruere, who was 'called' to Schenectady to assist the Socialist mayor of that town, Rev. Dr. Latta, in the work of administration.

Before going to Chicago—in June—Colonel Roosevelt called upon both these gentlemen and informed them that he expected to either obtain the republican nomination or to bolt. In the event of a bolt he declared, he intended to follow the socialist candidate and to carry out a new party would be organized. Its platform would be extremely radical and leave the socialist platform in Columbia University, and Prof. Robert W. Bruere, secretary of the Society for Organizing Charities in New York City, brother of Prof. Henry Bruere, who was 'called' to Schenectady to assist the Socialist mayor of that town, Rev. Dr. Latta, in the work of administration.

Both Professor Giddings and Professor Bruere were willing listeners to Colonel Roosevelt, and they made many suggestions which he embodied in the platform he carried to Chicago. AS A MATTER OF FACT HE SWALLOWED THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM WITH THE EXCEPTION THAT HE DID NOT INCLUDE IN HIS DEPARTMENT OF LABOR THE FIRST CONFESSION OF FAITH, SO TO SPEAK.

A PLEA FOR THE ABOLITION OF RENT, INTEREST AND PROFITS. THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM. He suggested that DEBBS RETIRE AND GIVE HIM AN OPEN FIELD IN NOT KNOWN TO THIS CORRESPONDENT. HE BELIEVES TO SURE, HOWEVER, THAT HE HAD SOME EXPECTATION OF THIS ELSE HE WOULD NOT HAVE SOLELY OBTAINED THE NOMINATION WITH GIDDINGS AND BRUERER.

Both Professor Giddings and Professor Bruere were willing listeners to Colonel Roosevelt, and they made many suggestions which he embodied in the platform he carried to Chicago. AS A MATTER OF FACT HE SWALLOWED THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM WITH THE EXCEPTION THAT HE DID NOT INCLUDE IN HIS DEPARTMENT OF LABOR THE FIRST CONFESSION OF FAITH, SO TO SPEAK.

He brought his Socialist platform back and found IT NECESSARY TO COBBLE IT here and there before it would be acceptable even to the mass convention which met in Chicago later and which named him and Johnson for the offices of president and vice president.

It is radical enough now, but is rather tame in its intentions against capital to what it was when the colonel gaily started out in its fulminating tone two months ago.

At the same time it is expected, and the colonel's most radical followers hope, that he will be acceptable to a very large section of the Socialist group, the Socialists having no more desire to throw away votes than other electors. If it can be added Giddings and Bruere and others of standing may be depended upon to circulate the report among their confederates that the colonel on a much more radical platform than he is if he had had his way.

We are going to have in the closing months of the campaign "steel trust millions poured out like water." All ready we see newspapers coming to the Roosevelt side—"subsidized"—but it is the future that will behold "a flood of perverted oratory," such as the APPEAL forecasted. But that isn't all that is coming. We will tell you more later.

The agriculturalist gets mighty little culture under capitalism.

It is not words but deeds that count. Especially title deeds.

The Zinc Mine

Here are two communications typical of the scores of letters that are coming into the APPEAL office:

If this list of 24 draws the zinc mine, turn the mine into cash to the best advantage as quickly as possible and turn 20 per cent of the proceeds to the national campaign fund. 25 per cent to be used for the APPEAL and Coming Nation subscriptions and 25 per cent to Local Union, Glendale, Ore. to be used in the Douglas county campaign.—E. C. Ladd, Glendale, Ore.

No zinc mine or any other inducement can make me work for the dear little APPEAL. It is Socialism and nothing else that can. You will have to excuse me for not sending any subs for the last few weeks as I was very busy, but I promise to make good in the coming few weeks.—Ed Stark, New York, N. Y.

These letters express the attitude of most of the APPEAL comrades so far heard from toward the "Zinc Mine" premiums which we are offering to the two comrades who send in the largest lists of subscribers at twenty-five cents each during the month of September.

In the early days of the APPEAL's history we found it necessary to offer premiums in order to persuade our readers to get subscribers for the paper, but of late years we have depended solely upon the interest in the work and enthusiasm for Socialism as the motives that prompted our comrades to work for the APPEAL.

This offer of ours of this Missouri land is merely the outgrowth of the vicious attack which the capitalist press made on the APPEAL, last spring in which it was set forth, under scare headlines, that the APPEAL was to quit and the editor retire on the fortune dug out of his Missouri zinc and lead mine.

In order to show that the APPEAL editor is a dead game sport and that he is willing and anxious to "divide up" the wealth credited to him by the capitalist press, I have divided the forty acres of Missouri land into four ten-acre tracts. These four tracts of land to be given away under the conditions set forth in the rules which follow this announcement.

I was very much in hopes that our readers would enter into the spirit of this contest and that by a little extra effort all along the line we would turn this attack of our enemies into a glorious victory by making September the greatest subscription month in the history of the APPEAL. The indications are so far that some comrades will carry off this prize for a very small list of names. Remember, there are two ten-acre tracts to be given away in September—tract No. 1 is a free for all and anyone can compete for it.

Only those readers of the APPEAL who have never sent us a club of subscribers can enter the contest for tract No. 2. I make this provision in order to give new workers an equal show to share in what ever hidden wealth may be buried beneath the ground which we are gaining away.

This land is located in Stone county, Mo., five miles from Galena, the county seat. It is in the same range of hills as those in which the valuable zinc deposits in the Joplin district are found. Joplin is located west of this land. Valuable mines are being opened up to the east of this land and those who know the situation assure me that there is some prospect of development in the vicinity of our holdings in Stone county. However, as I have repeatedly said in these columns, the APPEAL makes no claim for any value to this land aside from what appears on the surface, and this is not much at this time.

Stone county is one of the most attractive of the southern Missouri counties. Its hills and valleys and swift flowing streams have made this particular section noted as a health resort. The owners of these four tracts will at least have a retreat to which they can retire occasionally and rest up from the strenuous fight now being made in this country for the right to live. September is rapidly drawing to a close and it will be necessary, therefore, for you to hurry in your list, if you want to take a hand in this friendly contest. Go in to win, but remember that the big prize is the Co-operative Commonwealth! The rules governing this contest are as follows:

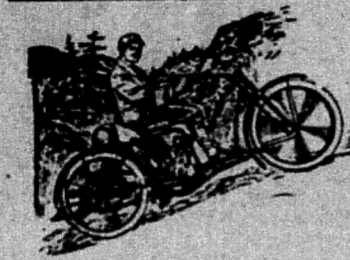
RULES OF THE CONTEST.

Rule 1. Tracts Nos. 1 and 2 each consisting of ten acres, as described above, will be given to the two comrades who send in the most subscribers during the month of September as provided in Rule 2.

Rule 2. Tract No. 1 will be a free for all and will be given to the comrade who sends in the most subscribers. Tract No. 2 will be given to the reader of this paper who has never sent in any subscribers to the APPEAL since his own subscription. Tract No. 2 is made for the event of a tie in either one of these contests, the ten-acre plots will be equally divided between the two contestants who send in the same number of subscribers, a very rare and unlikely occurrence.

Rule 3. All subscriptions to be counted on this contest should reach this office between the first and thirtieth days of September. Six p. m. on the date last named will be the closing hour of the contest.

This isn't a panic. It is simply the best that capitalism can do and "ant it hell?"



THE motorcycle which the APPEAL will give to the comrade who orders the largest number of APPEALS during the month of September is one on which you can carry an extra passenger if you so desire. This will give you an opportunity to take your wife or your sweetheart on your agitation tour as your assistant in your propaganda work. This motorcycle will supply you with a practical and a pleasant means of transportation. You will be independent of the railroads and you will find the motorcycle method of getting over the country economical and sure. The motorcycle will make rapid headway over roads impassable for an automobile. Leaving out all consideration of the premium, you need the papers for propaganda purposes during the months of September and October and I am very much in hopes that every member of the APPEAL Army will order as many papers as you can possibly dispose of. There was never a greater demand for Socialist literature than at the present time, nor was there ever a greater need. With the Bull Moose rampaging over the country it behooves every Socialist agitator to join the APPEAL in this crusade to counteract the pernicious influence of the Oyster Bay agent of the steel trust. You thus kill two birds with one stone—you have the papers to circulate and a little extra effort on your part may win the motorcycle. The rules of the contest are as follows:

Rules of the contest: To the comrade who orders the largest number of any one of our editions dated in September the APPEAL will send freight prepaid, to any part of the United States, a standard make 1912 model motorcycle costing \$250.00. If the winner is not satisfied with the machine we have selected, he may make another selection. Orders for this edition to count on the motorcycle must be in this office by 6 p. m. September 30. The contestant may order as many bundles as he desires and bundles for all editions printed during the month of September will be counted in the total to the credit of any contestant. For instance, the contestant may order one hundred copies of the edition of September 7, 200 copies of the edition of the 14th, 100 copies of the edition of the 21st, 300 copies of the edition of the 28th—making a total of 700 copies to his credit.

THE FARMER CAN WIN.

There have been numerous strikes. Some of them have been won. If you will consider the final outcome, all of them have been lost, because it has been proven that whenever the masters lost in a strike they so manipulated the markets and prices as to fully recoup themselves. The fact that labor is able to lay by no more now than it was years ago proves the truth of this.

The farmers' rebellions, on the other hand, have been successful from the time when at Concord—the traitorous farmer stood. And fired the shot heard round the world. When the farmers took charge in the sixties they won a permanent victory. We are not minimizing the work of the city men in the war of the rebellion. We are merely saying that if it had not been for the farmer behind the union army, according to the statement of Lincoln himself, the federals would not have been successful.

The night riders have never struck even against the trusts but that they won. There have been no rent strikes on the part of the farmers that did not succeed. The populist rebellion of the '90's resulted in a temporary ending of the abuses against which they protested.

The reason is this: The farmer possesses the commissary of a nation. He has in his hands the means of shutting off the living of all. He has in his hands the power to fight and support himself at the same time. The farmer can win. The city worker without the farmer cannot.

ROOSEVELT is progressive in the sense of the old song—"He don't know where he's going, but he's on his way."

SOCIALISTS are not dreamers alone. They have a hard headed plan for realizing their dream.

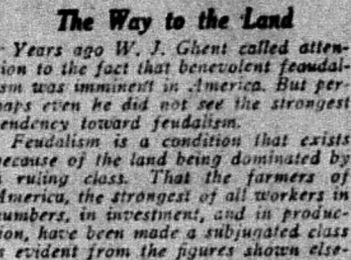
This is a beautiful world; but not many have a chance to enjoy its beauty.

The man who farms the farmer gets the coin.

Can the Leopard Change His Spots?

Can labor vote for such a looking thing as this?

Appeal to Reason.



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SOCIALISM will lift the miner from the darkness and depths by giving him safe surroundings, best machinery to work with, the full product of his toil.

SOCIALIZATION THE REMEDY

One of the chief causes of the populist rebellion was the arrogance of the doctors who refused to attend to the sick of the tenant farmers unless they guaranteed pay which was practically impossible for them to do. The same thing is becoming a menace at present.

We will never be free of that until we come to the point where we have municipal doctors and county doctors, paid salaries to care for all without fees. That is socializing healing. We will never have proper dental care of the whole people until dentists are employed in the same way. When this is done, not only will the general health be conserved, but there will cease to be an effort to monopolize healing by any school. Socialization, in other words, is a remedy for this evil against which the farmers protested in the '90's.

The city worker is enslaved because the city masters own the machinery with which he must work. The rural worker is enslaved when another owns either the land or the distributive machinery which he must use.

Radicalism does not consist in the use of strong language. It is getting at the root of matters and may be accomplished by conservatism in language or even a desire to conserve the good that already exists, together with a determination to get to the root of things in the way of a change.

Such a reversal of the political machinery as is outlined in the APPEAL this week, a reversal that would give to the farmer his proper place in industry, would be such a radical change that it would amount to actual revolution.

Some of these days the farmer is going to understand this and his will be the most revolutionary movement in the world. When he begins labor politics will count for nothing. Only such radical moves that will effect a complete change will satisfy him.

A STRANGE epidemic is killing many horses in Kansas. It is a peculiar fact that appeal is made to the state agricultural department to stop the scourge. The farmers have come to see that the socialized way of doing things is the best, cheapest and safest.