

THE TEN BIG NUMBERS

Table with 2 columns: Description of numbers and their values. Includes 'Total number of copies printed and circulated of No. 871...' and 'Number of copies of the Appeal during the month of September.'

STeadily increasing, as you will see. Everybody honest and the APPEAL will make good its promise to print and circulate an average of one million copies per week, for each of the ten weeks before election. Let us close the campaign with an avalanche of APPEALS.

Established Aug. 31, 1895

FIFTY CENTS A YEAR Six Months 25 Cents One Year or More (60 Weeks) 25 Cents

This is Number 880 Expiration Number 80

Appeal to Reason

Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second-class mail matter J.A. WAYLAND FRED D. WARREN Managing Editor Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., October 12, 1912

Roosevelt Edition Next Week!

DIFFERENT from anything that has preceded it. In addition to a very clear review of Roosevelt's entire political record by George Allan England, there will be three or four extremely important points from Roosevelt's public record fastened on him by ABSOLUTE PROOFS. With this as a background, there will be fair, plain argument why the real progressive should not vote for either Roosevelt, Wilson or Taft, making this the best and most timely propaganda paper the Appeal has issued. Usual prices.

A Word from the "One Hoss."

Comrade Warren's new pamphlet, "\$2,000 Per Year and a Six-Hour Work Day," will in my judgment prove a much more effective weapon in your hands to make Socialists than his little Arsenal of Facts. It is the final word—the last argument—and if handed to any man just before the election will change his political views if any change can be made. If you have any confidence in my judgment you will take my advice and supply yourself with copies of this booklet. The edition is limited—because of our mechanical facilities which are now being operated night and day to supply copies of the Appeal and the Coming Nation. To avoid disappointment you should accept Comrade Warren's proposition at once. J. A. WAYLAND.

The September Contests.

D. H. E. Griffin, Nantuxke, Pa., won the motorcycle contest, having purchased 26,000 copies of the APPEAL during the month of September. A. L. Snell, Grand Rapids, Mich., wins the tractor tract on contest No. 1, having sent 114 subs. G. H. Klenner, Cincinnati, Ohio, wins the ten-acre tract on contest No. 2, having sent in 90 subs.

CAN AND CANT.

You cannot legislate wealth into existence but you can and do legislate who shall own it when it is brought into existence. And as a rule the title to the property produced by labor is handed over to those who in no wise aid in producing it. A law that allows a king to own certain lands and that gives him an income from certain districts as certainly robs the people who live on that land or in that district as anything can be. It matters not whether his kind buys the land or is given the land. It is of no value to him, produces no income, unless human labor and intelligence is applied to it. It is the law, or the power behind the law, that compels these people to deliver to him a part of what their labor applied to the earth has produced—rank robbery. And it does not matter whether the man is a king or a private citizen, either. The robbery is just as flagrant in one case as in the other. If the purchase of the land is recognized by law the robbery will follow just the same. It is a getting of something for nothing. Robbery of the workers will continue so long as any other title but use and occupancy is recognized.

THE HOW OF IT.

How will Socialism be established? By the necessities of the people. This means that the corporations will go on monopolizing, concentrating, lowering wages, increasing prices of goods, throwing so many thousands out of employment by reason of better methods of production and distribution, that the people cannot stand the pressure. They will see the oppression from great aggregations of wealth and will in time get desperate. When they take the notion to change things, which they will, they will discover that they need these great organized industries to supply the needs of the people; they will further discover these great industries cannot be divided up into thousands of little ones, because they would then be useless. The machinery of a great factory or a railroad is only useful when all its parts are working together. The property therefore cannot be divided up among the people. If it is left with those in control the oppression will continue. There will be only one thing to do. The corporations will have to be made public property.

SOCIALISM HAS CHANGED.

Yes, Socialism has changed. Why shouldn't it change? Half a century ago it was actually trying to effect the great change through colonies. This was demonstrated to be a failure and has not been attempted since, although a few anti-Socialists persistently insist that that policy should be used to the present day. Socialists now demand what they have always done—the overthrow of the capitalist system; but they understand as they did not at first that this can be done, not through starting a colony, nor through entering the capitalist competitive struggle with co-operatives, but only through capturing the powers of government and securing the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. The change is only in the line of constantly becoming more practical and effective, and that change is inevitable and right.

CAPITALISM'S OUTCASTS.

When America was settled Europe had a great problem with her criminals. There were so many poor that thieving was common, prostitution was everywhere, and many were imprisoned for debt. To relieve the situation they were colonized in Georgia. Given an opportunity the prisoners and prostitutes developed into splendid specimens of womanhood and manhood. After America was out of the hands of England, the thieves and prostitutes of that country were colonized in Botany Bay, Australia. There again, instead of becoming degenerate, they developed into the first citizens of the Australian Commonwealth, and are largely responsible for the splendid labor laws that prevail on that island. The same problem, due to the oppression of the rich, is confronting the world today. Now there is no place to colonize the criminals. It is proposed instead that they be rendered sexless and in thousands of prisons they are being abused and even whipped to death. It is all capitalism that offers for those it has ruined. That they might be good citizens has been proven, but capitalism has beaten them to the ground with nothing but death and disgrace left for them.

SOLIDARITY of the workers at the polls will make them solid with the government.

You keep your boy out of school so he may help make enough to send the rich man's son to college.

EVERY vote for Taft, Wilson or Roosevelt is an assent to the enslavement of your wife and child.

SURELY you who never owned a house and never will are not afraid Socialism will destroy your home.

THE wives of the rich are wearing silks bought for them by workers whose own wives shiver in faded calico.

WHY is the election in November? Because the masters know it requires a hero to defy them when winter is at the door.

THE good things his profits from your labor will buy him insures that the master will not free you. You must free yourself.

IT is none of our business if you believe in the Bible. But it is our business if you by your ballot say we must still continue to pay tribute of profits and thus make it so we cannot decently support our wives and children.

In the political sphere we demand the rule of the people, that is, democracy. In the economic sphere we demand the collective (social) ownership of the means of production and distribution. Victor L. Berger, Socialist congressman.

THERE is really only one obstacle in the way of progress. That is your ballot. When you vote for a continuation of capitalism you say you do not want the world to advance beyond poverty and misery and the murder and horror of war.

When Thomas F. Ryan was before the special grand jury investigating the affairs of the Metropolitan Street Railway company, he said that 95 per cent of the stock of all railroad corporations in the country never cost a dollar.—New York special to the Chicago Record-Herald, April 23, 1908.

NOTE the old party ticket and you will go through another four years begging for a job and not knowing how you will get along. Vote for Socialism and you will own your job and be enabled to keep the surplus that the master has been getting, which made him rich.

The cost of living has advanced 60 per cent during the past seventeen years, while the average increase in wages has been only 20 per cent. This means that the standard of living has gone down just 25 per cent in seventeen years.—Emil Seidel, Socialist candidate for vice president.

"ESSENTIAL" DOCTRINES.

Some people talk as though Socialism was a matter of doctrines and that you have to subscribe to a creed before you can be a Socialist. Nothing is further from the truth. It is quite true that Socialism has three very important doctrines, but they are for the information, the education of the individual, rather than something we must subscribe to before he can vote the ticket. They will merely enable him to understand things better.

First of these is the doctrine of surplus value. This means that the worker, whether working "for" another for wages, or apparently working for himself on the farm, is compelled to surrender a portion of what he produces to the master of the machine. That machine may be the physical machine, or the control of the markets. Whenever you feel that you are robbed of a portion of that you produce you have this idea. The amplification of the idea will enable you to understand things a great deal better. It will make that clear to you which cannot be clear until you do understand; but that is all there is to it.

The second "essential" doctrine is the materialistic conception of history. This means that people think most about the bread and butter question, that making a living is the thing which determines their entire life effort. It is not a doctrine of materialism, that people ought to neglect the spiritual, but a statement of a fact. Whenever you work six days in the week for the purpose of getting material things, whenever you plan for the future in a material way, you are exemplifying this doctrine. Ninety-nine out of every one hundred believe it; only they have not studied it sufficiently to have a clear understanding of what it involves and what it does not involve.

The third "essential" doctrine is that of the class struggle. A great many imagine, very erroneously, that this means we ought to fight with the opposing class. It means nothing of the kind. It simply means that throughout all history certain classes have combined in order to secure special privileges or undue power over other classes, and that this has resulted in a constant struggle between various classes in society. Whenever you strike for higher wages, whenever you complain of the exaction of the railroads, you are exemplifying the class struggle. The only reason why you should study the matter is that you should have a clear understanding of why things are so and how you may go about to remedy things. The essential thing is that you cannot win freedom single handed, but only win freedom by co-operating with the enslaved class.

You will see from this that Socialism has no doctrines that are "essential." It merely has a philosophy that, if understood, will enable you to escape from the unfair condition in which you feel you are placed. The urge then is not to swallow bodily anything that Socialists offer you, but to study things that you may act intelligently and effectively.

Why You Should Vote for Socialism

WHY should a workingman vote the Socialist ticket? There is only one answer to this question and that is—to get Socialism.

Why should you want Socialism? Because Socialism will give you ownership of your job.

The Socialist platform demands the collective ownership of the mills, shops, mines, railroads, etc.

In short, it means the collective ownership of production and the collective ownership and management of distribution.

Would not you, fellow workers, rather have a public job than a private one?

Would you not rather be a mail carrier than a grocery wagon driver? Wouldn't you rather be a postoffice than a dry goods clerk?

Wouldn't you rather be a county or city clerk than a hardware clerk? Wouldn't you rather be a rural carrier distributing the parcels post than a peddler?

Wouldn't you rather be a railway mail clerk than the express man? All of you say yes. Why?

Because when working for the public you are better paid and your hours are shorter than when working for a private employer.

If we had Socialism we could all have public jobs if we wanted them. If there were not enough jobs to go around, we would reduce the hours of those working and thus make more jobs. Everybody would be employed. Once we start in this direction the public will soon demand that all production and distribution be publicly owned.

We would all get good pay—for the money that is now given to the Morgans, the Rockefellers, and the capitalist class as profits would then be paid in wages. We would get all the wages we are now getting, plus all the profit we are now paying the capitalist class.

The people—all the people—would be the owner of the nation's capital and resources, instead of a few of the people owning these things as now. We would not divide this capital, but would own it collectively.

DO the republican party and Mr. Taft promise you that they will make the private property of the trusts the property of the nation, and thus give all of the workers employed by the trusts a public job? They do not. They tell you that they will break up the big corporations into little ones so there will be competition. What difference does it make to you whether you have a big private master of a little one, so long as you still have a master? Besides, when the Standard Oil trust was broken up by the supreme court and made to reorganize into twenty-six companies, Rockefeller still controlled it all. He put up the price of oil, but did not raise your wages. So it will be with all other busted trusts.

DO the democratic party and Woodrow Wilson offer you the public ownership of your job? They do not.

BY A. W. RICKER

They, too, promise to "bust" the trusts. They say that they will give you lower prices for what you have to buy by reducing the tariff on woolen goods for example. The wool trust is starving its employees now even under protection. Witness the Lawrence strike. Do you imagine the woolen mills will pay more wages when they have to compete with England under free trade than they do now under protection, and do you think that any trust will increase the wages of its employees under free trade? If the democratic party was sincere in its tariff program and really intended to give us free trade with the world, a great panic would be brought on the country.

When the democrats started in to make the change all business would have to be arranged to meet the new schedule of prices. Industry would suspend or be temporarily curtailed. We would have more Grover Cleveland times. But the democratic politicians are not fools. They will not do this. They will do nothing at all—if successful—just let things slide the same old way.

Does Roosevelt promise the public ownership of your job? There is not a line in the progressive platform that promises so much as the public ownership of a city water works. Roosevelt is making his campaign on the following promises to the working class.

First—A minimum wage scale, but he does not tell you whether the minimum wage is to be a dollar a day, or two, or what.

Second—An eight-hour law on public works, but he doesn't promise to increase the public work by increasing the industries that the public own, so how will an eight-hour law on public work, when you have no public work, benefit you?

Third—Abolition of child labor. Your children work now because you can't afford to support them. Does Roosevelt promise to employ you at better wages? How can he, when he doesn't promise to increase the publicly owned jobs? He has no power to make the capitalist hire you or pay you more wages.

Roosevelt says that he will control the trusts. He will make them be good trusts. But have not the trusts always paid his campaign expenses? Are they not doing it now? If the trusts control Roosevelt how can Roosevelt control the trust?

YOU see these parties, republican, democrat and progressive, all stand for the private ownership of your job—the continuation of the present private ownership of industries.

The Socialist party stands for the public ownership of your job. The Socialist party also stands for the democratic management of the collectively owned industries. This will always give you, the worker, a voice and vote in the management of your job just as you now have a voice and

vote in the management of your union.

Collective ownership of industries, with democratic management, is the program of Socialism.

Socialism will give you, as Comrade Warren has proven in his pamphlet, the equivalent of \$2,000 a year and a six-hour work day. This will mean \$7 a day, where you now get \$2 or less, and six hours' work where you now work ten.

Which do you prefer? The private ownership of your job by the capitalist class, as you now have it, or the public ownership of your job, as it will be under Socialism?

AND all of this applies with equal force to the farmers. Thirty-seven per cent of you are tenants. Thirty per cent of the owned farms are mortgaged. Even the owners do not get more than fifty per cent of what they produce. Republican secretary of Agriculture Wilson says so in an official report. Of course, the mortgaged farmers get less because they have to divide with the interest taker. A public report says that the interest on the mortgages and debts of the farmers is equal to the total value of all the wheat raised in the United States. The renter gets even less because he has to divide, in addition to all his other divisions, with the landlord.

Socialism will ultimately do away with rent. I say ultimately, because rent may be one of the last things touched. That depends largely on the renters themselves, and how vigorously they demand action.

We must and will pluck the richest fruit of the capitalist system first, and that is the trust. Socialism will give the farmers collectively owned railroads, lumber mills, steel mills, cement factories, machinery plants, packing houses, cold and dry storage houses, elevators and markets. What you farmers produce will then be marketed at cost of service and what you buy will come to you in the same way.

Cannot write reasons why the workers should vote the Socialist ticket without including the farmers, because both properly belong to the working or producing class.

The Socialist platform and program is for you. It was made by representatives of your class in national convention assembled, by men and women from your own ranks, and then it was sent by referendum vote to the party membership for their endorsement or rejection.

There are three parties that represent the capitalist class—the republican, democratic and progressive. They represent different capitalist groups and interests, but they all stand for the capitalist system. There is one party that represents the working class—the Socialist party. There is but one issue in this campaign—capitalism versus Socialism—the profit takers versus the profit makers. Find out which you are and, then make your vote correspond to your own interest.

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An evil reformed is an evil strengthened.

THE workers at the polls can knock the pertinacious.

He who spins has one shirt. He who spins not has two.—Italian proverb.

Roosevelt loves the negro—where he can be exploited and no questions asked.

WHAT is the use of all this fuss over electing a capitalist president? King trust will still be ruler, anyhow.

SOCIALISTS want you to rise above the dead level of fashion and poverty, so that you can own property and do the thing you dream.

THE great passion of Socialism is to enable all people who live to possess private property and thus banish poverty from the earth.

UNDER Socialism you will lose your chains, but you will find a place to work and all you produce instead. How much will you lose?

THERE can never be surety of possession for anybody so long as the world lives by piracy, every man out seeing what he can grab.

WE do not plead for votes. The workers give them freely the hour they understand.—Eugene V. Debs, Socialist candidate for president.

BELIEVE anything in the world you want, only do not let your votes keep your wives and children in slavery. You have no right to do that.

YOU are not able to buy books because your masters collect from you the money with which they corner the daily and magazine press of the country.

THE money that built all the railroads and mills was collected from your blood and bones. You never had it, but it came out of your body rather than your pocket.

YOU can take no vacations and cannot send your wife away for a little visit because your capitalist masters take such a big toll from you so they can go to Europe.

THE woman who votes for Roosevelt, Wilson or Taft votes that her husband shall give away most of what he earns, instead of bringing it home in his pay envelope.

WE have struggled for centuries and most people are poor. Now let us co-operate to overcome the robbers and employ ourselves and see if we cannot all become rich.

SOCIALISTS don't want to take your farm away. But they do want to know by what right the landlord has taken away the piece of ground another man wishes to cultivate.

THE abuse of Socialists and the telling of lies about them and their aims is going to result in such an added interest in Socialism that it will shortly be abandoned.

SURELY you who are tempted to steal in order that you may be comfortable and tempted to sell what you have in order to escape actual suffering, are being seriously alarmed over Socialism being immoral.

By this time you ought to be an expert on the divide up system. You have been dividing up with the profit taker, the landlord, and the interest taker all your lives. How is the stopping of all this going to harm you?

The overcapitalization of our industries is estimated at thirty billion dollars. The dividends and interest on this vast amount of inflated value are at least a billion and a half. This is eighteen dollars for every man, woman and child in America.—Emil Seidel, Socialist candidate for vice president.

Your warranty deed warrants nothing under capitalism. The capitalist may move his factory away and values go down 50 per cent, or the railroad can charge you what it pleases for hauling your goods to market and make it so you cannot make even wages, much less interest on the money invested in your farm.

One billion dollars and more were appropriated at this session of congress to meet the reckless expenditure of the government, and not one dollar or an hour's time has been honestly used to alleviate in the least the hard condition of the working people of this country.—Hon. Madison K. Smith, of Missouri, May 30, 1908.

BUILDING ROADS. The people are learning, even if it be in a crude way. For many years convicts in the south were put to work under heavy guards and in the degrading stripes, building public roads. Colorado is now building public roads on the honor system. The convicts dress in citizen clothes, are not under guard, and are paroled, living almost as free men. They are building roads cheaper than could be done under the contract system and doing it much better. So far so good. The only fault lies in the fact that the state is exploiting its unfortunates. The wives, children and parents of these men are robbed of that which should go to them from the labor of those that are their natural supporters. The good feature is that it calls attention to what can be done by systematic effort. If the men in the army and navy, who are doing nothing valuable, were paid as they are today, or perhaps more, and put to work building roads, they could support themselves, do good, and at the same time produce real value for the people of America.

WHILE all parties are claiming the election, one thing alone is above dispute. Socialists are getting the crowds and enthusiasm. The force of the administration is being used to coerce workers to stand pat, and throughout the democratic south, in fear of Socialist victories, workers are being disfranchised on every pretext. Roosevelt is clearly waning. Now is the time as never before to do effective work for Socialism.

In the nation's last generation of childhood 32,000 children were made orphans by coal mine explosions alone, and three-fourths of these explosions might have been prevented by the use of safety appliances such as the governments require in Germany, Belgium and other European countries.—Ben F. Lindsay.

ALREADY the railroads and mills are threatening to curtail business if you do not vote for a continuation of their graft. Suppose you vote to own the roads and mills and then it will be impossible for them to either shut down or try to bribe you.



\$2,000 a Year and a Six-Hour Work Day is what Socialism offers for your vote

THE DIFFERENCE.

In 1913 the Panama canal will be completed. This will mean the turning loose of a large number of men employed by the public, and the discarding of costly machinery that might be employed for the good of the people. Capitalism will probably seek to employ it in draining swamp lands in the United States. This within itself is good. The only trouble is that it will be done, if capitalism has its say, as the Panama canal was constructed—through running the people in debt and so putting them under long tribute to capitalism. Besides, the land drained will be used by individuals, after the public has developed. This is the plan that is being worked in Panama. It will mean simply a reign of loot. If money and banking were socialized so that all deposits would be available for the use of the people the draining of swamp land could be effected without a dollar of indebtedness, and if the land so redeemed were to be socially used it would break the power of unemployment and landlordism, and do more to restore the land to the people than anything that has been devised for centuries. That is the difference between the Socialist idea and the capitalist idea.

SURELY you who know the burden of making a living and what it is to depend on another for a job are not going to shy at owning your own job and getting two thousand dollars a year.

There is clearly something very urgent ahead of capitalism or it would not begin as early as it is doing with the effort to down labor.

During the past week the trial of Epitacio and Giovannitti for alleged conspiracy opened. Trial was also begun of forty-five alleged conspirators in the dynamiting of various bridges over the country—an enlargement of the case of the McNamaras. The trial of Emerson and other timber workers in Louisiana for alleged conspiracy is set for the near future.

On November 11th, just a week after the election is over, the trial of Warren, Wayland and Phifer for alleged publication of obscene matter in exposing conditions in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth is set to open at Fort Scott.

They are hurrying up things. They want to get rid of the unions, they want to settle the matter of criticism of those in authority, in order that they may run riot in a new battle of boodles. There is more graft contemplated in the next four years than

A Word from the "One Hoss."
Comrade Warren's new pamphlet, "One Hoss," will in my judgment prove a most effective weapon in your hands to make Socialists than his little *Armed and Dangerous*. It is the final word—the last word—on the subject of the election. It is the only political views that can be made. If you have any confidence in my judgment you will take my advice and supply yourself with copies of this booklet. The edition is limited—because of our mechanical facilities which are now being operated at night and day to supply copies of the Appeal and the *Coming Nation*. To avoid disappointment you should accept Comrade Warren's proposition at once.
J. A. WAYLAND

One Hoss's Ideas
By J. A. Wayland

ALL wealth is produced by co-operated labor. A great factory is a pretty example of nicely organized co-operation. Even farm work is co-operative for the tools and clothing are not the farmer's own work. Because the people refuse to co-operate themselves the capitalists do it for them and take the profit. When the people have been taught sufficiently by the capitalists they will co-operate themselves. Then will the workers get all the products and the useless people none. Men will have to do useful work to share in the benefits.

YOU are not going to get something for nothing and get it honestly. Neither are you going to get something for work that in itself produces nothing and get that something honestly. You must produce something yourself, or aid in its production at some stage to be entitled to something honestly. The teacher who produces useful knowledge in a child or a man is a producer, but if it is base ideas he teaches he is not a producer but a destroyer and is entitled to no reward, but punishment. Work does not entitle a man to reward unless it is good work. All useless or ill-directed labor is criminal.

CAPITALISM is not wholly bad. While it is crushing the people into direct poverty and crime, it is at the same time teaching the lesson that goods can be made and distributed under the system of largest production with the least amount of labor, and that the greater the plant the more economical. The people would never have consented to public monopoly had the trust not demonstrated its benefits, but they will in the future take over these monopolies into their own hands and operate them for the good of all, instead of for the benefit of a few, as is now being done. In the development of society, capitalism will have played its part for good as well as for evil.

IF the laboring people are satisfied, why not let them alone? Why try to create dissatisfaction? I will answer by asking: "Do the chattel slaves were ignorant and satisfied, why agitate and have a bloody war to change their conditions? The ruling classes were satisfied under King George; therefore it was wrong for Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson and a few other agitators to make them dissatisfied. If a thing is wrong it must perish and the fruit of the upas tree called 'civilization' shows it to be fundamentally wrong and it must perish. Newer higher ideas and aspirations are talking hold of the people and there will be no peace until these ideas are a part of the social system—until wage slavery is wiped off the face of the earth.

COLLECTIVE LAYING BY.

A good friend writes the APPEAL saying that we are unable to see good in anything but Socialism, and condemns us for a system that will not permit people to lay by for a rainy day. Nobody said you couldn't lay by under Socialism. You certainly can do so. The point we make is that it will be unnecessary to lay by for a rainy day, because there will be no "rainy day" in the sense of a time coming when a man will not be assured of a good living. It is quite likely that men will lay by under Socialism until they realize that individual saving is made unnecessary by public economies. It is quite likely that people will lay by, under Socialism, enough to enable them to take such vacations they may desire, like a trip around the world. The public economy, however, will be such that the children will have provided for them all ways in every place jobs and their full social product. It will, therefore, be unnecessary for parents to struggle to individually do that which is done as a system far in advance of anything for everybody collectively. That surely we have today.

Four Weeks More!

Then the great campaign of 1912 will be history. We've been going some but the real thing has just commenced. **The Coming Nation and the Red Portfolio** are going like hot cakes on a cold day. Ryan Walker, who is giving illustrated lectures in Pennsylvania, took along a trunk full of Portfolios when he left. They're gone, and this is the only one left for three hundred more. Walker is setting them, 80 CENTS YOU. The books where he is lecturing are also selling *Coming Nation*, 80 CENTS YOU. **A Stunning \$5.00 Offer** Send us \$5 and we will forward you 250 copies of the *Coming Nation*, and 15 Portfolios. Sell them all, and you will have \$16.25. You can do it—the mechanics. For \$5 each and the Portfolio for a quarter. The second big edition of the Portfolio will soon be gone. **IT'S ALL HERE TO HURRY.** While they last, we'll give APPEAL readers 50¢ off the price of the *Coming Nation*, a yearly subscription to the magazine, and a Portfolio. BOTH FOR A DOLLAR. Address: **Coming Nation, Girard, Kan.**

WEDDING RING FREE!

Randomly filling gold Wedding Ring given FREE to any girl or woman who will assist us in our work. This is the only way to get a wedding ring today every woman who writes to us will receive one. **WRITE TODAY!** (Don't Miss It!) **WEDDING RING OFFER, and Friend Mag., KANSAS CITY, MO.**

Coming Nation, Girard, Kan.

The real farmers of Europe do not live in Europe, but in Australia, Africa and India. They have no special privileges. They are in a tremendously worse condition than the farmers of America. The real farmers of America live here, and while privilege has reduced them almost to a state of slavery, they have that independent spirit which will yet assert itself, and within a very few years, effect a peaceful revolution. The whole course of commerce is changing

The Fight for Mastery in the United States

LAND is called real estate, not because title deeds are actual, but because it furnishes the surest basis in which to predicate power over others. This is well illustrated in the history of America. Together with this fact, American history proves that competition, the rule of action under capitalism, is productive of a CLASS STRUGGLE, of SECTIONAL RIVALRY, and of RACIAL CONTESTS.

When Jackson demanded that these schemers pay in specie, so many of the wild cat land speculating banks failed that a panic followed, and to escape the panic the government borrowed money (though having a monopoly of money making) to the amount of \$10,000,000; so the paying off of the national debt through the sale of "congress land" was nullified by the creation of a debt forced through speculation in that land.



The Louisiana purchase in 1803, lying in bulk mostly to the north, gave assurance of ultimate northern dominance; but this was postponed because of the fact that the south acquired the second port in America (New Orleans) and there was so much land east of the Mississippi that great numbers did not at once rush west of that stream. However, the south sought to maintain the balance of power by securing in 1809 the admission of Florida, territory long claimed by Spain. Dominance was sought through the use of land in all the sectional fights.

In 1845 the south secured great territorial advantage over the north by the annexation of the republic of Texas, which came into the union expressly retaining all its public lands as its own. The north immediately retaliated by laying claim to the "Oregon country." The war with Mexico that followed gave the south another slice of territory, but this was a once neutralized territory, and the north, under California after the discovery of gold there, giving that certainty of northern dominance which led to the civil war some ten years later.

THIS sectional competition has always been a property fight. In addition to the struggle for control of land, there was also a contest for other advantages. The south carried the racial struggle, involving conquest, to the point of making chattel slaves of the negroes, and struggling to extend this enforced exploitation into the Kansas and Nebraska country, a territory very much larger than the states. The northeast sold its slaves and began a surer way of dominance, shown by Helper's "Impending Crisis," by systematically planning for the control of manufacture and transportation. Through adopting steam for ocean traffic first, it easily captured the ocean carrying trade of the south. Her capitalists, indeed, were slow to promote railroads; but after Massachusetts, New York, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and other states had with state money, borrowed from those same capitalists, built many roads in order that their people might have markets, these capitalists displayed great ingenuity in having the roads transferred to themselves without compensation. It was the beginning of securing control of America for transportation. Manufacture developed as an auxiliary to transportation. The railroads run east and west, though north and south, crossing the zones, is the normal route of exchange, as evidenced by the general trend of the rivers, and the manufacturing in the east gave the railroads owned by easterners a tribute in hauling raw material to market and another tribute in hauling the manufactured goods back again, just as the ocean vessels got their double tribute from carrying cotton to New England and fabrics back again.

FOLLOWING the civil war New York and the northeast effected complete conquest of America. Lest the south recover from the effects of the war, develop her ports, and turn the commerce of the growing west in that direction, she was kept under military dictatorship for twelve years after the war, while territory as large in the aggregate as nine northeastern states were given eastern capitalists for promoting railroads to the west, while at the same time the government, states and counties advanced sufficient money to construct the roads. This was unprecedented in the way of asking government to forward individual (and incidentally sectional) interests, when you remember that the very route those roads took guaranteed to the northeast and New York control of the markets and consequently whatever tribute of profit they might derive from the west. The present high cost of living illustrates the tribute they, now having full control, are minded and able to collect from the whole people. But this isn't all. At the same time, America, lying between Europe and Asia, and having the key to commerce in the Panama canal, America has great promises, great responsibility, and great changes ahead.

AMERICA HAS DONE WELL.

While it is true that America has been exceedingly wasteful of her resources, and while there has been a tremendous reign of graft here, and while the trusts are organized in this country as in no other section of the world, still there is reason for resenting the claim that Europe has done so much better than America. If Europe has better roads than America it must be remembered that she has been building the for twelve centuries, while America has been building them not more than fifty years. If Europe has learned to conserve the land better than America, it is because she has found it necessary after centuries of waste. And America, in taking possession of such vast territory, reducing it to even an semblance of cultivation within fifty years, has done wonders, such as Europe cannot begin to boast.

It is urged that Europe is offering certain things to farmers that America is not doing. It is true, but it must be remembered that all these are special privileges, capitalistic in nature, and carry with them no actual remedy. When America understands herself she will begin socialization in such a way as to really remedy conditions, and within a few years will outstrip anything the world has ever known, both in the development of farming and in securing justice rather than special privileges.

The real farmers of Europe do not live in Europe, but in Australia, Africa and India. They have no special privileges. They are in a tremendously worse condition than the farmers of America. The real farmers of America live here, and while privilege has reduced them almost to a state of slavery, they have that independent spirit which will yet assert itself, and within a very few years, effect a peaceful revolution. The whole course of commerce is changing

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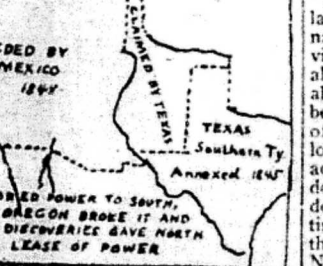
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The Louisiana purchase is mostly in the north, but gave the south the port of New Orleans. To offset the influence of Louisiana in favor of the north, Florida was annexed on demand of the south, in 1819, and Burr and Wilkinson, in the early part of the century, planned for an empire of the Great Northwest, in order to assure the south perpetual control. It was still a fight for territory.

land belonging to the whole people, as great in extent as both France and Germany, was being given away to a few New Yorkers and New Englanders in such a way as to make that isolated section master of America; other territory, in small bodies, aggregating as much as all the Mississippi valley states, all belonging to the whole people, were given away to individuals in such a way as to enable them to withhold from a third to half of it from cultivation, as it is today, so, as population increased, making a threat of actual famine in America in the not remote future. Nor is even this all. Mining claims by the thousands, all belonging to the whole people, were given away, some of them producing millions of dollars worth of fine metals, to individuals and corporations, creating by design millionaires, when the whole people should have been enriched by them. And even that is not all. The issuance of money, constitutionally a national monopoly, was transferred to banks, and as a result was rapidly absorbed by New York, a fact that gave the city the use of practically all the money in America in buying up all the people had that it wished to buy. It is doubtful if all history contains another record of such deliberate stealing from the people and such purposely enriching of a few in one section of the country, comparable to what has occurred in America in the last fifty years, acquired in by both republicans and democrats.

THE result of this deliberate enriching of the few in one section of the country by giving them that which belonged to all is startlingly illustrated by a boast made in *Real Estate*, a New York publication, for January, 1899, that the assessed valuation of New York City (which of course includes stocks



The annexation of Texas in 1845 again gave the south the weight of territory. But the advocates of the wages system counted on the slave holders by bringing in the Oregon territory a year later. The war with Mexico was fought for territory, which each section hoped to capture. It was the finding of gold in 1849, drawing tremendous numbers from the north, that determined this as "free" country. Following this came the bitter fight for the Kansas and Nebraska territory, covering land that was occupied by several states. When the south lost she realized dominance was gone and organized the confederacy. She was forced back into the union with arms, and then the fight for territory, as a basis for supremacy, became varied by a fight for political privilege.

INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS.

If one voted the democratic ticket in the primary election is he forced by law to vote that ticket in the general election? I have been requested to ask you this by several who voted in the democratic primary but who have since become Socialists—Will R. Smith, Madisonville, Texas.

A great many tell you one is compelled to vote as he did in the primary. It is not true. You can change your vote if you choose.

The fact should be quite clear that the Socialist party is far and away the largest political unit, not only of today, but of all time.—George Allan England.

The Best Read Thousands. I have read practically every propaganda pamphlet issued by American Socialists during the past fifteen years. I have studied the majority of them to determine their merits. I have never given a recommendation for any kind of book before, save as a book review. But having just read Comrade Warren's new pamphlet, "One Hoss and a Six-Hour Work Day," and I believe that I can do no better service to Socialism than to urge you to read it with all the emphasis I can command that this pamphlet be given the widest possible circulation. It is, in my opinion, the most effective propaganda pamphlet ever issued. It is effective because it reaches the reader right where he connects his every-day problems directly to the great social problem, and any school teacher will tell you that is the great aim of modern pedagogy. This pamphlet is optimistic and constructive. It has just that touch of optimism which, like, he, conquers the dream with reality so that the reader's feet never leave the ground. I wish it were possible to circulate it by the million. I believe that it should be read by every Socialist worker, and that every Socialist worker should urge his neighborhood toward its reading. I would urge him to get as many copies of this pamphlet as possible, and to offer it to every one he meets. Each subscriber to the APPEAL TO REASON, when four or more are sent at one time.

on railroads and manufacturing plants (lying in various states) was greater than the assessed valuation of certain twelve states lying west of the Mississippi river.

It is further illustrated in the following from the *Fidelity and Casualty Bulletin*, reprinted in the *Classmate*, Methodist Sunday school paper, for September 29, 1912: Fifty-seven per cent of all the imports of the country and forty per cent of all the exports pass through New York. Seventy per cent of all the bank clearings in the United States pass through the New York and savings banks of the United States are held by the banks in New York City.

The industrial city of New York—Greater New York and the adjacent manufacturing territory as defined by the United States census—is the biggest creator of freight in the United States. Out of twenty-eight hundred new industrial plants established in the United States in the last five years covered by a government report, two thousand were located within the limits of Greater New York. The manufacturing output of this district in the five years was greater than the entire manufacturing industry of Pittsburgh, Allegheny and Cleveland combined in the year 1905.

It naturally follows that political power should accompany this financial and industrial power. Normally the bulk of the land would determine the power, but, though land grants were the basis of the power now exercised, other elements, artificial in nature, have contributed to vary the rule. The industries, fostered by grants and special privileges, brought population to the centers created by nature and law combined. Yet even that was artificially increased. Agents in various European countries were at work inducing immigration, and no less than thirty million people have been imported through the port of New York during the past fifty years. It is no wonder, in view of these facts, that out of eighty candidates for president since 1860, twenty-five of them came from New York and the extreme northeast, and only seven from the more than half the territory of America lying west of the Mississippi, and out of twenty-three were chosen from the northeast territory and only six from west of the Mississippi. This is the more remarkable because it excludes the many candidates from Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, also belonging with the territory made unduly strong by manufacture and transportation built up through special privilege, and includes all parties, even the democratic, that depends on the south for its major support, and two Socialist parties, supposed not to be affected by sectionalism. The fact is, it is impossible but that sectionalism should develop under such conditions, and practically all the dissatisfaction there is in the Socialist party has come out of it. All these things must be considered, if we are going to intelligently seek a remedy that will cover the case entire. I am not trying to create sectional feeling any more, nor am I seeking to create a class struggle when referring to the fact of it.

Wayland Parables.

A MAN rode a donkey on a very long and rough journey. Feed and water were scanty and care for his donkeyship was the least thought of the master. Finally the back of the beast became sore and he complained of the load and insisted that the rider should get off and walk. To this the rider objected, but said, "I will institute a reform that will ease you; I will increase the tariff and establish civil service." And he nudged back a little off the sore, and the donkey, feeling somewhat easier because the pressure had been removed from the sore spot, went on with little complaint. Finally a gall sore was raised on the new point of pressure and the donkey said, "Now I am tired of this and I want you to get off and stay off." But the rider replied, "I cannot do this, but I tell you what I will do; I will institute a new reform that will give you relief; I will reverse the tariff," and he nudged forward a little. And then he cajoled the donkey with promises and deception for the long journey of life, pretending to pity him and feeding him on hopes that tariff, free trade, fiat money, gold standard, free silver, imperialism and other nostrums would be just as good as getting off his back. That donkey is the working mule. He has been carrying his masters through all the ages of the past, eating thistles and having his back worn in sores, first here, then aft, and yet he listens to the city tongues of the masters who possess all his labor as created. The donkey can see him wherever you look, his stupid face, his ragged clothes, his lean, lank hungry eyes peering out from a shabby head covering, his miserable stable that answers him for a home.

He is! Mr. Debs should conduct his campaign of 1916 as he goes along. He can save mileage in that way.

1910 census valuation of farm property of America was, in round numbers, forty billion dollars, or three times the value of all the railroads and manufacturing plants in America, a college man wrote me that it was impossible, since the census valuation of the farms of America in 1900 was only twenty billions. I looked it up and found we both were right. The valuation of farm property in America has more than doubled in ten years, yet the farm product has scarcely increased at all. It may justly be said two-thirds of the valuation is fictitious. But it is not like the fictitious values given railroads and manufacturing, through watered stocks, in order to afford them dominance over farming. By reason of controlling the markets they were able to collect div-



As a basis for political and commercial control of America, few capitals, located for the most part in New York City, secured grants for railroads aggregating territory as large as ten of the original states, as Henry Clay, Hyde puts it, as Germany and France combined. Not only this, but sufficient money was given them to build the railroads. The consequence was that New York, which insured continuous tribute from all the country. Added to this, and the tariffs already assured, New York, controlling the bank clearances, secured control of the currency, and through these various means has been able to rule absolutely the rest of the country.

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THE use of public lands given to a few, of tariffs, bonuses, grants, franchises and charters and control of money, in order to give one section the wealth and consequent dominance of America, has resulted in these peculiar conditions.

1. It has built up almost unnumberable cities and towns at the expense of the country, in a loose effort to effect distribution, with all the problems that come of this unnatural condition.

2. It has advertised for and imported from a dozen races seven times as many cheap workers as the south brought here, of African slaves, who have become, through competition in a market controlled by the men who were, by sly, made masters of America, wage slaves, barely able to exist, making new social, racial and sectional problems of tremendous import.

3. It has given New York and the northeast political as well as financial and industrial dominance, that cannot be broken by agitation or complaint, but only through restoring a balance of financial power, based largely on national monopoly of money and banking. Until that is begun we will get our literature and (lack of) religion from the city, and even the Socialist party will be dominated by the city and the northeast.

To sum up: The history of America, so far, has been an account of conquest, by classes, by sections, by races; this conquest had land as its primary basis; the dominance of parties has accurately followed the sectional idea as developed through shifting of land values; and there can be no ending of racial prejudice, of sectional fights, and of class struggles so long as competition for property remains in force.

The new problems that come because of these conditions and the new elements that enter into the situation just now creating new parties and new viewpoints, together with the war that has broken out, make the only remedy, will be prescribed next week.

Embryo Socialists.

Great stress is laid by some embryo Socialists on the dictum that Socialism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class, but a theory compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the capitalist class, from its present narrow conditions. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely useless, and sometimes worse, in practice. So long as the wealthy classes not only do not feel the want of any emancipation, but strenuously oppose the self emancipation of the working class, so long the social revolution will have to be prepared and fought out by the working class alone. The French bourgeois of 1780, too, declared the emancipation of the bourgeoisie to be the emancipation of the whole human race; but the nobility and clergy would not see it; the proposition—though for the time being, with respect to feudalism, an abstract historic truth—soon became a mere sentimentalism, and disappeared from view altogether in the fire of the revolutionary struggle. And today, the very people who, from the "impartiality" of their superior standpoint, preach to the workers a Socialism soaring high above their class interests and class struggles, and tending to reconcile in a higher humanity the interests of both the contending classes—these abstract but absolute non-physies, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worst enemies of the workers—wolves in sheep's clothing.

The Newspaper Cartoon.

The newspaper cartoon is a democrat. Some day the inventor of it will rank with Gutenberg, for in enlightening the people on public affairs it is to red ink and capitals what the light is to the tallow dip. Give it much of the credit for the growing failure of the bosses to hoodwink the voters. It is like the Greek fire that saved civilization from the Turks. Lie? Of course the political machine, too, can launch its cartoons, but a false cartoon is like a wet rocket. It does not go off.—"Changing America," by Edward A. Ross.

Refers to Kier Hardy.

Mr. Debs, the Socialist candidate for president, is to have assistance from England. However, as the voting is to be done in this country, he is in no danger of being crowded out of last place at the polls.

Teddy Has No Grievance.

Mr. Debs and the colonel should sue each other for plagiarism and infringement of copyright.

A Job! This is what the Taff managers offer for your vote. There is a strike tied to the job, of course. That string is the flint of a master who can sell what you produce. If you cannot find a master of this kind—God alone knows what you can do. Socialism offers you the opportunity to own your job. When you do that you control the job. No one but yourself can discharge you. Figures now available prove that even with the crude machinery and wasteful methods of today, enough wealth is produced in the United States to give every family an annual income of \$2,000 per year. You will find these figures and the argument to support them in Warren's new pamphlet, "One Hoss and a Six-Hour Work Day." This pamphlet is not for sale, but will be given away to those who get subscribers for the APPEAL during the month of October. Send the APPEAL four subscribers and get four copies. You may secure more subscribers and get more pamphlets.

Little Classics

No Dignity in Labor.

I CANNOT help saying that a great deal of nonsense is being written and talked nowadays about the dignity of manual labor. There is nothing necessarily dignified about manual labor at all, and most of it is absolutely degrading. It is mentally and morally injurious to man to do anything in which he does not find pleasure, and many forms of labor are quite pleasureless activities, and should be regarded as such.

To sweep a slushy crossing for eight hours on a day when the east wind blowing is a disgusting occupation. To sweep with mental, moral, or physical dignity seems to be impossible. A sweep with joy would be appreciated. Man is made for something better than disturbing dirt. All work of that kind should be done by a machine.

And I have no doubt that it will be so. Up to the present, man has been to a certain extent, the slave of machinery, and there is something tragic in the fact that as soon as man has invented a machine to do his work he begins to starve. This, however, is, of course, the result of our property system of competition.

One man owns a machine which does the work of five hundred men. Five hundred men are, in consequence, thrown out of employment, and being no work to do, become hungry and take to thieving.

Embryo Socialists.

Great stress is laid by some embryo Socialists on the dictum that Socialism is not a mere party doctrine of the working class, but a theory compassing the emancipation of society at large, including the capitalist class, from its present narrow conditions. This is true enough in the abstract, but absolutely useless, and sometimes worse, in practice. So long as the wealthy classes not only do not feel the want of any emancipation, but strenuously oppose the self emancipation of the working class, so long the social revolution will have to be prepared and fought out by the working class alone. The French bourgeois of 1780, too, declared the emancipation of the bourgeoisie to be the emancipation of the whole human race; but the nobility and clergy would not see it; the proposition—though for the time being, with respect to feudalism, an abstract historic truth—soon became a mere sentimentalism, and disappeared from view altogether in the fire of the revolutionary struggle. And today, the very people who, from the "impartiality" of their superior standpoint, preach to the workers a Socialism soaring high above their class interests and class struggles, and tending to reconcile in a higher humanity the interests of both the contending classes—these abstract but absolute non-physies, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worst enemies of the workers—wolves in sheep's clothing.

The Newspaper Cartoon.

The newspaper cartoon is a democrat. Some day the inventor of it will rank with Gutenberg, for in enlightening the people on public affairs it is to red ink and capitals what the light is to the tallow dip. Give it much of the credit for the growing failure of the bosses to hoodwink the voters. It is like the Greek fire that saved civilization from the Turks. Lie? Of course the political machine, too, can launch its cartoons, but a false cartoon is like a wet rocket. It does not go off.—"Changing America," by Edward A. Ross.

Refers to Kier Hardy.

Mr. Debs, the Socialist candidate for president, is to have assistance from England. However, as the voting is to be done in this country, he is in no danger of being crowded out of last place at the polls.

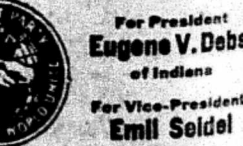
Teddy Has No Grievance.

Mr. Debs and the colonel should sue each other for plagiarism and infringement of copyright.

Socialist National Ticket

For President **Eugene V. Debs** of Indiana
For Vice-President **Emil Seldel** of Wisconsin

Vote under this emblem



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