O NOT overlook the importance of making a list of the progressive republicans and democrats in your voting precinct. We need these men and they need our literature

# A Personal Word to the Friends of This Paper...

MID the crumbling ruins of political parties, the Socialist movement stands the framers of the present constitution have built wiser than they knew in proserene and confident pointing the way out of this industrial hell into which the country has been plunged after a century of capitalist exploitation. This is the Socialist's year or opportunity. Twenty years of ceaseless agitation have not served so well to make plain to the American people the purpose and necessity of our work as have the disclosures of the past two months. It is no longer necessary for us to waste our time in arguing that the democratic and republican parties are the twin arms of predatory wealth-Root at Chicago and Parker at Baltimore prove that. Nine-tenths of the newspapers this very day are telling their readers frankly that Wall street dominated the two conventions, named the candidates and wrote the platforms. As plain as the noonday sun is this plutocratic control.

Our work, therefore, has been much simplified by these disclosures and our task is merely that of convincing the puzzled and perplexed voters that Socialism is the solution of all our industrial and social problems. To this work we of the Army and the Appeal, must apply all our energies and resources. It is no exaggeration to say that upon the work you and I do before the votes are counted this fall depends our own welfare and the welfare of our children and of all the future generations. Impressed as I am at this moment with the grave responsibility which rests upon our shoulders I have determined to make a statement which many of you will doubtless protest should not be made. You will reason that the wise general never discloses to the enemy his weakness; rather will he put on a bold front and bluff the battle through in the hope that luck may come to his aid. I fully realize the great joy that will come to our political opponents when they read what is to follow. It will give our enemies who have been on our trail great comfort, and encourage them to renewed activity in the hope that they can strangle the APPEAL to death before we recover our breath.

GURES are not always interesting, but before I can make myself clear to you, it will be necessary for you to study carefully the brief report of the APPEAL's operations since the first of the year. This table shows the number of subscriptions received during the first six months of 1912:

	Total for month	Average per day	
January	37,426	1,207	
February	62,904	2,250	
March (banner month)	91,874	2,960	
April	69,476	2,331	
May	56,774	1,828	
June (22 days)	27,769	1,260	

It requires the receipts from 2,400 subscriptions (\$600) each and every day to meet the enormous expense necessary to maintain this giant with its circulation of close to 700,000 copies per week. The daily expense for each day of 1911, counting seven days to the week, was \$619.15. The average daily expense for 1912 will be larger because today we are printing a greater number of papers than the average per week last year. Our estimates place the expense for this year at a little over \$700 per day. The difference between the income from 2,400 subscriptions per day (\$600) and the expense of running the office is made up from the receipts from advertising and the sale of extra papers. By referring to the table printed above you will see that during one month only did the income exceed the expenditures. February and April nearly balanced accounts. The other three months show a loss that is becoming serious. And this is what I want to talk to you about. At the very beginning of the greatest campaign in our history, the Appeal finds itself face to face with a crisis so grave that I have decided to place all the facts before its friends and leave the future of the Ap-PEAL in your hands. There comes a time in the life of every man when it is necessary to speak plainly and without reservation. This is likewise true of newspapers that have been established to espouse an unpopular cause. Such a time has been reached in the life of the APPEAL.

IGHT years ago on the morning of one of those days that fixes itself indelibly on memory's record, Comrade Wayland called me to his home. On my arrival my first glance into his face told me that some question of moment was to be decided.

I had then known the "One Hoss," as we in the office affectionately called him, about four years, I had come to the APPEAL from a country village to take hace in the composing room. I liked the work for my heart was in it. My enthusiasm was boundless and I worked with an eagerness that knew no weariness. From printer to foreman and from foreman to associate editor, then editor, were the successive steps of my connection with the greatest publication in the world. My ambition to work for Socialism was being realized. During these four years I had assumed no responsibility as to the financial affairs of the paper. The problem of getting subscribers, of meeting the pay-roll, paying the postage and paper bills, were matters entirely foreign to the little world in which I lived and moved. That was Comrade Wayland's part of the job, and even I, as intimately associated with him as I had been during these four years, knew little of the struggle and burden of those pioneering days to keep the APPEAL affoat and free from debt. Nor will anyone ever know what those years. of struggle and hardship cost our comrade.

On that morning Wayland's face was lined with the furrows of care; the skin, tightly drawn, was pale; from the eyes came a look of great weariness; he seemed a man seventy years of age, though he was just in the prime of lifescarcely fifty. Vilified, traduced, criticised by friend and foe alike, Wayland, I readily perceived, felt that he had reached the limit of his endurance. The burden of maintaining the APPEAL in the face of such frightful odds had become a greater burden than one man could carry. Some time prior to this he had offered the APPEAL to the national organization of the Socialist party. This offer was refused. Under the party constitution the party was prohibited from publishing an official organ. This provision was introduced into the constitution to prevent a recurrence of the disaster that had overtaken the old Socialist Labor party, very largely because of the manner in which the official paper had been used by those in power to run affairs independent of the membership.

"Fred, if the APPEAL is to live to fulfill what I believe to be its mission you

must take charge of the paper from now on."

This is what Wayland said to me. I protested that the spirit of depression would pass and that tomorrow affairs would look more hopeful. He shook his head sadly. "I am resolved on this change; I know when I have reached the limit of my endurance and my resources. I do not propose to jeopardize this great institution, built up by the Socialists of this country, by hard work and sacrifice. I had hoped that the party would take over the APPEAL, but perhaps

viding that the party should not engage in the publication of an official paper that might easily be made the organ of a clique, to be used against the interests of the entire membership."

After a discussion that continued all day and far into the night it was decided that I should lease the paper for a term of ten years. The terms of the lease provided for the payment of a rental of \$1.00 per year with the provision that I should be permitted to spend any surplus the paper might accumulate in any manner calculated, in my judgment, to promote the propaganda of Socialism.

What has happened during the strenuous years since I assumed the management of the Appeal is a matter of history with most of you. From a circulation of 175,000 copies per week the paper has steadily grown until today it proudly boasts of the fact that it has a larger list of subscribers than any political newspaper in the world. What this splendid result has cost in time and energy, in heartaches and tears, can never be known. Most of you see only the bold and aggressive and successful side of the Appeal. Of the struggle that goes on here in the office to maintain unimpaired the fighting front of the paper, those on the outside can know nothing. The public will support and applaud a winner. It despises a loser. The APPEAL has always been a winner!

DURING the eight years of my responsible editorship of the APPEAL, it has been my dream to formulate a plan that would automatically maintain and increase the circulation. The measure of the APPEAL's influence is determined by the number of its subscribers. The ordinary and orthodox schemes used by capitalist newspapers are unworkable on the APPEAL. The use of premiums and prizes, on which most of the capitalist newspaper successes have been built, have long since been abandoned by this paper. The subscriptions that come to the APPEAL through the offer of extraordinary inducements are of little value to either the paper or Socialism. I early made this discovery and so I resolved to hit upon some other method. There are two ways to move men to action—an appeal to their cupidity and to their fighting spirit. The APPEAL adopted the latter course-behold the result!

The APPEAL has made its greatest strides forward under the lash of persecution. The APPEAL Army has always responded, as the figures printed in the above table eloquently testify, when we have been attacked by unscrupulous and prejudiced government officials. These attacks, however, by the government are beyond our control and they are at best an uncertain method of building the subscription list to a revolutionary newspaper.

After the flood of subscriptions which reached us during March and April, due to the wholly unjustified attack by the government, there came a very decided and alarming reaction. After the victory, in the rejoicing and jubilation, many of you forgot that the APPEAL still needed fuel in the form of subscriptions. You felt that you had earned a well-deserved vacation from this rather prosaic work of getting subscriptions. But the APPEAL can't stop! The expenses go on just the same, increasing with each day. The fixed charges of the APPEAL can only be, with the greatest difficulty, reduced. When they are raised to meet the extraordinary influx of subscriptions, it is almost impossible to put them down after the tide has passed. That is the situation in which the APPEAL finds itself at this moment.

N my experimenting for a plan that would solve the circulation problem on the APPEAL, we hit upon the idea of holding subscription meetings with a paid admission, each ticket being good for a forty-week subscription. This plan met with immediate success. It combined the advantages of platform and newspaper propaganda. In the two years the subscription lectures were conducted, more than three hundred meetings were held attended by more than 300,-000 persons, each of whom became a subscriber to the APPEAL. Comrade Debs was enthusiastic over the results following these meetings. Not only did it give him an opportunity to talk face to face with the people who attended the meetings, but through the APPEAL he was able to talk to them each week for forty weeks. Other speakers were put on the platform on this basis and we were encouraged to believe that the long-sought circulation plan that would give the APPEAL a million subscribers had been discovered. Like all good things it was coveted by others. The national secretary of the Socialist party visited Girard and announced that the national organization proposed to establish a lyceum bureau modelled along the same lines as those on which the APPEAL bureau was being conducted. It was pointed out that the party could operate these subscription meetings much more successfully than the APPEAL. While the negotiations between us were conducted in the most friendly and comradely manner, the APPEAL was given to understand that unless we withdrew our speakers that it would be looked upon as an unfriendly act toward the party organization. Those of you who have followed the APPEAL's career are aware that it has been our policy in no way to interfere with the work of the national organization, contenting ourselves with doing the pioneer work necessary to secure new recruits. We immediately cancelled the dates that were partially arranged for and took up other lines of work. During the months last winter covered by the national lyceum course, the Appeal turned down one hundred applications for Debs meetings which would have brought to this paper more than 125,000 subscriptions. The loss to the APPEAL during these months seriously handicapped the paper in the work I had planned to do. Not only that, but it are seriously into our reserve fund. The national secretary had promised that if the APPEAL would abandon its subscription meetings that we should receive many more subscriptions through the national lyceum than we had through our own bureau. The number so received was 10,291, merely a fraction of the results from the Debs subscription meetings which in the two seasons of its operation brought us 300,000. It turned out as I had anticipated, that a very considerable portion of those who patronized the national lyceum course were already readers of the APPEAL and as a consequence the number of subscriptions we received was very small indeed. The best statement on the merits of the two plans is that made by the Free Press of East Liverpool, Ohio, which is as follows:

A national referendum is up for discussion, to-wit: "Shall the National Lecture Course be endorsed for next year?"

At first glance one would be inclined to say, "yes, of course." But let us take a closer look at this matter. The lecture course tickets sell for one dollar. The experience of those who carried the lecture course through successfully last year, and who failed in trying to do so this year, is, that one dollar is too much money for the average old party voter to pay for political instruction. He is too much used to getting what he considers is the same thing for nothing. Of course he is wrong in this view, but that fact does not make him any keener to pay one dollar for the fun of testing whether he is in wrong politically or not.

Previous to the putting on of the national course, the APPEAL TO REASON had a staff of lecturers in the field on a subscription basis. That was a single lecture, twenty-five

cents admission. Each admission ticket bearing a stub good for forty weeks' subscription

cents admission. Each admission ticket bearing a stub good for forty weeks' subscription to the Affeal. This increased the list of the Affeal enormously.

And as the Affeal, list increased just so the membership of the party increased. And in a like ratio the Socialist vote increased. But with the putting on of the national course the Affeal, withdrew its operations along this line and since then the Affeal's list of subscribers has marked time only.

When we put on the N. L. C. last year we sold about 500 tickets, mainly to Socialists; people who had already formed an appetite for Socialist literature. In other words, we were taking carcasses out of our game bags and shooting our ammunition into them. And it took strenuous efforts to sell our 500 tickets. This year we could only sell 120 and had to stop the course at the second lecture with severe financial loss.

Two months previous to this fiasco we put 1,500 people into the Ceramic theater to hear Debs. At least 800 of them were non-Socialists. And these people are getting right along a warm dose of Socialism every week through their subscription to the Affeal. Then it is safe to say that four out of five of the rest of the audience, being already on the list of the Affeal, have sent their ticket stub to a non-Socialist friend.

If endorsing the National Lecture course means driving the Affeal lectures who are on a subscription basis off the field let us not indorse it. Even though it means that twenty or thirty well-paid lecturers must go back to soap-boxing. Worse calamities than that could happen.

Let our exceedingly effective machine gun (the APPEAL) keep up its exescution. Don't ct any regiment, no matter how brilliant it appears crowd it off the field, for the purpose of firing into the already slain bodies of the enemy.

FTER the wreck to these subscription plans, we began immediately to de-A vise other methods. Fortunately for the circulation at this crisis the department of justice took a hand in the game and gave the circulation a boost that lifted the list of subscriptions beyond the half-million mark. That is merely temporary. Some method more substantial and permanent is necessary. The plan most frequently suggested to the APPEAL by members of the Army that would solve our circulation troubles was to ask each of our readers to get one subscriber each week. That looked easy and practical, but long experience has proven that a simple request is not sufficient to move the average man to action. One-half the Appeal Army (the old guard) needs no prompting on our part to do its share of the work. Unfortunately, the work of one-half the APPEAL Army will not keep this paper afloat. As the paper grows, and our expenses increase, it is necessary to have new people added to the Army roll. Our problem then is to interest these new ones and to move them to action. Finally, however, in response to numerous letters suggesting this plan it was decided to call for 50,000 volunteers who would pledge themselves to send one subscription a week until the Appeal's list reached a million. The plan looked feasible and attractive. It was commended upon every side, many of our readers becoming enthuisastic over the prospects of an early realization of our dream of a Million subscribers. But here is what happened: Each comrade seemed to think that his neighbor would join in this work and, therefore, that it was not necessary to pledge himself to the simple task of getting one subscription a week. The members of the old guard, that portion of the APPEAL Army that has been boosting the paper during all these trying years of struggle, rejoiced in the fact that they could now take a rest without jeopardizing the existence of their favorite paper. It will, therefore, come as a surprise to our readers to know that less than 1,000to be exact, 608-readers of the APPEAL have pledged themselves to get one subscription a week. We are thus forced to admit a humiliating defeat-the first in our history. I believe you are entitled to know the facts so that you may he'p us devise ways and means to put the APPEAL back on its feet. I cannot explain why there has been so poor a response to what appeared to be a very practical plan and one that required so little effort. It may be that the request was such a simple one that it did not attract your attention. You have never failed to do the big thing when asked by the APPEAL, but it would seem that when we ask all of you to put forth a small effort, you pass it by as too insignificant and too unimportant for your prompt attention.

Or it may be that in the judgment of the APPEAL Army this paper has reached the end of its usefulness. Comrade Wayland and I, in talking about the APPEAL's future, have agreed that unless the APPEAL brings to itself a sufficient support to maintain it that we shall never issue a plea for help on the ground that the paper should be maintained because of what it has done in the past. So long as the APPEAL is useful and of value to the Socialist movement, I believe it will be supported by the Socialists. When it no longer receives that support then we here in the office must take it as your notice that you have found other ways to carry on your work for Socialism.

The demands on the Socialists for their time and their money was never greater than it is today. A hundred calls are being made-many of them so insistent that you cannot ignore them. Scores of struggling newspapers are pleading with you for help; national, state and local campaigns are to be financed; imprisoned and brutally treated comrades are asking that you come to their

These struggling papers and these comrades need your help, and I would not have you relax for one moment the work you are doing in their behalf. But the Appeal at this time faces the gravest crisis in all its career. Therefore if we are to keep this magnificent fighting machine going, you must redouble your efforts and give the Appeal the benefit of that extra work.

The situation in a nutshell is this: Unless there is a decided increase in the number of subscriptions received, and that too without delay, the Appeal cannot continue more than two months. All the fabulous wealth credited to Wayland and myself by the lying capitalist newspapers will not keep this giant machine afloat. Even if it were sufficient, the influence of the Appeal without a paid list of subscribers would amount to little. The experienced agitator knows the value of the subscriber who pays his own money for the paper. To get that sort of subscriptions requires on your part only the effort of asking the man-of asking every man you meet to subscribe. I appeal to those of you who have been converted to Socialism by this paper and to those of you who have used the Appeal with success in your work for Socialism to lend us your hand for the next ten days and give us time to get our breath and out from under this load that is threatening the existence of the Appeal. In other words, dear comrades, you must become the circulation managers of the Appeal. I have done my best. It is now up to you. With these facts in your possession, I leave the Appeal in your hands, confident that your decision will be for the FRED D. WARREN. good of Socialism.

Girard, Kansas, July 1st.

A sor like Vincent Astor inherits the flions his father did not earn. He is towner, not of the slave's body, but towner of the wealth producing power the men and women who must use land to which he claims title. The lense of capitalism, that the capitalearned his wealth, does not hold good the Agreat many industries like wear land to which he claims title. The lense of capitalism, that the capitalearned his wealth, does not hold good the Agreat many industries like wear land to which the claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which the claims title. The leading industries like wear land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which the claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. The leading industries has not increased. The trust land to which he claims title. the Astor case, nor is it true of the



tested in income producing property. The passing years thus finds the surplus for re-investment targer than during the more machines that were brought together the more saw maiorial that from the producing system of the work is the surplus for re-investment targer than during the more machines that were brought together the more passing years thus finds the surplus for re-investment targer than during the more machines that were brought together the more read as the time, and the more machines wealth. The serious qualities will the notion's wealth. The serious qualities of the working class that pays tribute to Astor and his kind remain quescent while this process of absorption of the working class that pays tribute of all the notion's wealth. The stribute of the working class that pays tribute of the work in the product of the working class that pays tribute of the working class that pays tribute of the work of the work in the pays class of the work of t

THE Vogue, one of the ultra-fashionable journals that circulates exclusively among the rich, has this to say about Father Vaughan's lectures on Socialism: "We are at last beginning to realize what a wide gulf there is between Socialism and anarchy, and we are not quite ready to accept Father Vaughan's assertion that this doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man is based upon the negation of the existence of the supreme being. With all due respect to that brilliant, pursuasive and learned lecturer this is a medieval bogey which fails to frighten us now because we know it is falsity."



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let for capital. But for twenty years the number of firms in the leading industries has not increased. The trust has come to stay. Meanwhile the profits from millions of wage workers are piling up in the hands of the masters of the machines. The accumulated surplus taken from the workers is seeking many outlets of investment. It has ransacked the world, it has forced its way into China, gone into the dark corners of Africa, searched out the islands of the sea, but still it piles ever higher. The coming of the great machine to agriculture means an opportunity for investment of capital, means the pouring of millions into farming. Already the beginnings of this are seen and within the last few months the trade journals and the great manufacturers of accordances. A CENTURY ago there was a revolution that created the factory. A great many industries like weaving and spinning and working in iron and making shoes that had always been done by hand, or with machines driven by hand or animal power, went through a tremendous transformation. The change consisted in the application of steam and later of electricity and other forms of mechanical power to the tools.

tion of feed barns, for shelter and all the multitudinous tasks that make the much hated "chores" on the farm.

While the sod was turned and the crops gathered by man and animal power this is a medieval bogey which fails to frighten us now because we know it is falsity."

Captralism is like an old tree in the middle of the field. Its roots go deep but it is sapping the land and running the crops and it must be dug out.

Carty the Emblem

Carty the Emblem

Carty the Combinem of the universe of the substant of the combinem of the farm. To day great farm tractors are being manufactured by the thousands that can move across the field under the direction of a single man, and as they go plow the land, croust the clods, scatter the seeds and cover them within a single operation, cover them within a single operation, and doing all of them better than they could be done with the horse drawn

When the field work is done this new when the held work is done this new mechanical servant can be hitched to a hundred other tasks. It can pump the water, cut the silage, grind the feed and even milk the cows. If this last sounds fanciful it is only because you have not noticed the fact that at the present time one of the largest manu-facturers of cream separators in this country is offering for sale a mechani-car milker guaranteed to milk one huncountry is offering for sale a mechani-car milker guaranteed to milk one hun-dred cows in an hour with the care of

These machines will transform the These machines will transform the farm as the steam engine has transformed the factory. Their expense places them beyond the reach of the little farmer. The last census shows that the value of the machinery on the average farm throughout the United States is less than \$200. The largest and most economical of these tractors alone cost from three to five thousand dollars, and the machinery adjusted to its giant strength is almost equally costly. Once purchased, however, a man operating one of them can do the man operating one of them can do the work of from ten to twenty men using horses, and can do it quicker and better.

tenants, and will organize such farms

socially, owning them socially, operating them in common, as we are now wastes, it can lighten the toil of milowning and operating our schools and highways then this threstened danger.

highways, then this threatened danger can be averted.

in industry can be made a mighty engine of evil or of good. It can produce with

Such a machine requires large areas. It will not tolerate the narrow fenced confines of the little farm. It will burst down boundary lines as the great trust has already burst asunder the bonds that once confined other industries to narrow neighborhoods.

This mechanical transformation comes

This mechanical transformation comes at a moment when other great changes are taking place in agriculture. To the fortunate few who posses land, the last ten years have been years of apparent prosperity because of the swiftly rising prices of land. From 1860 to 1900 the price of the average farm in the United Sates fluctuated between three and four thousand dellars. But during this of the United States combined, and that on this land is raised one-half the farm values of America, and if you exclude cotton a very much higher percentage, farms are already valued at an average \$10.000 each.

Here, then, a change has already taken

Here, then, a change has already taken place, which long ago took place in industry. The price of the tools with which the work must be done has grown so great that the laborer can no longer hope to own them, but must resign himself to a life long tenantry. That this is true is shown by the fact that in these states tenantry is increasing at a swiftly growing rate and that in many of the localities in which the land is most valuable and the product the greatest, more than half of the land is operated by tenants. by tenants.

Here is a black outlook for the chil-dren of the farms. For them there are

dren of the farms. For them there are but two alternatives, the city slums or the tenant shack. The swiftly rising percentage of the tenantry, the steadily declining population, the ever decreasing number of owners and the ever enlarging farm all emphasize the same story. The farm is casting out its children now faster than ever before. Until ten years ago, while the city grew faster than the country in population, yet both were growing. But for a decade the population on the farms in the great agricultural states has absolutely grown

tenants or wage slaves in the city slums. Socialism would use the knowledge gained by the U. S. department of agriculture in discovering the best soils for each crop, and on these soils would give an opportunity for the farmers'

give an opportunity for the farmers' sons and the farm laborers and the tenant farmer to co-operate and to produce vastly more than they can produce under the present individualistic unsystematic methods in agriculture, and would make it certain that all this increased product would be the control of the increased product would whose labor created it. ould go to the Socialist National Ticket

EUGENE V. DEBS For Vice-President EMIL SEIDEL of Wiscopsin

THE public indebtedness of the national, state and municipal government's corporation bonds amounts to over fif-teen billion dollars. It will come to

THE GOT TO HAUL THIS ROCK OFF BEFORE I GET THE RIGHT USE

OF THIS FIELD

The Farmer and Unionism

teen billion dollars. It will come to about \$173 for each inhabitant in addition to their own private indebtedness. These debts and the interest on them must be paid out of the products of the working people of this country. Three-fourths of this indebtedness was incurred without the consent of the people who must pay it.

The owners of the machinery of production have the farmers at their mercy. Last year when the farmers owing to hard times and andebtedness could not hold their cotton in a fight for higher prices the masters of the markets reduced prices 40 per cent. Will you never learn to run your own business?

We must all pull together for the Cooperative Commonwealth. Don't any of you fly back on the whiffletree.

in this country committed to unionism. On the other hand, the farmer who is inclined to be radical (and the populist more with all its vagaries, shows that many farmers were ready to break away from conventionalities), believes that Socialism, in talking so much about unionism is catering to mere "labour unionism is catering to mere "labour politics," whether that talk favor trades unionism or industrial unionism, instead of seeking Socialist action. He sees in the union of the city a force that is co-operating with the capitalists to give undue strength to the big city and to cut down the revenues of the farmer. He dislikes the attitude of fighting for the raise of wages when he believes that by using the land wisely unemployment can be so relieved that raise of wages will come automatically without a fight.

There is some ground for these as-

you fly back on the whiffletree.

Canadian Rates.

Single subscription in Canada \$1 per year. In clubs of four or more Going to same rows, seventy-five ceuts per year. No Life Subscription accepted from Canada and right viewpoint, the criticisms be-

AMERICAN

FARM

The Farmer and Unionism.

It is conceded that in order to win in America it will be necessary for the wage worker and the actual farmer to "get together." Preliminary to this work it is desirable that each study the other's viewpoint, noting the places of approach, and considering how ideas that apparently confict may readily be reconciled.

There has been a misunderstanding one of the other. Some have insisted that the farmer was an exploiter, even the man who really worked at agriculture with his hands, because he exacted a "profit" from what he sold, and hence had no place in the Socialist movement; but happily that idea is no longer held except by a few extremists. Others are inclined to laugh at some of the demands of the farmers' movement in populist days, considering them middle class in aspect, and so, unworthy of a consideration. Others find fault with the rural population because it is not in the other hand, the farmer who is inclined to be radical (and the populist may committed to unionism.

On the other hand, the farmer who is inclined to be radical (and the populist may for movement, with all its vagaties, as shows that many farmers were ready to break away from conventionalities), be lieves that Socialism, in talking so much albout unionism is catering to mere "labor to politics," whether that talk favor trades unionism or industrial unionism, instance of the farmer. He dislikes the attitude of farmer. He dislikes the attitude of farmer. He dislikes the attitude of farmer, He dislikes the attitude of farmer with the rural socialism of the care was another viewpoint, from which all the charges appear unjust. From a third and right viewpoint, the criticisms be discovered the intervence of the convence of the con

the elements that have appeared up to this time to slightly diverge. It is not only the place where union of the element can occur, but it is also the one and final remedy.

and final remedy.

We can afford to drop our criticisms; we can afford to ignore the unessentials; we can afford to ignore the unessentials; we can unite on the one assault on capitalism that counts. The red flag has its place and appeals to thousands; it speaks of universal solidarity; but it is only a symbol, and the reality is of vastly more importance than symbols. The philosophy of Socialism is good in helping to an understanding of the situation and how to accomplish results; but if a million men are ready to make an immediate assault on the citadel of capitalism, shall we wait until we organize a school and teach them philosophy? No! Let us get the real thing. Let us go after that which means bread, butter and brotherhood. Let us unite to do, not seperate to talk about how and what to do. They on the firing line learn of the class struggle as well as they who moon over books and learn quicker. They who have to plan to win learn the philosophy of success more truly than they who merely study opinions and speculations. We want to translate words into life. Move forward; that, rather than talking makes a movement. We can afford to drop our criticisms

# THE HARVESTER TRUST.

The International Harvester company s out with a little pamphlet telling why he Harvester trust was organized. They tell of how the original competing companies in their "selling methods" had degenerated into a bitter, ruthless, wasteful warfare" and that it was seen that if something was not done "ruin faced the majority of the companies." It says that the "organization of one large comthat the "organization of one large com-pany was the only solution." This is what the Socialists have said all the time. However, the Socialists believe in the social ownership of the "one big company" for the profit of all the peo-ple and you farmers know for whose profit the Harvester trust is run.

They have a wonderful organization.
According to their statement they own their own timber lands and coal lands and produce most of their own steel.

and produce most of their own steel. In fact, they are oractically independent of all outside organizations. They



order this will be stopped and the farmer will receive the full value of his product and it will sell to the consumer at the farmer's prices plus the cost of manufacture only. It will take Socialism to eliminate the middleman.

A SOUTHERN farmer receives on an average of \$50 per bale for his cotton. The consumer of cotton goods pays something like \$600 per bale for the cloth. A farmer who produces twelve hales of cotton could only buy back one. Allowing a liberal amount for cost of manufacture and transportation he should be able to buy back half of what he produced as it does not cost as much to manufacture a bale of cotton into cloth as it does to produce it.



# Big \$3 Sample Case of Linro Products Free

# \$3 to \$10 a Day Easy

Money just R-O-Datting among your spare time chatting among your from \$1.00 to \$10.00 a day extra RASILY. And you don't need any experience. I make it so easy that you can't fail. You have 137 different articles to show. YOU GIVE COSTLY PREMIUMS TO YOUR CUSTOMERS, TOO. This always bring orders and keeps them coming.

# Send No Money—Merely Your Name and Address

H. N. MARPLE, Pres., LINRO COMPANY

# **Agents Wanted**

Bingle copy, Scients, Postpaid; 5 for \$1.00-10 for \$1.50; 21 for \$1.00; 20 for \$1.00; 00 for \$1.20; 20 for \$1.20; American Liberty Pub. Co. (Not inc.) Dept. 2 Sex \$14 Chicago, IR.

# AGENTS \$28 a Week THOMAS HOSIERY CO.





This Suit Free 1

AGENTS WANTED

# Why Life on the Farm is Rocky

some considerable prominence in the campaign this year. Both the republican and democratic conventions have The trust in agriculture, as the trust made bids for farmer votes. This is platform which announces the extrathe horrors of unemployment and wage of loaning money to the farmers at slavery and exploitation that are now low rates of interest, arguing that the found in the city slum. But the organs of Wall street and the railroads and the bank trusts and all sideration as the buisness men. We the other long line of trusts tell the do not have to go very far to discover the years have been years of apparent prosperity because of the swiftly rising prices of land. From 1860 to 1900 the price of the average farm in the United Sates fluctuated between three and four thousand dollars. But during this last decade it leaped at once to \$6.444. him, have already taking the farm away from lim, have already taken it from more last the territory within 600 miles of the city of Chicago, and it must be remembered that the farm property in this bered that the farm property in this value produced on the farm from those iterritory is as valuable as in all the rest of the United States combined, and that on this land is raised one-half the farm property in the territory of the United States combined, and that of the United States combined, and that of the property in the property in this large produced on the farm from those who still retain the ownership, and now able farm land in the United States is now in the possession of a newly control of the price of the steam roller in Chicago. A careful analysis of the 1910 census bulletins, just printed, discloses the startling and distressing fact that more than half they are proparing, through their control of the United States combined, and that they are preparing, through their control of the United States combined and the property in the cause for this solicitude for the farmer on the part of the cause for this solicitude for the farmer on the part of the gang that operated the steam roller in Chicago. A careful analysis of the 1910 census bulletins, just printed, discloses the startling and distressing fact that more than half they are produced on the farm from those iterations are preparable to the cause for this solicitude for the farmer on the part of the cause for this solicitude for the farmer on the part of the cause for this solicitude for the farmer on the part of the cause for this solicitude for the farmer on the part of the cause for this solicitude for the farmer on the part of the cause for this solicitude for the farmer on the pa who still retain the ownership, and now they are preparing, through their control of these great new machines, to take the rest of the farms from the to the farmer just as the Socialists propose to return the tools and the machines to the workers. Just as the workers can do better and get more for themselves when they are joined together so as to own the great factories and railroads and mines in common, just so these new machines are making it necessary that the farmer should get together to own these new tools in common.

number of owners and the ever en'arging farm all emphasize the same story. The farm is casting out its children now faster than ever before. Until ten years ago, while the city grew faster than the country in population, yet both were growing. But for a decade the population on the farms in the great agricultural states has absolutely grown less. More important still is the fact that it is declining faster just where values are greatest, where the largest crops are raised, where land values are mounting most rapidly. There it is that the workers are being most rapidly. There it is that the workers are being most rapidly driven out.

This process will go still swifter in the immediate future.

Hitherto railroads, factories and the great and other machines to expensive for all a government for that the workers are being most rapidly driven out.

This process will go still swifter in the immediate future.

Hitherto railroads, factories and the great industries have offered an outcoming to vote in the country to de-cide how the farms shall be managed.

# The Pink Supplement

The farmer question will occupy farmers are entitled to as much conof the census investigation was care-They are airaid that the Socialists fully obscured, but the Appeal experts will prevent this, so they charge the Socialists with the crimes of the trusts that the farmer may not see who is really robbing him.

Socialists propose to return the land to the farmer just as the Socialists profigures. This one table, showing the Appeal army. The Pink Supple-

The Socialists are not coming to the farmer as some one from outside to make him do something he does not want to do The city worker is not coming out to run the farm, nor is he coming to vote in the country to the the carries in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink want to do The city worker is not coming out to run the farm, nor is he carries in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in the carries in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in the carries in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in the carries in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in the carries in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in the carries in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in the carries in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the carries in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the carries in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in the carries in his pistol pocket this edition of the Arsenal with the pink because in the carries in his pisto

## EXPLOITING THE FARMER. Occasionally our capitalist friends in

their eagerness to amass profits sometimes give the game away. A reader of the APPEAL, who is himself a business man of some importance in his commuparticularly true of the republican he received from a firm of cotton brokless labor, it can save a multitude of platform which announces the extra-lions or it can bring to the farm all ordinary and revolutionary proposition December, 1911. It reads as follows: Deer Sir—We wish to call your attention to the unusual opportunity which now exists in the purchase and holding of coton. A bale of cotton can now be bought in the interior market at around eight cents per pound or at about \$45 for a middling bale delivered in Houston. As it costs the average farmer more than \$40 to grow, pick and gin a bale of cotton you can readily see the profit to the merchant or exporter who is now buying and who will reap the profit which the farmer is rightfully entitled to and which he is not able to obtain through his mability to hold for readily see the profit to the merchant or exporter who is now buying and who will reap the profit which the farmer is right fully entitled to and which he is not able to obtain through his inability to hold for a higher market. Why not become a farmer for the time being. You can obtain the cotton now at cost of production and without the labor and worry which the farmer has had to raise it. We offer the following plan for your consideration:

1. We will purchase and hold for your individual account one or more bales of cotton which will be nurchased by us direct from the farmer and which will be shipped to Houston and warehoused there. We will say a warehouse receipt when cotton a rives showing cost, etc. Which receipt and statement will be sent you. In case you invest under this plan remit to us at the rate of \$10 per bale.

2. We will purchase one or more bales for your account as per plan (1) and advance or loan you \$30 per bale. In case you invest under this plan remit to us at the rate of \$10 per bale. Our charge is \$1 per bale you invest under the plan remit to purchase a larger profit. In case you invest under this plan remit at the rate of \$10 per bale. Our charge is \$1 per bale commission and \$3 cents per month warle commission and \$3 cents per world with t

This is an inside view of how the farmer is robbed of the wealth he produces from the land. If the figures given in the above letter are correct it proves that there is little opportunity for the man who owns his land to amass anything for a rainy day. THE class that owns the railroads that must haul your stuff to the factory and that own the factories, control the prices of your produce just the same as pri-vately owned dirt roads could control your local travel. Whose interests are ou voting for, your own or the toll

> Ask the "hired man" what time h starts to work in the morning.

A RAIN of Socialist ballots will produce a large crop of human happiness.

LAND "CAPITALIZATION."

It has been urged that the farmer is a capitalist. But he is not, except as he becomes an employer of others or a landiord. He has indeed an investment in land and machinery, but investment does not constitute capitalization, as understood in manufacture and transporters.

derstood in manufacture and transpor-tation. It is railuation rather than capi-italization, and valuation depends on lo-cation and the intensity of desire to buy or sell; it is purely an artificial thing. There is no more real value in land a hundred miles from the railroad than there is in land of like richness within a mile from market, but the valuation is very much greater. The valuation of land has to do with its sale more than its productivity, so is a part adjunct of

land has to do with its sale more than its productivity, so is a part adjunct of the idea of land ownership.

We say the value of land is rapidly increasing all over the country. It is not doing so. The tuluation may be increasing, due to the monopoly of land, which makes an artificial scarcity of it, but actual value, no. However, it takes more and more money to buy land. That is to say, one must invest. land. That is to say, one must invest heavily now is order to become a farmer. Such an arrangement necessarily limits the productivity of the country in keeping from the land those mable to invest. It makes it impossible for many who would like to farm to do the country of the same of the country of the c so without first spending years in ac-quiring means to get at the soil. Yet with all this there is no capitalization

Moreover, the average farmer does not figure on profits. He is content for the most part to secure returns suf-ficient to constitute fair wages, without figuring on interest on his investment. wife and children, not eight hours, twelve to fourteen hours a day, and s not figure their work in as worth ppensation. There is really more ompensation. There is really more mild labor on the farm than in the city.

The farm investment not only lacks ary fevor sure enecessary qualification of keeping enecessary qualification of keeping ary fevor sure expenses and paying a dividend in der to make it capital, but it brings the it no power to make prices such as where the new in an effort to regain the mar-has lost through the manipula-



Someone writes the APPEAL that the farmer has "watered" his "investment seeing that there has been an increase in the price of lands. But the increase lacks many elements of "watering" such as has been practiced by industrial magnates. There was no capital stock, and the farmer was unable of himself magnates. There was no capital and the farmer was unable of himself to cause an increase in price. The in-

## Homestead Lands

lorado and other Western states. You have
ght to file upon 100 fand in some cases 320)
of land and secure title without spending a
The land is free, and when you have lived
it for ashort period a permanent ownership
sissued by the U.S. government. An arias of
estern states—Colorado, Wyoming, Utah



Just write me your name and address and I will mail you my Perfect Home Eye Tester Free. Then when you return me the Eye Tester with your test. I will sell you a handsome lo-karat Yourch frame at a cost of only \$1.00, and I will insert into this frame a brand new pair of my wonderful "Perfect Vision" glasses absolutely free of charge.

AND THE REASON IS

AND THE REASON IS

Because these "Perfect Vision" glasses of mine will enable you to read the very finest print in your Bible, thread the smallest-eyed needle, shoot the smallest best print in your Bible, thread the smallest-eyed needle, shoot the smallest best print in your and the same time they will be actually protecting and preceiving your eyes and keep them from getting weaker while doing it.—

Now you certainly do want a pair of these wonderful "Perfect Vision" glasses, and I surely want to give you a pair absolutely free-without even asking you to pay me one penny for them, now and never.

Bo let's get together right new on this very generous advertising proposition.

You, on Your part, Just write me your name and address at once—and I, to fulfill my part of the contract will immediately mall you my Perfect Home Eye Tester and a four-dollar cash certificate entitling you, absolutely free of cherge, to a brand new pair of my wonderful "Perfect Vision" glasses, which will again enable you to enjoy your reading, sewing and hunting just as much as you ever did in your younger days. Address:—

St. LEMES. SC.







crease came merely because a monopoly of land in the hands, not of a few, but of less than all, m. de others so desirous of obtaining a place on the earth they were willing to offer a bonus for it. But the increased price had none of the elements of stocks watered or not watered. The investment was not capital. It brings dividends only when someone is exploited through hiring or renting, and not to the actual farmer.

## Debs' Tour in New England

This speaking tour, although ar most successful one, opening at New Castle, Pa, with a great gathering at Castle Park on Saturday afternoon June 22nd the crowds have been am-

At New Castle, the Socialist Mayor Comrade Tyler presided in a happy manner and Comrade Jack Guarity of the Free Press made a rattling good short speech. The large crowd wa

From there we went to New Ken-sington, Pa., and if there is anywhere a live bunck of real revolutionists is i was at the airdome and it was so packed that an overflow had to be provided for. There was a maddening crash when a section of the seats went down but fortunately no one was hurt. Gene's speech here was timed by the railroad schedule and at 8:40 we wonderful meeting and I have seen the enthusiasm and revolution

ary fevor surpassed.

It was a long jump from New sington, Pa., to Bennington, where the next meeting was schedule old town where ninety years be country store. Instead of being aprival, it is dependent on actual capital, it is dependent on actual capital, it has indeed permitted berries and fruit to rot, when many needed tem, because capitalist controlled marters would not admit of paying enough pay a profit after they were picked. because capitalist controlled mar-vould not admit of paying enough a profit after they were picked, made a very happy and telling speech burned cotton and destroyed to-in an effort to regain the Comrade Greenslet, candidate for the tion of dominant capital; and not with legislature (who the boys expect to permanent success. The farmer is there-clect) and introduced Gene to the audience. In the course of his splendie little address Comrade Greenslet an-nounced that during the campaign it was expected that Fred D. Warren, "the fighting editor of the Appeal to

REASON would be heard in Benning-ton. The crowd broke into tremend-ous cheering at this aunouncement When Warren comes this way he will ore, so far from peling a capitalist, that surely meet with a great reception A fine feature of the meeting at Ben

> and 6 miles by electric. It was a roasting hot night but the opera house was filled with a great audience. Comrade Dawson the Socialist alder-man and blacksmith made a splendid presiding officer. Comrade Suitor presiding officer. Comrade the Socialist candidate for gov occupied a seat o nthe platform. comrades here are thoroughly alive and are going to poll a vote that will surprise the natives. From here we into Maine, opening at Portland th Vermont and Maine are September states and as their votes go goes the nation. At least that is the way the old saying goes.

One thing is certain and that is that both Maine and Vermont are going to very largely increase their vote this year and give the cue to all the rest of the states to do the same. THEODORE DEBS.

THE next insidious effort at exploi-tation of the land will consist of a di-vision of the Navajo reservations in



New Mexico. They contain 23,000,000 irrigation. The railroads are already laying their plans to secure possession of a greater portion of this land. This will soon be in the hands of the whole people, or socialized. It should forever remain socialized. The minerals should be worked and used for the benefit of the whole people. The irrigation dams and dirches should be built by the government and the land cultivated by hired help, thus relieving unemployment and retaining something of the public's wealth. The railroads are

THE little Arsenal of Facts has proven to be the greatest premium ever offered by any newspaper. It is less than three years old, yet it has to its credit more than 700,000 subscribers. Not only has it an intrinsic value to the APPEAL Army it an intrinsic value to the APPRAL Army comrade, but there is something of sentiment attached to it besides. It was born, this little Arsenal of Facts, during the storm and stress of the hottest fight ever waged for a free press in the history of the world. Every page is consecrated with the tears and blood of labor. It tells of labor's terrible struggle, of the ruthless slaughter of the innocents and of the robbery of the producer of his rightful inheritance.

The campaign edition of the APPEAL Arsenal of Facts, with the Pink Supplement, bristling with down-to-date facts for up-to-date agitators, is now ready for the Army. Twelve subs gets it. It is not for sale.

EVERY APPEAL Army comrade should have a copy of the "Pink Supplement" edition of the Arsenal. Give your old copy away to some less active comrade and send twelve subscribers at once. The Arsenal will be sent post haste.

I AM fully aware of the hilarity tha will take place in the district attorney's office at Topeka when the first page of the Arreat is read. But the Army is yet to be heard from!

THEY ARE AFTER YOUR BOYS. The United States navy wants young nen. To get them they are flooding the

country with advertising matter that would make the advertising manager of "get-rich-quick" gold mine stock cheme green with envy. To get this seductive literature in the hands of the oung men of America and especially those in the country districts they are using the postmasters for the purpose of gathering mailing lists.

of gathering mailing lists.

We has just come into possession of a form letter sent to postmasters inviting their attention to the paragraph on page 50 of the Official Postal Guide in which they are invoked to assist the recruiting department of the navy "in distributing printed matter to young men who may be interested."

"A number of thousands of names and

A number of thousands of names and A number of thousands of names and addresses have been furnished us from other offices, and we have looked after the distribution ourselves with the most gratifying results." Continues the letter and the postmaster is urged to se-cure the help of city and rural letter carriers in getting up big lists of names of boys and young men who are "healthy, respectable and probably between the ages of seventeen and thirty-

quested to hand out the printed matter they did not have to be very dilligent about that and a boy or man could re-fuse to take the booklets. But they want to get this war glorifying stuff into the hands of the young men whether they want it or not. Notice this paragraph of the letter

Please send as many names as possible. Even though it seems improbable that a young man night be interested in the navy, his name is desirable if he is respectable, healthy and probably over seventeen years old. The experience of this office shows that much good is done by a young man's showing bookiets to others, as well as his own perusal."

Most boys of seventeen are attracted by the promise of travel and adventure. They love to think of big battle ships visiting strange ports and their wearing the uniform of Uncle Sam's sailors. And

of an education.

They are especially desirous of getting their literature into the hands of the country boys. Most country boys are respectable and healthy. Their life is a dull, dreary existence full of hard work and devoid of any brightness or adventure. In most case, they have adventure. In most cases they have for education that is hard to The booklets of glittering misrepresentations sent out by the navy de-partment are calculated to induce this class of young men to bind themselves up for years of service as galley-slaves and drudges in times of peace and can-non-fodder in time of war.

The capitalists of, this country must

have their interests protected and they are unwilling to give their own sons up to the war god and they are taking the young men of the working class. They bait their trap with promises of things hait their trap with promises of things that every young man wants and should have but is out of reach of the workers—travel, education, good food and good clothes. Their promises are not made to be fulfilled. They are made to catch suckers to act as slaves and guards for the idle rich. They are the frenzied effort of a cowardly degenerate class to make a fiesh and blood sacrifice of the choice of proletarian young manhood.

If the recruiting department of the

If the recruiting department of the army of peace had the means at their disposal that the United States army and navy have and could put literature containing the truth about war and army and navy life into the hands of the American youths the whole hellish business would be obliterated in less than

# How They Go.

I received your bundle of Coming Na-tions in due time, and will say that they went off like hot cakes.—Donald Ruddell, Custer City, Okia.

Custer City, Okia.

I enclose check for \$3.90. Please send me a bundle of ten (10) copies of the Coming Nation for six months, beginning with No. 80 (June 1). Local Wellesley proposes to use the Coming Nation as propagands and campaign literature, so I am writing for the club.—Ellen Hayes, Welles-I am well pleased with the luck my boy

them in an hour and half. I am a girl of ten. My papa and mamma are Socialists. I am roing to try very liard to sell all I can. Please send the order as quick as you can. Is it all right to send stamps?—Fern Emorey, 4375 Denton street, Denver. Colo.

per Emory, asso Jenion street, penver. Colo.

Don't forget that the barber shop is one
of the best of places to put the Coming
Nation. The aplemid pletures and carboos
are sure to set it a reading. Every person
who subscribes for the barber shop end
encloses 12 cents additional for postage
will get as a premium a copy of Alexander
revine's Magyar, a story that will interest
both young and old.

Irvine's Magyar, a story that will interest both young and old.

You will see by my order that I have added a few more to my list. I am new at the business. My age is between 12 and 13 years old and I have never sold papers before. I am taking this means to make money myself so I won't have to call on my papa to buy my shoes and clothes and school books this winter. I am going to get a list of 50 or 75 before I start to school this fail.—Archie L. Nicewener. Saien, Ill.

On Frank Lane's arrival at the hospital at Kirkswille. Mo, the Kirkswille Daily Express deveted an entire column to him, giving a fair history of the case. Of the effect of the case they have the following to say: "The effect of the fight has doubtiess been to strengthen the position of every miner, not only in Kanasa, but throughout the country, in his struggle for better conditions, and to hasten the adoption of workingmen's compensation laws, which will compel greater safeguards for human life."

Had It Framed.

Had It Framed.

Ryan Walker's cartoon of the Magna Chaeta in Coming Notion was greatly appreciated. It is the most forceful I have seen. I sent it home and had it framed. Shall look forward with delightful anticipation to receiving the book of cartoons.—W. C. Fleids, London, England.

Comrade James S. Hutchinson, Stanton, Ind., is, according to our records, the winner of the motorcycle offered by the Apract to the compade who purchased the largest number of copies of the Father Vaugham delition. He bought and paid for twelve thousand copies, at \$5,00 per thousand.

R. J. Olinger, Socialist candidate for commissioner of public safety, received 2,462 votes in the municipal election at Everett, Wash. June 18th. His opponent, independent, received 3,509. This is the highest rote for a Socialist in Everet. This paper is paid for. No bill will be sent you. If you did not subscribe some friend did for you and paid for it.

# The Pink Supplement

Appeal to Reason, Girord, Kansas.

Fifteen thousand copies of the Arsenal of Facts have been distributed to the Appeal Army since the first of the year. Each Arsenal brought to the Appeal twelve subscriptions, a total of 180,000. It would be difficult if not wholly no prossible to make any fallulation of would be difficult it not wholly impossible, to make any calculation of the influence of this little book upon the political and industrial affairs of this nation. All told there are more than \$60,000 copies of the Arsenal in circulation. It is safe to say that \$0,000 of them are doing business—by business I mean that in the hands of a Socialist aggitator the Arsenal is constantly and their masters in their mad scramble say that 30,000 of them are doing business—by business : mean that in the hands of a Socialist agitator the Arsenal is constantly referred to as a book of authority on industrial and political questions. Just imagine these fifty thousand on industrial and political questions. Just imagine these fifty thousand copies of the Arsenal in the hands of that many Appeal army comrades charging the enemy! With facts that are indisputable and arguments that cannot be overthrown there is nothing for the opposition to do but surrender.

is nothing for the opposition to do but surrender.

You have found the regular edition of the Arsenal useful and you will find the Pink Supplement edition many times more valuable. The Arsenal is yours for twelve subscriptions.



PRIVATE ownership of railroads is paternalism, public ownership is fraternalism. Who asserts to the contrary asserts wrongly.

A BANKER or speculat r gets a liv ing without producing anything for it. You produce wealth and set not a living. Where is the justice WHATEVER the mone olists want,

you don't. The monopolist wants you to vote one or the other of the old tickets-why? Can't you guess?

ous of gete hands of
ountry boys
Their life
facts to sustain their position. Abuse is
always wrong. Condemnation is not MONEY is monopolized by the bank

ing system just the same as meat is monopolized by the packing system. Many can see the wrong, the rank op-pressist of the meat combine, but can not see clearly that the money is in the same channel. But it is, SUPPOSE nature were to produce all

the things necessary to the happiness of the landowners, how would that benfit the man who owned no land? those who owned the land would not need his labor, he would be forced to starve or steal. Great land system founded on such a basis, yet our land system, run to its logical means that. conclusion.

THE public school, or at least its ef-THE public school, or at least its efficiency, must go, or capitalism must go. If the rulers in this couptry can make the struggle for bread so keen that parents are forced to put their children to work—parents of the working class, of course—these children will gow up in ignorance like chattel slaves, and their control will be an easy matter. This is now being done in many labor centers. now being done in many labor centers, and its effect is like unto the abolition of public schools. Fortunately, there has grown up'a pride in the public school system that will check any much greater aggressions on the opportunities of children Compulsory education, with greater aggressions on the opportunities of children. Compulsory education, with free books, should be agitated. Thousands in the great cities would attend if the public would provide one meal per day. The cost would be small and the results great. If children grow up in ignorance they can and will be enslaved. Safety lies in the broadest possible education? ible education?

UNDER this system, men, women and children are bought by the day week, month or year. Through want of self-employment these people are forced to put themselves up for sale, and he self-employment these people are forced to put themselves up for sale, and he who can sell himself cheapest gets the places that temporarily stays the day of physical want. The purchaser has no care for conditions, only to get the greatest amount of work out of the time-chattels. Yet the mass of work owners live and die under the delusion that they are free citizens of a free country. The more they are degraded by too severe labor, the less their ability to see their real condition. A happier condition to see their real condition. A happier condition for all can be established if public attention can be directed to the subject in a serious manner. All the great thinkers of the world have tried so far in vain to catch public attention and divert a threatened calamity.

The losses will not show up in the circulation report for a couple of weeks. The remarkable gains we have been making is due to the work of weeks ago. What I have said to you on the first page is merely a warning. We can stop the loss and turn defeat into victory—and we will!

"That danged old cow stood out there in that open shed in the cold all night and when I went to milk her she purt' near kicked the life outen me, durn 'er." She has more sense than you have. You have been living if an old yet. Try an intelligent kick at the ballot box.

This world will become a safe place for the timid and good when Socialism

The Big Ten.

Just to show that the APPEAL appreciates the work you do for it, we occasionally give out a few prizes. The intrinsic value of these prizes is not much, but the books we send you are the best we can buy. We are still sending to each of the ten comrades who send in the largest lies for the week a copy of Kirpatricka "War What For?" This book is multished by the anthor at L. B. 473 Madison Square Station, N. Y. and sells for \$1.0. It's the hottest thing in print—aside from the Appeal—and one copy in a community has been known to act as an antidote for all the incolsm that all the local politicisms can work up in a year. Here are the prime princers and the number of subscriptions thay sent in last week: The Big Ten

week:

Jesse Icenhour, Nashville, II
W. S. McGinler, Fr. Warns,
J. H. Fones, Oakland, Cul.
O. A. Peterson, Versailles, Pa Andew Gobert, Hazelbardt,
Wm. Deubel, Danbury, Cons Louis Gondapher, Missespal Jas. H. Murphy, Curley, W. G. T. Tyler, Honey Grow, J.

What happened politically at Chicago and Baltimore has been happening in industry for hity years. That is the way the game is played—with marked cards. The same tactics are employed in the courts, particularly the federal courts. The currain was drawn scide at Chicago. deluded, had a close view of how the Beast, capitalism, operates. Several mil-lion people in the United States at this very moment are recalling that the Apout the existence of just such a state of affairs as was disclosed by the politicians

S CAPITAL FARMER The capitalist is a man who dams the river of progress that he may irrigate his own land.

The only way to end the threat of war is to make people who want things at home able to buy them, for then there will be no need to go gunning for for

THE only way to make it certain your children will not want is to put society rather than the master in charge of human affairs; for that will mean equality of opportunity, not opportunity as some individuals may be pleased to give it in exchange for a tribute.

The only way to settle the bread and butter problem for all people for all time is through the co-operative organ-

THE only way for you to have op-portunity for education and spiritual development is to first make conditions so you will not have to wear your life out in merely making a living.

THE only way to effectively profest against war is to vote against capital-ism, the creator of wars and maintainer of armaments,

The only way to effectively fight white slavery is to make it possible for women to make a living through the distruction of the profit system.

THERE will be no strikes under Socialism. There will be no lockouts. There will be no class struggle. There will be no classes. There will be no war.

The forty million people in the United States who have been deprived of homes under capitalism will be able to secure them when Socialism comes. is to make the worker the owner of his job, and he can never own it until he

owns the tools with which he works, under Socialism. THE unchurched, living in slums and on lonesome farms where the church has abandoned them, will find society and humanity and genuine religion and op-portunity to be somebody when Socialism comes.

It doesn't pay to create a surplus un-der capitalism. If you do you have to pay interest or dividends on it. Profit and rent are a tribute assessed against the workers' thrift.



This is a beautiful world, full of beautiful things and good people. I don't believe Socialism is responsible, do you? No. It is also a world in which there are a great many poor people, in which there are slums and tramps, in which there are wars and prostitutes, in which there is overwork and overworry. We don't believe Socialism is responsible, do you? The world itself has conditions sufficiently good to enable all to have abundance, to good to enable all to have abundance, to enable all to have homes, to enable all to live in luxury. Why shouldn't they be enabled to do this? Socialism is not

Could a man working under Social-ism, owning paor land, with a team and simple tools, compete in the market with goods raised co-operatively, and if not, what would he do? It would al-ways remain possible for him to join in the co-operative work, and he would in the co-operative work, and he would do that just as soon as he found it gave him better returns and pleasanter conditions of work. For this reason, while there would be no compulsion about it, co-operative farming would increase until it would become the rule rather than the exception. But it would be a volunteer work on the part of the workers there are the property because it was found.

the exception. But it would be a volunteer work on the part of the workers themselves, simply because it was found to be the best.

Would we still have money with which to transact business under Socialism? Yes. Money is merely a medium of exchange, a means of bookkeeping. It would not matter whether that money was gold, silver, glass, paper, or labor checks; it would still be money. About the only thing we know about what would be money under Socialism is that it would be a government monopoly. That is to say, private banks would have no corner on it. This would necessarily break up the speculative aspects of money, and that is all there is oppressive about anything we use.

should become a recruit. Prices are as follows the solid become a recruit. Prices are as follows.

\$ 100 copies per week for a year . 2.00 to exclusive private for a year . 2.00 to exclusive provides per week for a year . 2.00 to excl sive about anything we use.



The only way to register an effective protest against child slavery is to vote to set the children free from capitalism.

Don't Talk Socialism

Don't Talk Socialism
without first studying it, otherwise you may
do the movement more harm than good.
There are three tencent books that will
put you on the right track it you give a
few hours of study to each one. They are
Shop Telks on Economics, by Mary E.
Marcy, Industrial Secondism, Made Easy, by
James Councily. Send thirty cents in
stamps for these three books and we will
also mail you three late numbers of the
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itset catalog. Charles H. Kark & Co., 115
West Kinzis street, Chicago.

In order to save space on mailing la-bels only the last two figures of the number are given. For lustance, if the number 66 is on the address label it means that your subscription expires with this number, which is 868.

Herein and four subs for have used all of my sub-order more in the near fu-not stop getting subs for wanted to, and here is to stead of 1916.—C. B. Wiki

You can expect me to help in this movement every chance I get as I know we are right and will win. We'll the year of 1316 a total of \$000,000 v Now I believe the Army will do this more as I myself, have made 16 reducently and didn't have any more time lots of the

Havana, Ark.

I was an ignorant hide-bound republican for years, but got to reading your Arrival and the light cause good and strong livery man in my office reads the Arrival. We have made a dozen Suchalists right here and will make many more.—C. H. Bartlett, Roxbury. Mass.

A sample copy of the Arrival has just come to my hands and read with considerable interest. I heartily believe that we need a radical change in politics if not in parties, but believe a reformation in by would do the country much good or as entirely new one would do more good. En

The democrats are good ones. They are fighters thru and th But the republicans can lick

as. Edward Russell of the Combus on the man without a peer. I thin second Bran. the Journalust, but he milder diction.—S. F. Barrett, B Sam E. Farmer, the APPEAL & Madera local, Cal., who was forced deep show of the Sierres of Califo abandon his excellent burro outfit as to the hobo route to consummate his

The APPEAL TO REASON Dundle Brigad is the greatest body of agitators in the linited States. The work of the Bundl Brigade is the most effective ever devised Hundreds of thousands of thoroughly class conscious Socialists owe their conversions restray copies distributed by the Bundl Brigade If you are not a member you

If you want to prepare for the legal pro-tession and help fight for Socialism, and cannot afford to attend a resident univer-sity or law achool, write us. LEGAL DEPARTMENT APPEAL TO REASON Fort Scott, Kan.

LEGAL DEPARTMENT APPEAL TO REASON,
Fort Scott, Kan.

Almost every day we get letters from Socialists who have been nominated on their party ticket as prosecutor or judge. lawariably the writers are men without legal training, and for the first time in their lives they realise the necessity of having a knowledge of law. Letters like the following are constantly coming from the students, and ther make us feel that our work is appreciated:

"I have agreed with Red Bluff local to give fifty per cent of my share of any business I receive from the department until my law course is paid for, and then I have less to two the same are specially and county to the same ready to practice. I am retting along well with my work and am looking forward with great pleasure to the time when my student work is finished, and I can begin the actual practice of law—it. Let Black Low rey, Cal."

I could not make a complaint if I wanted to about my treatment from the same to be noticed carefully, and corrected in a way that callidities us on the subject. This lift.

Ask for our This lift.

The This lift.



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Greatest Work Ever Published for Socialis





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# **Five Revolutions in Farming**

ing largely the old lines of procedure, America has influenced Europe rather than the reverse. Considered in its enthan the reverse. Considered in its en-tirety, the development of farming in America is a social romance of absorb-ing interest. It is a complete five-act drama, three acts already past, the fourth beginning and the hifth capable of foreast. It is as perfect as though thought out by a playwright. The time of action is scarcely more than a cen-tury—little more than the lifetime of a man. It is a story of a tremendous

man. It is a story of a tremendous significance, yet the action has been so quiet and natural even those who witnessed it did not understand it. I cannot go into particulars here, but will merely sketch the change, leaving to your imagination and memory the fill-

ing in of details.

The story is wholly one of land titles.
It begins with the absence of titles to land as it was with the Indian—a fact that gave welcome to the white people in America and admitted of early peace able colonization. The European idea of land titles resting primarily on the idea of a nobility began the story. Vast grants were made by European kings to mobles and corporations, and these began the development of America along two lines. The first was the feudal plan. wo lines. The first was the feudal plan, worked in New York, New Jersey and other colonies. The second was through the importation of savages from Africa k the land as chattel slaves. As e implements of farming were -almost as crude as in the days of Abraham; action centering about abor, rather than about the machine. Practically every Indian war America has known was fought over the con-flict between the two ideas—socialized land vs. private and corporate title to the earth. This is Act 1, composed of

the earth. This is Act 1, composed of many scenes, which your imagination can picture for you.

Act 2 revolves around the farm implement, Invention along this line begai in America about a captury ago. Europe has had but little to do with the invention of farm machinery, and has been affected by it chiefly as an overflow from America. There is a reason why farm machinery was not invented to any great extent through the five thousand years that preceded this, and did begin in America at this time, but I will not discuss the matter, contenting myself bere with merely saying it was due to a growing access to ing it was due to a growing access to the soil due to the presence of vast amount of public or socialized land. The first machine that began to affect largely the history of America was the cotton gin; conventional history concedes that much. But other farm ma center when to appear rapidly in America. Farm machinery came first; other machinery grew out of it. Lincoln declared that it was the reaper which enabled the women and children of the north to raise enough food to feed the soldiers in the field and thus win the cause against slavery. You have already considered the influence of the thresher, the riding plow, and the many other farm machines that have transformed agriculture completely, working from America into other lands, making it easier to raise enough to feed the world, and for the best time in history making the recurrence of famine in so-called Christian countries practically an impossibility. The revolution was com-plete. We will never go back to the hoe, rake and flail as the acme of farm

A third revolution in farming began A third revolution in farming began after the civil war, after the first machines had ended feudal and chattel blavery conditions, and this revolution constituted a third act of the great Drama of the Land. Railroads were built, chiefly through the giving away of the public (socialized) lands of the west as grants to promoters; spinners, weavers and vast machinery of produc-tion developed rapidly due to the harnessing of steam as a power. This ma-chinery naturally centered where disbrought the modern phenomenon, brought the modern phenomenon, the age of cities Spinning and weaving were transferred from the farm to the factory. Finally the packing of meats went to the city. With the coming of cold storage and the refrigerator cartremendous factors in this third revolution—eggs, butter and fruits went to the city, and were shipped back to the country for consumption, while canned goods and prepared foods in cartons came into general use. From being a manufacturer and merchant, the farmer became a purchaser, even of the things he produced. The city capitalist had everything his own way and was able to erything his own way and was able to overcapitalize his plants, exacting tribute on fictitious values, and advancing prices to the point he might wish. So came the millionaire and billionaire. The third act ends as it properly does in a well finished drama, with things look-ing pretty blue for those who deserved

The fourth act begins to show the It is just opening. The chief way out. It is just opening. The chief factors in the action are two- the development of a practical explosive engine, and the teaching of agriculture as a science in the schools. The first great work of the explosive engine was to make automobiles common, and lead to a boom for good country roads. The second effect was the development of the farm tractor. Already fifteen or twenty immense manufactories in the immense manufactories in the tractors. They would not do so unless they saw something important ahead And orders are exceeding the supply.

they saw something important ahead. And orders are exceeding the supply. These tractors will plow and seed as it was impossible to do in the old way; they will cut wheat and thresh it as one operation; they will market products in great wagon trains; they will oalmost any kind of farm work; they may return to the farm certain lines of preparation of food. The educated farmer will fit in well as managers of the direct patronage of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of the big farms that are certain to despect to the country with no defense against the Socialist agitator is busy. He is sow-claires that this union was formed under the direct patronage of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of the country with no defense against the Socialist agitator is busy. He is sow-claires that this union was formed under the direct patronage of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of Catholic bishops and has always worked in closest competence of C

HERE is no industry on earth that is being changed so rapidly as farming. But the change is largely confined to America. The first change, it is true, came through the projection of this country, but since then, because Europe had developed her farm ands for centuries and is still following largely the old lines of procedure, thereica has influenced Europe rather and the reverse. Considered in its enterty, the development of farming in merica is a social romance of absorbing interest. It is a complete five-act rama, three acts already past, the ourth beginning and the hifth capable if forecast. It is a story of a tremendous ignificance, yet the action has been so unet and natural even those who wite-saed it did not understand it. I canot go into particulars here, but will need sketch the change, leaving to our imagination and memory the fills gin of details.

The story is wholly one of land titles, to begins with the landian—a fact hat gave welcome to the white people at America and admitted of early peace-ble colonization. The European idea of a nobility hegan the story. Vast country, and where neither the trust or resident the first of real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or re

accept the disrupting division according to trades. suited to those countries, where there is no real farming, as there is in this country, and where neither the trust or revolution of farming, due to the development of machinery, are so marked as in America; but they are not suited to America, and under the new condi-tions will be less suited to it than ever. The Farmers' Alliance, the Wheel and the populist party developed a strong co-operative movement in America; but it dissolved as if by magic, Why? To my notion, it was because of the rapid revolution in farming methods, the development of the merger as an industrial phenomenon, and the consequent trial phenomenon, and the consequent a change in the viewpoint of the people or Farmers' associations for the purpose of buying big machinery. Even should be we organize anew the old style of co-operatives, it would prove to be wasted effort, and they would soon pass away. But another form of co-operatives will come, following the needs of the changed machinery of production, and that without agitation, merely as a business proposition.

The new co-operative, as I see it, will be the merging of farms that adjoin.

be the merging of farms that adjoin modeled after the merging of manufac turing plants, a system already in vogue in America as in no other country, so new machinery, to employ expert man-agers, and to consequently cheapen and In other words, co-of delegates with progressive proclivi-tes. It leaves very little for Mr. Rooseoperative farming is at our doors. Capitalism, working for profits, is going to teach us co-operation and the possibility of ending profits on the principle of ser-vice to all.

That suggests the fifth and final revo-lution—the fifth and closing act of the lution—the fifth and closing act of the Drama of the Land—the return to the idea of socialization, on the basis of a fuller development of co-operation than the Indian knew. Scientific farming the Indian knew. Scientific farming will suggest the need of co-operation in farming, not only for the big farmer sceking profits, but also in the interest of all the farmers and all the people; and this co-operation can come only through the socialization of the land ployers' liability." and machinery of production and dis-

One of the tremendous factors in the out, is the agricultural college and its trained managers. This is a socialized institution. It is beginning already to instruct farmers in general how to save their fruit, how to rotate crops, what here to closely in various localities and best to plant in various localities and many other practical things. It is the incipiency of the fourth revolution. There are some who discry "book dous factor in the near future, and the wise farmer is even now going to school. He may not realize it is the beginning of socialized work in agri-culture, but it is. But it is not going culture, but it is,

Note the successive acts: From non-ownership of land to slavery; from slavery to capitalism; from capitalism eration; and from co-operation to So-cialism—a complete circuit, yet a move-ment to a higher plane than occupied on the start, with machinery and organiza-tion added, able to support millions where then it supported thousands.

### POPE AND GERMAN UNIONISM. The decision of the Vatican against

the German Christian unions is stirring the entire labor movement of Europe. According to this decision, Catholics are in the future, to be allowed to belong only to those unions that include all safe, loyal Catholics and that are officered by priests. If this is to hold true in Germany, with reference to the "Christian unions" that were established largely by the Catholic clergy, then it must sooner or later hold true for the rest of the world and Catholics will be platform would no doubt make a hit on

rest of the world and Catholics will be compelled to withdraw from unions everywhere. The Cologne faction of Germany at first refused to believe the news thing a second telegram from Henier, the auditor of the Vatican, confirmed the previous statement that henceforth Catholic workingmen were expected to withdraw from the Christian unions.

The organs of the Center, the great Catholic party of Germany are protesting vigoransly against the action of the pope. They point out that if this action is enforced it will mean the disruption of the most powerful Catholic party in the world, that it will compel the dissolution of the "Christian" unions now later than the platform would no doubt make a hit on the vaudeville stage, but unless the republican party under Taft has got something besides its record on which to make its appeal to the American public then it is doomed to an inglorious defeat. During the past three months the reading public, thanks to the president and the only living ex-president, has been given an inside view of the republican party. Its record has been dissoluted by experts. We have had a glimpse behind the scenes. What was disclosed has by no means been reassuring. Whether the political spell binders and the kept newspapers of the capitalist class can make the public for-

denominations and that it will not obey the orders of the Vatican.

The defenders of the Christian unions

The defenders of the Christian unions have also prepared an address to the pone in which they point out that:

"The overwhelming majority of the German population is industrial. In few other countries has industrial development proceeded so rapidly in recent years. In few countries has industrial concentration gone further; no other country has so powerful and other country has so powerful and ther country has so powerful closely organized employers associations as Germany. Along with this Germany has the strongest Socialist movement in the world. In such a country an effective non-Socialist labor movement is an absolute necessity. . . . if the think-

ing workers are not to be turned over to the Socialists."

Attention is called to the fact that the Attention is called to the fact that the so-called "confessional unions" which have received the papal endorsement, have less than 10,000 members, and that these are confined almost exclusively to Berlin, that they are split up along trade lines, a condition which the Vatican insists must be maintained, and that, in fact, they are not bonafide unions capable of defending the interests of the workers. The Christian union argue that even when the line is drawn against the Socialists there is little enough solidarity, and that when it must also be drawn against all non-Catholics a union would be an impossibility. They also complain against the portion of the also complain against the portion of the Vatican ruling that interferes with their form of organization, compelling them to surrender their industrial basis and

THE APPEAL TO REASON is an alarm clock to wake workers from their sleep of ignorance. Get your eyes open, the cocks are greeting the dawn of So-

You grow your crop, capitalists get it. You then buy back the bare neces-sities of life at double prices. Wise man, you.

THE SOWER

veit's progressive party to say, assum

in dangerous operations; to enact com-prehensive and generous workingmen

wasteful and unjust system of em-

mand of the document and one that out-progressives Roosevelt himself, is the plank demanding cheap money for the farmers! Shades of the Omaha plat-form of 1804! Little to this.

form of 1892! Listen to this:

form of 1802! Listen to this:

It is of great importance to the social and economic weifare of this country that its farmers have facilities for borrowing easily and cheaply the money they need to increase the productivity of their land. It is as important that the timedial machinery he provided to supply the demand of farmers for credit as it is the banking and currency systems be reformed in the interest of general business. Therefore, we recommend and urse an authoritative investigation of agricultural societies and corporations in other countries and the passage of sir a and federal law for the establishment and capable supervision of organizations having for their purpose the lending of funds to farmers.

It does not need a very vivid imagin—

It does not need a very vivid imagin

ation to conjure up in one's mind the consternation in the camp of the progressives when this plank in the republican platform was handed to them. The Socialist smiles!

The Socialist smiles!

The republican platform pledges that party to the establishment of a parcel's post and declares that the "right of

asylum is a precious possession to the people of the United States and is to be

neither surrendered nor restricted."

This remarkable document also ananounces that the republican party is
opposed to special privilege and to monopoly! "We appeal to the American
electorate upon the record of the republicen party and upon this declaration."

compensation laws in place of the



Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

on any old ground and will come forth

REBELLIOUS FARMERS.

From the days when at Lexington and concord, in revolutionary times, when The embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard round the world the great advance movements in America have been led by the farmers. John Brown was an Indiana farmer. It was the farmers of Kansas and the south who contended on the borders for the old and new in industrial forms just prior to the 60s. It was to a very large extent farmers who fought the hercest contest that history has known, both in the north and south.

It was the farmers, more than other class, when capitalism kept the south under military dictatorship for eight years in an effort to force it to eight years in an effort development to its peculiar idea of "development to its peculiar idea of "development". south under military dictatorship for eight years in an effort to force it to consent to its peculiar idea of "development" with exploitation, who organized the Ku Klux clan and resisted the encroachment of the carpet hagers. It croachment of the carpet baggers. It was the farmers who, when roads were closed with toll gates that exacted a croachment of the carpet baggers. It was the farmers who, when roads were closed with toll gates that exacted a tribute on the markets, arose and smashed the gates and won free roals. It was the farmers in Kentucky, when the tobacco trust by virtue of its monopoly of the markets, sought to reap all the proceeds of the south's crop who or proceeds of the south's crop who or of the markets, sought to reap all the proceeds of the south's crop, who organized picturesque Night Riders and beat them into a compromise. The methods may not always have been the and other corporations over 255,000,000 best; but the farmers in America have dared; they have made history. They have been oppressed as no other class of citizens have been, but they have rebelled.

When the markets, sought to reap all the with 8.240,747 August of rented homes.

Congress has given away to railroad and other corporations over 255,000,000 prises an area almost as great as the combined area of France and Germany, the population of which exceeds that of the United States. The Texas legislature has added several million acres to

GRAIN 2

The trust is in the saddle on the industrial field and it has demonstrated its power to control the political affairs of the nation. It is necessary to the trust's existence that it control both industry and politics. When the privately owned trust loses its power then it will be forced to addicate. The nation it. be forced to abdicate. The nation it-self must take over the trust's machinery of production. When this is done it will no longer be to the interest and advantage of a few corporation man-agers to buy legislators and supreme judges, and control political conventions.

We read of the "embattled farmers" in history. By ding, the fight is still on.

You get no packages of Socialist

THERE is more insanity among far

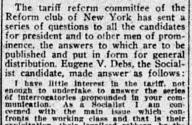
The populist rebellion was one of the unce has added several million acres to most remarkable in history. We do not what congress has given away.

n your old party congressman at Washington.

Fourteen hours a day labor will twist the body of a farmer the body of a factory hand. the same as the

ers' wives than any other class. This is how capitalism hits the farmer's home

DEBS AND THE TARIFF.



ist candidate, made answer as follows:

I have little interest in the tariff, not enough to undertake to answer the series of interrogatories propounded in your communication. As a Socialist I am concerned with the main issue which concerned with the main issue which concerned with the main issue which concerned with the wall issue which concerned with the wall issue which concerned with the wall is their exploitation, their legalized robbery, by the capitalist class under the wage system. The Socialist party stands for the overthrow of this system and the substitution therefor of an industrial democracy in which the workers shall be their own masters-and produce for their own use and enjoyment instead of for the benefit of capitalist exploiters.

High tariff, low tariff, or no tariff, the workers are still robbed of what they produce under the present system.

The tariff is a capitalist issue and not a working class issue, and so far as I am concerned the capitalists, big and little trustified and otherwise, will have to fight it out among themselves.

It is well for the workers to under-

It is well for the workers to understand the one big fact that they are robbed because the wages they get represent but a part of their product, and their minds must not be diverted from this one big fact by the tariff or any of the numberless side issues which are used to throw dust in their eyes and keep them divided. Let them all unite, industrially and politically, to put an end to the capitalist system without wasting their time and energy over issues which arise between the big capitalists and the little ones they are gobbling up and putting out of business. bling up and putting out of business.

THE judges composing the suprem court are now taking a vacation. The balance of the world sweats and toils while these black-gowned gentlemen sail the seas, cooled by the ocean's refreshing breezes or bask in the smi'es of their lady friends at some so-called fashionable summer resort. The four-hour day, which has been established by the judges' union, becomes irksome and tedious to these well-groomed and well-fed gentlemen and therefore a well-fed gentlemen and therefore a summer's rest becomes absolutely necessary. In the meantime what of the people? One of the important cases left undecided was the hard coal trust case. Before court convenes this fall contracts for next winter's coal will have been glossed at trust trices. case. Before court convenes case are last of the Appeal; an impossibility if you will stop to figure a moment thrust of \$100,000,000 by the coal consuming public. The miner is paid the same old wage, but when he goes into the retail store to buy food and clothing he finds that prices have advanced ing he finds that prices have advanced on high priced coal. It is in this way that the miners' wages are reduced. He is miners' wages are reduced wa miners wages are reduced. He is plunged into deeper and more hopeless poverty. The only solution is that proposed by the Socialists—socialize the mines and the railroads and the factories. When this is done no supreme court decision can affect the income of the wealth producers.

THERE has just been issued from our presses, the Red Portfolio of Socialism, which is a collection of the best cartoons and art work of Ryan Walker. Art Young, Walter Crane, Balfour Ker and others. It contains Ker's master-pieces. "The Crucifixion of Labor," and "Driven from Eden." There is a car-toon of Debs with a pen picture from "Gene" that is a gem. Given for one new subscriber to the Coming Nation.

Ar a recent meeting of the stockhold-ers of the La Belle Iron Works it was voted to increase the capital stock from \$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000. The La Belle has mills located at Wheeling, W. Va, and Steubenville, Ohio, and work between four and five thousand men. President Taft and Oscar W. Underwood, democratic leader, are both stock-holders in this corporation. holders in this corporation.

THE miner gets from \$1.60 to \$1.70 for mining a ton of coal. The con-sumer pays from \$4 to \$10 for it. The miners pay in the same proportions for the products of the farm. Why don't the miners and farmers co-operate and cut out that crowd of coupon cutting pirates that own the titles to the mines, factories and railroads?

Remember, the new campaign ediion of the Arsenal is ready for del-very. It contains the "Pink Supple-nent," 24 pages of down-to-date facts for campaign use. Give your old Arsenal to some less fortunate com-rade and get in line for the campaign by equipping yourself with the "Pink Supplement" edition of the Arsenal, it will help the list grow!

# Why Not Have More Homes?

B. F. Yoakum the great railroad magnate says in a recent magazine article that there is over twenty-five million acres of swamp lands in the southern states that could be made ready for cultivation at a cost of from \$10 to \$15 per acre and its value would easily be \$100.

Mr. Yoakum says:

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Mr. Yoakum says: that there is over twenty-noe million acres of swamp lands in the southern states that could be made ready for cultivation at a cost of from \$10 to \$15 per acre and its value would easily be \$100 per acre. This would be the most productive land in America. We have hundreds of thousands of workers unemployed and multitudes of people that need the things that could be produced on this land. Yet under our present crazy system we are spending millions Mr. YOakum says:
Farmers, and not military power, mu
restore our economic balance. The pois
clans pour out the government's money
build fighting machines and starve the arculturist. A forty-acre farm of reclaim
valley land will comfortably support a faily. It costs \$55,000 to make a twelling fighting the property of the result of the run.
The money that rose to pfor this gum would reclaim 4.500 acres
land and provide homes for 500 persons. crazy system we are spending millions for battleships and armies and letting this land produce nothing but mosquitoes and malaria and our people go un-employed, unfed and improperly clothed. Mr. Yoakum says: want? If you do you will vote the So-cialist ticket because the Socialist party and the Socialist party

Mr. Yoakum says:

For a century our government has looked with indifference at the rich swamp lands of the southern states, while England has been furnishing its money and credit to nid Egypt to reclaim waste lands in the Valley of the Nile, 4.000 miles away. The need of more acreage under cultivation in the Mississippi vailey, to provide homes for thousands of those now huddled in the cities and to produce more food and clothing, should cause our government to take a deep interest in the waste lands of Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi and other southern states.

In addition to this swamp land there In addition to this swamp land there

is millions of acres of arid land that could be easily brought under cultiva-tion by irrigation. The Socialist plat-form demands that this be done. Furth-ermore it demands that the government do this with the men that are at pres-ent unemployed and that union wages and working conditions be maintained.

(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 extrawagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.

(e) By the development of highway and waterway systems. and working conditions be maintained.

The soil of this country is being depleted by unscientific methods of culpleted by unscientific methods of cultivation due to a large extent to the system of tenant farming. Germany was cultivating its land before America was discovered yet its average yield of wheat last year was 20½ bushels while ours was only 14. If American soil had

READ THE FIRST PAGE

Which had you farmers rather have

and the Socialist party only, denounce spending money for war and demand it being spent for the development of

the country and the good of the human

Read carefully this plank from the Socialist platform and see if you can

discover where it will do you any ha Don't you think that this will i the way we have been doing things:

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

(a) By scientific forestation and timb-protection.

(b) By the reclamation of arid as

government resources spent for gun farms? Will you vote for what you

The problem of maintaining the circulation of the Appeal, becomes more difficult the larger the list grows. Like a man just ahead of a fast express train, who has been caught at the mouth of a long tunnel, there is nothing to do but run! It would be fatal to stop! The past two mouths have been trying ones for the Appeals. have been trying ones for the Appeal. In March and April, under the lash of persecution at the hands of the federal authorities, the list soared skyward. Since the big victory in Fort Scott, in May, however, there has been a decided let-up all along the line. As pointed out on the first page there is no place where the Appeal there is no place where the APPEAL can slow up. We have been trying to give you a good paper as near the cost of production as possible. There is no publication in the world that gives you so much white paper and actual labor, plus postage, for 25c as the Appeal. A newspaper syndicate article, printed in a string of Sunday papers, tells how Wayland made a million dollars out of the Appeal.

This syndicate article gives the cost of producing this paper at 22c. We sell it for 25c. The writer of that article failed to state that his figures were based on the cost of production ten years ago and since that time white paper has nearly doubled in price as has also every item of labor that enters into the making of the APPEAL save postage alone! the APPEAL, save postage alone!

I am sure the present slump is due to a misapprehension of the part of our old and time-tried comrades. When the call was issued the 50,000 volunteers, asking for one subscrip-tion per week, the plan looked good and so simple that you dropped your and so simple that you dropped your work for the Appeal for other lines of activity, under the impression that all was well at Girard. Another influence that has been disastrous to the paper was the wide-spread newspaper report that the Appeal was dead. This lie is still doing business. It hurts us with new people. Every day Army courades write us that many neonle comrades write us that many people whom they approach for a subscrip tion hesitate to put up good mone for a paper that has been reported dea or dying. On the heels of that report, is printed the syndicate article on how

These facts have been given to you, and I hope you will lose no time in responding

irculation Report Week Ending June State.
PennsylvaniaKansas ...
Ohio ... Texas ... Okiahoma California New York Missouri . Indiana ... 928 957 498 588 728 ,455 19.614 18.071 16.859 16.109 18.344 12.474 Minnesota Michigan Washingto Arkansas 215 253 177 161 N. Dakota 7.808 6.884 6.489 6.426 6.401 6.887 6.040 5.857 5.842 4.856 4.384 8.524 90 210 206 216 102 186 168 133 226 140 128 132 137 151 Montana ... Florida ... South Dakota Alabama ... 117 198 139 71 86 58 2,764 2,668 2,663 2,570 2,459 2,306 2,306 2,111 Virginia Canada N. Carolina Maine 48 67 86 41 44 65 46 52 Maine Arizona Connecticut Maryland Georgia N. Hampshire Mississippi Nevada Utah 1,799 1,720 1,635 1,601 1,556 1,390 23 29 81 55 29 Foreign .... S. Carolina \*51. Dist. Columbia. 52. Delaware

556,813 Totals ..... 14,121 10,535 States marked "a" show gain for

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM. half appreciate it yet; its history has
The republican platform contains not been adequately written. When
many surprises. It is in many ways landlordism in the south became unbearmore radical than the platform adopted his the result in the content of their health without exacting crue. for their health without exacting crue by state republian conventions composed tribute which they were unable to pay when they who had given lands that railroads might be built were rendered helpless before the exactions of those railroads, the farmers inaugurated a reing that such a party gets any further than the first page announcements that have been given to it by the daily pa-pers that followed the colonel in his delirious charge up Coliseum hill in bellion that lasted for years, that cas two million votes, that elected congress men, senators and governors, that through co-operatives broke the power of the closed market, that ended rail-road pass abuses and arbitrary freight rates for a time, and that forced its demands upon the politics of the coun-try. City toilers strike, are turned of Chicago.
Mr. Taft's republican party proposes "to enact necessary legislation to limit effectively the labor of women and children; to protect wage earners engaged and leave their former homes. The The

THE HARVESTER

on through years. Another farmers' rebellion has begun incipiency is precisely like the pop-st rebellion. The exactions of the ulist rebellion. The exactions of the landlord and doctor and railroad have driven the farmer to organization. There are three farmers' organizations now, ust as there were three before the popu-ist amalgamation. The agriculturist s being reached by Socialist literature day far more extensively than he was The picnics of populist days are being repeated by Socialist encampments to-

flay. There is romance and poetry in it. There is spirit and determination behind it. The new rebellion is just forming, just taking shape, but it is almost ready to make history.

Watch it!

# The Pink Supplement

The pink supplement consists of twenty-four pages of the latest figures available from the census reports. This twenty-four-page supplement is bound in the new ed

supplement is bound in the new edition of the Arsenal just coming from the press. In addition to these figures the supplement contains the new platform adopted at Indianapolis Every agitator will recognize at once the value of having the platform in a handy compact form for ready reference. The questions raised by the Socialist platform are the issues around which this campaign will be waged. Every comrade who has an old edition of the Arsennal should pass it along to some who has an old edition of the Arse-nal should pass it along to some less fortunate comrade, and send at once twelve subscriptions for a copy of the new edition with the Pink Supplement containing twenty-four pages of material especially adapted to campaign use.

# THE FAKE DISSOLUTION.

The Portland, Ore., Telegram, commenting on the recent dissolution of the Standard Oil company, says:

It is freely stated in financial circles that in no essential sense has the Standard bil company dissolved, nor is it likely to dissolve so far as even the most asturity and see and understand. Quite to the contrary, it is said that Standard Oil is contrary, it is said that Standard Oil in the contrary, it is said that Standard Oil in the contrary, it is said that Standard Oil interfecting force, making more money has ever; and so operating under a system is a trust is really enhanced tustead of liminished. The Telegram has just discovered

The Telegram has just discovered what the Socialist press knew months ago. The dissolution (?) decision of the Standard Oil was merely a sopthrown to the people to allay the rising tide of protest against the federal courts. After these decisions, trust newspapers paraded the alleged fact that the Standard and the tobacco trust would now be dissolved and that they would henceforth be competitors of would henceforth be competitors of themselves. It was loudly proclaimed themselves. It was loudly proclaimed that the court was true to the people's interests. Very few were deceived by these statements and as the days pass the real situation is becoming quite plain.

# TROGRESSING BACKWARD.

THE REAPER

The population of the United States increased from 1806 to 1908 more than 25,000,000. Perhaps of this number, 5,-000,000 were voters. Neither the demooco,000 were voters. Neither the demo-cratic nor the republican parties ap-peal to these voters sufficiently strong to induce them to go to the polls and ex-ercise the right of franchise. The figures printed above is striking evidence that the American people have lost faith in the two old parties. These old parties have reached their dotage—they are on the political toboggan slide. Contrast the progress (?) these two parties have made with the rapid growth of the So-cialist party. You do not need to be a seer to discern what the future has in



CAPITALISM is going to bump into hornet's nest one of these days.

THE weeds of capitalism will choke

farmers. Does your neighbor read the APPEAL? This is a hint to get busy.

LET the farmer cut a few "melons" is own instead of Wall street.

Socialism means that the farm toiler shall have the full product of his/labor. THE one-horse plow is in the same class as the old-fashioned spinning wheel.

THE gasoline tractor spells the finish of the small farmer. Socialism will let

"I DON'T want anything I haven't worked for." No. nor I don't want to work for something I am not getting.

Who could be better qualified to fix the valuation of cotton, corn, wheat and other farm products than the men that raise them and know what it costs to produce them.

Yes we would have business under Socialism but it will be people busy working for their own good and not working for somebody else.

Socialism will destroy profits taking the word at the meaning usually given it today but the workman will profit by his labor under Socialism instead of paying tribute to a useless parasite

"I BELIEVE in a man rollin' up his sleeves an' workin' fer what he gits. b'gosh," said the hired man resting on his hay fork for a moment to wipe the sweat from his face. He works thirteen hours a day for what he gets—twenty dollars a month.

In 1000 there was only eight states and territories where one-half of the population owned their own homes. All of these were in the west and sparsely populated. There were thirteen where one-quarter or less owned their homes and these were all in the cast and densely populated. New York with the largest population has only 18 per cent home owners, and Rhode Island, New Jersey and the District of Columbia have only 15 per cent. In a great state like

# Socialism means good roads for the