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## Socialism Approaches the Farmers' Problem With the Only Scientific Plan that Can Prevent Bankruptcy

By ALGERNON LEE

"Go West, young man, and grow up with the country." That was Horace Greeley's advice, sixty or eighty years ago. It was on the whole very good advice at that time, and even for some years after Greeley's death. It would be impudently bad advice for anyone to give today. Farming no longer holds any promise of advance for poor men from the cities. On the contrary, farmers' sons and daughters by the tens of thousands are flocking to the cities and trying to get jobs. But if they go with high hopes, they commonly meet bitter disappointment. Even in good times we have always a million or two of unemployed, and in years of depression their number grows to five or six millions.

It is a tremendous change that has come about within the memory of men who are not yet old. All through the nineteenth century it was possible for thousands of families every year to leave the crowded industrial districts, acquire land, and by hard work and frugality to win economic independence and assure their children a better livelihood than they had known. In those days the working farmers had little occasion to think about the wage-workers, and the latter thought of the farmers only to envy their lot and aspire toward sharing it. Each of these two producing classes had its own problems, but they were distinct problems, which each tried to solve for itself.

Their situation is very different today. Farming no longer offers an outlet for the surplus labor forces of the industrial centers. There is now a human surplusage on the farms, and for it no outlet exists. Neither of the two classes can any longer afford to ignore the other. The competition of those who are being forced off the farms makes it harder for the workers in industry to deal with their own problems of high living costs, low wages, and frequent lack of employment. On the other hand, the wage workers' poverty hurts the sale of farm produce, and the chronic glutting of the labor market shuts the door in the faces of those who must leave the land.

The farmers' problem, such as it is today, cannot even be understood without taking into account that great historic fact which we call the evolution of modern capitalism. Within a century and a half capitalism has revolutionized the industries, eliminated the self-employed mechanics and artisans, and created the industrial working class of our times. Within recent years capitalism has invaded the field of agriculture, and bids fair to revolutionize it far more rapidly.

In the present situation of the wage workers in industry the working farmers may see the image of their own future, if capitalist evolution is to go on uncontrolled. The farmers' problem cannot be solved by itself. It can be solved only in conjunction with the labor problem.

**The Socialist Message**  
The farmers have not hitherto been much inclined to listen to the Socialist message. That is not to be wondered at. The way of life of the working farmers was an individualistic one. Socialism was regarded, roughly, as an attack on individual liberties. They were holders of small private property—most of them owners, the rest tenants who hoped to become owners. Socialism was conceived of, not quite accurately, as an attack upon the institution of private property. It

was easy to make farmers believe that the Socialists meant to rob them of their property and make them the slaves of an all-powerful state.

Socialism is coming to be better understood. Folk are learning that Socialism aims to protect individuality from the standardization which capitalism is imposing upon it. They are learning that what Socialism condemns is not private property as such, but that sort of private property which enables one class to exploit another.

At the same time irresistible forces are destroying the old individualistic way of life of the farming population and taking away their private property or making it hardly worth holding. The farmer who loses his land by foreclosure or abandons his farm because he cannot make a living on it, and who gets a job in a huge factory or vainly tries to get one, can hardly feel that capitalism is fostering his individual rights. The farmer who sees his neighbors meeting this fate is likely to see that what bankers and trust magnates call the sacred institution of private property means in the end lack of property for those who toil.

If things go on for another generation as they have been going for a generation past, there will be very few small properties left for Socialism to confiscate, and very few individuals left for Socialism to enslave, even if that were what Socialism aimed at.

We Socialists have a message for the American farmer, and we expect to make it heard. We have a right to call for an open-minded hearing, if on no other ground than this—that we, and we alone, have long foreseen the fate which is now befalling the farmers.

**A Dying Order**  
There have been agricultural crises before this. Their history goes back to the earliest days of the republic. But the present crisis is essentially different from those that have gone before. They were like attacks of some acute illness, from which a patient might recover and again enjoy good health. This one has the appearance of a lingering death agony.

That is not a pleasant thing to say or to hear. But we Socialists think it dishonest to withhold important truth because it is painful. And we have more respect for our fellow citizens than to believe that they must always be fed with sugared lies.

Of course, when we speak of the present crisis in agriculture as a lingering death agony, we do not mean that agriculture as such is on its deathbed. Some day or other

### The Basic Facts of the Great Farm Problem

Politicians who talk about panaceas and relief for the farmers are ignorant or insincere. The era of small farming is rapidly drawing to a close. It is doomed. For twenty-five years, with the exception of a few years during the World War, the farmers have been suffering a process of deflation.

Capitalism has been crowding more and more into the agricultural scene and dominating that scene. Many industries once exclusively handled by the farmers are now conducted by immense capitalist organizations: for instance, the dairy industry (butter and milk), cheese, eggs, poultry and livestock. The farmer labors to raise these products, then he turns them over to the distributing stations of great corporations. They are turned into finished products and distributed to the consumers (at greatly advanced prices) by these corporations.

Even the immense crops of grains are only

raised by the farmer; then he must turn them into the hands of great capitalist organizations for storing, trading in and selling the grain for converting the grain into bread and other products.

The small farmers are already helpless in the grip of large-scale private capitalism. They are also forced to pay three-quarters of a billion dollars each year in interest charges alone—which is another hold that capitalism has on farming.

The process continues inexorably with the growth of giant capitalist farms. This large-scale farming is more efficient than the old small farming. It is certain to put the small farmer out of business—indeed he is now rapidly going bankrupt. The choice is plain and unavoidable: large-scale farming under the ownership of private corporations or large-scale farming under socialized ownership.

the chemists may devise a practical method of producing food without cultivating the soil. Unless they do that, and until they do it, agriculture in some form will survive, though it will give employment to an ever diminishing proportion of the people. It will survive in some form, yes—but not in the form which has provided a livelihood for what was once the large majority and is still more than a fourth of the American people.

What is doomed, if the Socialist analysis is correct, is the whole system of small-scale farming. And what is already rapidly dying is that type of agriculture which has throughout the greater part of our history been the American ideal, and very largely the realized ideal—the type represented by the man who owned, without any crushing burden of debt, a farm large enough to maintain his family in modest comfort and security, and not so large as to require the employment of any great amount of hired help.

**Master Minds Can Err**

Oh, yes, we know that some of the "master minds" of the ruling classes do not agree with us. But well accredited master minds are often woefully wrong. A few examples may be amusing as well as instructive.

About ninety-five years ago Dr. Dionysius Lardner, an eminent British physicist, wrote a pamphlet to prove that the amount of coal required to drive a steamship across the ocean was more than the ship could carry. The first copies of his pamphlet were brought to America a few weeks later, in the first ship that crossed the Atlantic. In 1853, President Buchanan congratulated Congress and the people that, as a result of the Dred Scott decision, the question of slavery had been forever eliminated from politics. In 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected in his place, and within a few years slavery was abolished. In October, 1903, the late Professor Simon Newcomb, a really great mathematician and astronomer, published an article in which he thought he had demonstrated the impossibility of flying in a heavier-than-air machine. In December of the same year the Wright brothers made their ever memorable flight at Kitty Hawk. With such instances of the fallibility of master minds before us, it may not be deemed irrelevant to challenge the scientific authority of the present occupant of the White House.

"Farming is and must continue to be an individual business of small units and independent ownership," so said Herbert Hoover in 1928, and he has not said anything since to indicate that he has revised his judgment.

Reports of the Census Bureau and of the Department of Agriculture which were in print before Mr. Hoover made that speech showed that the things which he said "must continue" were already passing away. The percentage of independent farms—that is, farms worked by the men who own them—has been diminishing ever since 1880. Between 1920 and 1925, and again between 1925 and 1930, the whole number of farms diminished; but in each of these five-year periods the number of tenant farms slightly increased, which means that the independent farms declined not only in percentage, but in absolute number. The farms that were either merged or abandoned during these most recent periods were farms of middle size. The very small farms, mostly worked by tenants, have become more numerous; but so have the giant farms,

owned by capitalists and worked by wage laborers.

Whenever Herbert Hoover assumes to speak as an economist, we are moved to hope that he really is a good mining engineer.

Alfred E. Smith, who was Mr. Hoover's leading opponent in the campaign of 1928, showed no better understanding of the farmers' situation. He dealt superficially with some aspects of the question and then turned to his favorite topics—the righteousness of Tammany Hall and the unrighteousness of the Eighteenth Amendment.

In fairness to old-party standpatters it must be added that the so-called insurgents seem to have no deeper understanding of the subject; or, if they do understand, they lack the political courage to go to the root of the question. They offer some palliative measures, but their main stress is laid upon a scheme which is so fundamentally unsound that, while it would help the capitalist middlemen to keep up the retail food prices, it would not even check, but would positively hasten the ruin of the working farmers.

Old-party statesmanship does not recognize great historic tendencies. Its highest reach is the attempt to stabilize what in its very nature must evolve, and in political practice it continually sinks to the quackery of pretending that by some hocus-pocus it can bring back a state of society which has passed away.

**Socialist Foresight**

Have the Socialists a remedy to prescribe for the desperate sickness of American agriculture? In the sense in which that question is most likely to be understood, we frankly answer: No, we have not, and neither has anyone else. We do not scorn palliatives, provided it is recognized that all they can do is to relieve painful symptoms. But we know that there is no elixir of life that will rejuvenate a dying method of production.

But put the question in another way—Have the Socialists a solution for the problem which confronts the whole class of working farmers? That we have. And the first step toward solving the problem is to see what it really is. To see how the present situation has grown out of the past, to get a clear view of what is inevitable in the future, and thereby to learn how to act so as to take advantage of that future instead of being crushed by it.

If we insist that Socialists have foreseen the transformation of agriculture which is now taking place, it is not just for the cheap pleasure of saying, "We told you so." The important thing is that the prediction was no mere lucky guess, but was based on a scientific analysis of the workings of the capitalist system. That analysis was begun by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels almost ninety years ago, and their work has been carried on by a whole series of economic and social scientists using their methods and applying their theories to new conditions as they arise. As early as 1848 Marx and Engels expressed their opinion that the same general process which was going on in the industrial field would somewhat later be extended to agriculture. They were speaking of Europe then, but in 1882 they made reference to America and foretold the coming of the great capitalist farm and the effect it would have upon our farming class.

It was a bold prediction to make at that time, and seemed even a rash one. For thirty years or more, whenever agriculture was under dis-

cussion, American Socialists were on the defensive. Some were inclined to admit that on this point Marx was wrong. Others, more far-sighted or more stubborn, could only say, "Wait and see." History has vindicated Socialist science in this as in so many other things.

**Farm Depression Is 25 Years Old**  
Viewed superficially, the agricultural depression which has now prevailed in the United States for about a quarter of a century, interrupted only for a short time by the abnormal war-time prosperity, may be diagnosed as follows: Even though, through the greatest part of this time, there has been a general upward trend of prices, the selling prices of farm produce have never risen so fast as have the prices of other kinds of goods, and the expenses of running the farms; the net income of the farmers, their return for their labor, has accordingly been declining and it has become harder for them to make both ends meet. Those who do not look beneath the surface have accordingly tried to deal with the problem by finding some way to increase the farmers' selling price—either by diminishing the output of farm produce or by some scheme for regulated marketing.

Neither of those has proved practicable. Socialists maintain that neither of them can solve the farmers' problem. In order to show their weakness and to indicate what must be done, let us see how this depression has come about.

The "Good Old Times"  
From the time of the American Revolution down to the end of the nineteenth century the most outstanding fact in our national history was the westward flow of population, which means chiefly that men of small means, who would otherwise have had to live out their lives as wage workers, were acquiring land and becoming farmers. It was this fact which justified Emerson's famous saying, "America is another name for Opportunity."

It is foolish to paint idyllic pictures of the past. The life of the working farmer has never been easy, and for the vanguard it was often a bitter struggle. But the mass of the American farmers unquestionably had a life far better than that of Old World peasants and better than that of most wage workers and petty tradesmen in this country. The prevailing spirit was a cheerful one, and with good reason. The settler who had average good luck was rewarded for his efforts. However hard he had to work, whatever privations he had to endure, he was sustained by the knowledge that he was his own master and was laboring to assure his children a better existence than he had known. Present hardships were lightened by the vision of future good.

Throughout this long period most farmers were able gradually to bring more acres into cultivation, to build their buildings, stock, and equipment, to live in increasing comfort, and to lay something aside for a rainy day. They borrowed largely, it is true; but in the main they borrowed as thriving business men do, because they could reasonably expect to gain more by the loan than it cost them. Children were not a burden; food and other necessities were plentiful, and more hands meant more production. If, as the boys grew up, the old place was not big enough for all, fresh land was still to be had farther west. Though many young men quit the farm, it was not because agriculture was unable to support them, but because

it had provided the means to train them for professions or launch them in business. They were climbing the ladder, not walking the plank.

**Growth and Overgrowth**  
We have no accurate statistics earlier than the middle of the century, but we know that by 1850 there were nearly 1,500,000 farms, with about 113,000,000 acres of improved land. By 1900 the number of farms had grown to more than 5,700,000, and the improved area to 414,000,000 acres. This was even a little in excess of the growth of our total population.

What made possible such an expansion of agriculture was not merely the fact that there was plenty of good land to be had cheap, but also the fact that the American farmers had the inside track to the European market, and that Europe, with a population which was at that time rapidly increasing, and which was being drawn away from the fields to the factories, was in a position to import vast quantities of farm produce.

It was the development of our transcontinental railways and of steam navigation across the Atlantic, from the 1830s on, that gave us this inside track. The later development of railways in other lands and of steam transport on other seas inevitably took it away. In the latter part of the century the extension of railway service in Canada and across Europe brought wheat, potatoes, cattle and hogs from the Canadian Northwest and Russia, Hungary, and the Balkan countries into effective competition with American products in the world's best market. When the steamship has reached a certain degree of efficiency, the cost of ocean freightage does not increase proportionately with the length of the voyage. This stage was reached, and along with it came cheap refrigeration. As a result, Argentina, Australia, and

New Zealand became our competitors in providing Europe not only with grain, wool, and hides, but also with fresh meat and dairy products.

Relatively to the new situation, our agriculture was already over-expanded in 1900. This was not generally realized at the time, when a general upturn of prices had but recently begun. Even if it had been, that would probably not have prevented the further expansion which by 1920 brought the number of farms up to 6,448,000 and the area of improved land to 503,000,000 acres. The individual interest of farmers and prospective farmers compelled each of them, when he saw an opportunity to do just the thing which, being done by many, was injurious to all.

**Enter the Capitalist**  
Under the old conditions American agriculture did not have to be very efficient. Those farmers who for any reason got more than an average yield per acre or had a less than average cost per acre were of course the ones that prospered best; but with so capacious a market there was a wide margin between the most profitable farms and those that could barely break even. With the loss of our virtual monopoly in that market, and the consequent tendency for the prices of farm produce to sag, all were put to a much severer test. The advantage of minimum production cost now became decisive as it had never been before, and for the first time there was a condition favorable to the rise of capitalist agriculture.

For a good while before this, however, those who could read the signs of the times could perceive the beginnings of an agricultural revolution which was to culminate in the giant farm, but which in its earlier stages proceeded along different lines.

Large-scale production by means

## Let's Go in and Win!

A Five-Week Plan of Special Editions Will Climax with Another Senatorial Special Edition

We believe in tireless, persistent agitation and education—and organization in the Freeman Army into a plan of big crusades. We might say that we are now engaged in carrying out a Five-Week Plan of important special editions. The present special edition and the other three that have been announced will be followed by another Senatorial Special Edition, full of lively material about the issues which E. Haldeman-Julius is emphasizing in his campaign for United States Senator from Kansas.

This will be called the Senatorial Special Edition No. 1, as we intend to get out a number of special editions on the senatorial campaign between now and November, 1932. You understand of course that this Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 will not deal merely with Kansas politics in a local sense nor with E. Haldeman-Julius' personal ambition—in fact, in this campaign he is thinking more about economic education of the voters than about personal ambitions. Issues that are nation-wide and indeed world-wide will be featured in this special edition.

It is the time of all times for winning an audience which can be impressed with the soundness and the necessity of The Freeman editor's principles of social justice and plainness. These are the ideas of The Freeman and of The Freeman Army. They are the ideas we have been working for and now we can work and fight for these ideas on the most effective scale. Using Kansas as our strategic center, we can wage a campaign of economic truth that will have its effects throughout the nation.

The Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 will be dated September 26. It will discuss boldly and vigorously the leading issues—the real and urgent issues—of the 1932 campaign. Haldeman-Julius wants to keep hammering away and not let the old party politicians evade these issues nor let the people forget their true significance. The Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 will deal with the news and with all ideas entering fundamentally into the 1932 campaign. It will be an important special edition, carefully prepared toward the objective of advancing our campaign, and we specially urge our readers to contribute to Method No. 3, which will enable us to mail thousands of extra copies of this special edition to good Kansas names on our book lists.

### ORDER BLANK FOR SENATORIAL SPECIAL EDITION NO. 1

(September 26)

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I realize the importance of keeping up the fight in Kansas, which is really a national battleground now that E. Haldeman-Julius has entered the race for United States Senator from Kansas. I am helping to circulate the Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 by using the Method marked below.

**Method No. 1.** I am enclosing \$..... for which send me a bundle of ..... copies (minimum order 50 copies) of the Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 of September 26, at the rate of 2c a copy.

**Method No. 2.** I am enclosing \$..... and a list of ..... names, to whom you will send the Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 of September 26, at the rate of 2c a name (minimum list 50 names).

**Method No. 3.** I am enclosing \$..... for which you are to send ..... copies (minimum order 50 copies) of the Senatorial Special Edition of September 26 to good names in your possession, at the rate of 2c a name.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

## Extra! Campaign Sub Day!

We have an idea—yes, another one. This is a good idea. It is an idea that will get results. It is an idea that you will be enthusiastic about. It calls for a 100-percent organized and simultaneous effort by The Freeman Army—and we are sure that every member of the Army will respond and do his best to make this idea succeed.

Here is our idea: Let us set aside Labor Day—Monday, September 7—as Campaign Sub Day for The Freeman. Let every member of The Freeman Army resolve on that day to go out and hustle one yearly sub for The Freeman—and we will extend each such sub until the week following the election in November, 1932, which means that for a dollar each of these new readers will get The Freeman for a little more than a year. We will be glad to contribute the extra two months of time to each sub, in order to help put across this rousing idea of a planned, concerted, special day's drive for Freeman yearly subs.

The day set—Labor Day—will be especially favorable to the success of our plan. There will be crowds, celebrations, interested talk about labor and economic conditions; and so you can easily reach your fellow workers, your neighbors, any one who might be prevailed upon to interest himself in The Freeman's campaign of protest and constructive action during the next fourteen months.

Get ready now, don't forget, and make Labor Day still more significant as Campaign Sub Day for The Freeman. In sending in each sub, just say: "This is one I landed on Campaign Sub Day."



of expensive power-driven machinery operated by wage labor, which is the central feature of productive capitalism, dates from a little after the middle of the eighteenth century. From the textile and metal trades in which it began to spread to other lines, and from its birthplace in England it spread to other countries, until nowadays it dominates nearly all branches of manufacturing, mining, building, and transportation in most parts of the civilized world. No other method of production has ever been capable of yielding so large a surplus to the possessing class, and by the reinvestment of part of this surplus it is continually extending to a wider sphere. For various reasons it is not so easily introduced into agriculture as into the other lines of production. While industrial capitalism was growing and maturing, farming remained technically backward and in the main non-capitalistic. But this does not mean that it escaped the influence of the new system. In several ways it was being encroached upon and preyed upon by the capitalist interests.

#### A Nibbling Attack

First of all, there was a sort of nibbling process, by which one kind of work after another was taken away from the farm and made into a capitalistic industry. Up to the time of the Civil War it was a common thing for farmers to slaughter their beasts, salt or otherwise prepare part of the meat, and sell these products, as well as fresh meat in sides or quarters, to consumers or tradesmen in neighboring towns. All this has long ceased to be farm work. In its place we have the packing industry in a high stage of capitalistic development. Farmers or their womenfolk used to make most of the nation's butter and a large part of its cheese. Today practically all the cheese and far the greater part of the butter are turned out by manufacturing establishments. Other instances might be cited. Every such change meant a growth of capitalist industry and a shrinking of the scope of small-scale agriculture.

#### Threefold Exploitation

Second, and more important, with the growth of large cities and the spreading of agriculture over wider areas, direct connection between producers and consumers of farm produce was cut off, and this gave capital two opportunities to exploit agriculture from the outside. Between the farmers and the ultimate purchasers of his goods stand the transportation agencies and the commercial middlemen, both thoroughly capitalist. In the farmers' dealings with each of these, competition is very one-sided. The farmers are immensely numerous, and their individual means are small; they need to sell or to ship their produce much more urgently than the railways need to carry it or the dealers to buy it. Wherever such one-sided competition exists, there is the possibility of intensive exploitation. The spread between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays is a measure of this exploitation, which enriches great capital and has done much to impoverish the small-scale farmers.

Third, most farmers are debtors. The men who first took up the land seldom had the means both to buy it and provide the necessary improvements. Some of them were able to clear off their debts, but in order to add to their equipment, as methods and conditions changed, they had to increase the debt almost if not quite as fast as the farm rose in value. Here again, numerous relatively small borrowers face comparatively few and rich financial concerns. It is the debtors' need rather than the creditor's eagerness to lend that dictates terms. If things go well, the farmer may carry his indebtedness; but a single year of crop failure or of exceptionally low prices may wipe out the gain of several good years; for the creditor's claim takes precedence of the owner's, and every default piles interest on top of interest. Inevitably, once a general decline has set in, an ever larger share of the wealth that the farmer produces has to go to the bankers.

#### A few Figures

Here are a few figures that show the effect of these forms of capitalist encroachment or exploitation

even before capital to any considerable extent actually engaged in agricultural production:

**Growth of Tenancy.**—Our statistics begin with 1880. There is no doubt that tenant farming was already on the increase before that year; from then on we can trace it. In 1880, out of every thousand farms, 745 were worked by their owners and 255 by tenants. By 1900, the number of owning farmers had fallen to 647 in the thousand and the number of rent-payers had risen to 353. Economists of the "keep smiling" school assured us that this was really an upward social tendency, that the additional tenants were formerly landless men who had got land and would eventually own it. The test of this theory came when the whole number of farms began to decline. By 1925 the number of tenants per thousand had grown to 386, and the number of owning farmers had gone down to 614. But in the last five years of that period, while the tenants increased in absolute as well as relative number, the number of farmers who owned the land they worked has diminished by 84,000. Complete figures for 1930 are not at hand, but it is officially stated that the same process has continued. Obviously tenants are not becoming owners, but just the reverse.

**Growth of Debt.**—Of all farms worked by their owners, 28 percent was under mortgage in 1890, more than 30 percent in 1900, more than 33 percent in 1910, at least 41 percent in 1920, and certainly the figures for 1930 will be larger still when we get them.

Debts secured by farm mortgages represented over 27 percent of the value of the mortgaged farms in 1910, over 29 percent in 1920, and about 42 percent in 1925.

The aggregate indebtedness of the farmer class was officially estimated six years ago at twelve and a quarter billions of dollars, and the yearly interest on it at not less than three-quarters of a billion.

**Size of Farms.**—It is often asserted that there is no such tendency to consolidation in agriculture as there is in industry. In proof of this it is pointed out that the average size of all farms in the country has changed very little in fifty years, now rising and now falling between a low point of about 134 acres and a high point of about 148.

Such averages are often deceptive. In this case a slight and irregular variation of the average masks a steady change.

Comparing the situation in 1925 with that of 1900, and grouping all farms under three heads—less than 50 acres, from 50 to 250 acres, and 250 acres or more—an examination of the figures gives this result: Small farms increased in relative number, from 337 to 379 in the thousand; large farms likewise increased, from 92 to 102 in the thousand; while farms of medium size became relatively less numerous, the ratio falling from 571 in the thousand to 519.

The changes are not very great, but they have some significance. Economic evolution is here "playing both ends against the middle," and doing it in a persistent way, slowly working toward the elimination of just that type of farm, so far as size is concerned, which best represents the old ideal of the independent working farmer.

If we put these three tendencies together—steady decline in the proportion of medium size farms; decrease in the number of farms owned by the men who work them, and steady increase in the burden of debt on farms that are still so owned—we get a vivid idea of what is going on, not just at the moment but as a continuous process. In view of such facts, it is either midsummer madness or sheer dishonesty to talk of restoring the farmers to the economic and social position they occupied a couple of generations ago. As well talk of doing away with steel mills and textile mills and re-instating the hand loom, the spinning wheel, and the village smithy. If capitalism continues to dominate the fields of industry, commerce, and finance, it will continue to exploit the working farmers, driving some of them off the land and leveling the rest down toward a condition of virtual peonage, and it will also continue and accelerate its direct inva-

sion of the agricultural field.

#### Large Farms and Small

The factory farm is of course not identical with the large farm. It may in fact be either small or large, and either the small or the large farm may or may not be of the factory type.

What figure in the statistics as large as of various sorts. A good many of them are simply tracts of many thousands of acres, practically without improvements, on which vast herds of cattle or flocks of sheep range and graze, under the care of a relatively small force of hired "cowboys" or "sheep men." While the relation of employer and wage workers prevails here, the same can hardly be called a typical capitalist enterprise, any more than it is a typical farm. Small farms are likewise of diverse kinds, and some of them are really not farms at all—for example, the summer boarders' farm, whose principal interest is not agricultural, but which may sell the \$500 worth of produce which brings it within the census definition; or the well-to-do city man's country place, which only incidentally produces for the market. How numerous these are, we do not know.

The majority of the very small farms, no doubt, are well represented by the holdings of a large part of the cotton and tobacco growers of the South. Cultivated usually by renters, sometimes by debt-ridden owners, they of course employ very little wage labor. Their equipment is poor, their methods are antiquated, and it is only by excessively hard labor that their cultivators make a very meager living. They may be compared with the sweatshops in industry, which are able to drag out a lingering existence side by side with the up-to-date factory.

#### The Factory Farm

There is a type of small farm, however, which is quite at the other end of the scale in respect to the modernness of its technique. It is in this size register that the factory farm first successfully established itself. It plays a large and steadily increasing role in many specialties that have been split off from general agriculture—among them the production of flowers, of fruits and vegetables for the table and for the canner, of poultry and eggs, and of milk. It may comprise only a very few acres, and the natural quality of the land is usually of less importance than the location. On these few acres there is a highly expensive equipment, consisting not so much of machinery as of specially designed buildings, glass, heating plant, water system, electric wiring, and so forth. There is a large expenditure for scientifically regulated feeding of animals or for intensive fertilization which amounts to a continual remaking of the soil. Such enterprises vary greatly in magnitude. Many of them employ only one or two hired workers; but as in industry, there is a tendency for the larger ones to survive and grow larger still.

As a further step in the same direction, corporations which use farm products are now reaching out in the manner of the vertical trust and taking possession of the farm. Canning companies own vegetable farms and run them on capitalist lines. Some restaurant chains have their own farms for the production of milk and eggs. Milk distributing companies, besides spreading horizontally into the business of manufacturing condensed and evaporated milk, cream, and similar products, have entered the field of dairy farming.

One company farm, near New York, has more than 1,500 cows. A part of its equipment, installed late in 1930, is an almost automatic machine which takes fifty cows at a time and washes, dries, and milks them in twelve and a half minutes. Arthur H. Hyde, Secretary of Agriculture, speaking at its dedication, said: "This farm is industrialized, mechanized, automated to the nth degree. Here the cows are producing milk, through which the raw materials are fed from the field to the milk bottle." A good many thousands of dairy farmers who produce for metropolitan markets are wondering what is going to happen to them.

And Another Sort  
The other type of capitalist farming, characterized by vast acreage as well as costly equipment, is growing by leaps and bounds. Thus far it is almost confined to wheat production, but in view of inventions that are already being made, it would not be rash to predict that within a few years it will extend to the growing of corn, cotton, sugar cane, sugar beets, and other staple crops.

The outstanding example is Thos. D. Campbell's farm in Montana, started in 1918. It consists of 90,000 acres (over 148 square miles) of which about half is under crop. The other half is reserved for at least three hundred average wheat farms of the usual type, it is operated by a force of wage workers numbering fifty through eight months of the year and rising to 250 at the peak. Leaving ample margin for possible error, it may be said that the amount of labor-time per acre is less than half what is required on an ordinary farm. The cost of equipment is stated at a million dollars. Huge as is the lump sum, it is but half the corresponding investment per acre on the average farm. Though the price of wheat should fall far below any point it has yet touched, Mr. Campbell would still make a profit on every bushel.

Campbell's is now but one of many such giant farms in the West, and more will be started each year. There is room for several thousand, but each will kill a couple of hundred independent farmers—plenty of room at the top, but a deadly pressure on the folk at the base of the pyramid. The listing of securities of farm corporations on the New York Exchange is being discussed—a proof that capital thinks well of the new development. That farmers are awake to its menace is shown by the fact that one state has already enacted a law aiming to prevent "chain farming" and others are

preparing to follow suit. Such legislation will be precisely as effective as the Federal Anti-Trust Law.

#### Inept Advisers

Plenty of advice, most of it very inept, is being given to the farmers. Some tell them to diversify their crops, others to specialize. Diversification would lessen the risk that comes from putting all the eggs into one basket, but it would also mean less income for those who practiced it. Those farmers who most improve their technique will fare better than such as cling to primitive methods; but the more efficient agriculture becomes, the fiercer will be the competitive struggle, in which capitalist farms have a decisive advantage.

T. Swann Harding, bureau chief in the department of agriculture, in a magazine article published early in 1930, said that "we have only about 80,000 efficient farmers, and we are doing our best to make the other 5,700,000 as efficient as the minority." But, he went on, if we should succeed in doing this, overproduction would be so increased that only about one million farmers could exist. Alexander H. Legge, former chairman of the United States Farm Board, has declared with brutal frankness that "There are too many farmers." Addressing the American Association of Mortgage Bankers at Detroit, he urged them to use their power to speed up the consolidation of farms, so as to "make one borrower a good risk where you now have two or three bad ones." That is hardly a satisfactory solution of the farmers' problem.

Business men, college professors, and politicians (the President among them) tell the farmers to curtail production. There are only two fatal flaws in this piece of wisdom. For one thing, how are six and a half million farmers going to make sure that all curtail in like proportion? If not, those who limit their output will have less to sell and those who do not will prevent the rise of prices. In practice, what all this cry for diminished production is raised, the effect is to delude the farmers into believing that prices are going to rise, and thus to tempt them to raise bigger instead of smaller crops. But even if all American farmers could be got to restrict their production, they would not profit by it. This is an exporting country. Selling prices are fixed by competition in the world market. Curtailing the American product would raise prices for the Canadian, South American, and Australian farmers as much as for ourselves; but while they would get the better price on their usual output, American farmers would get it only on a smaller amount.

Collective bargaining by such organizations as the Grain Growers' Association and the Dairyman's League has been of some benefit to its members. Without it, they would have been even worse off than they are. But it is unable in the long run to prevent the glutting of the market. So the government took a hand, buying hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat and holding it out in the hope of raising the price. Alas, the price still went down and the Farm Board was left holding the bag. The futility of the scheme ought to have been seen without so costly an experiment. An importing country can raise prices, at the expense of its consumers, by means of the protective tariff. An exporting country cannot do the trick unless, as is the case with Brazil in the matter of coffee production, it has no formidable competitors.

What's to Be Done?  
As was said at the outset, the Socialists do not pretend to have an elixir of life for small-scale agriculture, nor do they believe that anyone else has; and they do not despise palliatives, provided they are not ones that do no good at all. The old individualistic agriculture is doomed. Large-scale production with labor-saving machinery must take its place. The question is: Shall agriculture be socialized or shall it be socialized? Shall the change enrich a few and depress the many, or shall it benefit all? And there is also the problem. How to mitigate the suffering that the change is now bringing upon the farmers?

Socialization of the railways would help. The contrast between freight rates on the government railways in Canada and those charged by our own privately owned system is an object lesson that should not be overlooked. Cooperative organization of farmers, not only to market their produce, but to run giant farms of their own, would help immensely. But it must be combined with consumers' purchasing cooperatives, so as to link the interests of the rural and the urban masses by splitting middlemen's profits between them. Legislation to facilitate such organized mutual aid would be much more in order than futile laws against giant farming.

Cutting down protective tariffs would help materially. The tariff protects only great capitalist interests, and burdens working farmers and city wage workers alike. Irrelevant as it may at first seem, such measures as unemployment insurance, shortening of the workday, and prohibition of child labor would help. For tens of thousands of farmers and hundreds of thousands of farmers' sons and daughters are on the verge of becoming wage-workers, and everything that betters the condition of the industrial working class will benefit the farmers as well.

It is not our task here to draw up a program. The essential thing is that the two classes should recognize their community of interest, come to understand each other's problems, work out their common program, and join forces for their common good.

A DISPOSITION to believe is frequently associated with a readiness to be deceived.

SOME men are better and some are worse than their beliefs.

MAMMON rules the church.

RELIGION is a stranger fiction.

AMERICAN banking is a crying scandal.

WAR DEBTS: History's receipts for past stupidities.

CAPITALISM in the end rests on the policeman's club.

WHEN Man dethrones the gods, he will enthroned man.

CHARITY begins at home—but ends in the priests' coffers.

THE CHURCH has been shameless in capitalizing human grief.

WHO SAYS it is a sin to doubt the priest? Why, the priest says it.

EVERY worker out of a job should be out of patience with capitalism.

THE WORKERS fight wars, pay for wars and are further enslaved by wars.

WHY RASKOB speaks, the Democratic party dances—didn't he pay for it?

RASKOB, Democrat, and Mellon, Republican—where's the real difference?

THERE is plenty of wisdom in the world; but there are not enough wise men.

EVERY worker should be able to have the best there is in modern education.

THE AMERICAN FREEMAN believes in fearless exposures of our political frauds.

LIBERTY depends on substituting planned production and distribution for practical profits.

CAPITALISM is in collapse. It won't work. Only socialized industry will set the wheels turning again.

A VICTORY for The Freeman editor in Kansas will be a victory for the exploited wage slaves of the entire nation.

KANSAS politicians say Wall Street money can defeat The Freeman editor. We say in reply that Freeman broadsides, circulated by The Freeman Army, can defeat Wall Street's dirty money.

COLLECTING a half million dollars in Wall Street to defeat The Freeman editor for the U. S. Senate will be counteracted by The Freeman Army paying for circulating at least a half million Freeman broadsides early in the campaign.

WE FEEL confident that before many months slip by the Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Club will have at least 5,000 members. They will be scattered from coast to coast. It is easy to join. All you need do is to order four sub cards at 25c each, or send at least \$1 under Method No. 3.

WHEN The Freeman editor's nomination papers are circulated in Kansas, in order to get his name on the ballot legally, we intend to employ a new wrinkle. Each person who circulates the petitions will be asked to have on hand circulation subscription blanks in order to get each signer to become a regular reader of The Freeman during the campaign. We intend to pass up nothing in the fight to put The Freeman editor in the U. S. Senate.

MR. HOOVER must be very considerate. Firm, too. Resisting manfully the idle and sentimental clamor coming from certain "undesirable citizens" that Congress be called in extraordinary session to do something for the 10,000,000 of unemployed, Hoover would not, at a critical time like this—when the profit stream is running thin—permit Congress to disturb the minds of Big Business. Yes, sir, he is very considerate. Is it not so?

You know how hope springs eternal. Well, in our more expansive moments we catch ourselves wondering whether it is too much to hope that capitalism will prove to be the last refuge and stronghold of the world's respected robbers. It would seem that after all these thousands of years, even since the beginning of civilization, that it is about time the so-called advanced nations, taken by and large, were attaining a tolerably dignified and decent stage of culture. Maybe Soviet Russia will be permitted to demonstrate the possibility of an honest civilization.

However great and apparently overwhelming the odds against the working class may be, in its struggle for emancipation, it has this final, fixed, and natural advantage: the continued existence of organized society—not to say human life itself—depends upon it. It cannot be annihilated without annihilating civilization. The master class, on the contrary, can be easily dispensed with and its continued existence must depend upon its behavior and its capacity to perform some acceptable social function. To the workers of the world the very gods must ultimately bow!

NOTICE TO KANSAS VOTERS: Freeman readers in Kansas, who favor the nomination and election of The Freeman editor to the U. S. Senate, will be expected, at the proper time, to circulate nomination petitions. Many thousands of signatures will have to be collected. Such petitions will be distributed at the right time. In order to facilitate this work we would appreciate hearing from Kansas readers, stating whether or not they will be willing to help in this work. It will take several days of each person's time to get this necessary job done. Such work will have to be done without thought of pay, because the nature of our campaign makes necessary complete dependence on volunteer cooperation.

#### Kansas Politicians Worried

Kansas politicians are frankly puzzled by The Freeman editor's campaign for U. S. Senator.

The Freeman is showing them some new "wrinkles" in the political field.

They are beginning to grow alarmed over the unusual spectacle of Americans from Maine to California coming to the aid of a candidate in Kansas. Of course, The Freeman editor counted on this all along, and now he is finding even more support than he dared hope for.

The fight in Kansas will end with the counting of ballots. Kansas will decide that, of course, but don't forget you stand-pat politicians, that citizens in New York, California, Georgia, Alabama and the rest of the states, will have something to say about the outcome. They won't vote, but they will help make votes. How? By fighting with dollar bills.

Wall Street leaders will use hundreds of thousands of dollars to defeat The Freeman editor.

Already they are being asked to supply the funds to remove the menace of Haldeman-Julius' radicalism. Very well, you plutocrats, but there's more to the fight than that.

Honest citizens everywhere are going to join in a different kind of a campaign to help put The Freeman editor in the Senate. They will send their dollars to pay for sending Freeman campaign broadsides to Kansas voters. And they will be cheap. Only 2c per bullet. A mere \$1 will pay for reaching 50 Kansas citizens. \$2 will pay for 100. \$5 will pay for 250. \$10 will pay for 500. \$20 will pay for 1,000. And so on.

We have plenty of time to get the campaign organized and we are already hard at work, so we feel confident about the result—the work will be thorough, sound and productive, and if we continue as planned we may be sure that E. Haldeman-Julius will be the next junior Senator from Kansas. And won't that be pleasant news for Wall Street? Of course, they'll answer with still more money during the present campaign, but we will be in position to print extra broadsides and leave it to our readers everywhere to advance the money needed to get these messages to the voters of Kansas. One dollar spent that way will do more "harm" than a hundred dollars spent by the plutocrats to whip The Freeman editor.

No wonder the politicians are alarmed. They know they are up against a new kind of political technique and they don't feel right about it.

Let's add to their discomfort by piling up the campaign reserve now, with a view to making the September 26, Haldeman-Julius Senatorial Special, Edition No. 1 a smashing success.

Let's try to make it at least 100,000. This will cost \$2,000, figuring the papers and mailing charges at only 2c each. Then when we come to Campaign Edition No. 2, during November, we'll aim for 250,000.

As there will be at least six Campaign Special Editions between now and the election in 1932 we shall strive to make the last campaign edition big enough to reach every man and woman in the entire state. Of course, that's aiming for a pretty hard target, but by planning intelligently now the job can be done.

Thus, the September 26 edition is an important key in the strategy of the campaign.

When we say we want to send out 100,000 copies we are not asking for the impossible. That is only 40,000 more than the Aug. 1 Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition. It can be done. Freemanites get busy now and send in what they can spare under Method No. 3.

State in your letter that the remittance is to be used for sending Senatorial Campaign Edition No. 1 to good Kansas names. We will put aside the money and use it when the Sept. 26 issue is ready for distribution.

Needless to say, the Sept. 26 Senatorial Special Edition No. 1 will be full of strong political editorials from the pen of The Freeman editor. He will restate his political philosophy and show that only the radical economic program can give real and lasting relief to the victims of capitalist exploitation.

THE PRIEST is the successor of the witch doctor and uses much the same tricks.

THE MOST successful religion is that which does the fanciest lying.

#### ONE WAY TO HELP

Freeman readers have begun to send in their renewals, regardless of when their subscriptions expire. Some are renewing for one year at \$1; others are sending renewals for more than one year. Several came in for five years. This is being done by our loyal readers in order to bring additional funds to The Freeman in fighting the libel suit of the Moore ring. We hope to hear from many more readers.

E. Haldeman-Julius

#### TO LABOR UNION READERS:

As no paper in America fights for the interests of labor more persistently and intelligently than The American Freeman, we suggest that all our readers who are members of labor unions bring this paper to the attention of meetings of their unions.

The next time your local union meets, ask for the privilege of telling them about The Freeman and—this is important—urge that the union as a body subscribe for The Freeman for each of its members.

This will bring us solid clubs of yearly subs. It will enable you to do a tremendous stroke of work for The Freeman. It will be entirely worth while for the unions as their members will be reading the very latest and soundest news and ideas about the movements of labor and the movements of labor's enemies in this country and abroad.

By following this suggestion, our union readers can bring us in several hundred yearly subs in one order. And remember that The Freeman is only fifty cents a year in clubs of four or more. This means that a union of two hundred members can place every member on The Freeman list for a year at a cost of only one hundred dollars. Please remember to urge this action at the very next meeting of your local union.

#### Is Needed to Fight Bunk

I feel certain that with a man of the caliber of The Freeman editor in the U. S. Senate, the "piffle" and "bunk" brigade would experience a decided shock. In other words, a decent human being, in view of all the evidence, is compelled to believe that our U. S. is a nation of thieves with the capitalist parties at Washington upmiring the job. We need Haldeman-Julius down by the Potomac, and need him bad. I sincerely hope that the good people of the State of Kansas will land Haldeman-Julius in the Senate with a tidal wave of votes.—W. A. Stolley, Mich.

#### VIOLENCE AGAINST THE WEST VIRGINIA MINERS

"Beat 'em up!" This vicious old slogan in labor wars is being applied by coal operators and their gunmen guards against the striking coal miners in West Virginia.

In a tent colony of a mining village near Charleston, W. Va., strikers are sheltering themselves after having been evicted from the company houses. Andy Climov, with four fellow strikers, went to bring away their clothes from their former homes, when they were met by the mine superintendent, and a mine guard.

Climov was called away from the group and led to the railroad track. Reaching a bridge, the guard ran swiftly across, then turned and with pointed gun demanded that Climov walk across with his hands up. Fearing for his life, Climov refused; when the mine superintendent, who was drunk, ran up and beat Climov about the head with a rifle barrel. One rib was broken, the face was smashed cruelly and a deep wound was inflicted in the back.

Climov ran for his life, amid the shouts of fellow workers who had been drawn by the struggle, and he reached the tent colony. The mine superintendent came to the tent colony half an hour later and wanted to carry to the hospital, as he put it, the "scab you men beat up." Climov hid during the night and the next morning was taken to Charleston.

A warrant was issued for the mine superintendent's arrest—but in West Virginia the coal operators rule. It is to challenge this brutal rule that the present strike of the West Virginia Miners' Union—an independent organization—is being waged.

## Heywood Brown Next Week!

In our next week's Socialism Special Edition, the feature article will be by the celebrated writer, Heywood Brown, whose subject will be "Why I Am a Socialist." Brown is one of the most clever and sensible writers in America today; noted as a columnist, as a wit, as a critic and as a social rebel; one who presents the Socialist message from a fresh and striking angle. Another feature of the Socialism Special Edition—out next week—will be an article by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee on "Socialism and the City." Hoan has been the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee for many years and has most interesting facts to relate. Order extra copies now by using the blank below.

#### ORDER BLANK FOR SOCIALISM SPECIAL EDITION (September 5)

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I agree with you that the American people should have a full and clear understanding of the Socialist movement and philosophy. I am helping to circulate the Socialism Special Edition and am using the method marked below.

Method No. 1. I am enclosing \$..... for which send me a bundle of ..... copies (minimum order 50 copies) of the Socialism Special Edition of September 5, at the rate of 2c a copy.

Method No. 2. I am enclosing \$..... and a last of ..... names, to whom you will send the Socialism Special Edition of September 5, at the rate of 2c a name (minimum list 50 names).

Method No. 3. I am enclosing \$..... for which you are to send ..... copies (minimum order 50 copies) of the Socialism Special Edition to good names in your possession, at the rate of 2c a copy.

Name .....  
Address .....  
City ..... State .....

#### ENROLL ME AS A MEMBER OF THE HALDEMAN-JULIUS FOR U. S. SENATOR CLUB

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I approve of The American Freeman's plan to organize a Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Club. I am enthused by the opportunity which this gives us to win unusual attention and consideration for the important principles which The Freeman and The Freeman editor are advocating. I enclose \$..... which you are to use according to the instructions I have checked below. This automatically makes me a member, without further obligation of my kind.

☐ Send me ..... Freeman sub cards at 25 cents each and each good for 25 weeks.

☐ Use \$..... under Method No. 3 for sending extra copies of The Freeman to good names in your possession.

Name .....  
Address .....  
City ..... State .....



## The Freeman Army



We expect Labor Day, September 7, to be a history-making date for The Freeman Army. We are calling on the Army to celebrate that date as Campaign Sub Day, on which each member of the Army will join in a perfect campaign to get yearly subs for The Freeman. Each member is to get at least one yearly sub on Campaign Sub Day. These subs, marked as Campaign Subs, will run more than a year, expiring the week after the election in November, 1932. Roll up a big list of Campaign Subs.

Mrs. Lester Morris, Okla., sends \$1 for Method No. 3.

R. C. Sanders, La., forwards a club of five.

S. H. Monk, Texas, boosts with four subs.

Here's \$1 for the Kansas campaign, writes John M. Weitzel, Wis.

Jos. DeWuhs, Ore., boosts the Kansas cause \$1.

Olas Frenstad, Wis., puts \$1 into the Kansas scrap.

M. MacDonald, Calif., took 50 copies of the Aug. 8 issue.

Henry Kramer, La., orders four sub cards.

Wilson Cory, Ind., helps the Kansas campaign with \$1.

John Sweeney, Ohio, sends \$1 for the Kansas campaign.

Mr. and Mrs. Louis Oswald, Wash., send a nice letter and \$1 for the fund to fight the libel suit.

Atv. Bruno, N. Dak., joins the Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Club via \$1 for Method No. 3.

O. J. Longren, Kans., sends \$1 for Method No. 3 and says, "I am appreciative of your fearless stand."

A. M. Jordan, Ark., orders 50 copies of the Aug. 1 Haldeman-Julius Senatorial Special Edition.

M. E. Wright, Wash., sends \$2 for Method No. 3 and says "I am delighted with your Fort Scott address."

Wm. Bobzien, Calif., orders a bundle of 50 copies of the Haldeman-Julius Senatorial Special Edition.

We have a wonderful foundation in our more than 20,000 subscribers. But it is only a beginning.

O. H. Peterson, Mo., is a steady, reliable Freeman Armyite. Here's his latest club of 30 subs.

Earl R. Brunstetter, Ohio, orders 50 copies of the Banking Scandal Edition and puts on a club of 10 subs.

Hans Anderson, Pa., likes Method No. 3 \$1 worth will go to sending the Aug. 1 Senatorial Edition to good Kansas names in our possession.

John Erben, Jr., Pa., sends \$2 for which he wants four sub cards and applies the \$1 balance to the Senate fight.

Miss Anna Market, Calif., says she is glad of the chance to send \$2 for the Senatorial campaign. She also sends in another yearly sub.

Joseph Schaffer, Calif., says times are hard, but that doesn't stop him from sending \$1 for the editor's campaign.

Clubs of 10 subs were received from: John G. Holt, Minn.; H. O. Meyer, Neb.; Mason B. Coger, N. Y.; August Haws, S. Dak.; Leon A. Roessner, Mich.

John C. Carlson, Minn., renews his sub and joins the Haldeman-Julius Senator Club via Method No. 3, sending \$1.

C. J. Lovick, N. Y., sends \$1.50 under Method No. 3 to help distribute the Haldeman-Julius Senatorial Special Edition.

"I wish I could buy more than eight sub cards, but this is the best I can do. Enclosed find \$2," writes Horace E. Andrews, Maine.

N. B. Frater, N. Y., sends \$1 for a club of subs which he puts on the Freeman list, \$1 for the libel suit, and \$1 under Method No. 3.

Ray Litua, Ill., helps the libel fight with an order for four sub cards. The libel suit also brought \$1 from Martin E. Tew, Ariz., under Method No. 3.

Clubs of four subs were received from: Silob Zwaig, Ill.; C. A. Broodshire, S. Dak.; Floyd A. Clark, Pa.; Claus Ernst, Neb.; Frank Palmer, N. J.

O. C. Vollum, Calif., paid \$2 to send 100 copies of the Haldeman-Julius Senatorial Special Edition to Kansas voters.

Mrs. Anna Kirn, Md., renews her sub and forwards an additional dollar to pay for someone who can't afford to renew his or her subscription.

A. H. Warnke, Wis., is another comrade who wants to see The Freeman editor work for humanity in the Senate. He sends \$1 under Method No. 3.

Henry Sather, Minn., sends a second remittance of \$1 to help in the Kansas struggle. "I wish your great work will be crowned with good results," he says.

Chas. L. F. Bridge, Mass., is 83 years old, but not too old to be interested in social questions. He sends \$1 under Method No. 3 to help in the Kansas campaign.

"I would like to see you as Senator from Kansas, so here is a dollar for

the good cause. If it wasn't for Hoover I could do better," writes A. L. Book, Neb.

Kate A. Gardner, Kans., can always be depended on to help in our cause. She is a reliable, loyal Armyite. We wish we had a million like her. Her latest is \$1 for four sub cards.

Ed. J. Green, Ala., is his best Army worker in his state. His latest is a club of 26 subs. If we had a hundred workers like Green in Alabama that state would soon show some progressive tendencies.

J. R. Vason, Texas, sends \$1 and returns four sub cards, which we are to use in the Kansas situation. "Take them and send them to Kansas voters," he says. "I am with you at heart and do hope that you win out in the race for Senator."

William Shannon, Idaho, helps pay for sending copies of the Aug. 1 Senatorial Special Edition to good names in Montgomery County, Kansas. "That legislation may be a lot of good for the people," he says. "The depression is here to stay."

V. Vinch, Wash., sends \$1 for his own renewal and adds \$2 to pay for subs that we are to dispose according to our own discretion. We applied the money to Method No. 3, paying for mailing 100 Freeman's to good Kansas names in our possession.

W. E. Guss, Calif., sends \$1 under Method No. 3 to pay for sending The Freeman to Kansas voters in an attempt to put The Freeman editor in the Senate, so that important social legislation may be promoted. This is a real way to conduct the war on capitalism.

F. A. Johnson, Fort Scott, Kans., our best bundle distributor, was quiet for several weeks, but this week he got into action again with two orders—

one for 100 copies of Aug. 1 Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Club via \$1 for Method No. 3 and 200 copies of the Aug. 15 issue exposing the Moore bond ring.

"Please send The Freeman to the enclosed four names. We are all for you in your fight and hope to see you elected in 1932. I fully believe things will take a turn for the better with you in the Senate, where real men are needed," writes J. O. Ragon, Ark.

Method No. 3 brought Solomon Lohr, Ill., into action to the extent of \$1, which makes him a member of the Club. It is easy to join this non-dues-paying club. All you need do is to order four sub cards at 25c each or send at least \$1 to Method No. 3.

One reader talks to another, and ends up by getting him enrolled as a Freeman reader. It is the only way. Will join in this word-of-mouth campaign to build The Freeman to an early circulation of 30,000. When we reach that goal we will make some real plans to go still higher.

J. Mandl, Kans., sends \$1 under Method No. 3 for the Senatorial campaign. Congratulations on your defeat in the U. S. Senate. "I am hoping the people of Kansas are proceeding in electing a really great man to represent them in that august body."

Clubs of 10 subs were received from: Mrs. Lucy E. Sloat, Mich.; Mrs. Geo. Leaver, Okla.; James Martin, N. Y.; J. W. Onions, Kans.; Mrs. B. H. Urey, Ill.; Anton J. Kammler, Wis.; R. Andrews, Calif.; Peter Major, Kans.; Paul West, M. D., La.; Ralph Richeson, Ala.; C. B. Flakoll, D. S.; Frank Draffkorn, Ill.

Joseph E. Woodnick, Fla., sends \$2 to help send The Freeman to Kansas voters. "I feel that having The Freeman distributed in Kansas will do much more good toward electing Haldeman-Julius to the Senate, than any other where distributed. He is the kind of man being today in our Congress. I hope in the near future to be able to help you more," he writes.

There's nothing to be gained by talking violence, so long as the fool voters have the ballot and refuse to use it for their own interests. The blame is on them. They are kept in ignorance. If they would use their think-tanks they would find a way out of their slavery and one of the most important steps they could possibly take would be to put The Freeman editor in the Senate.

F. A. Parker, Pa., joins the Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Club via \$1 for Method No. 3 and 200 copies of the Aug. 1 Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition. For the present we are applying all Method No. 3 remittances to the Kansas field, owing to the fact that The Freeman editor is running for U. S. Senator from that state and wants to place his economic program before as many Kansas voters as possible.

This Kansas fight is a national fight, for the policies concern the people everywhere. If it weren't for Method No. 3 we would be seriously handicapped in this campaign. Method No. 3 enables readers everywhere to help in the good work by contributing to the cause.

Perhaps you are so situated that you do not feel able, or think it unwise, to do direct propaganda work in your community. If such is the case, Method No. 3 is the ideal medium for you to be of assistance in The Freeman's great struggle for economic justice and industrial sanity.

THE FREEMAN editor is not a politician. If there were other men sincerely pledged to a program of economic radicalism in Kansas, he would withdraw from the field. There being none, he is duty bound, as a matter of public policy, to keep in the fight. He is an editor and a publisher, not a politician. But he is not averse to putting aside his professional duties and going to Washington in the public good. And once there he will take his stand with the insurgent radicals who have good impulses but who are not getting anywhere because they are not properly organized. There is too much individualism among the radicals in the Senate. More teamwork is needed. Haldeman-Julius will try to supply that need. And he will always be counted on the side of social progress.

one way to get it: through the loyal, self-sacrificing labor of Freemanites. We are helpless without the Army. Here we are in a hidden corner of the country—in a little town of only 2,500 population—without support from rich advertisers, without subsidies from Wall Street, without graft from politicians—and still we are trying to bring out a paper, but in vain! We can't publish a paper acceptable to Wall Street. Our real audience is among the workers of country and city. How are we to reach them? Only one way: By word-of-mouth advertising.

Albert E. Page, Calif., sends \$2, of which \$1 is used to renew his sub and the remaining dollar for Method No. 3. Reader Page renewed in spite of the fact that his sub has some time to run yet. He did this in order to help the Freeman raise necessary funds to fight the libel suit. We hope to see thousands of Freeman subscribers follow Page's lead. This is an easy way to bring additional funds into the hands of The Freeman, which is sorely in need of the munitions of war.

John Gwynn, Pa., must be getting ready to make a lot of Freeman readers, because he is in with an order for \$5 worth of sub-cards at 25c each, good for 25 weeks. They are convenient things to carry around with you. Get into an argument about economic conditions, say a word about The Freeman, flash a sub card, sell it for a quarter—and that's that. The "victim" merely signs his name and address to the postcard and drops it into the nearest mail box, and we do the rest. Who's next?

Fred Sommer renews his Debunker sub and orders \$2.50 worth of Trade Coupons. We recommend these Trade Coupons to Freeman readers. Each one costs 20 cents to the sheet, each coupon being worth 5c. We allow a 10 percent bonus on all Trade Coupon things to use when sending orders to the Haldeman-Julius Publications. They are good for anything we publish. You tear off enough coupons to pay for your order. Just that simple. Try a set of them.

Dr. D. C. Bond, Calif., describes his own state as "the best kept gophered capitalist state in America," and backs up his protest with \$1 for Method No. 3 to help Haldeman-Julius to the U. S. Senate in order to get something done for the poor farmers and workers.

"Please use this check to make E. Haldeman-Julius the junior Senator from Kansas—it ought to be president. Here's hoping you make the grade. The time candidate never better than now. The man of the hour. You may be victorious in these times your election would be."

BY J. OTHO QUINN, of South Dakota. We are coming, Brother Haldeman-Julius, one hundred pennies strong, to put a copy of The Freeman into the hands of each and every voter in Kansas!

Kansas, the place where the Old West used to end!

Kansas, the jumping-off place of the old civilization!

Kansas, the starting place of the New West and a new civilization!

Kansas, the home of that venerable patriot and martyr, John Brown, of Ossawatimie, of Harper's Ferry fame, who by one militant (yet foolhardy) stroke, did more to send the "Boys in Blue" down over the Mason and Dixon line, to free four million black, chattel slaves, than all the exhortations and writings of Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison and Harriet Beecher Stowe!

Kansas, the home of that militant editor and publisher, J. A. Wayland, who was hounded to his death by the profit-grabbers!

Kansas, the home of E. Haldeman-Julius, whom the farmers and laborers will send to the United States Senate to pronounce, formulate, initiate and consummate legislation for the welfare of all of the people!

A Word of Explanation

Method No. 3 may not be familiar to some of our new readers. We are glad to explain it. Method No. 3 is used by Freemanites who are too busy to go out for clubs of subs or to increase The Freeman's subscription list in some other district way, for example purchasing sub cards for resale or gifts.

Such readers send their remittance direct to The Freeman, specifying Method No. 3, and we in turn use the money to pay for sending copies of The Freeman to good names on our list, at the rate of 2c each.

By this means we were able to send out 60,000 copies of the Aug. 1 Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition. For the present we are applying all Method No. 3 remittances to the Kansas field, owing to the fact that The Freeman editor is running for U. S. Senator from that state and wants to place his economic program before as many Kansas voters as possible.

This Kansas fight is a national fight, for the policies concern the people everywhere. If it weren't for Method No. 3 we would be seriously handicapped in this campaign. Method No. 3 enables readers everywhere to help in the good work by contributing to the cause.

Perhaps you are so situated that you do not feel able, or think it unwise, to do direct propaganda work in your community. If such is the case, Method No. 3 is the ideal medium for you to be of assistance in The Freeman's great struggle for economic justice and industrial sanity.

THE FREEMAN editor is not a politician. If there were other men sincerely pledged to a program of economic radicalism in Kansas, he would withdraw from the field. There being none, he is duty bound, as a matter of public policy, to keep in the fight. He is an editor and a publisher, not a politician. But he is not averse to putting aside his professional duties and going to Washington in the public good. And once there he will take his stand with the insurgent radicals who have good impulses but who are not getting anywhere because they are not properly organized. There is too much individualism among the radicals in the Senate. More teamwork is needed. Haldeman-Julius will try to supply that need. And he will always be counted on the side of social progress.

## ACTION IS NEEDED NOW!

As go to press we find that next week's Freeman may register a circulation loss for the first time in several months. This is because the "offs" will include a large number of trial subscriptions. We cannot, at this writing, say how large the decline will be, but if you loyal readers get active immediately and send in clubs of not less than four subs at 25c each, we feel certain this loss will be checked and the orderly growth will be resumed. A circulation loss in Freeman circulation will give real satisfaction to our enemies. Our friends have it in their power to turn the tables. Will they?

E. Haldeman-Julius

## No Compromise on Freethought

The Freeman editor has not, nor will he, compromise his rationalistic ideas in the present senatorial fight in Kansas. He refuses to kowtow to the fundamentalist element. The Freeman editor is entirely within his constitutional rights in being a Freethinker, and he does not intend to hide or distort those principles. Clerical parasites will make use of this "sin" in the coming campaign, but The Freeman editor refuses to be worried. He is running on a platform of radical economic reorganization of political and industrial America. His personal ideas on religion have nothing to do with this program. Where they do concern political matters, The Freeman editor serves notice now that, should he be elected, he will always take the side of secularism, that is to say, the strict separation of Church and State.

Yes, a Freethinker actually has the brains gall to seek a seat in the Senate!

Judging from the manner in which Kansasans are receiving his economic ideas we do not exaggerate when we state that they are paying little attention to the argument of the opposition that only a man steeped in superstition has the right to high office.

If elected, The Freeman editor promises to abide by his economic program, letting all persons worship or disbelieve as their consciences dictate. But this does not mean he will tolerate clerical abuses.

The Freeman editor calls to his sound principles will fight for fair taxation of all church property, the elimination of clerical meddling in government, the correction of blue laws, the elimination of censorship, the protection of Freethought, the discharge of chaplains from the Senate and other public bodies, and the other steps needed to make the U. S. government secular in every sense of the word.

Individualistic farming and its victims, whether the owners or the tenants of thousands of small farms ranging from the Canadian border to the Mexican gulf, are in a panic-stricken state. The small farmers in the great middle west are thoughtful as well as alarmed. Over them hangs the shadow—and grows the shadow—of modern industrialized farming with units of thousands of acres to each farm.

The big farmers are emphasizing the economic failure of the little farms. Rich lands in the Missouri valley, cultivated in small farms, are yielding less returns to their owners than the lands farther west in Kansas and Texas and Oklahoma, where the soil is poorer and the moisture and weather conditions less favorable—but where there are immense farms which profit from economy and the mass production methods of city factories. The small farmers have proportionately a much higher labor cost, higher interest rates, more mortgages; and they use their land less extensively and steadily than do the very big farm capitalists.

Industrial History Repeats Itself

Illustrating the contrast between farming on a big and small scale, there is W. J. Casey of Dalhart, Texas, who is known as "the corn king of America." Casey has an 8,000-acre farm. Last year he produced 100,000 bushels of corn, and 2,000 acres of milo maize for \$4 an acre. This year he says that he will produce 150,000 bushels of corn. It is colossally clear that, producing grain and other crops in such huge quantities, Casey and other farmers like him—agricultural capitalists—can operate far more cheaply and that they can survive and make profits under conditions which spell destruction for the farmers working individually 160 and 320-acre farms.

The evolution of industry will be repeated in agriculture, which will become an industry like others. It is becoming an industry. Just as small factories had to fall before the pressure of large industrial organizations, so the little farms will be forced to pass out and yield the victory to the inevitable. A small individual owner couldn't run a little steel factory in competition with the tremendous United States Steel Trust. Neither can the little individual farmer compete successfully with the big farming industries which are growing in the Middle West and in the far West.

The solution for the workers of industry in the cities is the solution which the small farmers must adopt—or perish as economic units. They must turn to collectivism. They

cannot well do this merely by cooperative agreement to pool their farms, turning many small farms into one big farm. For this they need capital, the latest machinery, investments for crops and for hauling and marketing. They could organize cooperatively if they were able to overcome their deep-seated individualism; but the capitalization of such ventures would be a tremendous problem. The state, however, could place its great credit behind collective farming.

State Farms the Solution

Small farms could be combined into vast state farms, owned by the state or by groups of farmers in some cooperative arrangement with the state. If farmers do not think they would like working for the state, they should figure how much more truly they would be working themselves in the sense that they would have a bigger reward for their labor. Anyway, the farmer must decide whether he will be a mere laborer on a big capitalistic farm or whether he will be an independent citizen and tiller of the soil, working on a big state farm.

The small farmer should clearly understand that he cannot continue in competition with the big farms; and the problem—the competition of the big farms—will bulk more threateningly each year as the economic landscape of agriculture. Big farms cannot be broken up. Laws, sentiments and political demagoguery cannot halt the process of economic evolution. The only hope for the small farmer—and it is a real, solid hope—is that he shall join the movement for a state agricultural economy and prefer to be a citizen farmer worker instead of a capitalist-owned wage slave.

Politicians who try to persuade the farmers that individualistic agriculture can be saved or made prosperous by this or that panacea are the worst deceivers of the farmers.

FIRE FIGHTERS, WORKING TWELVE HOURS, WANT AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY

Firemen in American cities are justly demanding an eight-hour day. At present they work never less than twelve hours a day, often longer. These men face a great danger and engage in herc work, yet their pay is not large and they are under a twelve-hour daily strain.

Millions of dollars in graft for politicians are wasted in American cities. Unnecessary jobs are made for tools of the political bosses. The corruption of city governments in America has long been notorious. Waves of indignation against this graft have been started from time to time; yet after temporary and sometimes doubtful spells of reform, the old game is resumed.

Meanwhile the city governments follow a penny wise and pound foolish policy in working their fire fighters in two shifts of twelve hours each instead of three shifts of eight hours each.

The eight-hour shift seems to us a matter of common decency. It is justice to the firemen that is long overdue. It is obvious, too, that working eight hours the firemen would be more efficient. Not that they do less than their best now; but it is a tried and proved law in any kind of activity that shorter hours increase the fitness of the workers. Men are not machines; they must have rest and leisure; they must be able to come freshly to the job.

Thousands of city employees have an eight-hour day. Why not the firemen also? New York City firemen are now making a vigorous campaign for the eight-hour day. Their fellow firemen in other cities will certainly heed the same demand. The public should heed this demand. If the citizens won't stop the graft of the political bosses, they should at least support a movement for decent conditions of city employment; especially as, in this instance, it will really make for the greater safety of the public.

PERJURED OXMAN DEAD, MOONEY STILL IN CELL

Frank C. Oxman, the "honest catman" of Oregon who lied Tom Mooney into a prison cell, died on July 22—just five days before Mooney completed his fifteenth year of imprisonment for a crime he did not commit.

It was, said Judge Franklin A. Griffin before whom Mooney was tried, Oxman's testimony that turned the scales of "justice" against Mooney. Afterward it was learned that the scales of "justice" had been tampered with. Letters were discovered which Oxman had written to Ed Rigall, a friend in Illinois, telling Rigall that there was "good coming in it" for him if he came to California and swore that he had met Oxman in San Francisco on the day of the explosion.

Although Rigall actually made the trip to San Francisco, he lost his nerve, had compunctions, and finally turned over to the Mooney defense the letters he had received. That was a little too late to save Mooney. California law denies a man a new trial, even though subsequent evidence is revealed to show that his trial was a mere mockery.

Several years later more was discovered about Oxman's perjury. Earl C. Hatcher, a farmer living near Woodlawn, Calif., over a hundred miles from San Francisco, testified that Oxman was visiting him at the time when, as the "honest catman" swore in court, he saw Tom Mooney and Warren Billings mysteriously lugging a suitcase at the corner where the explosion occurred.

Now Oxman, a perjurer, has died. Tom Mooney, innocent victim of that perjury, remains in prison.

IF IDEAS are judged by the company they keep, we need only look at the priest to reject his ideas.

FREE discussion means intelligent convictions.

RELIGION is a cancer.

## Price of Wheat, Flour and Bread Show Robbery of Farmers and Workers

Here are some cold facts in which both farmers and workers will be sharply interested: In January, 1930, the price of wheat was 64 percent of its 1925 price; and in December, 1930, it was 45 percent of the 1925 price.

Flour prices didn't drop so much, but they dropped to 76 percent of the 1925 level by January, 1930; and by December, 1930, they had dropped to 56 percent of the 1925 level.

But bread—the final form in which wheat is used by millions of workers in the cities—dropped scarcely at all. In January, 1930, bread was selling for 97 percent of its 1925 price; while in December, 1930, bread sold for 90.5 percent of its 1925 price.

From 1925 to December, 1930, wheat fell 55 percent in price, flour fell 44 percent in price, and bread fell only 9.5 percent in price.

These figures show beyond dispute how both the farmers and the city workers are robbed.

NO HOPE IN HOOVERISM

President Hoover is making his plans to fight unemployment insurance, which is certain to be a leading issue in the session of Congress which convenes in December. It seems certain that the one predominant issue, crowding aside all others for the time being, must be that of immense government relief for American workers and farmers who are near the penniless hunger line; who, under ordinary conditions hard-pressed, find it impossible to survive on their own resources during this extremely severe depression.

"No relief" is the Hoover slogan. His so-called "farm relief" has left the farmers of America in worse condition than they were, and their condition has been notoriously bad for years. Prices of all the farmer produces have slumped far below the reduction in prices among commodities which the farmer has to buy.

Farm prices indeed have taken not a slump but a headlong dive downward, just about reaching the bottom. Yet with 25-cent wheat, the price of bread has scarcely been lowered.

With bumper crops this year, most farmers in the United States did not realize enough from their labor and investment to cover the cost of production. After paying debts and taxes (if they could pay these charges) the majority of farmers face the winter empty-handed.

For these farmers the Hoover administration has no intelligent or sympathetic message. Neither of the old parties, in fact, has any really hopeful proposals for helping the farmers. Their whole aim is to keep the American farmers chained to an economic system under which the tillers of the soil cannot possibly prosper.

Hardly a pretense has been made by Hoover or his aides looking to relief for the ten million unemployed workers. In face of the failure of private charities and city and state efforts toward relief, Hoover still bitterly resists the need of federal insurance for about it and denies the need of it. He fights a genuine system of federal employment exchanges. He fights all suggestions that the masses of a distressed nation be saved from starvation by an increase of income taxes on the few amazingly rich men who own and rule America.

By a large program of federal government aid, with special emphasis on a system of unemployment insurance and higher taxation of excessive incomes, the suffering of the American people could be relieved. This one possibility of real relief is rejected by Hoover, who will not even consider it save to denounce it in terms of unmeasured ignorance and unscrupulous falsehood.

Again, what will be done when this crisis is past? The system will still operate in favor of the few rich and will exploit the workers, the farmers and many small business men as it does now. The system must be changed—and that too Hoover opposes with a feverish intensity which is chiefly induced by the fact that he has grabbed a fortune of ten million dollars under this system of economic privilege for the few.

The majority of workers, farmers, small professional and business men have an unfair and hopeless struggle under the system of monopoly and privilege which Hoover miscalls "economic individualism." A system of socialized justice, under which all producers and wealth-earners will be rewarded according to their efforts—a system which will place the common welfare above all demands of private profit and advantage—is the only salvation for the masses of America.

THE PRIESTHOOD invented the soul that they might better enslave the body.

PRIVILEGE always means pillage.

ORDER BLANK FOR THE AMERICAN FREEMAN

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I want to become a regular reader of The American Freeman and I am enclosing \$1 (\$1.50 in Canada and other foreign countries) for a year's subscription.

Name

Address

City

State

## Freeman Circulation by States

State	Of	On	Total
California	91	155	2,332
Illinois	78	101	2,001
New York	146	152	1,931
Pennsylvania	60	64	1,837
Missouri	88	93	1,661
Kansas	49	112	1,648
Ohio	81	72	1,441
Minnesota	38	41	1,411
Michigan	63	78	1,391
Washington	62	63	1,381
Texas	55	47	1,371
New Jersey	30	31	831
Massachusetts	27	30	811



## Gluttons for Punishment

By George H. Shoaf

When Genghis Khan conquered Asia and directed his marauding expeditions against Europe seven hundred years ago he struck such terror into the hearts of the people he conquered that they literally cowered in fear whenever his name was mentioned. The presence of his standard was enough to impel all beholders to their knees at the sight. The people were so obsessed with an inferiority complex that they surrendered themselves abjectly to every whim of their conqueror or his agents. They were spineless, emasculated slaves.

It is related that during the sack of a certain city one of Genghis Khan's officers lined up twenty captives and ordered them to their knees with their heads bowed forward for decapitation. The captives meekly obeyed and were in position to be beheaded when the officer found he had mislaid his sword. Thereupon he commanded the doomed to maintain their position while he went after his sword. All obeyed but one; he lived to tell the story of the execution.

Those captives of the twelfth century are not the only persons who possessed an inferiority complex. They are not the only animals in human form whose slavish instincts overcame their ambition to be free. Right now, in this age and generation, the working classes in the United States seem to be about as degenerate as human beings can well be; they seem to have no backbone, no spirit or spunk, no will to stand up and assert themselves. It looks like they prefer to slave for a master class rather than work for themselves. They rejoice aloud whenever the masters see fit to permit them to work at such wages the masters see fit to fix, and if their conditions of labor are brutal and inhuman they toil on ungrudgingly like slaves to the manner born. When industry shuts down and they are thrown into the streets jobless and forlorn, they act like sheep and accept charity like curs. Competent observers declare that apparently the average American worker would not only submit unresistingly to decapitation at the hands of an arrogant plutocrat but that he would consider himself honored if said plutocrat, before using the sword or axe, would give him a swift kick in the pants.

### Ignorance Is Rampant

Events since the beginning of the economic depression have revealed an appalling ignorance on the part of the leaders of American public life; those events have disclosed a stupidity and lack of courage among the working classes more appalling even than the ignorance of the leaders. The workers can be excused for their stupidity; no excuse that will hold water can be offered to justify their seeming cowardice. Any of the animals alleged to be of a lower order than man will take food and eat it when he sees it; any animal will fight for food to the death before it will see its young starve. But in the United States today there are hundreds of thousands, yes millions, of men who shuffle along the streets in sight of food with never a thought of seizing it, men who are hungry, and who go to their places of sleep actually in pain because of their hunger. As many more tramp the streets in sight of food, themselves hungry, with hungry children at home who are too cowardly to take what they need and too dastardly craven to protest, the conditions responsible for their plight.

If the grown men who hunger were alone in their suffering the intelligent and conscientious social rebel could well afford to let them suffer until they reach the desperation point; but these grown men are not alone. There are weak women and innocent children who are suffering even more than the men. It is the knowledge and sight of women and helpless children literally starving to death, with their cowardly husbands and fathers refusing to lift a hand against the system responsible for this suffering, that makes the social rebel want to cut the guts out of something.

What I Saw in Los Angeles  
Conditions in Los Angeles are no

worse than they are in other communities throughout the United States, if they are as bad. This community is brought to the fore for the reason that what is written here is written from personal observation and knowledge. And conditions in this typical American city are such that an awareness of them should make every upstanding human being with a heart hang his head with shame.

Ten thousand school children are given one meal every day at public expense, and for more than ninety percent of them this is the only meal they get every twenty-four hours. Twenty thousand families receive either food or financial aid from the Board of Charities, an organization whose activities are financed by the city and county treasuries. The way financial aid is given is interesting and significant. Money is not actually handed out; credit for the needy is established at one of the branches of the biggest chain store systems in the section where the charity recipient lives. A man, wife and two children can secure each week food produce from the chain branch amounting in value to eight dollars. A card previously given the head of the hungry family is punched with every purchase; if the card is filled out before the expiration of the week, then the family starve until next week's card comes. The amount of credit extended each week varies with the size of the family.

Here is the significant feature connected with this arrangement, which directly contradicts the old-fashioned American sense of fair play, as well as running counter to Hoover's famous pronouncements of rugged individualism and the free-all foot race. Instead of the Board of Charities seeking out the small store keepers and giving them the business, thereby permitting their policy to conform to the boasted American principle of a square deal for everybody, an understanding is had with the heads of the biggest chain store system in the west, who get the business of feeding twenty thousand families in Los Angeles, and whose exchequer is enriched from the treasury supplied by the taxpayers. How much graft passes is a matter too wonderful to ferret out; just recently the news leaked out and was suppressed that \$500,000 mysteriously disappeared from the fund set apart for public charity.

### Too Proud to Beg

Those who press forward unabashed and accept charity without shame are those whose sense of the eternal fitness of things is sadly lacking; such people are minus that pride which usually accompanies the sense of independence. Aside from the thousands who are eating what should be the bitter bread of charity, there are multitudes of others who are just as penniless and just as hungry, but whose wants are never known until starvation has carried them to the grave. Their pride prevents them from making their condition public! Since the beginning of the year it is estimated that ten such persons die daily in Los Angeles from lack of proper nourishment—literally and truly they have starved to death. Many of these persons formerly were well-to-do, but Los Angeles realtors and go-getting promoters succeeded in separating them from their cash, and now, stranded and ashamed, they are helpless and hopeless. Personal pride and the hundred and one other reasons galore are completely down and out, many of whom will not apply to the Board of Charities for relief; the real condition of their lives is not known until the death summons comes.

Here is a pitiful case typical of many that might be told. A middle-aged woman, a school teacher unable to be placed in an already overcrowded profession, was reduced at last to extreme necessity. The landlady who rented her a small two-room house, notified the Board of Charities that the jobless school teacher needed aid. An agent called, verified the report and, instead of handing her a credit card, gave her a small sum of money in cash. This money the woman gave to the landlady to square her rent account. Ten days later the landlady, ob-

serving the thin and haggard appearance of the tenant, again notified the Board of Charities. The same agent called. When he discovered that the money he gave the woman went for rent instead of food he grew angry and abusive. This time he gave neither money nor card, but went his way leaving the woman to her fate. The woman was a person of education and refinement utterly incapable of coping with the ways of capitalism. Several days later a neighbor called to find that she was too weak to leave her bed. To another agent of the Board of Charities the sick woman said:

"I am not hungry any more. During four or five days I suffered dreadfully, but all my suffering is gone. I feel weak, but I am not hungry any more."

She was taken to the county hospital where efforts were made to feed her and restore her to health and strength, but she was too far gone. She died—actually from starvation.

### Starvation in the Midst of Plenty

An old couple, a farmer and his wife from Kansas, having lost their all through being fleeced by Los Angeles sharpers, went through a similar experience and met a similar fate. Not a day passes but what one or more persons commit suicide, preferring immediate death to one from slow starvation. Men and women, distracted by reason of under-nourishment, throw themselves deliberately beneath the wheels of fast-moving automobiles or electric cars to escape their agony. Families, city rent are crowding themselves together to the extreme discomfort of their members. Young married couples are going back to their parents, or their parents have abandoned their old homes to live with their children. As a result of all this crowding the city has multiplied thousands of vacancies with no prospective tenants in sight. The small landlords are losing out to the banks and mortgage companies which have placed the properties on the market for sale. This, in turn, is rapidly depreciating the selling price of all Los Angeles real estate.

While crimes of violence have appreciably increased since the beginning of the depression, and women prostitutes throng the streets, the city is ominously quiet withal. The police force has been doubled, and large numbers of police automobiles armed with machine guns patrol the city day and night. But this exhibition of power should make no difference with the hungry man whose blood is red, if he is a real man and is determined to eat rather than starve. However, the disposition to fight or rebel seems to have forsaken the modern American; he prefers to slink like a cur to the bread lines and will rotten soup handed out by the charity agencies. Really, this disposition to submit to being kicked into starvation, that is now the lot of the average American worker, without striking back, in the opinion of many thinkers is the most alarming phase of the present depression. The submission of the American workers is not an intelligent submission. They haven't the remotest conception of the cause of the depression, and they are equally in the dark as to the remedy. Naturally, one would think, the workers would want to compensate themselves at the expense of the rich, but—there is nothing doing. The rich are riding high, and the poor are either in the bread lines, accepting charity, or starving to death.

### Not Worthy of Respect

Because of the supine submission of the workers one can well imagine about how much respect the owning and ruling classes have for them. The bosses despise the workers, and they despise the workers because during this crisis the workers are showing so little composure as a class, and so little manhood as independent and individual fighters.

A police official once said:

It is my business to extort a confession from a suspected criminal, but I never yet got a confession from a man but what I wanted to smash his face for making it. I may not have the highest respect for the common thief; but I certainly have nothing but supreme contempt for the man who will permit himself to make a confession after having committed a crime. There is just one other character for whom I have less respect—and that is the fellow who will snitch or turn state's evidence to secure his own freedom. A man who will do that does not deserve to live.

An old patriarch upon occasion said, "God hates a coward, but He loves a fighter." Whether there is a God to either hate or love makes little difference; but there is a world of truth in the sentiment expressed by the patriarch. Verily these are the times that try men's souls, and the worker who is worth his salt will not quit a fight that is just beginning and which must be fought to a finish. The very conditions of existence must drive the workers to unity and aggressive action. Individually, the worker should see that in the midst of plenty he does not starve, and that his family does not go hungry. Collectively, he should march with his class to the conquest of power over capitalism—the real cause of the present crisis—and of every condition which generates injustice and slavery—and he should use that power to inaugurate the commonwealth of man. This effort, however, requires both courage and brains, two things the average American worker seems to sadly lack.

THE PRIESTS have used the crucifixion of Jesus as an excuse to crucify humanity.

MAN WILL NOT be free until he ceases to admire and glorify his oppressors.

THE POOR we shall have always with us while we have the rich with us.

PRIESTS pretend to read the future, but all we need do is to read their past.

## Beware of False Optimism

We have not yet made up our minds as to just how many Campaign Special Editions will be distributed by The Freeman in its fight to win the Kansas senatorial fight. Campaign Edition No. 1 will be issued in September. It is possible that 10 or 12 great special editions will be issued between September, 1931, and the election. However, in this matter we shall be guided by conditions as they exist.

If necessary, we may make every issue of The Freeman a campaign broadside when the big drive gets into action. There's no predicting what The Freeman will do.

Meanwhile, we are at work lining up our support—among the poor farmers and wage slaves. We expect nothing from the banks, the corporations and the lick-spittles of capitalism.

Everything will rest, finally, on the common people.

If they can be reached with Freeman broadsides, The Freeman editor will be elected.

Some capitalistic journalist are saying that if the election were held today, with conditions as they are, Haldeman-Julius could be elected easily. We refuse to be lulled by such a statement. False optimism can whip us.

It is better to proceed on the assumption that the editor of The Freeman can only be elected through hard work and endless appeals to reason and sanity.

Emotionalism must not enter the fight.

Personal attacks will be ignored.

The important thing is the economic situation, and it is there that The Freeman editor embarrasses the opposition.

His program leaves the enemy helpless.

They can't counter it with a better one, because they are the avowed tools of Wall Street.

## A Candid View

The Kansas City Jewish News, in a recent issue, printed an article by its intelligent and able editor, Louis B. Greenberg, in which he quoted the editor of the weekly Kansas City Star to the effect that if the farmers in all of Western Kansas were to go to the polls today E. Haldeman-Julius could whip Charles Curtis for the U. S. Senate.

That sounds big, but we refuse to believe it.

There is a great deal of Haldeman-Julius sentiment out there, but the simple fact remains that the voters are still unfamiliar with the economic program of The Freeman editor.

And so long as they do not know his radical ideas it is futile to bank on their support.

Once we get them to read the editor's statements on the industrial and economic situation we will have something sound to build on. Otherwise we let ourselves open to the charge of relying on gas, wind and hot-air.

This talk is growing and letters come in to the effect that things look rosy for The Freeman editor, but we refuse to join in the cheering.

We realize that the cold figures are against such empty enthusiasm.

Consider, for example, that only 60,000 copies of the Aug. 1 Haldeman-Julius Special Edition were distributed in the entire State of Kansas, and Kansas has more than a half million voters.

The share of about 10 special editions circulated; each with a total distribution of no less than 500,000. Then talk about victory would mean something tangible.

The Freeman editor frankly says that if the election were held today he would be defeated because the voters are not yet aware of his platform. Such plain talk is needed.

We don't like to rest our case on bunk.

## HERE'S A WINNER, BOYS!

What is better than a good idea? Nothing is better than a good idea except the translation of the idea into positive action. P. H. Anderson, a Freeman Army worker of Little Rock, Ark., opens up a prospect of big work with this suggestion:

I am sending one dollar for four Kansas subs, to be selected from your lists. Since Kansas is the state we are going to elect a Senator from and The Freeman now has 20,000 readers, suppose that 20,000 would each send one dollar to pay for four subs to go to Kansas voters, we could elect E. H. J. to the Senate. Suppose we try it. Yours for a better world.

The beauty of this idea is that it requires only a small bit of work from each Army member. Just send in a dollar and we will put four Kansas names on The Freeman list for 25 weeks. Cannot each of our more than 20,000 readers spare a dollar for this excellent purpose? It is the kind of cooperative plan that brings great sudden leaps forward to victory. The Freeman is now 50 cents a year in clubs of four or more; so you can do even better by getting a club of four yearly subs for two dollars. We wish to thank Reader Anderson for the most constructive suggestion in this day's mail.

## We Still Have the Ballot

The Freeman believes in orderly changes, not in violence.

That is why The Freeman editor is running for the U. S. Senate.

Let the voters have a chance to use their ballots to free themselves from their economic chains. It's slower that way, to be sure, but it's the only intelligent way to go about the work of social reconstruction.

If the voters were deprived of the use of their ballots there would be some logic to the arguments of the direct actionists, but America hasn't come to that just yet.

We still have the ballot, and if we don't use it intelligently whose fault is it?

"O YE OF little faith"—congratulations on having so much knowledge.

WAR is not inevitable.

LIBERTY depends upon equality of opportunity.

RECURRENT depressions insult our intelligence.

THE concentration of wealth is a menace to civilization.

HEAVY inheritance taxes will redistribute accumulated fortunes.

THE probability of war is controllable just as the probability of disease.

NOR THE least of our criticisms of Christianity is that it is not interesting.

WILL we control the machinery of production or be crushed by that machinery?

"SPIRITUAL" zeal has been exhibited most strenuously in claiming temporal power.

THE PRIESTS say that men are born sinners. We say that priests are born skinnners.

THE PRIESTS have always believed that the best way to convert a man is to scare him.

MILITARISTS did not originate the policy of frightfulness. It was originated by priests.

PRODUCTION and distribution must be planned and controlled for the benefit of the people.

THE AMERICAN FREEMAN believes that the worker should receive the full value of his labor.

IT IS a sign of the times that the church has become hardly more than a social club for millions.

THE PRIEST has always tortured the heretic because the heretic's logic has always tortured the priest.

IF E. Haldeman-Julius should be elected to the U. S. Senate, The Freeman will be tempted to erect a monument to Method No. 3.

MANY of our readers are thrilled at the prospect of electing Haldeman-Julius to the Senate. Well they might be. His election would be a smashing victory for social justice.

THE FREEMAN "begs" for only one thing: Help from its readers to increase its circulation. We are not ashamed to do that. Friendly help from our readers can advance The Freeman's circulation, and lack of that cooperation will mean its decline and suspension. We therefore repeat: We "beg" you to get The Freeman a club of at least four subs at 25c each. This is not a donation. We give value for each dollar received.

SOME preachers are saying that if The Freeman editor is elected the Bible will be outlawed. The Freeman does not believe in censorship or suppression. The Bible is a book, and as such has as much right to consideration as Tom Paine's Age of Reason or Ingersoll's Mistakes of Moses. These preachers can't understand the meaning of the word tolerance. They are so used to suppressing other people's ideas that they jump to the conclusion that anyone who doesn't agree with them must aim to suppress their literature. Poor simps!

WE ARE glad to note that The Freeman Army's enthusiasm for the senatorial fight in Kansas is growing. That is a good sign. There is no predicting the outcome. For the first time, we shall see a nationwide organization of social-minded workers, cooperating in a state fight, because they all realize clearly enough that the fight is really more than a state fight. A U. S. Senator is a national public official. Once elected he serves the entire nation. His vote concerns New York just as much as it concerns California. Keep that fact in mind when you read about developments in the Kansas senatorial campaign.

KANSAS politicians are now making a survey of the state with a view to finding a "radical" candidate should Charlie Curtis "fall" to run. That's funny. And that's a compliment to The Freeman editor, the only real radical in the state. Haldeman-Julius has them worried. His messages are going over. The people everywhere are talking about him. Will he win? Yes, if The Freeman Army rises to the occasion and makes it possible for The Freeman to deliver his broadsides to the entire state. At the proper time The Freeman editor and Marcell Haldeman-Julius will tour every county in the state and make political speeches, but that tour should be developed now through the distribution of vast quantities of literature intended to demonstrate the political availability of The Freeman editor.

TWO THINGS encourage us in the campaign to elect The Freeman editor to the U. S. Senate: 1. The alarm of old party politicians. 2. The support of the victims of political dishonesty. Regarding the first point, their alarm is real. They are beginning a vicious personal attack on The Freeman editor, but this will be ignored. Personal attacks mean nothing. The issue is simply this: Are the economic planks in his platform sound or visionary? That is for the voters to judge. (Incidentally, we are amused at one personal attack, which we shall mention even though it was our intention to ignore it. They are saying and writing that The Freeman editor is not an American citizen! If they will refer to Who's Who they will see that E. Haldeman-Julius was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on July 30, 1889. We still believe that being born in sleepy, old Philadelphia makes one an American citizen. If they doubt Who's Who we can let them take a look at his birth certificate, if that will cheer them up any!)

## In the World of Books

By Isaac Goldberg

### COMMON SENSE AND SEX

*The Sex Factor in Marriage.* By Helena Wright. Introductions by Rev. A. Herbert Gray, D. D., and Abel Gregg, A. B., M. A. New York: The Vanguard Press.

*The Sex Education of Children:*

A Book for Parents. By Mary Ware

Dennett. New York: The Viking Press.

Common sense is far more sensible than common, especially in the electric field of sex. I shall never forget how amazed I was, at the beginning of such studies as I have pursued in this and related subjects, at the discovery that even physicians could be strangely ignorant and as strangely prejudiced with regard to a subject that is so delicately intertwined with human health and happiness. That such books as these have at last begun to appear at prices within the reach of the ordinary purse, and that persecution by the government has begun to lessen, actually suggests cause for optimism.

Just as it has finally begun to seep into the intelligence of the modern business man that war does not pay, so even into the intelligence—such as it is—of theologians it has begun to seep that silence is hardly the weapon with which to combat the suffusing evils arising from ignorance of sex. "I would rather have all the risks which come from the free discussion of sex," says the Archbishop of Canterbury, "than the great risks we run by a conspiracy of silence."

The simple truth is that man and woman must learn how to come together. To imagine that instinct and "nature" will supply that knowledge is stupid. Instinct propels the desire; it does not provide the technique. We spend years and fortu-

nes learning how to play a piano or the violin; it never occurs to us that, sexually considered—and not only sexually—human beings are instruments of extreme sensitivity that must learn how to play upon one another.

Some savages, in this respect, seem wiser than we. They have a complicated ritual for imparting sexual knowledge. They recognize its primary importance in the economy of life. They face it; not, like us, evade it.

To one who has achieved an enlightened approach to the subject the attitude that once used to be called conventional seems nothing but a malignant and vindictive. Humanity cannot so soon repay the debt to pioneers such as Freud and Ellis for taking this subject out of the dark swamp of ignorance and drawing it forth into the health of sunlight.

I know that there are still charming and enlightened people who believe that the gutter is after all the best introduction to sex. Among these are actually some advanced physicians while I am far from agreeing with it. I think it is compounded of rationalization and evasion, both of these either unconscious or sub-conscious.

There is no question in my mind but that, in our civilization, however advanced, there is among parents and teachers a tremendous self-consciousness about imparting sexual knowledge. The parents think that the teachers ought to do it, and the teachers, of course, say that this is the province of parenthood. Everywhere there is a tendency to shift time to the gutter—that is, to casual contacts of the growing child.

There is another reason for the gutter theory, called: It is a violent reaction against the excessive poetry in which certain hyper-erotic educators swathe their instructions. Now, as I have before pointed out, this poetry—as beautiful and as effective as it may sometime seem—is still another form of indirectness and evasion. Everywhere we meet an unwillingness to face simple

facts and express them in simple language.

Here is yet another problem: we have not yet developed an effectively simple vocabulary for discussing sex and for transmitting the new scientific approach. The gutter has its own terms and they are streaked with vulgarity. The poetic approach suffers from too much metaphorization. The next important step in sexual enlightenment will be made when the present scientific vocabulary finds a rich equivalent in the vernacular. This is no easy job.

For this reason, every book such as the ones that prompted this discussion, is written as much for the parents as for the children. As a transition book, an ideal production would be one that could be safely left to the child himself, without need of assistance from the parent. For, if the parent is bashful toward the child, so is the child excessively self-conscious toward the parent.

This is rather a long road toward recommending the works that stand at the head of this review. But such is my intention. Let me also quote the titles that Mary Ware Dennett lists in her Fifth Appendix. With the exception of one of these books, I have read them all and find them worthy of her recommendation.

*Married Love.* by Marie Carmichael Stopes. (G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

*Generations of Adam.* by Dr. A. L. Wolbarst. (Newlands Press, New York City.)

*The Hygiene of Marriage.* by M. S. Everett. (Central Y. M. C. A. College, Chicago.)

*The Psychology of Sex.* by Dr. Erwin Wexberg. (Farrar & Rinehart, New York City.)

*Little Essays of Love and Virtue.* by Havelock Ellis. (Doubleday, Doran.)

*Love in the Machine Age.* by Floyd Dell. (Farrar & Rinehart, New York City.)

*Rational Sex Ethics.* by Dr. W. F. Robie. (Rational Life Co., Ithaca, N. Y.)

*To the Pure, a Study of Obscenity* and the Censor. by Morris Ernst and William Seagle. (Viking Press, New York.)

*Growing Up.* by Karl de Schweinitz. (Macmillan, New York.)

*The Sex Side of Life.* by Mary Ware Dennett.

The book last listed is the one that was suppressed for a time by the authorities and then, in court, completely cleared of the original obscenity charge. For twelve years it has been very helpful to parents who have had difficulty in approaching their children with the much-needed information.

There is a bibliography of the subject called *Sex and Books*. It was prepared by Wayne Evans of the American Eugenic Society.

GOOD LUCK TO DREISER

Theodore Dreiser has taken the case of *The American Tragedy* to the courts. That novel, as you know, has at last been made into a talkie—translated from the mute page to the audible screen. But how translated! Even as Bottom, it appears, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. He, you will recall, was translated into an ass. According to Dreiser, the whole intent of his work has been topsy-turvy. Whereas he indicted society for the tragedy that befell his youthful pair, the movie version indicts his youth and vindicates the moral stand of society.

This, then, is not a question of adaptation, such as we are accustomed to in the celluloid world. It is a matter of mutilation, of falsification, of a most un-Nietzschean transvaluation of values. Dreiser's conflict with the greedy numbskulls of Moviedom is the fight of any self-respecting author to maintain his integrity; it is a war against low standards and unconscionable tampering. If the movies think that when they buy a writer's work they also buy his soul, then it is high time they inserted that stipulation in their contracts. As it is, normally, they effect too many alterations in their scripts. And all these alterations are in the direction of making the film more acceptable to twelve-year-old intelligences. When, as in this case, they stand the story on its head, call black white, evil good, and add to the Tragedy of the tale a tragedy of misrepresentation, it is time to call a halt. The authors of America should back Dreiser to a man—and to a woman. Yea, even to a child.

## The War Against War

All men and women who have civilization at heart should enlist in the war against war. This is the only war worth fighting. We shall tell fully about this war against war in our Anti-War Special Edition of September 12. This special edition will contain facts about the cost and the menace of war. It will show the folly and the dishonesty of the arguments used by militarists, disguised or avowed. It will make tremendously clear the danger to human society which lies in the war system with its continual threats, its lies, its hate, its madness, its murder and destruction. Help get a big circulation for our Anti-War Special Edition of September 12 by using the blank below.

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(September 12)

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I want to work for the cause of peace and do my part in preventing another mad, murderous outbreak of war. I believe I can best do this by circulating extra copies of your Anti-War Special Edition of September 12. I am using the method marked below.

Method No. 1. I am enclosing \$..... for which send me a bundle of ..... copies (minimum order 50 copies) of the Anti-War Special Edition of September 12, at the rate of 2c a copy.

Method No. 2. I am enclosing \$..... and a list of ..... names, to whom you will send the Anti-War Special Edition of September 12, at the rate of 2c a name (minimum list 50 names).

Method No. 3. I am enclosing \$..... for which you are to send ..... copies (minimum order 50 copies) of the Anti-War Special Edition of September 12 to good names in your possession, at the rate of 2c a name.

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## Truth About Radicalism

Is your neighbor frightened at talk of radicalism? Then get him to read our Radical Special Edition of September 19, which will present a very thorough and convincing explanation of the nature, the causes and the aims of radicalism. We shall make it clear that what America needs is far more, not less, radicalism. There is too much dodging of vital issues. Old traditions and outworn methods are permitted to obscure men's vision of present realities. Radicalism believes in facing the facts and dealing with them fundamentally. This special edition—dated September 19—will go to the roots of our social problems. Please help circulate thousands of extra copies of this special edition by using the blank

### ORDER BLANK FOR RADICAL SPECIAL EDITION

(September 19)