

SOME RECORD!

Please pardon us while we do a little crowing. But our crowing will be based on actual figures. Here we give you the weekly record of gains in circulation since we began printing such reports on August 1, 1931:

Week Ending	Loss	Gain
Aug. 1	471
Aug. 8	509
Aug. 15	331
Aug. 22	45
Aug. 29	137
Sept. 5	196
Sept. 12	286
Sept. 19	4,898

Total net gain (8 weeks)..... 6,784

How's that for a showing? Only one loss, and that a little one of but 45. This table shows that our Freeman Army can be depended on to help make The Freeman the greatest Socialist paper in all history.

Freeman Circulation by States

State	Off	On	Total
California	81	678	2,932
Pennsylvania	77	670	2,449
Illinois	43	421	2,388
New York	56	238	2,287
Missouri	45	278	1,888
Ohio	39	379	1,840
Kansas	13	163	1,825
Minnesota	34	203	622
Texas	30	202	515
Washington	29	168	498
New Jersey	32	192	493
Massachusetts	16	142	446
Iowa	23	124	405
Wisconsin	14	104	351
Oregon	24	175	400
Indiana	19	135	391
Nevada	11	97	327
Oklahoma	28	19	229
Colorado	18	56	249
Alabama	12	81	255
Georgia	14	104	249
Canada	7	99	247
Montana	7	73	230
Florida	17	97	217
Idaho	16	99	227
Louisiana	9	87	221
South Dakota	11	79	221
North Dakota	7	25	125
Arkansas	2	51	192
Kentucky	4	31	157
Alaska	4	15	147
Maryland	7	36	143
Utah	28	125	153
West Virginia	4	29	117
Arizona	4	29	117
Georgia	6	33	109
Dist. of Columbia	14	47	108
Maine	3	18	92
Tennessee	6	78	84
Wyoming	8	31	68
New Mexico	2	20	66
Nevada	2	20	66
North Carolina	1	58	59
New Hampshire	3	11	56
Foreign	2	11	56
Mississippi	3	12	49
Rhode Island	27	7	39
South Carolina	11	2	36
Vermont	11	4	29
Delaware	8	4	29

Total..... 968,586 26,576

Expirations for week ending Sept. 19..... 96,576

New subs for week ending Sept. 19..... 5,866

Gain..... 4,898

The Army's Greatest Gain!

A gain of 4,898 in one week—this is the biggest and most thrilling news we have yet been able to print in The Freeman. It is the biggest story of the week. That is why we are giving the most prominent position in the Freeman to it. Our circulation is now 26,576, which is well on the road to 30,000. The Freeman Army have brought their paper this far on the road of victory—and they will not stop now.

The Army knows that every gain for the paper is a gain for their ideal of industrial democracy and the end of Wall Street plutocracy.

The goal of 30,000 is merely a milestone. We are working night and day in an attempt to reach the million mark. That sounds far-off and it would be unattainable without the aid of the Army.

The Army has already proved what it can do. It need only keep on in the same active way. Without a press to reach the blind masses, we can never hope to inaugurate the Cooperative Commonwealth.

Socialism is a mass movement. It must reach and influence the common people. The modern scientific way of doing this is through the printed word. The Freeman Army considers its paper the greatest in the world fighting for a new social order and in working for the advancement of this paper every member of the Army is working for the advancement of his own highest interests, as well as the highest interests of society as a whole.

We thank these tireless, self-sacrificing soldiers in the liberation war of humanity. Their work is a necessary knowledge that they are helping The Freeman bring its message of social justice and reconstruction to the American masses.

The Freeman has the three requisites which Fred D. Warren says are necessary to a great Socialist journal: 1. A great modern printing plant, able to flood the entire world with the literature of education and protest. 2. A staff of editors who are alive to the economic situation and who have the conviction that the only real remedy is through the democratization of industry. 3. The Freeman Army—still small but fighting hard and growing fast.

Please study the above table carefully. See where your own state stands. Most states registered gains—usually large ones. A few states showed a loss, but if your state is one of them, you have it in your power to remedy this unfortunate situation by hustling clubs of subs.

We congratulate California on its great advance and on its substantial lead over Pennsylvania and the rest of the states. California hasn't far to go in order to reach the 3,000 mark. This was the goal we gave the California comrades and it is a source of deep satisfaction to know that they took the request to heart and turned in the subscriptions which have now brought them so close to the 3,000 mark. We feel sure that California readers will not lie down on the job. They will go beyond the 3,000 mark. We venture to predict that California will soon show a Freeman circulation of 5,000.

Pennsylvania pulled a big surprise. In one quick lunge it went from fourth place to second, crowding out Illinois and New York. These states did almost equally remarkable feats of winning higher places in the record of the states. Let us point out, however, that Illinois is only 63 subs behind Pennsylvania—so this should stimulate our Illinois Army workers to harder work. New York is only 19 subs behind Illinois, so we may expect a real battle among these big states.

There is no reason why we should wait years and years to do a job which is confronting us with its challenge—and with its hopeful possibilities today. Life is short and we want to put in our best work NOW for a new social order. We want not only the thrill of doing important work for social progress, but we want the thrill which comes with highly successful results.

We can make great gains for The Freeman NOW instead of next year or the year after. We can accomplish a given task in a month or in three months. Why not do it in the shorter time? Then we will be so much farther

The American Freeman

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John W. Gunn Assistant Editor

October 3, 1931

Pink Liberals Do Not Grasp Meaning of Workers' Revolt

By George H. Shoaf

Unquestionably some of the most unprincipled crooks in American capitalism live and operate in California. This statement does not limit the inclusion to petty grafters whose picaresque activities net them merely chicken feed, and who fester like flies in every section of the state. What is meant here is the domination of the state by big crooks whose ownership of industry and finance enables them to legally rob without remorse and exploit without a conscience. The big boys have maneuvered themselves into such a position that they not only own the means by which the people politically express themselves. Actually and literally, their industrial and political grip is so great that they, and not the people, are the masters of California.

If the bankers and business men whose machinations have brought them wealth and political power were men of character and integrity, which they are not, their relations with and attitude toward the common people of the state would remain unchanged. They would still be masters and the people would still be slaves. The grinding process of the capitalist system itself naturally and unavoidably turns out the inequalities of wealth and power which everywhere exist.

Transferring the situation here expressed to the national field, it is easily demonstrable that California conditions have their counterpart in every other state, and in the United States as a whole. These facts with their implications must be considered by all crusaders for social justice.

A Portrait of Two Liberals

In addition to the multiplicity of movements, the unconventionalality of which has given her a reputation unique among the cities, Los Angeles indulges the entertainment of two gentlemen whose sincerity is as pronounced as their propaganda is futile, but who, by virtue of their personalities, have drawn to their respective standards two hybrid groups of very interesting people. The names of the two gentlemen will not be given; but readers of these words everywhere will recognize them as types common to certain representatives of the American people who pos-

sess convictions, ability and an undoubted desire to ameliorate human conditions and add to the sum total of social progress.

They are neither radical nor conservative, but occupy an impossible middle ground, the foundations of which are insecure and destined soon to cave in and disappear. Both gentlemen are personal friends of the writer. He regards them as expressions of the highest culture the educational agencies of the country have been able to bring forth. They are kindly, courteous and considerate. They wish everybody well, long for the establishment of universal justice, hate war and its horrors, and personally are the finest fellows in the world. In a letter one of them recently wrote:

Personally, I seem to be too much in the middle of the road for most people—too radical for the conservatives and too conservative for the radicals; but I am certain I am right just as you are certain that you are. I don't trust the radicals a bit more than I do the conservatives, and I doubt if any system will be a permanent value without an enlightened public.

"Napkins Are Scarce"

Writing from Soviet Russia, where he is now visiting, the other complains:

The bread is fairly good, for its kind, and I can eat it; butter is hard to get. The sheets on the beds are said to be clean, and they may be, but they don't look it. Napkins are scarce. I longed for grape fruit and the things to which I am accustomed in America, but I longed in vain. Regarding the final outcome here I still hold quite a few reservations. There is a cruel brutality about the whole thing that seems to me quite uncalculated. I can't endorse brutality in any country, not even in my own.

That these two gentlemen are perfectly sincere in the social work they are doing the writer knows for a fact. Their attempts to educate the people and organize them into groups are made at the expense of work they could do that would be a thousand times more financially remunerative. They are putting in all their time and going without things they need in order to educate the people and get them interested in worthwhile matters. They are trying to bring about that happy world condition where the

lamb will not fear the lion, where spears will be turned into pruning hooks and where war shall be no more.

Too Sentimental to Be Useful

And yet neither of them is getting anywhere, although both men possess signal ability. They have each one gathered around them a few elderly persons, several radicals who years ago retired from active propaganda, and certain others whose interest is divided equally between the leaders and the cause they represent. The two movements headed by these two men are more sentimental than practical. The individuals who make up the movements are purely middle class intellectuals. The great body of the working class, the men and women of labor who are the real hope of the world, has never been penetrated or affected by these two amiable men.

The reason for their failure is plain. Both men have spent the major portion of their lives in schools, colleges and universities. They know nothing of the terrible grind of wage slavery or of the actual gulf which yawns between the working class and the capitalist class.

They are ignorant of the class struggle. In fact they both deny that a class struggle exists in America. While they are vitally interested in social change, they are quite of the opinion that men and women must be first educated and made good before social change is possible. Instead of taking their position with the working class and fighting the battles of the working class with weapons the workers can and must use, they are endeavoring to conciliate the workers and bring them nigh unto the owning and ruling classes while at the same time they seek to persuade these latter classes to relent. With love in their hearts they are trying to educate the world into a realization of justice and peace, unmindful of the fact that the solution of the world's problems is an economic proposition and not an academic matter of education.

Highly Educated Fools

Education, instead of being an asset, oftentimes is a handicap, especially when it comes to interesting the workers and arousing them to action in their own behalf. The educated man is frequently an educated fool. Take

the liberal leader who went to Soviet Russia and wrote back that he could not relish the food. His education had refined him to the point where he could see only the minor and unimportant details. He could not see and he could not grasp the significance of the truly tremendous social, religious and economic changes which were taking place. He was utterly unable to appreciate the biggest engineering jobs in the world because his bread was black and his milk was not quite sweet. He failed to sense the spirit of the Russian people fully as much as he fell short of visualizing the objective of the Soviet undertaking. He did not realize that the people, especially the young people, are alive with interest and enthusiasm, willing and eager to make sacrifices of the most heroic in order that their country might be developed and transformed into the first Workers' Republic the world has ever known.

A pronounced individualist, the trouble with the other liberal is he is afraid, as he writes, to trust the radicals, by which he really means he is afraid to put power into the hands of the working class. Both this man and his fellow crusader are obsessed with a capitalist ideology. While educating their followers to desire and hope for the coming of a new order, really what they yearn for, unconsciously perhaps, is a restoration of that which is fast passing away. Neither of these men has any conception or understanding of the social process. They know not the meaning or significance of modern industry. They still believe in private ownership and the democracy of the square deal under capitalism. Instead of facing the future, they are trying to resurrect principles and ideals with which the future can have nothing in common.

Should Try Workers' Lot

If either of these men were to get a job in a mill or mine or on a bonanza farm where they would have to work in all kinds of weather under the immediate eyes of a slave driving boss, either one of two things would happen: they would degenerate into spineless menials, or they would straighten up in stiff-necked rebellion. In either case they would be

come class-conscious whether they recognized and admitted the fact or not. If they were capable of indulging the luxury of thought—provided their college education had not spoiled them for vigorous thinking—they would soon discern the class lines which now divide society into warring camps.

The longer they worked and the harder they were driven the more acute would grow their realization that they were slaves toiling for masters; that they were robbed of the fruits of their labor by these masters who took every advantage to beat wages down to the lowest subsistence level; that between themselves, as laborers, and their masters the line of the class struggle is sharp and clear, and that under the capitalist system of private ownership for private profit there is not a chance in the world that that line will be obliterated.

Ten weeks of hard labor on the job would give these two Los Angeles crusaders a deeper insight into the economic situation and a more fundamental method of social deliverance than many years of continuous study of logic and philosophy and literature could possibly do.

Blowing both hot and cold is worse than wasting effort. The straddler and the compromiser merits and generally gets only contempt. Middle-of-the-road idealists always become the target of attack. The liberal is distrusted and feared by the radical, and by the conservative he is despised. And in the majority of cases the liberal, confused in his philosophy and muddled in his reasoning, with no militant program and no definite objective, in his efforts to please everybody ends in pleasing nobody, and finally leaves the situation worse than he found it. Witness the MacDonald administration in Britain for example.

Why Should Labor Beg?

What effect will petitions of protest have upon the hard-boiled rulers of California in the matter of accomplishing the liberation of Mooney and Billings? Of what avail are the polite requests organized labor is continually making upon the reactionaries of entrenched American capitalism looking to increased wages,

shorter hours and better conditions of employment? Why should labor, the creator of all value, the strength of the present and the real hope of the world's future, beg when it could command?

Liberals, unaware of the class struggle and the necessity of fundamental change, imagine working class conditions can be improved under capitalism. Liberal leaders of the labor movement are making the same mistake. The thing cannot be done. With all the improvement a century of mechanical progress has brought, and with all the enlightenment that has come with the general diffusion of education and information, the condition of the American worker is no better, and his life is even less secure, than it was a hundred years ago.

In the midst of a world catastrophe—the breakdown of international capitalism—these two Los Angeles liberals, like all others of their kind throughout the United States, are pleading with the business men and bankers to do something to save the situation. When they do not plead they threaten. At no time do they turn to the workers with the request that they do something. They do not realize the helplessness of the business men and bankers in the premises, or the potential power which the workers possess. They are asking the impossible of a class that is doomed. They refuse to recognize or cooperate with the class whose sun is beginning to rise. They do not see that the present turmoil is incidental to a struggle of the classes—the capitalist against the working classes—that power will be the arbiter in the struggle, as it has always been, and that as the capitalist class dragged down and pushed into oblivion the old feudal nobility, so will the gathering power of the working class assert itself in effecting the overthrow and abolition of the capitalists and making the workers the only class in the Commonwealth of Man.

Happy the radical who is really radical and who labors with and for the rising working class. Pity the liberal who is unconsciously sounding the dirge of the dying middle class, and who for the life of him is unable to understand what it is all about!

Warren In Action!

Reading Fred D. Warren's page in this issue of The Freeman, you will realize that the fighting editor of the old *Appeal to Reason* is again in action, stronger than ever in the old days.

Warren's page this week is the most interesting statement and the most stimulating call to action which has appeared for years in an American radical paper.

We want this statement to be read as widely as possible. We urge that, after reading it personally, you call together in your community a group of radicals—both the old-timers of the *Appeal* and the new workers in the movement for social justice—and read aloud Warren's statement.

Discuss fully the suggestions he makes for the building of a more powerful working class movement, led by The Freeman as its radical, growing journal. Organize these workers for greater action.

Start now to develop a really enthusiastic movement in your neighborhood. Bear in mind that, as Warren points out, the secret of success is in close, concerted action. It comes from talking, planning, working together. Given a goal and a message, all we need for victory is cooperative endeavor among the believers in a new social order.

So get together all who are interested and read aloud Warren's page in this week's Freeman.

Talk about it. Think about it. Act about it.

PENNSYLVANIA MINERS ARE TRIED IN SECRET

A severe but effective lesson in how to make radicals is given by the practically secret, prejudiced and malicious trial of seventeen striking miners in Washington county, Pennsylvania, charged with rioting when a meeting at Canonsburg was broken up.

Friends of the accused miners were barred from the courtroom. One miner, together with a representative of the International Labor Defense, crept into the courtroom unobserved and were later hustled out with a threat of arrest for contempt of court.

Reporters for the Federated Press, the labor news service, were denied entrance to observe and report the trial. Witnesses for the defense were kept out of the courtroom while the jury was being selected, although witnesses and friends of the prosecution were admitted in a large body.

Strikers declare they can expect no justice from such court procedure. As an instance of the malice against them, the accused miners say that they were held incommunicado for a time after their arrest and during their first five nights in jail were compelled to sleep on a cement floor.

The attorney for the defense said that in examining the prospective jurors he was not permitted to inquire whether they had prejudice against the movement of the strikers.

All in all, the familiar features of a frameup are too plainly in evidence. Such outrages as these, violative of the constitutional rights and the plain principles of liberty, would be opposed by The Freeman editor if the voters of Kansas should send him to the United States Senate. In one thing The Freeman editor admits to being old-fashioned: namely, he believes in free speech, free press and equality before the law.

In the light of such happenings in Pennsylvania, it seems quite nec-

essary to urge the importance of these old-fashioned ideals of liberty. It is also plain that the great menace to our liberties comes from an unscrupulous alliance between the forces of capitalistic monopoly and wealth-serving agents of the law.

In attacking capitalism fully, The Freeman editor is making a defense of the people's liberties in their most vital and threatened aspects.

How Local Relief Fails

Failure of the local relief upon which President Hoover insists that the country must depend this winter is illustrated by a typical situation in Pittsburgh, Pa., where only \$2,000,000 is available for a program of public works. If every dollar of this sum were spent for wages there would be only forty-two days' work at \$4 a day for 12,000 unemployed—and there is this many and more who will be entirely in need of help this winter.

The same failure is seen as regards private charity. Last winter an attempt was made to raise \$3,000,000 for relief and it was just possible to raise a third of that amount; and even this much was accomplished only by taking one day's pay from each worker in Allegheny county—even from workers who were only employed a few days a week. Of that amount \$75,000 came from Westinghouse employees; now the immense Westinghouse plant is practically idle and two wage cuts have been forced upon the Westinghouse employees who are still at work.

With this record of failure last winter, the employers' relief organization in Allegheny county talks of raising \$5,000,000 for this winter's welfare needs. It is cruelly clear that with greater needs this winter the failure of relief will be greater. As in Pittsburgh, so in other cities. Distress will not be remedied—cannot be remedied—by the inadequate local method upon which President Hoover dogmatically relies.

In his senatorial campaign The Freeman editor intends to continue

SHOAF IS ON THE JOB!

On the fourth page in this week's issue of The Freeman, Fred Warren pays a well-deserved tribute to the work of George H. Shoaf on the old *Appeal to Reason*.

Shoaf was, as Warren says, a daring correspondent and propagandist. He has the full social vision of the Cooperative Commonwealth and he has a fighting style. You will also note that Shoaf is now a regular and leading contributor to The Freeman. He is a permanent member of our editorial staff. We have on our desks now a number of hot articles by Shoaf, which will appear in coming issues of The Freeman. As is the case with Warren, so does Shoaf have not only all of his old-time crusading spirit, but he has more confidence than ever in the success of a real aggressive paper of the working class such as The Freeman has demonstrated itself to be. With both Warren and Shoaf back on the job together, The Freeman is certain to be the most militant paper in America.

Introducing a New Feature

In this week's issue we introduce, among others, a new and useful feature called the "Question Box." This will be continued as a regular department. We invite our readers to send in their questions, concerning features of The Freeman's policy and our social program about which there may be some clearness or about which there is some dispute. We shall answer these questions briefly, accurately and sincerely. We want all our readers to understand fully the ideas which The Freeman is advocating. By means of these questions and answers a great deal of soundly educational work can be done. Old readers of The Freeman, who are highly familiar with our principles, will understand how these questions and answers will clarify the issues for new readers. This department is in line with The Freeman's policy of giving its readers the very best service and material, essential to the clear and successful development of the greatest movement in the modern world.

OUR MOVEMENT to socialize industry for the common good will need great leaders nationally and locally. Are you fitting yourself for the great opportunity facing those of us who believe in putting an end to the capitalist system? Be something tomorrow by doing something today. First, you must help bring the masses to us so that they will become acquainted with our message. Talk to the people. Tell them about The Freeman's message of economic freedom. Tell them here is a paper that is getting into action with but one objective in mind—the capture of the industries now owned by the plutocrats and making them the common property of the workers. Work hard NOW, in the world's greatest and noblest cause. Remember, without the masses we are just beating the air. This isn't an exclusive philosophy. It is democratic. It is for the common people. Help The Freeman reach the common people. That is your job.

Help The Freeman grow bigger.

Thanks to the Army

I am moved to write a personal line of thanks to the members of The Freeman Army for their fine work in adding almost 5,000 new names to The Freeman list during the past week. I believe that the Army will continue this good work. Its achievements to date speak gloriously of what it can do in the future.

Let me assure the Army workers that I am doing my level best to give them the kind of a paper which the times so urgently need. The very best thought and the most sincere, unsparring effort is being given to the editorial work of The Freeman and to its plans for a great circulation.

For, after all, The Freeman's success absolutely depends on its circulation. We want to reach hundreds of thousands with our messages. I am sure that The Freeman can talk to a million readers each week, if you Army workers keep up the splendid work which you have been doing. Now that you have made this phenomenal increase in a single week, I am confident that you will want not merely to maintain this record but to go beyond it.

By all working together we can make The Freeman the world's greatest paper of social enlightenment—not simply in point of editorial value but in point of circulation and power. We are doing our hardest and most hopeful work here in The Freeman offices, strong in the assurance that you Army members will not fail us and that, with our present excellent start, The Freeman and the Freeman Army will grow stronger and stronger together and that together we shall emerge triumphant in the light of a new social order, based on justice and intelligence.

E. Halldeman-Julius

Question Box

Edited by John W. Gunn

FIRE YOUR questions at us. We have established a "Question Box." We want to help clear your mind of all delusions about The Freeman's radical program of socialization of the industries. Make your questions short and to the point. This question box feature alone will be worth the price of a year's subscription.

If you could get all the money divided up wouldn't the smarter people have more than their share in about five years, so what can you hope to gain through Socialism?—M. J., Calif.

Socialism does not propose a simple division of wealth; its plan is the collective ownership of the means of wealth. Once the industries and the natural resources are placed in the hands of society as owner, there would be no further opportunity for their exploitation at the hands of private capitalists. The capitalists as a class would be out of existence. All would be workers, doing some useful labor of hand or brain, and the wealth produced would be distributed fairly according to the value of the services performed.

You talk against the profit system, but you ought to know that there must be the incentive to profit or no work will get done. How does Socialism meet this argument of incentive?—H. E., Mo.

Incentive to profit exists only for a few; and their incentive is not to manage industry for social good, but to mismanage it for their own greater gain. For the masses under capitalism no incentive exists; they have only the miserable necessity of toiling for a pittance. True incentive, under a socialized system, will exercise its beneficent influence over all; for it will assure to all the opportunity of working steadily and receiving what they produce. Under collectivism, too, the social incentive of managing the industries for the common good will be infinitely superior to the wretched private-profit incentive which now operates to the great injury of society.

Why do you insist on socialized industry when you know how corrupt our politicians are? Why give them more power? Look at Harding, Fall, Daugherty, et al.—A. Z., Ill.

This question overlooks the fact that it was the interests of private ownership which bribed Fall and corrupted Daugherty. This is the one great basic source of corruption in modern life—the greeds and plots of the private exploiters of industry. Capitalist industry corrupts government; and industry in private hands is not merely a graft but a gigantic scheme of exploitation. There may be instances of petty graft and mismanagement under a system of socialized industry; these are problems that must be met—and remember that with the people owning the industries they will have the power to correct such abuses. They have not the semblance of any such power today, with the industries under private ownership. Finally, it should be recognized that a government with social vision enough to establish collectivism—and with a mandate from the people to that effect—would be in character, ability and trustworthiness far above the personnel of a capitalist government. Its social vision would be a primary and profound guarantee of its honesty. But of course the people, under any system, must always be vigilant to safeguard their rights and interests.

As a hard-working farmer, I am interested to know what Socialism would do with my farm and, if it took my farm from me, what would it give me in return?—W. B., Iowa.

The increase in tenant farming indicates with grim eloquence that capitalism is already busily taking the farms away from the farmers. Thousands who still own their farms are burdened with debts and mortgages. Prices of farm products are not sufficient to give the farmer a decent living. Corporation farming is a growing threat from which, under capitalism, the individual farmer has no hope of escape. His choice, then, is whether he wants to become a wage slave on a corporation farm or a free citizen-worker on vast collective farms owned by the state. Socialism offers the farmer a just reward for his labor, a position of free economic dignity and full security for him and his family. Collective farming will make possible greatly increased production and the working farmers—not any group of parasites—will get the benefit of this greater production.

Since the capitalist class owns the government, the police power, the army and the navy and all the machinery of force, how do you plan to do away with capitalism without resorting to violence?—P. W., Kans.

Our plan is simply through education to develop such an immense majority sentiment for the abolition of capitalism that no force on earth would dare withstand the common will. After all, the police power, the army and navy, and all of capi-

talism's forcible equipment rests in the last analysis upon the toleration of public opinion. No capitalist government could wage war, for example, if the majority of its citizens resolutely stood against war and expressed their determination that war should not be waged. Capitalism is able to use engines of suppression against the militant ranks of the workers only because the vast majority of the people are indifferent or because, not understanding the motives and aims of radicalism, the people approve of these methods of suppression. Public opinion, informed and determined, is in the end greater than any other power. It determines the use of power. And don't forget that the police and the soldiery are also susceptible to the influence of an enlightened public opinion and that, as our work proceeds with its wider and wider influence, these agents of capitalism will themselves be brought to see the new social vision. A majority Socialist public opinion—that will spell peacefully the end of capitalism. It is for this we must work, with courage and hope, through our radical press.

If the governments of the world become Socialist instead of capitalist, what is to prevent them from making war? What assurance is there that Socialism would mean world peace?—Private J. C., Fort Sill, Okla.

This question can best be answered by glancing carefully at the cause of war under capitalism. The capitalist owners of industry in each country exploit their workers, taking from them in the shape of profits the greater part of what the workers produce. This is called a surplus and the capitalists are under the necessity of disposing of it in foreign trade. Every capitalist country has this problem and therefore they come into conflict. Thus trade wars develop into bloody military wars. Private profit is the motive under Socialist governments this exploitation and trade conflict would not exist; therefore the one great incentive to war would be removed. Instead of trade wars among nations there would be a normal, fair, essential exchange of products, without tariffs and without competition.

HOOVER'S STOCK VICTIMS

Our readers know, through articles in The Freeman (especially our Hoover Scandal Edition of January and our Hoover Exposure Edition of May 30), that Herbert Hoover's career for twenty years as a "Great Engineer" was in reality nothing better than a game of mining stock promotion. Now we have the following letter from Benj. P. Horton, Chicago:

I have been reading your interesting book entitled *Herbert Hoover's Record Before He Became President* (Little Blue Book No. 1612) and shall be much obliged if you will favor me with an answer to the following question: If a man had invested, say \$1,000 in every one of the mining companies with which Hoover has at one time or other been connected in some capacity, how would he have come out? Would he have lost money or would his profits on the mines which paid more than offset his losses on those which did not pay?

This question requires several answers. Hoover sponsored so many mining schemes that no one person, unless very, very wealthy, could possibly have invested in all of them. Let us also point out that men of wealth, who are shrewd and cunning in making fortunes, do not invest in the kind of dubious enterprises which Hoover promoted. These sort of investments are for the smaller and less knowing suckers.

Again, as we showed in the book which Mr. Horton refers to, Hoover's companies never lasted for more than a few years, few of them paid any dividends and a man who had, if that were possible, put his money into all of them would have lost a great deal more than if he had taken a chance on the few which did, for two or three years, pay small dividends.

The final and conclusive answer, however, is that today there is not a mining enterprise nor an engineering project in the entire world that bears Hoover's name or that Hoover built. All of his gaudy promotion enterprises have gone on to the rocks. The man who had placed his money on Hoover as a "Great Engineer" in mining stock promotion would have lost everything, just as did those (except a few rich insiders of Wall Street) who placed their money and their votes and the sadly mistaken hopes on Hoover the "Great Engineer" in American politics and economics.

Look up the records, Mr. Horton, and you will find that what we say is true. Hoover promoted failures. He got his fortune in stock sales, then in a few years (sometimes much sooner) each of his ventures failed. The victims of Hoover the promoter lost, of course, in those failures.

THE HOSTILITY of Hoover toward any government measures for the relief of the workers springs from a determination that the government shall do nothing to restrain the rich or to take from them any of their billions in plunder wrung from the toil of labor. It is very simply and accurately the truth that Hoover is the President of the rich and that his main desire and resolution is to protect the exploitive interests of capitalism.

CAPITALISM is potentially strong in production. That is to say, it has wonderful machinery and organization for producing things. But it fails in distribution and this failure inevitably brings about a failure in production.

CRIME is reported to be on the increase in London. We believe that England will do more to abolish crime by following Bernard Shaw's advice that the country should emulate Russia's plan of socialization than by any amount of activity by the sleuths of Scotland Yard. Harsh economic pressure is responsible for most crime.

POLITICAL freedom is an illusion when it is associated with economic slavery. When a few rich men control the means of living, the masses are actually in bondage. They cannot live except by permission of the rich and on the terms of the rich. If political freedom is to be of any use to the American workers, they must use it as a weapon to gain economic liberation from the rule of capitalists.

GRANTED that no man should be a radical who likes the economic system which is now exhibiting its sensational consequences to the world. But what kind of man is it who likes this system? The only man who has a reason, though a selfish one, for liking it is the capitalist or the parasite who shares in the swag of capitalism. Are we to avoid radicalism out of regard for these few who oppress the many and who make a decent social life impossible?

Would radicals hurt the country? But President Hoover is not a radical. Oh, no—and just see what he has done for the country. Radicals could not make the country worse. They are, on the contrary, the only element who have plans for giving the country better conditions. Critics of radicalism want us either to pretend that present conditions are good or submit to them anyway. Radicals at least demand a change and, more than that, a sound and complete change.

It would be radical, certainly, for the government to take over the industries and run them for the benefit of the nation. The politicians who are at present in the seats of governmental power are perfectly innocent of this radicalism. They would in fact save the country from radicalism by letting the masses starve by letting the industries of the country run at less than half their capacity, and by letting wealth be destroyed so that a few may keep their fortunes.

EVERYTHING works unnaturally and illogically under capitalism. As machinery increases the means of producing wealth, the workers are thrown on the scrapheap and have less wealth instead of more wealth. Yet, under a just and intelligent system, all increase in the productivity of wealth would give the workers more wealth and more leisure. The machine does not serve mankind because it has been appropriated wrongfully as the tool of rich exploiters.

INDEPENDENCE is a talismanic word in American history. Our country started with a war for independence. Politicians ever since have devoted much rhetoric to this original struggle for independence and have used the word flamboyantly, while all the time the American people were losing more and more of their independence. What is important now is to talk of independence as a present need rather than as a past achievement. New victories for freedom must be won.

WE HEAR many declare that something is wrong with the economic system. Many say this who are conservative and think that a little patching here and a little tinkering there will make the system work well enough. We say that very little is right with a system which punishes millions of willing workers with unemployment, poverty, panic—and policemen's clubs when they protest against these conditions. Not changes in this system but a changed system is what we need.

IT IS NOT at all surprising that Chicago police deny the charges of the Wickersham commission alleging brutality of the police in applying third degree methods. Third degree methods are naturally kept as secret as possible and it is quite in order for the guilty ones to deny their guilt. This is what the cops say all guilty persons do; and we cannot regard the cops as an exception to their own rule. Gentle manners and legal methods are nowhere so lacking as in police stations.

PROSECUTORS who get double the fees for convicting a defendant that they get when a defendant is acquitted are prone to work hook or crook for convictions, regardless of justice: so reports the Wickersham commission. This is merely another aspect of a system which places high premiums upon greed, cunning and tyranny. When the most tempting rewards are given for injustice, the chances and the rewards of justice are correspondingly less in degree and more difficult of attainment.

IT CANNOT be shown that the radical is extreme. He simply demands sufficient measures to achieve ends which he regards as socially necessary. To achieve peace, for example, he demands the abolition of armaments and the abolition of the economic system of strife and exploitation. To achieve prosperity, he demands a system of socialization under which the industries will be run steadily and the workers will receive the full social value of their labor. To achieve a sane social life, he demands that wealth should be produced and distributed in such a way that all, contributing to this social process, shall enjoy the fruits in a civilized program of living. How else can society achieve these ends than by a radical change in its structure and methods?

HOOVER IS ASKED TO SAVE U. S. PROFITS IN SHAKY EUROPE

Hoover is worrying about the American economic depression in terms of the political campaign of 1932. American capitalists are concerned about this depression, at the moment most acutely, in terms of their investments in Germany and other European countries which may be on the verge of social revolution.

Big New York and Philadelphia bankers recently called on Hoover at the White House and insisted that he use his power and prestige to speed up a drastic settlement of the reparations question.

It would be drastic as it would affect France, as the opinion of these bankers is that Germany cannot pay the huge reparations charged against her and that, until this load is removed, foreign capitalist investments in Germany are of doubtful value.

Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England, urged on his visit to Washington this spring that a five-year moratorium be declared. Hoover was afraid to go that far, but he yielded to the American bankers to the extent of suggesting a year's moratorium.

French and British capital are at war and under French capitalism is in the position of holding up momentarily the rest of the capitalist nations, chiefly basing her tactics on the German situation. The interest held foremost is that of arranging security for the profits, interest and dividends of organized capitalism in Europe.

Neither European workers nor American workers are considered as worth saving or protecting. For example, the principal problem of American bankers at this moment is to bring about a quick arrangement which will protect their holdings in Germany and other European countries and they give not a thought to the troubles of the American working class.

Hoover is playing along with the bankers, doing nothing whatever for the American workers, and scheming for the campaign of 1932.

Into such a muddled and desperately anti-social situation The Freeman editor comes with his sane demands that the economic protection of the common people should be the first interest of government and that a repetition of the present crisis can be prevented only by putting the industries under social control.

The system of economic plunder cannot already brought us disaster. It has already brought us disaster. In his campaign for U. S. Senator, E. Haldeman-Julius fully advocates a cooperative system in which all useful citizens will have a permanent opportunity of production and consumption on fair terms, free from exploitation.

Exploitation is what is breaking capitalism and the masses who suffer from capitalism; and the only hope of the world is freedom from exploitation.

Governments run for bankers, capitalists, exploiters, parasites will never help the workers, farmers and useful members of the professional and middle classes. Government for the people—this is what The Freeman editor advocates in his campaign for United States Senator.

GOD WAS NODDING

Homer nodded—and so, it seems, does the Christian God. This God, if any, was very drowsy and inattentive when a choir gallery collapsed in the Church of Nossa Senhora de Carmo in Loanda, Portuguese West Africa.

The crash came while high mass was being blab-blashed through with solemn blab-blown ceremony. Two hundred worshippers were injured, twenty of them fatally.

The cause of the accident was said to be the worn-out condition of the woodwork, indicating that even in temples faith and prayer are not enough, but that material considerations are important.

The accident was made worse by a panic among the worshippers, in turn indicating that faith in God was not very earnest nor opportune in a crisis.

We do not wish to treat any disaster with levity. But isn't this a useful reminder that rationalism is the only sound guide in the business of life and that superstition is based upon a fatal misconception of the nature of things?

This disaster underscores two facts which are essential to intelligent human behavior: first, that material stability is better than "spiritual" flights and, second, that man must not look to a God but to himself for safety and happiness.

Life, indeed, is always contradicting religion by showing that man is his own worst enemy or his own best friend, depending on his mode of behavior, and that Gods are imagined by the drowsy nodding of man when he does not pay enough attention to the realities about him.

IT DOESN'T matter what Wall Street thinks of E. Haldeman-Julius' candidacy for the United States Senate. Or rather it does matter in this way: it shows the common people that Haldeman-Julius is the right man for their interests, which are squarely opposed to the interests of Wall Street. Get this straight: so far as both Kansas and the nation are concerned, Haldeman-Julius is entirely opposed to the interests of Wall Street and, first and last, sympathetic toward and intelligently working for the interests of the common people. Can the same be said for Charley Curtis or any other party politician? A million times—or a million dollars—No!

MORE propaganda for radicalism was made by a justice of the peace in Avella, Pa., who fined two striking miners \$15.00 each for laughing at a scab. Upon their refusal to pay the fines, he sentenced them to 60 days in jail.

Get up a club of four or more subs.

WOLVES AND SHEEP

Delegating the wolves for the care of the sheep is no more foolish a performance than that of President Hoover in appointing sixty big men of capitalism to organize relief for the unemployed. These are representatives of the class whose notorious mismanagement of industry has caused unemployment. They have exploited the workers, prevented them from consuming the fruits of their labor, piled up a surplus which the masses are not permitted to use and thrown millions of workers helplessly, hopelessly out into the streets.

These men have shown that they are incapable of managing industry. How then can they manage relief? They are approaching their relief job by rejecting the only sound principle upon which adequate national relief can be given: that is, government action with the use of government resources. No other kind of action can be so well organized. No other resources are so readily and largely available for the task—indeed it is recognized by all thoughtful observers that only the application of federal resources can relieve the suffering of the masses this winter.

These relief leaders selected with great fanfare by Hoover are the exponents of totally wrong principles of industry; therefore they proceed according to wrong principles of relief. Fundamentally, of course, they do not wish to relieve the workers. They may try to hand the workers crumbs and thin soup in the bread lines, after their system has thrown the workers into the bread lines. Their main object, however, is to keep the workers under the oppressive control of this system of social injustice which has broken down so tragically.

Yes, indeed, Hoover has set the wolves to look after the sheep. This farce must be ended by the adoption of true national relief measures and unemployment insurance, which E. Haldeman-Julius is advocating in his campaign for United States Senator from Kansas.

IN THE WRONG COMPANY

Freeman readers, new and old, will be amused to learn that The Debunker, the Haldeman-Julius monthly publication, shines on the Canadian censored list along with such other lights of the magazine world as *Parisian Life*, *Spicy Stories*, *Funny Stories*, *Hollywood Nights*, *Broadway Nights*, *It*, *Pep Stories*, *Snappy Stories*, *Gangland Stories*, *Gangster Stories*, *Gang World*, *Lively Stories*, *Marriage Confession*, *Gun Moll Magazine*, *Startling Detective Stories*, *Racketeer*.

This is funny because it is so entirely senseless. The Debunker is not a pornographic nor a sensational magazine. It is indeed a snappy magazine—but the snap in its pages is that of ideas which crackle briskly with the bold truth. We do not deny that it has spice—but it is the spice of intelligent, enlightening wit. It is lively because it gives a fearless, thoughtful and at the same time humorous review of the follies and controversies and events of a lively world.

Queerly enough, the Canadian censorship bans these other magazines because they are trash and it bans The Debunker because it is opposed to trash in thought and life. This is characteristic of censorship, we are sorry to say. It is stupid enough to place liberating ideas on the same level with cheap, sloppy and meant-to-be-naughty fiction.

We are so conspicuously thrown into the wrong company by the above list that we reprint it for the amusement of our readers. The man is not civilized who confuses radicalism and free thought with immorality. But then no one expects a censor to be civilized.

LET MOONEY APPEAR

There is simple fairness in the proposal of a petition now being circulated in California, demanding not only the pardon of Tom Mooney but insisting that Mooney be permitted personally to appear before Governor Rolph, asserting his innocence and setting forth his case.

Such an appearance by Mooney might or might not be successful. We confess to a feeling of disappointment that Governor Rolph has not much sooner disposed finally and with complete, so-long-delayed justice of the Mooney case. He has had all of the facts placed before him; and those facts are surely adequate in their proof that Mooney is the victim—has been during fourteen years the victim—of one of the worst frameups in American history.

Yet, knowing these things, Rolph has done nothing. So perhaps the strongest appeal by Mooney in person would still be unavailing. Yet it would be entirely fitting, not to say dramatic, if Mooney were to confront California's governor face to face, unburden himself of a full recital of his shameful injuries at the hands of that corporation-ridden state and demand that the freedom out of which he has so long been cheated should be restored to him.

Whatever might come of such an appeal, it is certainly the right of Mooney to make it. And its effect would be still further to call public attention to the shame of California as the crucifer of an innocent labor leader on the cross of class hatred.

IT IS NOT enough to condemn Hoover the man nor the Republican party. A Democratic President, while he might be more likeable personally than Hoover and might have a few traits of liberalism, would support fundamentally the same system as Hoover. Not simply new men, but new and revolutionary principles must be introduced into our government and our social-economic life.

HOOPER is trying to save American capital in Europe. Haldeman-Julius is running for U. S. Senator from Kansas on the platform of saving American labor in America. His program of socialization and of action, both immediate and ultimate, for the common good is one that will save labor everywhere and give first consideration to the interests of useful people.

WHY LEAVE IT TO THEM?

Radicals are not alone in recognizing the dangers in the present economic crisis. Conservatives point out these dangers, although their program is different from that of the radicals, chiefly in the respect that it bears little resemblance to a program.

Thus Mayor Anton J. Cermak of Chicago says: "The men of money and power must be reminded that in this crisis they had better contribute generously to relief or they may lose all. Plenty of men are giving \$25 and \$50 who might just as easily give two or three thousand."

This statement is meant by Cermak as a threatening spur to bigger contributions in the relief fund campaign this fall and winter. Bluntly enough, the rich are asked to give a little more than they are giving to charity in order that they may preserve the structure of big profits and dividends which enables them to grab the major portion of the wealth which is produced by the nation's workers.

But why leave it to the whim or judgment of the rich what amounts they shall contribute to relief? As Cermak admits, they are not individually choosing to give what they could or should give. He himself points to the surer way when he says that he would favor a state income tax on those who have for the aid of those who have not.

The Freeman editor has persistently urged a drastic upward revision of income taxes on the rich, the proceeds to be used for social welfare. The rich have taken their wealth unjustly in the first place. It should not be left to them to decide how much they shall keep and how much they shall hand out grudgingly in the form of charity—temporary charity to make safe a permanent social injustice.

The misery of this economic crisis makes it clear beyond reasonable dispute how utterly right it is that the rich should be made to pay. The Freeman editor, in his campaign for United States Senator, firmly makes this demand, with the additional plan that this raising of income taxes on the rich and the immediate expansion of social welfare work by the government should be regarded as steps leading to the abolition of the private profit system under which the few who own industry pile up enormous fortunes while the useful workers suffer poverty. The means of wealth should belong to the nation, and wealth itself should belong to him who produces it. The Freeman editor will confidently uphold this principle in debate with any old party politician or with any man, whatever his position of leadership, who thinks he can defend logically the crime of exploitation.

Futility in Coal Crisis

Capitalistic mismanagement of the coal industry has led to the suggestion that mines in Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia should be run by a board of dictators composed of the governors of the three states or their appointees. This plan was seriously discussed at a recent meeting of coal and steel officials and other business leaders at Wheeling, W. Va.

It is also suggested that governors of the three states use the police power to limit coal production—another resource of national wealth which capitalism admits its inability to use fully and properly.

Evidently a large share of the inspiration for this move comes from the fact that for several months a very militant strike has been waged by coal miners in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and Kentucky. Leaders of the National Miners' Un-

ion call attention to the presence at the Wheeling conference of about fifty mayors of coal cities who have been markedly hostile to the strike.

This situation emphasizes the anarchy in our economic life against which The Freeman editor is protesting in his campaign for United States Senator. Collective ownership of the coal fields and of all other natural resources is the only way out of this anarchy. In his senatorial campaign, and in the United States Senate if elected to that body, The Freeman editor will strongly advocate this sane solution of our more and more badly tangled economic affairs. Thus justice to the workers and security to the nation can be obtained.

OUR GREATEST ENEMY

Indifference—that is our greatest enemy.

We are not afraid of the political power of the owning class.

We have the votes, if only the working mules can be brought around to some real thinking.

We are not afraid of the financial power of the plutocrats, because we know their money came from the common people's sweat and toil, and that once aroused to intelligent action the workers and farmers have it in their power to strip the winning class of its "right" to rob and exploit.

No, the real enemy today is not the capitalist class—it is a small, insignificant minority.

But we are afraid of that ogre—the indifference of those who believe as we do, who want to see industry socialized and who want to live in a cooperative commonwealth.

Their minds are all right. Their hearts are in the right place. But their wills are dead. They are indifferent. And that indifference is what is holding back The Freeman in its campaign to socialize industry and bring the workers into complete control of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

We can achieve nothing until we find a way to break down the indifference of our friends.

Are you, dear reader, doing nothing to advance our movement and bring us closer to our goal of economic emancipation?

Are you following The Freeman week after week as a reader, but doing nothing to bring others into the growing ranks of Freeman readers?

If you are indifferent, don't you let these words shake you out of that sloth and stir you into action? You'll feel better for having thrown off that indifference.

Being a member of The Freeman Army will put new pep and enthusiasm into you.

Come, friends, let us slay our greatest enemy—indifference!

THE PRESENT economic system is based on the theory that the most important object of national and international policy is to protect and to increase the profits and dividends of a small owning class; that the more wealth that class can accumulate in its hands, the more favorable are social conditions. Exactly the opposite theory is advocated by E. Haldeman-Julius in his campaign for United States Senator. He holds that the widest diffusion, not the sharpest concentration, of wealth is what makes a nation prosperous. The greater the wealth which is placed into the hands of the greatest number of people, by so much is society happier and more solidly based and more truly marching along the road of progress. Such is the message of economic sanity which The Freeman editor asks the voters of Kansas to consider and accept.

Exposure of Hoover Before and After He Became President

Our readers will be glad to have, in compact and readily usable form, the complete record of Herbert Hoover. Five books tell the story of Hoover. There is L. M. Birkhead's book on *President Hoover and Quakerism*; Heinz Norden's book on *Herbert Hoover—the Man*; and three books by E. Haldeman-Julius, namely *Herbert Hoover—the Fatuous Failure in the White House*, *Hoover's Record As President* and *Hoover's Record Before He Was President*.

A full-length critical analysis, like nothing that has ever been written about a President during his term of office, is contained in these books, especially in the three books by Mr. Haldeman-Julius. These three are naturally of most piquant interest, as they expose the failure of Hoover as President, debunk his ideas about politics and economics and—most sensational of all—tell the true story of how Herbert Hoover made millions and what was the real character and conduct of the man.

All together, these five books constitute an excellent list, for reading and reference and propaganda, of realistic as opposed to eulogistic and mythical studies of Hoover and of Hooverism. These five books may be said to comprise a sort of who's who and what's what of Hooverism.

In this special set of five books you have the story of the Chinese swindle in which Hoover was a leading agent thirty years ago—the story of Hoover's career as a Great Promoter (not a Great Engineer)—and the story of Hoover's disgraceful failure in the White House. Only 25 cents for this set of five books, all about Herbert Hoover.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, GIRARD, KANSAS

ORDER BLANK FOR FIVE BOOKS EXPOSING HOOVER

Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas

I am enclosing 25 cents, for which send me, postpaid, the set of five books giving the complete record of Herbert Hoover.

Name.....

Address.....

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

ORDER BLANK FOR THE AMERICAN FREEMAN

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas.

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

Name.....

Address.....

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

"VAGRANT" ARREST OF COMMUNIST IS ILLEGAL

[The following telegram explains itself.]
Glenn H. Taylor, City Attorney,
Pittsburg, Kans.

As a lawyer you must know that your action in ordering the arrest of J. I. Whidden, said to be a Communist organizer and agitator, on a charge of "vagrancy" is brazenly illegal. Whidden has been hiding meetings in Pittsburg and vicinity for several months, has maintained a headquarters in Pittsburg for which the rent has been steadily paid and is now fully paid, and has at no time been in the position of a vagrant without means of support. Here I may suggest to you that if vagrancy is a crime, some millions of jobless American workers are now guilty of this crime. But as Whidden is not a vagrant, what law has he violated? It is absolutely legal for him to hold meetings and advocate Communism so long as he does this in an orderly, peaceable way. There is no charge that he has advocated violence. He is being made the victim of his political ideas, which happen to be different from your own. You might benefit from reading the United States Constitution, which declares that free speech is the fundamental right of every American citizen. Your order of arrest of Whidden is an act of petty, malicious, ignorant dictatorship which is hardly consistent with your supposed official duty of representing the legal rights of citizens. When an official of the law violates the law, what is the duty of a good citizen—to uphold the law or to denounce the official? I choose to uphold the law and the Constitution. The record indicates that Whidden is the good citizen and you are the bad citizen.
E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS.

THE MUDDLED FARM BOARD

Having failed in its superficial measures for the relief of the farmers, the badly discredited Hoover farm board can now do no better than insist that the farmers cut down production. After advising recently that southern cotton farmers destroy a third of their crops, the board now suggests that in all areas where the annual rainfall is less than twenty-five inches the farmers should completely abandon for one year the cultivation of half of their land. These areas include all of the wheat land of Montana and North Dakota, all but the southeast corner of South Dakota, the western two-thirds of Nebraska, half of Kansas, western Oklahoma, the Panhandle of Texas, except extensive farming territory in west Texas and land in states farther west. What the farmers, already verging on bankruptcy, are to do while half of their lands lie idle for a year the board does not explain. It does, however, contradict itself by pointing out that letting the land stay idle for a year will greatly increase its fertility, so that after the year's rest it would yield even more than if steadily cultivated. The farm board's object in this advice is to limit the production and thereby, it is hoped, raise the price of wheat; yet its defense of the advice is that it would increase wheat production and therefore make still worse the already distressing situation of "too much wheat" in a land of hungry workers. Thus do the leaders of capitalism show their futility and their lack of a clear grasp of economic principles. The hope of the workers and farmers lies in fully understanding and rejecting the counsels of capitalistic spokesmen and in organizing for the political capture of government so that they can establish a Cooperative Commonwealth of production for use instead of profit. Through such an organization and program—supported, as it must be, by the most persistent education in a radical press—the workers and farmers can relieve themselves of the follies and burdens of capitalistic industry and agriculture.

GANDHI IN LONDON

We are of course sympathetic with the demand of Mahatma Gandhi and his fellows for the freedom of India. On the score of justice this demand cannot be condemned, as far as it goes. But it doesn't go so very far. It ignores, after all, the great basic economic problems of the Indian masses.

What about the emancipation of the Indian masses not only from British exploiters but from Indian exploiters? Gandhi has little or nothing to say of this objective; yet in such an objective lies the real hope of freedom and prosperity for the people of India.

Moreover, Gandhi is reactionary in another sense. He has frankly declared his opposition to modern industrialism; not simply to the private capitalistic features of this industrialism, but to the methods of machine production. The masses of

India cannot, however, expect the good things of life in any abundance unless they develop modern machinery of production.

Hand production, which Gandhi advocates with a religious enthusiasm, cannot support comfortably India's immense, excessive population. Goods must be produced in an abundance with large-scale methods of organization and the most up-to-date scientific machinery. This organization and machinery should be socially owned and controlled, so that all may be employed and have plenty. Neither the primitive ideas of Gandhi nor his emphasis on mere nationalistic freedom will liberate the masses of his country from poverty and tyranny. He is sincere, fanatical indeed, but mistaken. The Indian masses must develop a modern leadership and program in their own ranks.

THE POLITICIANS DISAGREE

Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, leading Republican and political pal of Andy Mellon, says that the federal government must impose a sales tax upon the country. This tax would be an extra burden on the common people. It would also save the rich from higher taxation of their incomes. A different view is expressed by Senator Watson of Indiana, another Republican leader. He says that no new tax legislation will be considered in the next Congress. What he means evidently is that he doesn't think it should be. Thus Watson hopes to ease Indiana farmers and workers by imposing a sales tax and to hold his favored big interests by opposing higher income and capital taxes.

And then along comes Representative Bacharach, a leading Republican in the lower House of Congress, with the statement that higher taxes must be laid upon incomes of \$100,000 a year and more and on inherited estates and gifts. Bacharach is conservative and a defender of the system under which the rich carry on their ruthless exploitation. Yet he is afraid of the discontent among the workers. Defending capitalism, at the same time he condemns the system by the following resume of capitalistic prosperity (for capitalists, not for workers):

In 1925 the income taxpayers with net incomes of over \$100,000 received 21 percent of the total investment income. In 1929 they received 33 percent. Investment income is a barometer of the amount of capital producing income. It seems fair to conclude, therefore, that the only class which reaped substantial profits during the years 1925 to 1929 consisted of about 14,700 persons with net incomes in excess of \$100,000 a year. This class increased their investment income and probably their capital by more than 50 percent; the other classes lost ground.

In view of the fact that the government has placed no substantial limitation on the accumulation of wealth . . . it seems obvious that these individuals are able to bear and should bear the bulk of any increased tax burdens. This is not only fair to all our citizens, but it is good policy for the wealthy class themselves if they desire in the future to remain substantially unrestricted in their business activities.

In his last sentence Bacharach reveals his true object. Under the guise of helping the people, he tells the capitalists that he is trying to do what he considers best to save their game of exploitation. Reed, Watson and Bacharach disagree about present methods. But all of them agree in wanting to perpetuate capitalism. All of them agree, furthermore, in fearing a social revolution that will not merely take an extra percentage of income from the capitalists but that will take away from them their present unjust ownership of the means of life.

Agitation for higher taxes on big incomes will doubtless be foremost in the discussions of the next Congress. Radicals advocate this higher taxation as an immediate measure of making the rich pay for the relief of the nation's distress. They go farther. They demand the complete abolition of the system under which the rich rob the poor. They demand the abolition of utterly and uncompromisingly of the system which divides men and women into rich and poor.

In making these demands, they call on the workers to organize, in their own interests, to join actively in the great modern crusade for changing social conditions from the control of private greed to the controlling, directing motive of the common good.

THERE is plenty of room in the Army column for your name. Why not do something for the good of The Freeman in order to earn the right to have your name included in that fine list of noble, self-sacrificing, fine-spirited, devoted comrades who are working like beavers to hurry The Freeman's policies to victory? Send in a club of subs and you will have the satisfaction of knowing you did something tangible and useful for the cause of industrial progress.

Join The Freeman Army.

GETTING THE WOMEN INTO ACTION!

An important program of The Freeman is the organization of the women readers of the paper into The Women's Brigade. This work is being done by Mrs. Marcell Haldeman-Julius. Watch her column each week and see that your name is listed among the women who are helping to make The Freeman a success in its movement to bring happy homes and happy lives. Get into action now by sending \$1 for four 25-week Freeman sub cards or by sending \$1 to put four names of your friends on The Freeman list for 25 weeks each or by sending \$1 to be used under Method No. 3 in sending extra copies of The Freeman to good names in our possession.

I WANT TO JOIN THE WOMEN'S BRIGADE

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas
I am glad to see that Mrs. Marcell Haldeman-Julius is at work organizing The Women's Brigade, in order to make The Freeman a greater organ for social justice. I want to join in the great campaign. I am checking off the method I want to use.
() Enclosed find \$..... for 25-week subs to be sent to the names and addresses enclosed.
() Enclosed find \$..... for which send me 25-week sub cards at 25c each.
() Method No. 3. Enclosed find \$..... which is to be used for sending copies of The Freeman to good names in your possession.
Name..... Address.....
City..... State.....

FREE SPEECH? NOT MUCH!

No doubt the *Christian Science Monitor* stands for "high ideals." But whatever these ideals are, that of free speech is not among them. Not only does the *Monitor* rigidly censor its own columns; but it is quick to punish an instance of free speech, by one of its employees, outside its own columns. We refer to the high-handed action of that newspaper in discharging Robert S. Allen, chief of its Washington, D. C., bureau, immediately after the magazine, *Time*, carried a picture of Allen and said that he was thought to be one of the anonymous authors of *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, a lively book exposing the outstanding features of hypocrisy and futility in the life of official Washington.

Allen was credited by *Time* with having written the chapter describing the gentlemen of the press, which dealt none too mildly with the subservient press correspondents in Washington, particularly those who are, to all intents and purposes, Hoover propagandists. One would think that it is scarcely the *Monitor's* business to punish one of its men for a chapter he may have written in a book. So it wouldn't be from a civilized point of view. But from the viewpoint of journalistic dictatorship, in the name of conservatism and suppression, such an act is in line with the notorious policies which make a free press an illusion under our American regime of plutocracy.

It may also be mentioned that the chapter said to have been written by Allen is intelligent; so perhaps the moral is that Allen is too intelligent—and too candid—to be safely useful to the *Monitor*.

Load Up with Sub Cards

Starting as we are from scratch, we are actually seeing the spectacle of a great national paper taking form under our eyes. We have the machinery and the staff, but we still lack circulation, even though we have already passed the 25,000 mark.

That matter of circulation must be solved—immediately! It is the one, great, pressing question. Will we succeed? Why not? Haven't we gone from 12,500 to almost 26,000 in about six months?

Once we reach the goal of 50,000 subs our progress will be much faster. Our readers should join The Freeman Army. This Army is an organization without dues or salaries. You become a member by the simple process of doing something really constructive for The Freeman. That's why we are pushing sub cards at this time. They are ideal helps for the agitator who wants to add new readers to The Freeman list.

Send \$1 today for four sub cards, each good for 25 weeks of The Freeman. Order more than four if you can spare the money, paying for them at the rate of only 25c each. They will be sold at 50c per card, or for less, if you prefer. You are the sole judge.

After selling a card, the new reader need only write in his name and address, and Uncle Sam will do the rest. It's that simple. Load up today. Always carry sub cards. Always talk to your friends about The American Freeman. Tell them about this great, fighting paper that promises to be the fastest growing paper in the world.

Come in while we need your help in this great fight for social justice. This is no time for laggards. The need is immediate. We are building on a firm foundation. The future will belong to the workers if the Army does its duty today.

PROBLEM OF CHILD WORKERS

Thirty-three percent fewer children of school age took out working permits in 1930 than in 1929. But hold a minute. Don't rejoice in haste. The reason for this decrease is not that working class parents no longer need the labor of their children, but that there are fewer jobs even for the children who are willing to work at extremely low wages.

Child labor remains one of the undeniable shames of capitalism. Many children or the more poorly paid workers are unable to have an education, for two reasons: their parents cannot afford the expense of sending them to school and, again, the parents need the extra few dollars that the labor of their children will bring in.

The problem of child labor is the problem of exploited, underpaid adult labor. Can working class parents fail much longer to see the need of complete, organized revolt against this system and the establishment of a system in which the workers will have social justice?

IT'S EASY to get a club of subs for The Freeman. You need only show a friend a copy of The Freeman. He will thank you for opening his mind. Once he reads The Freeman he will get the fever and go out for his own club of subs. That's the endless chain we want to see organized. And when it gets working, we'll find ourselves talking to the entire nation. And when we do that Socialism will become a national issue.

PLEASE TAKE The Freeman's circulation editorials seriously. We at our end mean serious business or we never would have invited Fred D. Warren, the fighting editor, to return to radical socialist journalism. We want the nation to follow Warren's appeals to reason and common sense. You can help us materially by hustling clubs of subs. Go out right now and talk to your friends until you land eight or ten subs. Don't be satisfied with less. The Freeman must go forward. The battle line must not be surrendered. The cause is sacred, and it depends 100 percent on The Freeman Army.

WE PREDICT that before we reach the 500,000 goal in the fight for Freeman circulation, the powers of Wall Street will reach out to destroy your paper. But we shall be on our guard. And we shall build up a great Freeman Army, so that the conspiracies of the capitalists can be thwarted. We consider The Army as the foundation stone of the great structure we are building.

FRED D. WARREN is back with us again—back in the fight to bring the working class to Socialism. Will you back Fred Warren with a club of subs? That's the question that's troubling us, and you're the only person who can answer.

The Freeman can do wonders with a million circulation.

Significant News

The report of the U. S. Department of Commerce shows that this country's export trade dropped 34 percent in the year ending June 30 while imports dropped 37 percent—the lowest figures since the pre-war years.

A ten percent wage cut in the pay of all employees getting \$300 a month or more is reported as having been made by the Western Pacific, the Pennsylvania, Delaware and Hudson and the Missouri Pacific railroads.

A Pittsburgh, Pa., social worker estimates that the sum needed for the relief of destitution in that city alone is \$225,000 a week. It is agreed that such an amount cannot be raised by private charity and that the city government are not equal to the task.

Infamous Charley Pickert, who as district attorney in San Francisco plotted the perjured testimony against Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, has been given a fat political job by Governor Clegg. He has been appointed adviser to the state medical board at a salary of \$250 a month.

For protesting against an eviction—and for being a Communist—Theodore Luesse of Indianapolis, Ind., was sentenced to a year in prison. Now 25,000 citizens have signed a petition for Luesse's release. Governor Loomis having previously refused a pardon because Luesse is a Communist.

Judge-made law is again exhibited in the order of Judge Foster Freeman, Patterson, N. J., that mills not on strike need not be picketed by union workers. It seems that Judge Foster Lome has previously refused a pardon because Luesse is a Communist.

Figures submitted to Governor Pinckney of Pennsylvania by social welfare agencies, public health departments and state bureaus reveal that in the two years ending June 30, 1931, employment in soft coal mining dropped 47 percent, in manufacturing industries 43 percent, in hard coal mining 22 percent and in the building trades 51 percent.

Charged with the "crime" of selling The Daily Worker and attending Communist meetings, Vladimir Wolke has been ordered deported to Shanghai, China, by Federal Judge Jeremiah Nease in Seattle. Wolke came to this country from Canada in 1912. He has never been in China. His case was appealed by the International Labor Defense.

The profit system won't let human beings eat all of the wheat that is produced so it will be fed to the animals in Montana and the Dakotas, where acres on acres have been cut out. Wheat is so low in price that the farmers can't afford to sell it and the workers—millions of them unemployed—can't afford to buy it in the shape of high-priced bread.

Poor families are evicted daily in the Negro district of Chicago. The daily evictions bring daily pain to ten victims and their fellows, while the police maintain something like martial law in Chicago's capitalist panes do not seem to be that desecrating rather than remedying the trouble, which, although little is said about it, is really a source of intense worry to the Chicago officials, not because they sympathize with the victims, but because they fear additional riots.

Thinking that pay ranging from 18c to 21c an hour was little enough, 500 young men and girls employed by the McKinney Manufacturing Co. in Pittsburgh, Pa., went on strike when their wages were cut. Foremen of the departments had their pay cut ten percent and led the strike—but later they were given an adjustment and returned to work, deserting the other workers. These workers will now understand the importance of letting themselves and not depending on false leaders who have ulterior interests to serve.

Three wage cuts of ten percent in two months—and with only part-time employment—was too much for the fifty night workers at the Port Pitt Steel Company, Co. in Pittsburgh, Pa., who left their jobs in protest against such "treatment." They had worked fourteen hours a day. In announcing the wage cut the superintendent told the men: "We don't like to give you this cut, but we are acting on orders from the U. S. government itself, which has instructed that wages be cut in all mills throughout the country."

About seventy-five neighborhood movie houses in Chicago are operating with non-union, non-licensed machine operators. These operators are usually drawing a thousand patrons in a night are now drawing only thirty or forty.

Forty state troopers and city policemen kept a group of hungry coal miners coming to the city set back by a Governor Connelley, who handed out a ten-dollar bill and said that neither he nor the state could (or would) help them. The miners asked the governor for living wage scale, employment, food and clothing and shelter for our families who have been beaten and protested against state troopers "carrying machine guns on flat cars and company trains and blocking roads and public highways."

Unemployed in Seattle, Wash., have formed a strong organization and are demanding that the city set aside one million dollars to be spent in wages on public improvements and that the council shall establish a half million dollar fund for the purpose, with another half million dollars to be given in relief of the destitute people. It is given in relief of that unemployed worker shall be evicted for non-payment of taxes, assessments and back rent; that the city shall not let less than \$450 a day be paid for all common labor; that the city manage its own public work without graft to private contractors; that all such work shall be allotted fairly among the unemployed; that the school children shall be supplied with adequate food. The Seattle unemployed will also demand state and federal aid.

The Hoover commission on Muscle Shoals, consisting of three men appointed by Hoover and three men each selected by the governors of Alabama and Tennessee, received only a few definite bids on their offer to lease a large government plant for the production of fertilizer, with power as a side issue. The commission was made up of powerful trust lobbyists and representatives and was more a bit of Hoover trickery in the campaign against government operation of the plant as a producer of power. The slight response bids received by the fact that the only Congress can decide whether, as done with Muscle Shoals—and Congress in its latest session passed the Norris Hoover veto. It is pretty certain that the bill will be passed by the next Congress and that Hoover will again veto it—but this time, it is hoped, Congress will be able to pass the bill over Hoover's veto.

WARREN SAYS THE FREEMAN CAN OUTSTRIP THE OLD APPEAL!

In an optimistic statement to E. Haldeman-Julius, expressing his great confidence in the possibilities of a strong movement of agitation led by The Freeman, Fred D. Warren says: "It will take some weeks to get the interest focused—but it is in the air and I feel confident that we will far outstrip the old Appeal."

You know what the old Appeal accomplished. Read again Warren's striking history, in his page in this week's The Freeman, of the glorious battles and victories of the old Appeal.

And Warren is sure that, with the help of The Freeman Army, we can beat the grand record of the Appeal. This is no idle boast or dream, but a serious statement of the future that is in store for The Freeman and its Army.

That future can be realized if we all work together, as we have been working, but with even more intense and hopeful energy.

Make Warren's prediction of The Freeman's greatness come true. Its greatness will be your greatness. Its success will be your success. And remember that this greatness and this success can come in only one way: by building up a tremendously powerful circulation for The Freeman.

All together, then, for a million circulation and the greatest radical paper of all time!

THIS IS OUR MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE

This October 3 issue of The American Freeman is the most important issue we have so far published.

Not only do we record the most impressive circulation gain in all our recent months of Freeman Army effort, but we publish on page 4 a most vital, historically valuable and practically useful statement by Fred D. Warren.

We urge all Army workers not only to read Warren's statement carefully and to bring together groups of radicals in their communities for the reading aloud of this statement, with a view to common action for a greater Freeman Army. But we also urge every Army worker to order at once a bundle of at least 50 copies of this October 3 issue—as many more as you wish, but order at least 50 copies at 2c each and get them into circulation. Pass them around among all whom you regard as likely to be in sympathy with our movement.

Spread the news that Fred Warren is back into the fight, giving his messages on the fourth page of each issue of The Freeman, which will be known as Warren's Page and completely filled each week by his comments and advice to the readers of The Freeman. Order your bundle NOW.

WHO WILL BE NO. 130?

BY MARCELL HALDEMAN-JULIUS
Is this Women's Brigade needed? I'll say it! For, as things stand now, we women are sitting on the side lines letting the men do most of the work.

You will be as astounded as I was when I realized that in the whole Freeman Army of 2,355 active workers for social justice only 128 of this number are women.

You can scarcely believe it? Neither can I. But it is a fact. There are 2,227 men, but only 128 women (129 counting myself) who have joined that compact group of The Freeman's readers that is definitely trying to increase the circle of this paper's usefulness and further the ends for which it fights.

So our first definite goal must be to stir 2,099 women from apathy into service; to be at least as active as our men folk.

I confess I don't know why they have been so much more eager and willing than we women to achieve tangible results. But I do know that these figures (2,227 men, 128 women) are a challenge to our women.

Are your men more concerned than you in taking electricity out of the hands of greedy profiteers? Is it you who use the electric washing machines, electric irons, electric vacuum cleaners, electric sewing machines and should be enjoying the clean and labor-saving electric refrigerators. It is you who will receive the most intimate daily benefit from the downfall of the Power Trust. The Freeman is fighting it.

Are your men more interested than you in unemployment insurance? When they are out of work it is you who have the actual job of stretching the family purse and, all too often, trying to make something out of nothing. The Freeman is fighting for unemployment insurance.

Are your men more indignant than you at the callous, arrogant injustice that keeps Mooney and Billings and the Centralia boys in prison? The Freeman is fighting for their long-overdue release.

Are your men more outraged than you that the best grade of wheat, with all it represents of time and toil in the hot sun (and hot hours in the kitchen for the farmer's wives) and should be selling at thirty-eight cents a bushel? The Freeman is fighting to change the conditions that make such prices possible.

I know that you care as much about these matters. I know that you are not really indifferent—more interested than reading The Freeman. I know that many, many women among your friends who have never even seen The Freeman are as interested in its objectives as you, yourselves.

I suggest that you take a copy of The Freeman with you to every social or women's meeting that you attend. Discuss the paper with those friends who come to your own home and tell them The Freeman is a weapon that increases in power with each reader who helps to use it. It needs all the force we can gather to do its best work. And our Women's Brigade is going to add to that force.

I have faith that you will cooperate with me. And I have a very womanish curiosity to know who will be our 130th member. And, just between ourselves, haven't you?

BUILDING contractors in San Francisco are demanding wage cuts—which, no doubt, is another sign of the promised Hoover relief for this winter.

Not An Advertising Sheet

The Freeman is a little sheet, but it is crammed with reading material. We consider our editorial material of first importance, and not as a mere adjunct to great spreads of advertising.

Being a propaganda newspaper, The Freeman devotes its space to educational material, and must depend on its readers for support.

Advertisers don't like The Freeman because of its daring, fearless policy. Not being able to dictate to The Freeman, the advertisers give us a wide berth, which doesn't bother us in the least.

We have never yet solicited an advertisement, and we don't intend to begin now.

If any advertiser wants to use our space, he can buy it, of course, if his proposition is legitimate, but he ends the deal. The editors never will listen to editorial suggestions from that source.

On the other hand, we listen carefully to the editorial ideas of our Army members, because we consider that this paper belongs to its Army.

In addition to getting along without an advertising department, we also find it impossible to distribute our radical Freeman through the regular magazine distributors, who also don't like the radicalism of The Freeman.

This makes it all the more essential for The Freeman Army to attend to this important work of circulation.

Circulating exclusively through the mail, we can expand in only one way through the active and friendly cooperation of enthusiastic Freeman readers who believe in our Socialist policy and who want to see The Freeman's messages reach the people who are being crushed slowly by the tremendous powers of capitalism.

DON'T GET DISCOURAGED

Don't let the capitalist system "get" you.

Conditions are deplorable, but there is a remedy at hand, if only we can get the victims of capitalism to do a little thinking.

Even though the future holds many difficult struggles in store for us, let us meet the issues like real men, without whimpering or empty complaints.

If the system gets on your nerves, remember that you still have it in your power to appoint yourself as a committee of one to help bring about a saner, more scientific and more just order of society.

If you feel yourself getting mad, hold yourself in check long enough to visit with your fellow workers and try your best to get them to study the evils of capitalism and the remedy of socialized industry.

If you don't want to do all the talking, by all means let The Freeman do your talking for you. Instead of belly-aching, try your durnest to get a club of at least 10 new readers for The Freeman. That will be a form of protest that will have some constructive results.

AN OLD party politician only wants your vote. He will say anything, promise anything, deny anything to get your vote. E. Haldeman-Julius is not thinking primarily of votes in his campaign for U. S. Senator. He is more interested in principles than in votes.

Votes, he thinks, should reflect sound principles. His campaign is one of education. Show that you appreciate this kind of a campaign by joining enthusiastically and thoroughly in this wonderful Kansas campaign. It is at first sight more obvious that Kansas voters should be radical, but it is quite as important that all voters should cooperate in this plan to throw light on real economic issues. The interests of the whole American people—that is, of the useful people, the ones who count—are vitally involved. You can do nothing better to help free America from the grip of the exploiters than to support E. Haldeman-Julius in his campaign for U. S. Senator.

THOSE who condemn radicalism, especially a radical economic program, are notably unable to propose any scheme of economic relief and stability which might be regarded as less radical. They are not able to show how, short of the radical creation of an entirely different system, this present system can be made to work for the welfare of the masses. They are in the illogical position of denouncing radical remedies yet bringing forward no real remedies of their own. Thus when they tell us we should not be radical what they really say is that we should submit to terrible present conditions without hope or determination for better conditions. This is worse than a counsel of despair. It is a counsel of abject surrender to conditions which can be remedied. It is a counsel which, amazingly, urges us to suffer every injustice or wrong fully rather than be radical. We scorn such counsel. We prefer radicalism as the wiser and the manlier course.

ANOTHER instance of the wonderful success of the Hoover relief scheme is the death of the infant son of James McNulty, a Pittsburgh, Pa., worker who had been unemployed for a year. The child had no food. The family was evicted from its poor dwelling. The city physician reported that the baby died from "starvation and malnutrition." Thus does Hoover prove that without the use of government resources he is fully capable of caring for the nation's distress.

ONE of the applauded heroes in the World War, John Fitzgerald of Pittsburgh, Pa., was gassed and then under the blessings of Hoover prosperity he was jobless and broke. After spending \$400 obtained as a loan from the government on his war service insurance—sharing the sum with fellow workers equally hit by Hooverism—he turned on the gas and escaped from Hoover's relief plan by way of the morgue.

\$1 puts four friends on The Freeman list for 25 weeks each.

Freeman Army

(We are forced to omit many Army notes because of lack of space.)

John E. Prastka, Ia., orders bundles of The Freeman.

Laura Rownd, Kans., sends \$1 for Method No. 3.

J. H. Deardorff, Calif., orders 50 copies of the Aug. 29 Freeman Special and 25 copies of the June 27 Russian Special.

Henry Helleman, Mayor's office, Milwaukee, Wis., orders 50 copies of the Sept. 5 Socialism Special.

J. H. Aug, Meyer Mo., orders \$5 worth of sub cards. That will mean 20 new Freeman readers before long.

Merrill Holste, Minn., orders \$2 worth of sub cards and \$1 for Method No. 3. He adds: "With much success in your recent campaign as Washington I very badly in need of a bit of waking up."

Ed Kneppel, Neb., writes: "Am enclosing \$1 bill to help in getting to Kansas voters. I will be a little late sending you few subs. I am helping as far as I am able. The trouble, it seems, is to get the people to read."

Clyde L. Holden, Conn., one of our steady and enthusiastic Army workers, writes \$2 to Method No. 3, to help in the senatorial campaign. "I know the contribution isn't much," he writes, "but it will put a couple of shots to me now. Unlike the navy of the world, Army may be bull's eyes."

A. Guertner, Calif., sends his renewal for The Freeman and adds \$4 to help in the campaign under Method No. 8, which means 200 papers will be mailed to good names in our possession. (This reader asks how to go about getting a job in Russia. We suggest that he write to Amtorg Trading Corporation, N. Y. C.)

Joe Previtt, N. Y., sends \$1 for Method No. 3. The same from Joe Hampt, Wash.; G. A. Harrison, Mich.; A. Friend, Wis.; Geo. M. Fred Senneker, Mich.; H. R. P. Waynard, Mont.; A. Espinout, Minn.; Mrs. P. C. Nieland, Fla.; \$1.50 from Francis R. King, Mich.; H. H. Davis, N. Y.; Baden, N. Y.; C. Nieland, Fla.; Hans H. Dahm, Minn.

Fred Senneker, Mich., sends this note: "I am very glad to have the chance to shoot 60 well loaded bullets into the State of Kansas. May my rifle be as accurate as the Freeman. More power to

Warren's Page

By Fred D. Warren

After serving in various capacities on the *Appeal to Reason*, beginning in September, 1900, I resigned as editor and publisher in July, 1914. My resignation, dated July 29, 1914, read in part as follows:

After fourteen years of service with the *Appeal to Reason*, I find it absolutely necessary, on account of my health, to turn over the burdens of the paper to others. I shall not attempt to tell you with what keen regret I make this announcement.

A year's complete rest from responsibilities and burdens incident to the publication of the paper is demanded by my physician, and so the decision to do what perhaps I should have done before, was reached last week. . . . My plans for the immediate future contemplate getting back my health, and then study and preparation for the big fight that is just ahead of the working class. . . . My pen and my voice will always be at the command of my comrades— all I ask is a little time to make the needed repairs, physically and mentally.

Early Newspaper Work
In 1898, two years before joining the *Appeal* staff, I edited a small paper in Rich Hill, Mo., called *The Critic*. While local in character, its editorial policy was decidedly socialist. I believe it was the first local Socialist newspaper printed in the United States.

Industrial conditions were pretty bad in those days—and particularly so in Rich Hill, which was a mining camp with about three times as many miners as there were jobs. However, the little paper grew in circulation and the encouragement I received from those who subscribed for it induced me to make up a monthly edition from the weekly gist of editorials. This monthly edition attained a considerable circulation, judged by country newspaper standards.

I set most of the type, and composed my editorials at the "case." This saved the labor and time of writing in long hand what I had to say. I didn't own a typewriter in those days. Among the stories so composed and the case was "The Boytown Railroad" which was based on an effort of mine to explain to some boys of the neighborhood just what I meant by Socialism.

The little story attracted the attention of Wayland who was then publishing the *Appeal to Reason* at Girard. One day, very much to my surprise, I received a three line note from Wayland inviting me to visit him.

My Meeting with Wayland
Needless to say, I hopped the first train and journeyed to Girard, a distance of about 70 miles. I arrived in town in the morning hours—about 8 a. m. I hunted up a hotel and waited for Girard to wake up. About 8 o'clock a tall man, with a kindly smiling face, poked his head through the front door of the hotel. While I had never seen Wayland, I knew him instantly. His was no ordinary countenance. It was the face of a man who looked beyond the petty, annoying struggles of the present day. His was a vision of a better time, and this vision changed the physical characteristics of his whole being. I could see that he differed greatly from the men of the small town in which I had spent most of my days. Immediately I was attracted to him, and there began a friendship that was to last through the years until his death.

We went to the *Appeal* office, which at that time was located in a store building on the east side of the square. We talked over the situation—Wayland explaining to me his plans and hopes. I remember that I thought him a dreamer, but the vision he painted of a better world in which men would live, not by exploiting each other, but by cooperating to the good end that poverty would be abolished, has never left me. To this day I can recall Wayland's deep earnestness. Though I have met and talked with thousands of Socialists, I have never met one who seemed so completely possessed with the ambition to convert the world to Socialism.

For some reason which I have now forgotten, I did not immediately accept Wayland's invitation to join him in his enterprise. It was a year later that I finally made up my mind to close my own office and cast my lot with Wayland and the *Appeal*.

The type for the *Appeal* was set by hand, and this was my job. I do not recall that I ever enjoyed any work so much as I did those all too brief days in the composing room of the *Appeal*. I had no thought of the stirring times ahead, nor of the part I was to play.

Important Factors in Building the Appeal

There were three important factors in making the *Appeal* the greatest Socialist newspaper, in point of circulation, the world had seen up to that time. (The *Appeal* had in 1914 over 500,000 subscribers, with special editions of over 3,000,000.)

First, in importance, was Wayland himself, second, the *Appeal* Army, which at the time of my resignation in July, 1914, numbered over 80,000. Third, the editorial staff.

Wayland was a country editor and had received his training in small towns. He moved to Pueblo, Colo., in 1890, and opened a small printing office. He dabbled in real estate values, and soon amassed a varied assortment of business and residence properties in the best locations of Pueblo. With an uncanny vision of approaching storm, he saw the 1893 panic in the offing, sold his real estate holdings and converted his funds into gold, amounting to over \$100,000. He had no confidence in banks, and kept the gold packed in tin cans, buried in his back yard.

Wayland's Socialism, like that of Karl Marx, developed out of his own experiences and his analysis of the capitalist system. At this time,

1893, there was little Socialist literature available in this country though there was developing a strong movement in Germany and other European countries. Wayland may truthfully be said to have developed his own brand of Socialism, distinctly American. He believed that the people should own all the means of production and distribution and that the product should go to the men and women who did the work. Around this simple statement he built his philosophy, using the ordinary language of the man in the street. It was its simplicity that caught the American fancy and made his writings so popular.

When one is first converted to Socialism, he feels strongly the impulse to tell others. Wayland, having grown up in the atmosphere of the printing office, naturally turned to the printing press as the most effective method of spreading his newly discovered plan of making the world a better place in which to live.

Wayland's First Newspaper

He moved to Greensburg, Ind., in April, 1893, lugging his gold along with him. Arriving in Greensburg he visited the local newspaper office and arranged for the first issue of *The Coming Nation*. When he told the local printer that he wanted an edition of 5,000, the printer thought Wayland was simply out of his mind. He had, in all his experience, never heard of such an edition issued from a country press. However, when Wayland exhibited his gold to the astonished printer, it convinced him that Wayland could pay for his printing, even though he manifested strong evidence of being crazy.

The Coming Nation, filled with Wayland's convincing editorials and paragraphs, voicing the growing spirit of protest, caught on rapidly, and soon the local printer was swamped with his work for the new paper, and was finally forced to admit he could not handle the contract. Wayland then decided to buy a press of his own. The press, a second-hand Göttinger cylinder press, was shipped from Chicago and installed in the empty store buildings of the town. Greensburg was suffering then from the same chronic complaint that is hitting so many small towns today, and had plenty of empty business houses. In a few months the circulation had reached the astonishing figure of 50,000. *The Coming Nation* was attracting attention, and rapidly drew into its circle of influence kindred spirits who, like Wayland, believed there was a better way to live than that then prevailing with its attendant poverty, unemployment and hardships. Out of this developed the colony idea. Following an announcement in *The Coming Nation*, that a colony was to be established, a group of men and women traveled to Tennessee where Wayland had acquired several hundred acres of wild timber land. Here was founded the Ruskin Colony, near Tennessee City, where the colonists arrived on July 22, 1894.

For a year the colony flourished, financed out of the funds received from *The Coming Nation* and contributions from enthusiastic followers. While the paper continued to grow in circulation and the interest in Socialism increased, Wayland soon discovered that this isolated colony was not the method to bring Socialism to the people of the United States.

Establishing the Appeal to Reason
Unable to agree with his associates, Wayland announced that he would turn over *The Coming Nation* and his interest in the enterprise to the colonists. Bidding them a regretful farewell, he wished them success and departed, taking nothing for his work of years, and relinquishing his ownership of a newspaper that was, judged by prevailing standards of values, worth many thousands of dollars.

From Tennessee he went to Kansas City, Mo., and, in 1895, issued the first edition of the *Appeal to Reason*. For weeks after reaching Kansas City, Wayland was perplexed over the problem of a name for his new paper. He liked the name "Coming Nation." It was significant in its prophecy of something better than the system under which we lived. It was distinctive and different from the commonplace names used in the newspaper world. I don't think the intervening years quite effaced from Wayland's mind a sentimental feeling for *The Coming Nation*. It was his first successful effort in the newspaper field, and represented an outstanding achievement in influencing the world for better things.

One evening in Kansas City, in a little gathering in Kansas City, in the basement shoemaking shop of a friendly adherent to the cause of Socialism, the cobbler suggested "The Appeal to Reason" as a proper name for the new publication. It struck Wayland's fancy immediately—it was at once a challenge to the mind and a clarion call to wake up!

Wayland Moves to Girard

Wayland, having been raised in a small town, did not feel at home in the metropolitan environment of Kansas City, and concluded one day to look for a location in the country. Without any definite destination, he made Girard, Kans., a small town on the Frisco railroad south of Kansas City, his first stop. He liked the appearance of the place, and decided to make it the scene of his future operations. He moved in, bringing his outfit of type and presses, and his tin cans filled with gold.

Wayland was an enigma to the people of Girard. They looked upon him as an interloper and there developed during the first few years of his stay a decided hostility that threatened at times to break out in open rupture. However, as the years

passed and the people in Girard became better acquainted with the man and his ideas, he was received into the circles of the little community, not exactly with open arms but with toleration. The *Appeal* brought business to Girard, and its pay roll, running into the thousands of dollars yearly, added to the business welfare of the community, and increased business makes friends! That is why the world is looking with more friendly eyes on Russia. Russia offers a market for American machinery!

The Appeal's First Achievement

One of the early achievements of the *Appeal* was the publication of *The Jungle*. This startling story of conditions existing among the workers in the stock yards of Chicago was written by Upton Sinclair—a young man just beginning to make a place for himself in the literary world. I had read his civil war story, *Manassas*, and it occurred to me that here was the writer to tell the story of the wage slave, as he so clearly portrayed the sad situation of the black slave before the Civil War.

Through his publisher, I secured his address. I wired him, asking if he would undertake such a story and if so to meet me in Chicago. A few days later we met at the Great Northern Hotel, Chicago. I outlined plans for a story which I hoped would stir the American conscience as had *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the years just preceding the Civil War. Without hesitation, Sinclair undertook the task, and set to work on what later developed into *The Jungle*. It startled the nation—not as we expected in its vivid descriptions of the conditions under which men and women worked in the stock yards, but by its truthful portrayal of the conditions under which the food of a nation was manufactured. Aiming at the hearts and consciences of the people of the United States, it hit them in the stomach. And what a blow!

Mark Twain, in his autobiography, published at the time in *Harper's Monthly*, said: "And finally today's lurid exposure, by Upton Sinclair, of the most titanic and death-dealing swindle of them all, the Beef Trust, an exposure which has moved the President to demand of a reluctant Congress, a law which shall protect America and Europe from falling, in a mass, into the hands of the doctor and the undertaker."

Newspapers were filled with the story, and after its publication in the *Appeal*, it was serialized by a syndicate of daily newspapers and later brought out in book form by a firm of New York publishers. Almost overnight it became a best seller, and has continued to be one of the most widely read books in America.

After its publication in book form, Roosevelt, quick to seize on anything that would add to his political glory, summoned Sinclair to the White House. Out of these conversations and the consequent publicity, grew the Pure Food and Drug Act, which is credited by Mark Sullivan in his American history, *Our Times*, as being responsible for revolutionizing the packing house industry.

The Western Mining War

The *Appeal* employed a large staff of special writers, chief among them being George H. Shoaf and John Kenneth Turner. Wherever there were stirring events in the labor world, there you found an *Appeal* correspondent on the front line, telling his story of the contest, and giving the facts to the American public through the columns of the *Appeal*. It was here that its great circulation counted tremendously in the struggle of the working class for better working conditions.

It was John Kenneth Turner's startling articles on Mexico that first attracted the attention of the world to the sad plight of the people of that country under the rule of Diaz. When the eastern magazine that had first contracted for the Turner articles refused longer to print the damaging statements about the black rule of Diaz, because of influential Wall Street interests, the *Appeal* finished the task.

Shoaf was, without doubt, the most daring newspaper reporter of that period. His vivid stories of the struggles of the Western Federation of Miners against the combined resources of the mine owners and their political and military allies will stand as one of the greatest achievements in the history of American journalism. Shoaf was always on the job—never flinching even in the face of great physical danger. It was his work that enabled the defense to win the celebrated case against Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. All the important evidence introduced in that case was first obtained by Shoaf for his articles in the *Appeal*.

Haywood, in an address at Girard, shortly after his acquittal, was kind enough to give me credit personally for saving his life and the lives of his associates. But it was Shoaf to whom the full credit should go. And I am glad here to acknowledge the debt of the *Appeal* and the *Appeal* Army to him. I am hoping that we may build a paper again with a circulation that will enable him to repeat those exploits. There are also a score of young correspondents now being developed in this country, and I have my eye on them, whom I hope to add to the staff of the paper just as soon as circulation will justify. It should always be remembered that no matter how good a story is and how important it is to the working class of the nation, if it has no circulation, it is of little or no value. To move the people to action, their minds must be reached—and experience proves that the best and most effective way to reach that mind is through the eye. You can't argue with the printed page!

The Appeal's Secret Service

In addition to our regular staff, the *Appeal* was fortunate in having a large volunteer corps of correspondents. The volunteer correspondents were men and women stationed in almost every post of importance in the capitalist world—including Washington and the state capitals. They occupied clerical positions, some were stenographers and some were scrub women, and others occupied the highest and most confidential positions in the corporations where they were employed. These loyal supporters of the *Appeal* furnished us, from time to time, our most important leads for stories. In many instances, we were unable to use this information because of its confidential nature, which would have led readily to the discovery of the "leak" and the dismissal or prosecution of the one giving it out. But with this information in our possession the *Appeal* was able swiftly and surely to secure corroborative evidence from independent sources, and when the story was printed it would appear that we had secured the facts from legitimate outside sources.

The *Appeal* did not hesitate to use this secret information if we felt that it would be of help in winning the fight of the working class against conditions that before the war were well nigh intolerable—and which today find their counterpart in the long lines of unemployed, the countless evictions of whole families, the distress among the agricultural classes, and the uncertainty that exists even in those circles where heretofore security seemed beyond question.

A Story We Did Not Use
I recall one morning, in the early part of 1914, a young man called at my office in Girard. I could see as soon as he entered that he was laboring under great excitement. Carefully closing the door, and looking around furtively to determine whether we were alone, he approached my desk and laid thereon a package of important looking papers. He explained that he was an employee at Washington in one of the offices connected with the State Department, and that he felt it his duty to bring the information that had come to his hands to the *Appeal* for publication. I had an opportunity of looking over the secret messages that had passed between this government and another important nation. It was startling and significant, but to have published it would undoubtedly have resulted in the young man's arrest for treason and his conviction and imprisonment. While the information was of a sensational character and would have created a tremendous stir, it had only an indirect bearing on the struggle of the working class. I felt that it would be of little use to make it public, with results so disastrous to my young friend.

I bundled up his material and asked him to get out of town on the first train, and put the papers back in Washington before their disappearance was discovered. He seemed much crestfallen at my refusal. However, it did give us the inside on certain important matters and we were indirectly able to use the information. It appeared as a "guess" in the columns of the *Appeal* and it must have caused some excitement in Washington.

I mention this incident merely to show that no matter how carefully guarded are the secrets of the capitalist world, somewhere along the line this information must pass through the hands of one in sympathy with the working class.

Men Who Made the Appeal

Many men contributed to making the *Appeal* a great Socialist newspaper. I have a list of those connected with the paper from its inception to the death of Wayland. This list was made by Wayland and is written in his fine Spencerian script—almost cursive in appearance. We were discussing the *Appeal* and its struggles and this question of men came up. With that characteristic thoroughness of his, he took a pencil from his pocket and on a piece of news print paper rapidly wrote the names of his associates.

The first issue of the paper to be published in Girard was dated February 15, 1897, with Wilbur F. Phelps as his assistant. A short time afterwards there appeared at the little office of the paper a man who was destined to have a great influence on the *Appeal*: E. W. Dodge, a blacklisted telegraph operator. He took charge of the circulation and originated the Army Column, which many of the old timers will remember as being unique because of its glowing and cynicalism. It was about this time that the Bull Dog and the Fairy made their bow in the columns of the paper. In about the order of their appearance followed Gordon, Harrison, Holcomb, Richardson, Ben Warren, Bush, Clark, Eastwood, Ricker, Breckon, Josephine Conger, the Brewers, Untermann, Mason, Lockwood, Shoaf, Hurt, Debs, Phifer, Creel and Ryan Walker.

Each of these men added something to the paper, leaving the impress of their personalities and passing on to other work. My long stay with the paper was due, as I look back over the record, to the fact that very early in my connection with the United States government through some of its bright young secret service men conceived the idea that I ought to be put in prison, which they thought would end the career of the paper! For nearly ten years it was a merry game of "hide and seek" with a crowd of secret service men, district attorneys, United States marshals and federal judges on my heels day and night.

And not until May, 1913, was the last case decided in our favor and I walked out of the federal court at Fort Scott a free man.

The Federal Court Cases

The federal court cases against the *Appeal* had their origin in the offer of a reward for the kidnapping of Ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky. The reward of \$1,000 was to be paid to any one who would take that astute politician from his sheltered nook in Indiana and turn him over to the authorities of Kentucky, where he was under indictment for the murder of Gov. Goebel.

I hadn't the slightest idea any one would kidnap him for this sum of

money, in view of the fact that the state of Kentucky had kept standing for years an offer of \$100,000 for his capture. But I did hope to draw attention to the outrageous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners, who had been kidnapped from their homes in Colorado and removed forcibly and unlawfully to the state of Idaho. The men were acquitted, but I was left with some seven or eight federal court indictments hanging over my head.

Later on these indictments included Wayland, Debs and Phifer. The great circulation of the *Appeal* enabled us to get our side of the story before the public, and when the cases came to trial we were easily able to win in all of them with the exception of the first case tried at Fort Scott at which time I was sentenced to jail for six months "at hard labor" and to pay a fine of \$1,500. Later on, after about eight years of see-sawing through the courts, President Taft very considerably issued his famous unsolicited pardon, setting aside the jail sentence and reducing the fine from \$1,500 to \$100. The pardon was promptly returned to the White House. The fine of \$100, which was to be collected by order of the Prison "ward" process, or, still standing against me, in all these years, no federal officer has presented Uncle Sam's bill.

Looking for a Job

After leaving the *Appeal* in July, 1914, my first thought was my health. I was told by my physicians that I was pretty sick, and that unless I "took keener of myself," I'd soon be on my last earthly journey. Doctors are like that some times, but freed from the cares and responsibilities of the paper, I soon recovered somewhat of my former good health, and in a short time I was looking for something to do.

I thought of farming, of establishing a printing office of my own in some small town, and finishing my career as I had started it as the editor of a country newspaper. None of these enterprises appealed to me, and so when the opportunity offered to make a connection with a very conservative investment banking house in Chicago I accepted. Why not look at the inside workings of this system which we had been denouncing for so many years? I smile as I think of it—but have no regrets at the decision. I have had an opportunity seldom offered to a Socialist editor: I actually had the privilege of seeing the machinery of capitalism at work at close range. What we surmised or guessed at in the old days, I was able to see for myself at first hand, and what I saw convinced me that the Socialists are absolutely right in their criticism of the capitalist system. What we guessed at then, I NOW KNOW!

Capitalism Must Be Destroyed

Out of this experience has deepened the certainty that there is no place along the line the working class can compromise with capitalism. The system can't be patched up; it can't be made to work even reasonably well. THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM MUST BE DESTROYED. This is my conclusion after serving twenty years as the editor of Socialist newspapers, and after having spent twelve in close intimate contact with the inside workings of what the world is now calling the capitalist system.

It can also be said that today the most outspoken supporters of the capitalist system are convinced that it can no longer be made to function. Evidence of this lack of belief in their own system is multiplying in their magazines and newspapers that in the past have been stout supporters of the present system of wage labor, under which the working class is robbed of ALL the wealth it creates. The processes of exploitation have been multiplied many times since the old days when the *Appeal* thundered against the system. "The machinery of production has been perfected to the point where three hours per day will produce more of the material things that go to make life comfortable and happy than can be consumed in the 24 hours that make up the day.

In other words, one-third of the working force of the nation can produce all we need. Under the capitalist system this leaves a great surplus of labor. With no jobs, the unemployed men and women have no means to buy. With improvements in methods of production constantly being made, the working force is still further reduced, consequently more unemployed, and so on in an endless circle. Today the purchasing power of the world—and particularly the United States—has reached such a low point, in comparison to its producing capacity, that the capitalists themselves have become alarmed, and are crying frantically for help. The once proud individualist, who boasted of his ability to make money, with no assistance from government or any other agency, is whimpering like a spoiled child, and turning to government openly, as he has done secretly for years, for help. Witness the offer of the coal barons (among them being the Mellon brothers) to let the nation run the coal mines—because they can no longer make money out of coal!

A Great Barometer Prophecy

And listen to this: "Unless drastic measures are taken to save it, the capitalist system throughout the civilized world will be wrecked within a year. I should like this prediction to be filed for future reference."

This statement is taken from a letter written in the early part of this year by Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England, to the governor of the Bank of France! You remember reading in the magazines and newspapers of his frequent visits to the United States during the hectic days just before the Great Debacle on Wall Street; of how this man was able to open up the flood gates of gold for his

associates here and in the financial capitals of the world. Mysterious and secretive, but all-powerful, his visits were always followed by disaster to the nation, but brought fabulous profits for his followers, the bankers and brokers of America!

Behold him today: His once mighty bank of England borrowing money from his old-time enemies—the United States and France! How the gods must smile!

Occupying a position in the very center of the world's financial and industrial activities, Montagu Norman is perhaps more than any other man living, in a position to see what is just ahead of us: And he says in this confidential communication to the governor of the Bank of France that the end of the capitalist system is in sight, unless something drastic is done!

Drastic measures have been taken! Witness the heroic efforts of President Hoover! Another commission has been appointed! A moratorium has been declared! The Farm Relief Board has resorted to the ancient but honorable methods of barter! And judged by all the standards of capitalistic prosperity, the United States and its sister capitalist nations are closer to the precipice than they were when the Bank of England issued its solemn warning six months ago!

"Society Is No Solid Crystal"

It has been seventeen years since I left the *Appeal*, and in that time there have been many changes in the world. It may truthfully be said that more revolutionary changes have taken place in the affairs of the human race in these seventeen years than in all of the preceding years of civilization. Events have moved quickly in politics and industry—sweeping changes being made over night in those institutions which had seemed the day before as solid as the Rock of Gibraltar. Perhaps no period in history has so clearly emphasized Karl Marx's statement that "Society is no solid crystal but is constantly changing," as the seventeen years just passed.

That these changes are for the good of the great majority of men and women is quite evident. Kings and their satellites have suffered, and have the great captains of industry and those who have eaten from the crumbs of their tables. The great good that has come to the vast majority is the Hope of Better Things. Changes such as have taken place in the past seventeen years throughout the world have not been made without hardship—but this seems to be the way of progress.

Do You Need the Appeal to Reason?

What part the *Appeal to Reason* had in helping along these changes, you who read these lines are in a better position to determine than are the men who were so directly concerned with its production. Whether the *Appeal* or a paper like it is needed now, is a question you also will have to settle. I have tried, in this brief survey of the *Appeal's* history, to tell you what made it a power. Repeating what I said earlier on this page; the three important factors in making the paper were:

- 1st—Wayland with his \$100,000 in gold;
- 2nd—The *Appeal* Army of 80,000 volunteers;
- 3rd—its editorial staff.

Wayland furnished the cash to pay the deficits in the early years, and the money to buy the machinery necessary to carry on the work. This money could not have been supplied out of the 25c per year charged for the paper.

With all of his money Wayland could not have made the *Appeal* a great propaganda force without the active cooperation of the men and women who made up the *Appeal* Army. Money can't make a great Socialist newspaper—it must have subscribers. And these subscribers must be recruited from among non-Socialists. You can't have a great Socialist paper and confine its subscription list to Socialists themselves.

After Wayland and the *Appeal* Army come, in point of importance to the enterprise, the editorial staff. These editors and writers built on the foundation laid by Wayland in the early years of his struggle to break through the dense darkness of capitalist thought and prejudice.

Who Can Take Wayland's Place?

Since leaving the *Appeal* I have had a number of offers to join in the establishment of Socialist newspapers. While I was willing, there always seemed some one of the three necessary factors missing. No matter how we may criticize and denounce the capitalist system, you can't buy paper and presses and pay for labor without money, and the money today is in the hands of the capitalist class. And the man with the \$250,000 in cash which would be necessary to establish a paper today on a comparable basis with the *Appeal* at the height of its

career, has not been found. At least I have not gotten in touch with him.

Several times in my operations in the oil fields of Oklahoma and Kentucky, where I had some promising interests, I felt sure I would be able to raise this sum of money, but the efforts didn't click, though I did manage to escape with my shirt, but with little more. However, it may have been just as well. With the \$250,000 which I had expected to make, tucked away in my pocket, I might have changed my mind about the need of a Socialist newspaper. Property—especially cash—is quite likely to make its possessor conservative. And no conservative-minded individual can successfully run a Socialist newspaper.

The Conservatism of Ownership

The following will illustrate what I mean: In 1906, Wayland came to my office and said: "Fred, I'm going to give the *Appeal* to you." He had the proposition written and signed. I have it before me now as I write these lines. It is dated June 12, 1906. The terms under which I was to become the owner of the *Appeal* plant, its subscription list, its warehouse filled with print paper, and everything pertaining to the enterprise, were such that the transfer amounted to an absolute gift.

I explained to Wayland my conviction that the owner of so much property as the *Appeal* represented at that time could not successfully operate a revolutionary Socialist newspaper—that its property values would obscure the real issue and bring about that attitude of mind which is found in the capitalist today. In conducting a paper so hostile to the prevailing system, it was constantly in jeopardy of being suppressed. Suppression would have destroyed its value and reduced its plant to junk.

I succeeded in convincing Wayland that this view was correct, and we then entered into an arrangement which continued until his death. I leased the paper and plant and paid him \$1 per year. He obligated himself to pay the deficits. And if you have any question in your mind as to the possibility of deficits in printing and mailing a paper like the *Appeal* at 25c per year, get out your pencil and paper and figure costs of material, postage, editorial expense and the endless other items that made up the expenditures of the paper with its subscription list of 500,000. Please remember that during the ten-year period from 1904 to 1914 little or no advertising was carried. It was an achievement in newspaper publishing never before or since equaled.

THE HALDEMAN-JULIUS OFFER

When Haldeaman-Julius made his offer to me to reestablish the *Appeal* it interested me greatly. Here was the plant, and a going business in his Little Blue Books that should carry the paper over that first period of steep climbing. There was something else that interested me greatly: Haldeaman-Julius has built up a list of more than one million names of people who have purchased his books. It required a genius to build up such a following—why not utilize this genius and turn this well-equipped printing plant into a great Socialist propaganda machine? It seems to me that it can be done, and I have undertaken the task of gathering together the scattered remnants of the *Appeal* Army. I am asking those of you who read these lines to help to the extent of your ability.

Our first announcement was sent to lists of names several years old. Many of those addressed could not be reached—many were interested in other phases of Socialist work—and while the response has been sufficient, it has not been sufficient to justify me in recommending that Haldeaman-Julius change *The Freeman* to the *Appeal to Reason*. If there has been any hesitation in carrying out the plans as originally announced, such hesitation has been on my account. Haldeaman-Julius was ready and willing to start at once. But certain questions that came to my mind had to be answered first—the most important one being: Do the Socialists want and do they need a paper like the *Appeal*? You alone can answer this. If you have already sent in your pledge to get two subscribers each month for a year, then ask some of the old-timers you know to do likewise. If you have not already sent in this pledge, do so at once. Just ask yourself this question:

"Do we need the *Appeal* and is it worth to me the effort to get two yearly subscriptions each month for one year?" If the answer is "Yes," then let me have your pledge by return mail, and when you send in this pledge, send the names and addresses of as many of the old-time members of the *Appeal* Army as you can remember.

We haven't much time to lose—the system is cracking at all its joints. We must work quickly if we are to get ourselves organized to properly direct the great revolution that is just ahead of the nation.

HERE IS MY PLEDGE OF TWO SUBS A MONTH

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

Here is my pledge to send two subscriptions a month for twelve months. The two names following are to be credited on my pledge and you are authorized to send them *The Freeman* until the change is made to the *Appeal to Reason*. (Subscribers sent with this pledge will enjoy the special rate of only 50c per year.)

Name Address

City State

Name Address

City State

Name of Sender

Address

City State

On another sheet I am sending you names and addresses of old-time *Appeal* Army workers, to whom you can send your announcement.</