

THE ruling class is compelled to glorify the killing business and make it seem something it is not, in order to induce people to engage in it. The best thing any man can do for his country is to keep alive, mind his business, keep at work and be decent to those about him.—Allan L. Benson.

APPEAL TO REASON—Greatest Socialist Newspaper in the World

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W. H. WAYLAND
Publisher

Fifty Cents a Year
Clubs of four or more (forty weeks) \$1.50
four years, \$5.00. Foreign, one year, \$1.00.

Entered at Girard, Kan., Postoffice as second-class mail matter,
Girard, Kan., U. S. A., Nov. 28, 1914

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Appeal to Reason

WHILE King Cotton has made many millionaires, it has not made millions of farmers. The typical cotton planter does not even own the land he farms, or, if he owns it, it is mortgaged, together with buildings, machinery and stock. He owns nothing except the job of raising cotton.—John Kenneth Turner.

APPEAL TO REASON—Largest circulation of any political paper

Fight for Farmers Opens On Oklahoma Battlefield

Cotton Crisis Is Subject of Searching Investigation by John Kenneth Turner—"Who Rides to Dinner Upon Bent Back of Cotton Grower?" Asks Appeal's Field Correspondent—and Answers It.

BY JOHN KENNETH TURNER,
Field Correspondent Appeal to Reason.

OKLAHOMA CITY.—I am here in Oklahoma beginning a study of the American farmer. This study it is planned to continue until it has covered every important agricultural section of the United States.

While the Socialist party has recognized the necessity of doing something for the farmer, and has expressed that recognition in its Farmers' Program, it has gone little farther. Socialist propaganda has been directed chiefly at the wage earner of the cities. There has been no general discussion of the farmer's needs, no real effort to serve him. Our national literature on the farmer has been purely academic.

The purpose of the present enterprise is to go to the American farmer, to observe how he lives, to hear his complaints, to ascertain his ambitions, to listen to his proposals for betterment, and to place the results before both Socialists and farmers, in order to lay the basis for a practicable and effective crusade in the farmer's favor.

Originated With the People.
The idea for this undertaking did not originate in the office of the APPEAL TO REASON. It came from the farmers themselves. Farmers have written from every point of the compass, giving glimpses of their hard lives, begging that something be done to help them. Some of these letters are heart-rending in the extreme.

So far as the writer is concerned, the work will be, first of all, an inquiry—a report of conditions. I shall not write to fit theories already formed. Preconceived notions will be laid aside, so far as that is possible.

Being a Socialist, I confess, naturally, to a belief that the ultimate remedy is Socialism. But the world is not to be made over in a day. The facts must determine what measures of relief may practically be contended for at a given time and place.

I confess also to beginning with the belief that the American farmer is not so rich that it hurts him, and with a notion that his poverty is not due to the poverty of the soil. Which leads on to the suspicion that some one is riding to dinner upon his bent back.

Who? To answer precisely is one of the objects of this inquiry.

Previous Preparation.
As to my own equipment for the job, I make no pretense of knowing beforehand the truth that I am going out to discover. Farming conditions vary so widely in different localities that few farmers can know from personal observation the whole truth of the troubles of his class.

So I begin with about as much personal knowledge of the subject as—say no more and no less than—the average farmer. For (I write it somewhat proudly) I have had actual experience at farming in several localities.

I chose a farm to be born on. I milked cows, plowed, harrowed, hauled hay, broke horses, chased chickens—and invaded my neighbor's melon patch.

I dug potatoes, picked hops, apples, prunes, grapes, peaches and apricots. I hoed corn, raked weeds, cut wood, dug out stumps, fed hogs and butchered them, irrigated, stacked straw, drove header-wagon, and loaded same.

I bucked water for a threshing outfit, swamped, bucked straw, tended header on a combined harvester and thresher, sewed sacks. I planted celery, dumped sugar beets, roustabouted for a harvesting outfit with an eighteen-hour day. I cooked on a ranch, doing ranch blacksmithing between meals.

All in the state of California. And more besides. And I did not grow noticeably rich at it. Am I eligible to membership in the Farmers' Union? I claim to be so.

What is to Be Done.
What can the American Socialist party do that will bring immediate relief to the working farmer and at the same time advance the ultimate aim of Socialism?

This question involves no inconsistency or compromise of accepted Socialist principles.

On the other hand, it will have to be answered and the answer acted upon before the Socialist party can hope to win in this country.

farmers are voters than wage-earners?

That 75 per cent of all farm operators are native whites?

That the cotton farmers alone are numerically equal to the members of all the labor unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and cast approximately the same number of votes?

It is time for the wage-earner to understand that he cannot win alone at the ballot-box. Nor can the farmer win alone. Only by joining forces politically will it be possible for them to smash the giant machine of monopoly and extortion that grinds them equally.

To win at the ballot-box the Socialist party must win the working farmer, and to win the working farmer it must deliver the goods to him, as it goes along.

One thing the working farmer must understand at the start: THE SOCIALISTS DO NOT WANT TO TAKE YOUR CULTIVATED LANDS AWAY FROM YOU.

The Appeal's Position.
The Socialist movement is a result of the socialization of industry. There is no economic reason for social ownership of industries not socially operated. We of the APPEAL believe that working farmers who prefer to hold and operate their farms individually will never be dispossessed by Socialism; but, on the other hand, that possession of their farms will be rendered more secure than now.

As to the vast slices of the national domain held for speculation by railroads, other corporations, and foreign aristocrats, lying practically untaxed, and the bonanza farms operated on a capitalistic basis—that is a very different story.

In the ultimate the working farmer has nothing to lose by Socialism, and everything to gain.

But it is the present with which we are chiefly concerned. What can the Socialist party do that will bring relief to the farmer NOW?

In past decades there have been some great farmer movements, one or two of which attained to near-revolutions. These were led astray, betrayed, destroyed. We hope to see, and to assist with these articles, a vast agrarian movement that will not be betrayed, but that will triumph.

The Story of Cotton.
I BEGIN WITH COTTON because at this moment there is a crisis in cotton comparable with nothing in the past agricultural history of America. I begin in Oklahoma because in Oklahoma conditions are reputed to be about average—neither the best nor the worst.

In round numbers, 2,000,000 American farmers depend upon cotton. In normal times cotton is, next to corn, the most valuable crop in the country, and it is the largest single item of export. In 1913 more than 37,000,000 acres were planted to cotton. The crop sold for \$1,000,000,000.

The 1914 crop is larger than the 1913 crop, and until July the outlook as regards prices was extremely good. But the European war intervened to disturb temporarily the operation of European cotton mills and the shipment of goods from this country.

While America produces from 60 to 65 per cent of the world's cotton supply, and leads the world in cotton manufactures, it still uses only 35 per cent of its own crop.

The result was that over night King Cotton became a beggar on the market. Prices were halved. The department of agriculture has placed the loss of planters on lint alone at \$418,000,000, or nearly three-fourths the entire value of the 1913 wheat crop. The ten states which produce a third of a million bales of cotton or more annually are, in the order of their cotton importance, Texas, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Louisiana and Tennessee. All authorities agree that "the south" is on the verge of bankruptcy, and that actual starvation stares the cotton planter in the face.

Why You Hear of It.
Authorities also agree that in the impending ruin many merchants and other classes of business men, some traders, speculators, and a few bankers, may be dragged down. This is what raises the question to a national problem.

No one pretends that there will never be a demand for the millions of dollars' worth of cotton that remains unsold in the hands of the farmer, nor that the demand will be long deferred. While cotton has dropped foodstuffs have gone up. Shipping is not so badly demoralized as to prevent Europe from buying wheat. Soldiers must have clothing, as well as food. The need for clothing is not so immediate and pressing; that is all.

Then why offer the cotton for sale at all for the present? Why not hold it for a few weeks or months until the price goes back to something like normal, and then place it on the market?

That is the crux of the problem. The answer is that while King Cotton has made many millionaires, it has not made millionaires of the farmers.

The typical cotton planter does not even own the land he farms, or if he owns the land, it is mortgaged, together with buildings, machinery and stock. He does not even own the cotton that he grows. He owns nothing except his job of raising cotton, and that job he never quite succeeds in paying for.

I am not telling you something that I have discovered myself. I am only outlining the cotton crisis as it is set forth in the newspapers and periodicals of the day, and I am trying to put down briefly in this foreword preparatory to going out and discovering what I can discover.

This is the accepted capitalistic version of the situation. The typical cotton planter begins each season without any money. He is forced to go in debt for his food, his supplies, his fertilizer, his tools, his children's clothing. The local merchant and the local banker have a mortgage on his next year's crop before it is planted. When the crop is harvested it must be sold at once or the merchant and the banker take it. This year the planter can't get the money and the merchant and banker don't want the cotton, because they themselves cannot sell it for sufficient to liquidate the debt. The planter's treadmill has suddenly stopped turning. The wholesaler, who has given credit to the merchant, presses upon him for payment, and the merchant faces bankruptcy. The local banker, too, has accepted credit as well as extended it. The small banker owes the big banker and the big banker must have his cash.

Beaten by Poverty.
If the cotton growers generally had something to fall back upon, it is safe to say that the war would have depressed the price to exceed two cents a pound.

It is the very maddening necessity of the grower to realize something on his product, however little, AT ONCE, that forces the price so low.

The man who buys cotton knows that the man who has cotton must get rid of it at almost any price; so he offers next to nothing, and if the offer is not taken, he—waits.

In normal years the buyer goes to the grower; this year the grower is going to the buyer—on his knees. To him that hath is given. From him that hath not is taken away even the little that he hath.

The banker, the merchant, the cotton buyer, the gin, the oil man—in a word, the business men who feed off the grower—have known all along that they were starving the goose that laid their golden eggs.

But they have always calculated on not quite starving him to death. This year the cotton goose is staggering and the future supply of eggs is threatened. So banker and merchant are in a panic. Their hearts have suddenly warmed toward humanity. They are begging that something be done to "save the south."

Exploitation to Continue.
No one proposes that the goose be redeemed from chronic starvation. They are concerned only in keeping him sufficiently alive to lay eggs.

In other words, all remedies put forward by the eminent business men of our country are intended only to relieve the present stress in order to maintain the system generally as it has been.

Many measures have been suggested for relieving this present stress. Only two are of sufficient importance to be mentioned at this point. One is the government loan and the other is the bankers' pool loan.

Too Good for Congress.
Some fellow in congress suggested that the federal government withdraw a few hundred million dollars that it now has on deposit with the banks, and loan the money directly to the growers at the same rate of interest that the bankers pay, two per cent. The growers' cotton would be as good security as any bank gives. The grower could then hold his cotton until the market righted itself, when he could sell, repay the debt, and avoid bankruptcy.

This plan might have been adopted, but a howl went up from the bankers. While it was sound policy to leave the bankers, the government's millions at a nominal rate of interest, to loan the same money at the same rate of interest to the farmer, would ruin the country.

"We love the south. Let us save the south." Frantically the bankers, big and little, inside the cotton states and out, wired President Wilson and his democratic majority.

"Let us take the government's millions at two per cent and loan it to the farmers at six. Let us form a bankers' pool, which, considering the philanthropic nature of our enterprise, you will no doubt be good enough to exempt from prosecution under the Sherman anti-trust law."

Did President Wilson and his democratic majority harken to the cry of the cotton farmer, or to that of the banker?

The news dispatches of the day tell the story. The government loan (to the farmer) plan was dropped like a hot potato. The attorney general of the United States, at the request of President Wilson, duly and solemnly declared that he did not consider this particular proposed bankers' pool in violation of the laws prohibiting combinations in restraint of trade. Our secretary of the treasury, Mr. McAdoo, met in conclave with big bankers and pledged the co-operation of the government.

The plan, as defined by Attorney General Gregory, is to use \$135,000,000 in loaning to southern banks, dealers and farmers, taking cotton as security on a valuation of six cents a pound, or about one-half the normal market price, interest to be at six per cent.

Details are hazy. At the present writing there seems to be a hitch in

Letters Like These Caused Us to Take Up the Farmers' Fight

From Spaulding, Oklahoma

What will be done? My cotton is standing in the yard. Can get 6 1/4 cents a pound, all on my debt. They will not pay any money. Haven't got one dust of flour in the house, and impossible to get it. My neighbor can't pay me to help him pick. The landlords won't rent us any more land unless we change our politics. Don't make any bones in telling us so. But jisten, we had a meeting Saturday night and the house was full and everybody but four men stood up for Socialism. But what shall we do this winter? We have had one frost and my little girls are picking cotton begging for shoes, and "Papa, why don't you get a sack of flour?"

We have been on our knees all the day picking cotton and part of the night to God, and tonight my children will lie down in want.

From Meridian, Oklahoma

I don't know whether the APPEAL has a reporter in the cotton belt or not, but I am requested to ask the APPEAL to write an open letter and tell the cotton raisers what they can do. Cotton is five cents here. Everybody is holding their cotton that can. Some are forced to sell. What can we do?

From Allen's Mills, Maine

There is an immense crop of apples here and they are not worth, or rather, the farmers can only get, 60 cents per barrel, and it's hard to find a market at that. There are thousands of poor people paying more than that for a bushel throughout the country. Thousands of barrels will rot on the trees here.

If I knew a way or plan on which the farmers could realize, say, a dollar per barrel, they would be greatly pleased. If you know of a plan and could tell me about it, or if something could be printed in the APPEAL on the subject I could pass some papers around and get results. The conditions are about the same throughout Maine.

From Skowhegan, Maine

I am writing to you for advice. You seem willing to give advice to any who ask.

Away up here in Maine we raise mostly potatoes and apples. Most years we get a fair price and a very good demand for our produce, but this year potatoes are very cheap. The buyers are offering only about 30 cents per bushel. This price will not pay the fertilizer bill and hired help, which through digging time is \$2 a day and board.

Is there no way our government can help us right off before we have to sell off our crop to pay bills, then have nothing to live on the balance of the year?

Apples are only 25 to 50 cents per barrel, while the farmers have to pay 35 and 40 cents for the barrel to pack the apples in. And it takes lots of time to gather the apples. So we farmers are getting it in the neck rather hard, and all for no fault of ours. This is why I am writing to you, thinking perhaps you can suggest some way for our help. It seems our government ought to come to our aid at once, so the buyers could not skin us too completely this hard year.

A Long War, Gentlemen

The great conquerors have not yet entered on the European campaign. Some have arrived, but contrary to the usual manner of armies, they will increase in numbers and power as they fight on. They are with neither side, but are attacking all. They are invisible, but they are, in spite of that, the mightiest warriors in the field.

First of the foes is General Cholera. Zepulins and aircraft cannot detect him. Ramparts cannot keep him out. Bayonet charges cannot drive him back. He comes suddenly and invisibly, and the soldier crumples up in agony and dies.

Next is General Typhoid. He rises with billions of invisible helpers from the ooze of swamps where bodies of the slain fester, and from rivers that hide the bloated bodies of the victims of a red carnage. He steals upon the armies that lie in wait for each other, and prostrates many of them all with lingering death.

And then comes General Privation, with his attendant fears and agonies. He wars upon the women and the little children. He starves them, freezes them, sends them ragged from charred houses and hopeless into blackened fields. Daily the shadow grows, with the growing of the length of the night. They are rushing troops of cereals and fruits and wools from the unwarring nations to drive him back, but his response is to bring the breadline to the countries that attack him and to lay low the innocent and helpless. Reinforcements are coming to him. Wind and ice and snow will bring their lances that find every nerve, and when they come his torment will be irresistible.

There are other generals in the wake of these. They will continue their warfare after the terms of peace have been agreed upon by the men that battle insanely at the behest of a master class. General Poverty and General Sorrow and General Ignorance and General Depravity will appear and will not be driven away from any of the warring nation for years upon years.

And there may come General Revolt. He may hurl monarchs from their thrones, and overturn the basis of a society that finds its highest expression in slaughter and destruction, its greatest genius in machinery that ruins and impoverishes. What he shall do no one can say. Sometimes he is wise; again he is cruel. No one can forecast what aspect he shall wear when he comes again.

It is to be a long war, gentlemen. Peace will not suddenly appear with the signing of treaties and the signature of kings. Devils have been let loose, and no one can tell when or how they may be again confined.

"BLIND faith" is so blind it stumbles.

So often a stuck up nose grows on an empty head.

MEN learn by doing, but they don't seem to learn much from being done.

CAPITALISM is raising hades and makes the workers consume the full crop.

WHEN the workers get off the fence the masters will get off their backs.

THE plute recipe for getting rich: Keep your eyes open and the other fellow's shut.

THE night rider is as logical as the warring worker of Europe. Neither accomplishes anything for himself.

THE system that exploits sex for profit and slays sons and husbands in war pretends to love the home. What a hypocrite it is.

Now that they have the federal reserve web ready the cotton market has been reopened. The farmers are to be victims, as usual.

It is no harder for the rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven than it is for the poor man to get out of the hades in which capitalism has placed him.

NEWSPAPERS report that five people died last week in New York from swallowing bichloride of mercury. The number of people that have died from swallowing old party campaign dope the newspapers don't dare to report.

"SOCIALISTS piled up their big vote by having watchers at the polls," says a headline in the Oklahoma City Times, old party paper. Which is an open confession that the political party supported by the Times is a gang of vote thieves.

THE workers are not as submissive to the war lords as the censored press would have you believe. A letter from India tells of the shooting of 400 Hindus for refusing to endorse over supporting England in the war, but there was not a line in the press about it.

NEW YORK white slavers attempted to blow up the Bronx county courthouse a few days ago. It has not been so long since hundreds of dynamite bombs were exploded in a "barbers' war" in Chicago. We wish to call attention to the fact that neither white slavers nor gamblers ever vote the Socialist ticket.

THE latest bank report shows government notes outstanding against \$48,000,000 in government bonds and \$941,723,232 against "bonds, securities, etc." The issues on "bonds, securities, etc." show how extensively the government has aided the stock jobbers in cashing in on their unquotable paper.

THE difference is this: Your notes to the bank must be secured and you must pay heavy interest, but the bank notes are issued against their liabilities and circulate as money. There are now \$18,000,000 of these notes in circulation. Why can't you issue notes against your farm and let them circulate as money while still owning and using your farm?

AMONG other things that Mr. Ripley, president of the Santa Fe, says, is that the railroads could handle the postoffice department better than the government does. And this in face of the collapse of the entire railroad system and the appeal to the government to save it. No wonder the people are disgusted not only with the railroad owners themselves, but also with their impudence and whine.

ACCORDING to the last report of the treasury department, the national banks of America have individual deposits to the amount of \$6,139,081,270. They also have loans amounting to \$6,400,767,386. You can see whose money they are charging you interest on. Suppose that these six billion dollars were deposited in government banks, and were either used in promoting public works or loaned to farmers and workers at three per cent interest, see what the people's money would do for them instead of for the profit plotters.

THE latest report by the comptroller of the currency brings out the fact that there has been an "increase of miscellaneous securities" to the amount of \$361,119,940 since November 1, 1913, and an increase of \$36,112,040 since October 1, 1914. This indicates how rapidly the unquotable trust stocks and bonds are being backed by Uncle Sam. Yet he persists in refusing to lend you money on your really stable real estate security or tangible crops. The why is shown in the way you voted.

Socialists pride themselves on beginning their campaigns early. We have to get an early start in order to be able to make good Socialist voters. Let's then get busy at once. You know how long it takes to penetrate the skulls of some people. Better help apply the medicine immediately and give it plenty of time to soak through. Here is the blank all ready for use—cut it out and send it in:

For Farmers' Fighting Fund

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W. H. Wayland, Publisher. Louis Kopelin, Editor.
Associate Editors—Allan L. Benson, Lincoln Phifer, E. N. Richardson and Grace D. Brewer.
Contributing Staff—John Kenneth Turner, Upton Sinclair, George Allan England, George R. Kirkpatrick and Ellis O. Jones.
Address all letters and make all remittances payable to "Appeal to Reason," Girard, Kan., and not to any individual.

Appeal's Editorial Page

THE APPEAL DOES THINGS, GETS RESULTS, AND MAKES SOCIALISTS

Subscription Rates—One year, 50 cents; 25 cents for 40 weeks in clubs of four or more; four years, \$1; foreign, one year, \$1.
Bundle Rates One Year to One Address—Four copies, \$1; 5 copies, \$2; 10 copies, \$2.50; 25 copies, \$6.25; 50 copies, \$12.50; 100 copies, \$25.
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DR. THOMAS E. GREENE, vice president of the American peace society, in a paper in the

"Invisible Empire" Rules All Countries

Women's National Weekly of St. Louis, charges that there is an "international war trust, made up of the firms in practically every country of the civilized world, that has a virtual monopoly of war supplies." He says further that the government does not dissolve or investigate this trust, "because it does business directly with the government and is, therefore, protected from publicity."

This war trust, Mr. Green asserts, "plays upon prejudice, makes trade by insinuation, creates suspicion, feeds upon fear, and stampedes statesmen and nations in whispered and groundless alarm. Here operate the ablest and most knavish and debased of all forces. Nations hitherto and naturally calm and confident are thrown into a veritable panic of alarm by men who, keeping themselves hidden from sight, work by stealth. Suspicion, jealousy, hatred, are created and framed that they may develop a harvest of folly and result in the purchase of arms."

Mr. Green further says: "Rulers and their ministers, members of parliaments and congresses, staff officers, members of the aristocracy and financial plutocrats, are directors and stockholders in the subsidiary corporations that are syndicated in the greater octopus. Its successful operation is a matter of private concern on the part of men who officially contract on the part of the government for the purchase by means of public funds of the output of this industry. . . . Newspapers and magazines in abundance are ready with impressive editorials and dramatically sensational articles, abounding with statistics of peril and suggestions as to safety. It has a trained and highly specialized lobby ready with specious argument and demonstrated fact."

Writing along the same line, David Starr Jordan, chancellor of Stanford university of California, after his return from the war zone in Europe, says: "War is not a spontaneous thing. It requires long preparation and carefully hatched plans. It is brought about largely through the influence in the national councils of the sabers rattlers and the war traders. During my recent tour of Europe I found no one who wanted war except those professional war mongers. The armament manufacturer—in England and France as well as Germany—live, get fabulously rich and pay dividends on war. They spend a hundred times more for bribery to bring on war than it takes to build a peace palace."

Neither of these men are Socialists. But they unite in saying there is an international war trust that is working to bring war. They unite in declaring that none but this war trust membership wanted war, and that the holocaust now devastating Europe was brought about by their conniving in order that they might make profits from the misfortunes of others. They declare that the nations have been bankrupted in the purchase of war equipment that was not needed, through the conspiracies of this trust, with membership in government circles, working for profit.

Says Dr. Jordan: "All the countries of the world could be run on the money the United States and Great Britain waste on their armament." Again: "The gigantic national debt for defense involves an 'invisible empire' which directs and controls credit. The debt of Europe is thus controlled by a 'consortium' of bankers, comprising some eighteen families with the Rothschilds at their head. They constitute the unseen empire."

Remembering this statement, and how the credit of America has just been farmed out to the bankers, controlled practically by two families, you can see the extent of the conspiracy against government, against civilization itself, solely for profit. Already this conspiracy is seeking to force America into war—for profit. Japan is represented as arming against us. Then Germany demands that we permit South America to join in the scramble. Then it is published widespread that the United States are wholly unprotected. Schwab, one of the armament trust, sells a hundred million dollars of ammunition to a European belligerent, and its opponent claims this is a violation of American neutrality. You see every day evidence that these profit lords are stirring the people to kill each other, for their enrichment. Congress is full of their agents—and a majority of congress may plunge us into war any minute—for the prosperity of twenty families only.

This is a picture of the profit system in its ripeness, and its threat against all the good the ages have given us. Are the people of America to submit to be stampeded by a cry of false patriotism? Is our government to be supine before this "unseen empire," as the governments in Europe are today? You answer.

THE secretary of the treasury says that what is lacking in this country is "confidence." It is an echo of the president's "psychological depression." Confidence is needed. But how are you going to restore confidence so long as a system is maintained that makes one class beneficiaries of special favors, and subjects the worker to constant tribute of rent, interest and profit? How are you going to "restore confidence" so long as a class of men, made rich by government grants, reckons its wealth as including all the wealth in America and insists that Uncle Sam shall help to collect tribute on the claim?

How are you going to "restore confidence" when the government is giving its own notes against watered stocks and bonds, thus helping out a private banking class, and refuses its

assistance to farmers and workers on real estate security and security of actual products?

How are you going to "restore confidence" when the government sends its armies to shoot down workers, that capitalists may rule them absolutely?

How are you going to "restore confidence" when the nation is spending 60 per cent of its revenue in arming a warrior class in times of peace?

You might as well talk of "restoring confidence" between the nations of Europe that are at each other's throats, merely by the use of soft soap, as to think to end the distrust of the robbers while the robbers are in power.

But put an end to all rent, to all interest, to all profit; give the farmer access to the land and the mechanic access to the job; free the markets of tribute takers of every description, and then confidence will be immediately and permanently restored. People will not then distrust each other as scheming against their lives or property.

FEUDALISM was a condition in which the land was owned by a few and was made the basis of enslaving the workers, who were known as serfs. The Mexican peon of today is a successor of the serf of yesterday. The presence of great bodies of land in America for a time broke up the feudal system. But there are evidences that the gifts of land in great bodies, and the acquiring of land by special interests, is actually restoring feudal condition in America.

For example, the American Federation of Labor at its recent session received a report which indicates feudal conditions in the mining industry: Land-holding conditions involved in some mining districts have enabled the operators to establish what amounts to a feudal operating system for the mines. They own vast tracts of lands, hundreds and even thousands of square miles in extent, on which the mines are located. The mining companies own and, therefore, control all roads that traverse the land. They own the houses in which the miners live; the villages made up of these miners, the school-houses to which their children must go for mental training; the churches which minister to their spiritual needs; the stores from which they buy their clothing, food and other necessities; the postoffice where they get their mail, money orders, and conduct their crude banking transactions. The mine operators have the power of eviction. They have assumed the police power. They employ armed guards.

This report by inference calls attention to the fact that other industries than mining are affected by land owners. Mining especially is involved. It makes it clear that the wage earner, in fighting for control of the land by those who use the land is fighting his own battles as truly as he is fighting the battles of the farmer.

Feudalism has really been restored throughout America, though with slight variation over the old scheme of things. By capitalizing and bonding manufacture and transportation to include all the property of the country, the big financiers really secured possession of all the land, placing every farmer under tribute to them. When their securities began to crumble the government came to their relief, by making the fictitious values the basis of its own notes, loaned to the banks at nominal interest. Thus the government aided in the work of re-establishing feudalism. And there can be no end to it until these fictitious values are destroyed, and the modern forms of tribute—rent, interest and profit—are made impossible through collective ownership and democratic management of industries.

EVEN Munsterberg, the man who wrote the book on war that is setting the world by the ears, admits: "There would be no poor and no economic misery if Socialism were carried through." In talking for war, therefore, he is speaking entirely of capitalistic conditions. And he is right in saying that war is inseparable from all forms of exploitation.

THE announcement that Rockefeller will spend two million a month to feed the starving Belgians is simply a notice to those who use gasoline and and the other products of Standard Oil to get ready to die. It's easy to be a philanthropist with a machine like that.

HERE is a startling charge made by Andrew Furuseth, delegate of the International Seamen's Union, at the meeting of the American Federation of Labor. He said: "Fully one thousand of the supposed employes of the agricultural department are paid by the Rockefeller educational fund and the Rockefeller foundation." This means that, while there will be mock efforts to benefit the American farmer coming from capitalistic sources, these efforts will be in reality in the nature of conspiracies to aid manufacture and transportation, already controlled by Rockefeller, at the expense of the farmer.

Furuseth points out one way in which the farmer is being beaten now by the Rockefeller-controlled agricultural department. The possibilities of denatured alcohol, he says, are deliberately smothered and the making of this rival of oil and gasoline is made impossible because the small stills that farmers might use are kept from the market on pretence of encouraging temperance.

There are already in existence stills that would enable the farmer to utilize the waste on his farm, and from that waste manufacture alcohol that might supply all the light, heat and power the farm might need, at half the present cost of these kings.

The farmer must learn to help himself. He must learn to vote for the control of the department of agriculture and the government.

IDA TARBELL has begun in the *American Magazine* a series of articles in which she promises to prove that Big Business has experienced a change of heart and is now treating the workers like human beings.

In her foreword Miss Tarbell names Vandergrift, Pa., as one of her steel corporation model towns—Vandergrift, which is held in a state of terror by professional gunmen and which union organizers dare not enter for fear of their lives! The *American Magazine* is the publication that was bought eight years ago by an editorial offshoot from *McClure's* because *McClure's* was becoming too considerate of the sensibilities of great corporations. Ida Tarbell is the woman who gained fame a dozen years ago, by her fearless exposures of Standard Oil. When, four years ago, it became known that Morgan had bought the *American Magazine*, the editors unblinkingly told the reporters that the fact that they were now working for Morgan would not change the policy of the magazine. But that was the last of muckraking in the *American*, and now comes an open and shameless glorification of steel trust philanthropy.

The editors of the *American* will no doubt continue to hold up their heads among their fellows, for the other New York magazine editors are in the same box. "Muckraking has become a thing of the past" because Big Business bought the magazines and with them the souls of their editors. John S. Phillips, Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, A. A. Boyden, and the other editors of the *American Magazine* are fittingly characterized in the following lines from a poem of George Sterling:

In Babylon, old Babylon, what goods are bought and sold:
The scribe and singer, one by one, who toil for fame and gold.
They grovel to their masters' mood; the blood upon the pen
Assigns their souls to servitude, and the souls of men!

IT IS significant that the convention of governors of the various states of the union, in its recent session at Madison, Wis., went on record as favoring the Torrens' land system. This system places the ownership of the land with the government or state, and allots it to individuals at nominal rates, amounting to little more than taxes. The farmer tills the land as he thinks best, retaining all he makes. Permanency of occupancy is guaranteed as long as the holder of the land wishes. The advantages said to accrue from the system lies in the fact that men will not, under it, hold land that is unused and pay taxes on it, thus releasing much land for others to take, and thus the landless are given chance at the land without purchase.

This is not the Socialist plan of holding land. It, however, is significant that from all over the country, and from all parties, the governors are realizing that there must be some change that will at least minimize farm tenantry and farm mortgages. That is really one of the great problems of the day, and Socialists have the complete solution of it.

MANY TIMES in the past the papers have announced a coming revival of business. With Europe at war, consuming rather than producing, and with the market of the world at the mercy of American Shylocks, there was every reason, in capitalist logic, for the revival. But it did not manifest. Capitalism had been too hard hit to permit it to recover so soon, if it ever can recover. Now that the reserve bank system has gone into operation the promised revival is again heralded far and wide. People are asked to talk confidence in order to promote the work of the pirates. If capitalistic prosperity is possible it ought to come now. The government has given the masters of the machine one and a half billion dollars of its notes in exchange for worthless and unquotable stocks and bonds. This furnishes them all the money needed to start things with. In addition, they have sent from this country half a billion dollars' worth of food and other usable goods in an effort to square their account with foreign capitalists who were kicking on being gold bricked. They have also made extensive loans to Europe, yet have kept the money involved in the loans at home, merely checking it out among each other for goods that Europe bought. The courts are ruling for them. They have been permitted to lower wages of their employes. They are raising their own rates and prices. They are assisted by the government in beating down the price of cotton so they rather than the farmer may reap the benefit of war prices and war demand for this staple.

Everything, therefore, is favorable for an industrial boom. Even capitalist papers say as much. Keep your eyes open and see if the boom comes. If it does not come, it shows the utter collapse and helplessness of the capitalist system of robbery. If it should come, please carefully notice how much it helps you. See if your wages are raised when the papers tell of how busy the mills are. See if you find it easy to get a job. See if the bread line is diminished. See if the price of the cotton and other things you may have to sell is raised. If you do not receive the benefit of the boom—if it should come—it will show that it is only for the privileged class, and exists only by virtue of robbing the producer to aid the manipulator of things.

They tell you the boom is coming. Hold them

HOORAY!
Big Biz
Is Going
to Reform

They See
Need For
Land
Reforms

to know how to demand jobs. Demand better wages. Demand high prices. Tell the capitalists you expect them to make good their promises and also make good their implied contract to keep everybody employed and everybody in abundance of the needful things of life.

If they do not do this, you have a right to demand that they acknowledge their incompetence and step out, so you may organize industry to care for yourselves. The nation that has placed everything in their hands must, if they fail to employ you and keep you and all other of their wards in comfort, take things from them, and give you the same chance to help yourselves that it gave to the masters when they wished to act as your guardians.

HOLD YOUR COTTON for the time being if you can keep alive and do it. Recent reports indicate that the stories that European as well as domestic mills were overstocked with both raw and manufactured cotton are lies, deliberately circulated for three months past by the speculators in order to stampede the grower into unloading at the speculator's prices. Foreign shipments are increasing rapidly.

England has even given some large orders to American textile mills for manufactured goods. In Austria it is reported that there is not enough cotton to dress the wounds of the soldiers. The American people are not paying any less for cotton clothing than they were a year ago.

The opening of the cotton exchanges November 16 marked a further decline in the price of lint. This was due to a bearish manipulation of the speculators. Thousands of farmers suffered. The conspiracy of the speculators was aided by the Associated Press, which sent reports to every corner of the country that the bankers' pool was on the point of being abandoned. This was a lie.

The bankers' pool of \$135,000,000 has been completed. It was strenuously opposed by New England textile mills, which evidently saw in it a move of the banks to grab a slice of the profits which they had intended to hog.

Have you received your fair share of the \$135,000,000? Any farmer who considers that he has been benefited by the bankers' pool—either now or at some future time—please write the APPEAL TO REASON, giving full details.

Oklahoma farmers, do not subscribe to the new cotton mill project at Oklahoma City. It is a fake. Details later.

THE WAR MANIACS are busy again. They are trying to make willingness to murder a requisite for citizenship. The *Pittsburg (Kan.) Headlight* contains the following, relative to the application of a foreigner for citizenship: "The candidate had been quizzed along the stereotyped line by the government naturalization commissioner and had passed with a grade one. He understood the American form of government, knew that George H. Hodges is governor of the state, that Woodrow Wilson is the president and that George Washington was the father of his country. Also he inform the court that a monarchical form of government existed in his native country, but that he preferred the republican form of the United States. The commissioner passed him as an eligible candidate for citizenship in the country of his choice."

"Are you attached to the constitution of the United States of America and do you love the flag of this nation?" Judge Curran quizzed the candidate a way of the final examination. "Yes," came the reply from the applicant. "Would you go to war for this country, would you fight for that flag?" This was to have been the final question from the court. "No!" The candidate answered sharp and firm. The court gaped and the commissioner ceased his thumbing of the stack of naturalization documents on the table before him. "Perhaps you do not understand," the court continued after recovery from the shock. "What I mean is in case the United States should be invaded by a foreign enemy or in case there should be trouble here wouldn't you fight to save the government and the flag?" "No!" Just as quick as before came the negative reply. A fellow countryman was asked to explain the question in the Austrian language, but the candidate stoutly maintained that he had no disposition for militarism and that he would not promise to support the government by endangering his life on the battlefield. His case was continued by the court until the next hearing and he still remains an Austrian subject.

Judge Curran had no right to ask the question he did. It is enough that a man shall pledge himself to obey the law, without requiring him to agree to murder other workers at the behest of a master class. The candidate in question understood his duty and was willing to perform it. He understood the nature of the war in Europe, in which his fatherland had been forced into destruction at the behest of war jingoes, for profit. He had a right to declare he would not fight such battles. No man has a right to serve the cause of the destroyers of society by compelling an applicant for citizenship to agree to commit murder.

Quakers are not compelled to agree to fight. Every man who is opposed to war has the same right to refuse to fight that the Quaker has, or else we have a rule that does not apply to all. According to the ethics of Judge Curran, William Penn was not fit for citizenship in America, or John Greenleaf Whittier, or any man who really follows the teachings of the Prince of Peace, to "Put up the sword," or of Moses, "Thou shalt not kill."

The real reason for denying this man citizenship was that he is a Socialist and consequently opposed to human butchery. It has apparently come to the pass that a man cannot conscientiously believe in morality and be considered a good citizen. He must agree to the program of the war lord, as required by the courts.

"HOW could a married woman be any more independent under Socialism than she is now? A man never seems to think his wife is entitled to any of the wages or any of the proceeds of the farm. I can't see how it would be any different under Socialism." Thus writes a correspondent. Suppose Socialism would do more for woman than the platform of the party places as "immediate demands," even then her condition would be greatly improved.

That platform demands "a non-contributory system of old age pensions and a general system of insurance by the state of all its members against unemployment." This would mean that the wife would not have to figure on a possible cutting off of income, or on utter destitution in case of the death of her husband. The platform declares for "forbidding the employment of children under 16." This would conserve the health of the child and fit it for future usefulness.

The platform further declares for a "health department to conserve health," and for "vocational training, which would prepare the children in the schools to be more than mere common laborers." These things would increase the child's chance. The foregoing are national measures. In almost all municipal platforms Socialists demand free medical attendance and free dental service for school children, which would reduce the cost of living and at the same time make the future of the child more secure. Free school books and free noonday lunches are also asked in many platforms. Here is further aid for the children of the poor, further lifting of the mother's burdens. But they are not all.

Socialists demand "unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women." When suffrage comes the woman will be a citizen, with all human rights, as she is not now. The laws which discriminate against her will be repealed, as Socialism demands they shall be repealed. Socialists also advocate maternity pensions—that is, that women be paid for bearing and caring for children. This would make them independent.

But suppose Socialism had been established and was in working order. Then the individual reckoning and scrimping, which is now an essential to existence itself, would, with all its cumbersome and costly machinery, be ended in the Co-operative Commonwealth. The woman would have as great an interest in it and as much say-so in running it as the man has. This would mean that at no time in her life would she be dependent on any man. Though her father or husband might be a drunkard or profligate, her schooling, her future, would be assured by the inheritance that was undivided—the Co-operative Commonwealth that meant employment and protection. The artificial provisions that capitalism made necessary to in the least safeguard its victims—insurance, pensions, charity—would be utterly needless under the more perfect and more natural system of providing for all through a complete social organization. The children who were bereft of fathers or wholly orphaned, would be sure of education and opportunity to prepare themselves for vocations in life, of employment and of all they produced, which would be ample to keep them as long as they lived. The future would no longer be clouded by uncertainty. In the prospect of plenty, assured by all society rather than attempted through the unaided efforts of the individual, yet without the semblance of taking the child from the mother, life would still hold joy for all.

The suttee and the child widow are no more pitiable objects in "heathendom" than the American widow is under capitalistic civilization in the twentieth century. But it would not be so under Socialism.

WHILE the railroads are demanding five per cent raise in freight rates a little measure of socialization is playing hob with their claim that they must dig the people more and more. Newspapers have been so busy reporting the war and sports they haven't had space to say much about it, but it is really a significant situation. They are shipping goods from one extreme of the country by water, through the Panama canal, cheaper than they can send them the shorter distance across the country direct, by rail. Though the canal was opened only on August 15, already 49 ships, with a carrying capacity of about 500,000 tons, are engaged in the traffic. A shipment of 15,000 tons of wrought iron pipe was made from Youngstown, Ohio, to San Francisco by water through the canal at 48 cents per 100 pounds. By freight the cost would have been 65 cents. Canned corn is being shipped from Indiana to the Pacific coast in quantities at considerable saving over freight rates. Other lines of merchandise also are going by water, and the business is already so big the railroads are calling on the government to stop the ruinous competition. The blubbering railroad babies imagine all the American people are for is to be milked by them.

The reason water traffic is cheaper than rail at present is this: The water is socialized while the rails are not. The rolling stock on the roads and the beats on the water both work for profit, but even with one private factor eliminated prices are reduced. It shows what might happen if all traffic was socialized. The cost of living would be cut in half, while the farmer would receive much more for his goods than he does today.

Have you noticed the tremendous fall in the price of cotton goods since the farmers are compelled to take half price for their raw material? Don't be discouraged. Neither have we.

Railroads
And Use
of Water
Routes