

THIS PAGE is a damning indictment and clinching conviction of the capitalist system under which we all live. If after reading the indisputable facts presented by John Kenneth Turner you do not feel like jumping up and going outside and starting something there is something the matter with you. The story of the plight of our farmer brothers and sisters is so vividly told by our field correspondent that it ought to make any normal man rousing mad just to read it. But there is no use getting mad. Cool and wise heads appreciate the fact that it is a relentless enemy we are fighting. We are not strong enough as yet to meet our foes in open battle. We must first add to our ranks and increase our army. It is therefore the duty of every lover of justice and freedom to hand this issue of the Appeal to some friend and ask him to read Turner's broadside on this page and after finishing that to read Allan L. Benson's convincing argument for Socialism on page 2. Remember that you were won over to the great cause by the act of some thoughtful friend who induced you either to read or subscribe for the Appeal. Go thou and do likewise! Take advantage of this extraordinary opportunity to stir the hearts of your neighbors and friends with Turner's tragic story of America's shame and degradation!

Turner Pillories Parasites of Cotton Producers

Landlords, Bankers, Cotton Buyers, Merchants and Other Exploiters of Farmers Are Held Up to Public Scorn by Appeal's Field Correspondent—Interlocked Parasites Have Subjected the Toilers of the Field to the Status of Serfs—Farm Tenantry Flourishes in the "Land of the Free and Home of the Brave"—Capitalism is Fattening on the Blood of the Tillers of the Soil With the Same Greed and Rapacity it Displays in Industrial Centers.

BY JOHN KENNETH TURNER,
Field Correspondent Appeal to Reason.

WANTED—One thousand able-bodied men with large families, good teams, wagons, farm tools and furniture, FREE FROM ALL INCUMBRANCE, for all-year jobs raising cotton. No cash required. For particulars address Commercial Club, Ardmore, Okla., or any landlord, banker or money lender of Carter county. OR SIMPLY DRIVE INTO ARDMORE WITH YOUR PROPERTY AND YOU WILL BE TAKEN CARE OF.

While the above advertisement has not previously appeared anywhere, it may be taken authentically as expressing the needs of Carter county, as represented by the gentlemen whom the farmer calls upon when he comes to town—otherwise The Interlocked Parasites, a term that I have borrowed from the Socialist party's recent candidate for U. S. senator from Oklahoma, P. S. Nagle.

In Carter county are 2,237 farms, 1,763 of which, or 83 per cent, are operated by tenants. A majority of the 1,763 tenants, in the opinion of Ardmore's commercial club, are UNDESIRABLE. Many of them are to be dispensed with this winter. A fall thousand would no doubt be dispensed with provided that number of DESIRABLE persons could be found to take their places.

Here is an opportunity not to be sneezed at. It is to be a long, hard winter. Millions of able-bodied men will be looking for work. Hundreds of thousands of families will be unable to protect themselves against the biting cold. Tens of thousands of tender children will actually cry for bread—and their cries will not be heeded.

You do not even need to be experienced. Food, clothing, and shelter, such as the average cotton farmer has, will be guaranteed to you for at least one year. And if you are fairly intelligent and industrious, if you don't spend any money for liquor, if you know how to drive your family as the overseers of the 50's were wont to drive their "niggers," then your job may last two, three, four years or even longer.

But you must be DESIRABLE. Our commercial club insists on that. This does not mean that you must be a good Christian, or law-abiding. Not at all.

It means, for one thing, that you must have a large family; for tenant cotton farming is not really "practicable" without a large family.

BUT THERE IS a more important test of DESIRABILITY for this particular job that we are advertising (without charge) than the possession of a large family. You must have some property that may be taken away from you.

Men without property need not apply. On the other hand, it is not

DESIRABLE that you have too much property. For if you had several thousand dollars you might buy some land and become an owner-farmer. That would place you in a somewhat less dependent position.

A little property—no cash—a large family. Bring these and the Interlocked Parasites of Ardmore will receive you with open arms. You will win a home.

Of course your property will eventually be taken away from you. But you will have the use of it for quite a while first. And after it has been taken away there is nothing to prevent you from working a few years at some comparatively remunerative occupation, such as wage labor (if you can find a job) and, after again accumulating a little property, returning once more to the joys of cotton farming!

ONLY AN HOUR before writing this I talked with a man who had twice become a DESIRABLE cotton tenant farmer with a little property. His property had been taken away from him. He had worked for wages a while, had acquired some more property, had again become a DESIRABLE cotton tenant, only to have his property again taken away from him. He had been eliminated as UNDESIRABLE and now was working for wages as a section hand on the Santa Fe railroad.

Strange to say, this man had lost all ambition to taste again the joys of cotton farming. He declared that eating was better on the section—and, besides, his children could go to school.

One of the joys of cotton farming that is denied to millions of wage workers arises from the fact that the farmer is registered as a voter and has the privilege of voting into office the men who are engaged in taking his property away from him.

This he does regularly in Oklahoma. All three of the gentlemen who have been made governor of the state by the votes of the farmers were large landlords. Both U. S. senators are landlords, as are a number of the congressmen. One of the U. S. senators, Mr. Owen, and the present governor, Mr. Cruce, are both bankers, as well as landlords. A majority of the city and county officials throughout Oklahoma, I am told,

Farmers Will Read, Think, Act

No one has presented the farmer's case more clearly or strongly than B. B. Pritchett of Flora, Ill. In a letter to the APPEAL he says:

"I have long wondered why a movement was not started to bring the farmers to Socialism. They will read, because they have time to read. They will think, because they have time to think. They will act, because they are courageous. Their larger measure of freedom and independence—their environment—gives them a great perspective, and class-consciousness of the highest order, consistent and abiding, will be discovered among them. I extend to the APPEAL a hearty handclasp of strongest approval for starting this movement."

As Comrade Pritchett truly says, the farmer will read during these long winter evenings because he has time to read, and he will think and act. This means if we would have him read along the line that leads to Socialism we must put the right kind of reading matter into his hands. This is the mission of the Farmers Fighting Fund. Every dollar you put into this fund means four farmers will soon be reading the APPEAL. We have the names—thousands of them—and they will be put on the list just as fast as the money comes in to pay for them—\$10 will put 40 of them on; \$5 will care for 20 and \$1 for four. Start the new year right by helping carry Socialism to the farmers. Carry Socialism to the farmers and the farmers will bring Socialism to us all.

are either landlords, bankers, or lawyer retainers of same. The governor-elect, "Our Bob" Williams, a large landlord of a cotton county near the one from which I am writing, is said to do a remunerative side-line traffic in teams, wagons, and farm tools taken away from the DESIRABLE cotton farmers of his county.

The present governor, Lee Cruce, banker, landlord, wholesale grocer of this county, certainly has carried on such a business. In fact, the horse-trading, second-hand furniture business, is recognized as a regular department of the profession of the banker, money lender, and merchant in the cotton counties of Oklahoma.

The DESIRABLE cotton farmers know this, yet they continue to vote into office the men engaged in the occupation of making them UNDESIRABLE!

OF COURSE THESE MEN, the Interlocked Parasites, do not tell the farmers that it is THEY who are making them UNDESIRABLE. They tell them that the fault lies with the farmers themselves—or with Providence.

The farmers are extravagant; they eat too much. They are shiftless; they don't make improvements on the land—so that the landlord may raise their rent next year. Or God sent a drought.

This year the fatherly advice of the fine gentlemen is freer than ever. The farmer ought to plant less cotton—even though the landlord himself forces the tenant to plant only cotton. He ought to raise corn—where corn won't grow; feed cattle—where he has neither cattle nor feed, and cannot borrow money except to grow cotton.

Anything except the real reason for the transformation of the DESIRABLE tenant to the UNDESIRABLE is given. Now let me show what the actual process is, as found in the town of Ardmore.

FIRST, THE LANDLORD. It must be understood, to begin with, that there are practically no large farms in this section. Except for the 474 small "owning" farmers, who are struggling along trying to work off their mortgages, the man who owns land is not a farmer, but a financier. He lives in town, has a fine home, rides in an automobile, sends his children to college, is director in a bank, stockholder in a newspaper, deacon in a church—and runs for office. He may own 10,000 acres, but it is all broken up into small farms, just large enough for an able-bodied man with a large family (and a little help in picking time) to handle.

Probably fewer than 50 men own or control as landlords a majority of the 1,763 tenant farms of Carter county. The land was concentrated thus in various ways—by cheating the original Indian owners, by fraudulent buying in of Indian lands placed on sale by the government, and by foreclosure. A portion of the land still is owned by the Indians, and is leased by professional landlords—such as the Mullens—under terms by which they are able to renew indefinitely; so that, so far as the tenant farmers are concerned, the landlords might as well be the actual owners.

THE CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS are as a rule leasers of Indian lands. They are sent to congress and kept there at the instance of professional landlords, land grafters and corporation land thieves for the express purpose of robbing the Oklahoma Indian of his patrimony.

Rents are sometimes in shares and sometimes in cash, but when paid in cash they are based on the expected value of the crop. When the farmer furnishes everything except the land and buildings, and does all the work, he hauls to the landlord one-fourth the cotton yield and one-third the yield of all other crops.

In a few cases the landlord furnishes everything but the labor; then the farmer must haul him half the crop.

In cases where the house, buildings, and fences are in a better condition than ordinary, the tenant pays extra—the cash renter a higher cash rent, the share renter either a larger share or a cash bonus.

Tenants universally claim that those among them who keep the fences and buildings in repair have their rent raised, and that, therefore, "shiftlessness" in the way of letting things go to rack actually pays.

W. F. Craft rented a farm of 200 acres near Ringling three years ago, under a verbal agreement that he was to have the place for 13 years. As he began in better financial shape than most tenant farmers, Craft built 1½ miles of barbed wire fence, constructed two water tanks, moved the house and built on to it, dug a cellar and hauled 22 loads of rock off a part of the place that was unimproved.

The value of these improvements exceeded \$300.

Craft paid his one-third and one-fourth regularly, including this year. What was his surprise, then, when he received a notification to vacate, as the place had been rented to another party.

Craft intends to sue for the \$300 that he put into improvements. It remains to be seen whether or not he will get it.

When a certain gentleman of this town was asked point-blank: "Is there a single business concern of Ardmore that could pay one-third and one-fourth of its gross income for rent and continue to exist?" he was forced to reply: "No." And yet men who consider themselves shrewd, and ARE shrewd, expect the tenant farmer to do what THEY cannot do—and when he fails they call him shiftless!

Rents are not paid in advance, but are due October first, and when contracted in cash are secured by note and first mortgage on the entire crop. Last year, as cotton was comparatively high in price, the wily landlords persuaded as many as possible of their tenants to contract to pay this year in cash. As a result there are instances where the entire crop, an account of the fall in cotton, was not enough to pay the rent.

In other words, the actual rental charge was over 100 per cent.

I HAVE BEFORE ME three rent-dunning letters, sent out by Mullen, Mullen & Mullen October 1, October 14, and November 5, respectively, of this year. Of the 1,500 tenants that Mullen, Mullen & Mullen are reputed to have in this state, so many found it difficult to pay their rent that these letters were not typewritten, but are actually printed. The letters warn the tenants not to sell their cotton, or to borrow money on it, but to come and pay up or turn over their cotton.

In one of these letters I find the sentence: "I am in the same boat that you are." If Mullen, Mullen & Mullen have 1,500 tenants, and each pays only one-fourth for rent, then the Mullens income is equal to the total income of 500 hard-working farmers. So that if the tenants' incomes average \$400, then the Mullens income is \$200,000.

ALL IN THE SAME BOAT! BUT IT MUST BE TRUE. FOR DIDN'T OUR DEAR PRESIDENT WILSON HIMSELF SAY: "WE ARE ALL IN THE SAME BOAT!"

NEXT THE BANKER. The landlord parasite takes from one-fourth to one-third of the Carter county farmer into his belly at one gulp. The banker-usurer parasite takes another one-fourth. If the shrewd business man of the town, who whines about the shiftlessness of the farmer, had to pay not only one-fourth of his gross income for rent, but another fourth for interest, where would he be?

THE DESIRABLE tenant of Carter county has just enough property safely to secure a loan of several hundred dollars, and yet so little that he is forced to borrow such a sum. The typical farmer of Carter county, DESIRABLE and UNDESIRABLE, is determined chiefly by the period of time in which he has been in the clutches of the usurer. Who wants a socked orange?

The legal rate of interest in Oklahoma is 8 per cent. Lender and borrower, however, may agree that the rate shall be 10 per cent. I hold in my hand six cancelled notes, three of which were paid to Bryan Drew, president of the Ardmore State Bank, and three of which were paid to J. B. Boone, under the name of B. M. Worsham. They are for sums running up to \$180.

ONE PAID 21 PER CENT, TWO PAID 25 PER CENT, ONE PAID 28 PER CENT, ONE 34 PER CENT, AND ONE 44 PER CENT.

I have been told of some of these farm chattel mortgage notes that paid as high as 100 per cent, but I have not seen any. The farmers usually tear them up and stamp on the pieces as soon as they are redeemed. I believe it is fair to say that they average at least 33 1-3 per cent, or one-third the principal.

Every bank in Ardmore does a thriving usury business. Besides, there are half a dozen "Farm Loan Mortgage" companies. I have not heard of a tenant farmer who is not forced to borrow regularly.

If the sums loaned to the tenant farmers average only \$150, and if half the "owner" farmers borrow to the same amount, then the principal owing chattel farm loans in this small county is \$300,000. At 33 1-3 per cent the interest would be \$100,000, 70 per cent of which, or \$70,000, is downright usury.

On top of this the notes provide that if a lawyer is required to collect

and also gets a rake-off on the insurance. For the first bale of cotton stored, the farmer pays \$1 for the first month's storage, and 25 cents for each additional bale; and 25 cents a month for each additional month on each bale. Insurance is from 15 to 43 cents a month on each bale.

If the Love & Thurmond warehouse were loaded to its full capacity, and the average storage lot were 10 bales, the storage receipts only for one month would total \$4,085, or more than 50 per cent of the entire cost of the warehouse.

For this reason—and the more pressing ones previously mentioned—the Carter county farmers are not holding their cotton this year, however much they would like to do so. Probably 95 per cent of the cotton grown in Carter county will be out of the hands of the producer by the time this article appears in print.

Such is the line-up of the Ardmore Interlocked Parasites of what Noble calls "the first degree." They have built some very fine churches in Ardmore—and pray regularly in them. Of the Interlocked Parasites of the second and third degrees I would be delighted to write at length, but lack of space forbids. They are about all democrats. During the first two years of statehood the county office-holding contingent of the Interlocked Parasites robbed the county treasury of \$85,000. The robbery was proved, but so many were "into it" that nobody went to the penitentiary. Who would send his own brother to the penitentiary?

But the final step in the process of transforming the DESIRABLE tenant into the UNDESIRABLE tenant remains to be told.

It involves the reasons why the banker can make the practice of unlawful usury the main function of his life and get away with it. It also shows how the cotton farmer, engaged in 25 per cent rent and 33 1-3 per cent interest, is further ensnared in a maze of criminal statutes that bind him in a form of peonage that I shall compare with the peonage of Mexico which prevailed under the barbarous dictator, Porfirio Diaz.

This chapter of the story will have to be left for a future issue of the APPEAL.

THE south raised too much cotton, therefore she starves. The north raises too much wheat, therefore she freezes. Logical? No. But it is a fact nevertheless.

CONGRESS is in session again, which is prima facie evidence that after all there was something the plutes didn't get at the last session.

THE "labor market" is a slave market. Why don't we have "capitalist markets," where the exploiters could be auctioned off?

WHEN you eat out of the hand of charity it means you must be a docile slave; hence the masters favor charity.

THAT BRINGS US to the warehouseman. Love & Thurmond, the cotton buyers, are also the warehousemen of Ardmore. Love & Thurmond have a warehouse with a capacity of 15,000 bales. A mechanic who helped build it told me that it cost not to exceed \$7,000.

The warehouseman charges storage

and the full market value of his cotton. I am told that this is universal. If nothing more, the buyer always cheats the farmer on the grade. Farther north the ginners buy most of the cotton. Here the ginners buy the seed, but the lint is sold on one street—Washington street—which is known as the local cotton market.

You will see a line of farm wagons, each loaded with from one to four bales, and well dressed men going from one to another of the wagons. These are the buyers. There are half a dozen to ten of them. They pretend to bid against one another, but I have not talked with a farmer who was not convinced that all the buyers are paid by the same firm.

The farmers say that Love & Thurmond is the only cotton buying firm in this section, that the big buyers divide up the territory among them, that every street buyer sends his victim to Westheimer & Daube for his money, and that Westheimer & Daube have an arrangement with Love & Thurmond.

It is an arrangement extremely convenient for Westheimer & Daube; for it puts them in a position to collect merchandise bills before the cotton ticket has been paid.

The only exception to this rule, it is claimed, is that now and then a merchant competitor of Westheimer & Daube will take a bale of cotton in exchange—entire or in part—for merchandise.

AN HOUR SPENT on Washington street any sunny day is enough to convince the observer that the farmers know what they are talking about. A well-dressed man strolls up to the farmer's wagon, and with a knife slashes through the covering over the bale. He pulls out a handful of the cotton and looks at it. "Poor stuff! Poor stuff! How much do you want for that cotton, my friend?" he asks.

The farmer makes some reply, knowing it is a farce. "Seven cents, eh?" says the buyer. "I can't give you but six cents for that cotton. See what you can do. See what you can do."

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1,000--Appeal's Special--1,000

Number 1,000 of the Appeal will be dated January 30, 1915, not January 23, as was erroneously announced last week. Number 1,000 will be the biggest and best propaganda paper and special edition ever issued. It will contain six pages of carefully edited matter, written by the foremost Socialists of the country. Allan L. Benson will have a leading article. All the members of the editorial staff as well as prominent Socialist writers not directly connected with the Appeal will have short articles in this issue. Number 1,000 will be the anniversary edition celebrating the 1,000th edition issued by the Appeal. When that issue reaches you the Appeal will then have completed its first cycle of 1,000 weeks.

It was in August, 1895, that the little old Appeal first saw daylight. Since then the Appeal has been engaged in scores of battles with the enemy and stands today stronger and more eager for the fray than ever. Number 1,000 will impress the non-Socialists with the growth and importance of Socialism in America. That's a convincing point, you'll admit.

The Appeal expects an order, large or small, from every friend of the paper. We want to make Number 1,000 a record-breaking edition both in quality and quantity. We want to pass the million mark on the number of papers sold. The bundle rates are very low, as you will note in the following order blank. Fill in this blank, cut it out and send it to us by the first mail:

APPEAL'S SPECIAL NO. 1,000

APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kansas

For the enclosed \$ _____ send me _____ copies of the Appeal's Special No. 1,000, containing six pages of special propaganda matter by Benson, Turner, England and others.

| Bundle Rates | Name |
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| 5,000 copies... 25.00 | State |
| 10,000 copies... 50.00 | |

A Philosopher Who Knew a Good Trick

Written by ALLAN L. BENSON for the Appeal to Reason

I HAVE never been able to forget a story that I read when a boy about a philosopher and a young disciple. The disciple, like most disciples, soon began to feel that he was considerable of a disciple. Having learned a little, he believed he had learned a good deal.

One day, the philosopher and his disciple fell to arguing as to which was the stronger force—the mind or the body. The young man energetically defended the belief that it was possible to accomplish many things by the exercise of physical force, that could not be accomplished by the exercise of mind.

"If I were to go up to yonder balcony, for instance," the young man said, "you could follow me and by the use of physical force, compel me to descend. But you could not make me descend merely by the exercise of the mind."

Just to show that he was right, the disciple ascended to the balcony and challenged the old man to bring him down without laying hands upon him. The old man mused around a little while as if he were trying to exercise some sort of spell on the youth and then half confessed his defeat.

"I do not know as I can make you come down merely by exercising my mind," he said, "but if you were down here, I think I could make you go back again—which would be the same thing."

The youth agreed that the two things would be the same and came down. And when he had tripped lightly from the bottom step of the stair, the philosopher said: "Well, you are down and I did not lay hands upon you either. I used my mind to get you down."

THE STRATEGY that underlies this incident fills the whole world. You will find it in New York. You will find it in Chicago. You will find it in San Francisco. You will find it in Bombay, Calcutta, Cairo and London. You have but to look around, wherever you are, to find it. Everywhere, men are doing with their minds what they could not possibly accomplish by physical force.

Let us look at the poor and the rich, for instance. The rich are but a handful. Man for man they are not as strong as the poor. An ordinary coal heaver could whip the greatest banker who ever banked. Yet the class represented by the banker rule the world and own almost everything that is in it. They tell the class represented by the coal heaver when to leave coal and when to leave shell from the mouth of a 17-inch gun. They tell the class represented by the coal heaver in what part of the town to live and what to eat. They tell the working class what kind of clothes to wear and when to take their children out of school and send them to the factory. They rule the working class as a teamster rules his team.

Here we have the old philosopher and his little trick multiplied a billion times. What is the trick? Why, it is a trick of the wits. Nothing else. A few men could not thus dominate all other men by the use of force. A few men who do little or no useful labor could not live like kings and, by the use of force, compel all other men to live like peasants.

In all New York there is not enough physical force among the rich to have jammed the population of the East Side into the East Side.

The novels at Gary, Ind., could not have been filled by all the millionaire muscle that exists in the steel trust. But the novels at Gary are filled. The tenements of the East Side are filled. Every home on earth is filled. The many millions do the bidding of the few hundreds. The many millions give up almost everything they have produced and the few hundreds take what is given and call the process "civilization," "law and order" and other names that sound well.

IT WOULD REQUIRE considerable of a book even to catalogue all of the deceptions that the rich practice upon the poor. Almost every law is such a trick and tens of thousands of laws are enacted every year. But I will mention one trick that has been and is being worked with great energy. It is a trick pertaining to Socialism.

the little link in a chain that runs back to Rockefeller and Morgan. Moreover, these newspapers are all engaged in the same occupation in which Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller are engaged—they are engaged in hiring men, paying them a part of the value they produce and keeping the rest. Therefore, these newspapers have every incentive that Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller have to keep the workers flat on their backs where they can be more easily sheared.

NOW LET US SEE whether Socialism would destroy the workingman's incentive to produce wealth. What is the worker's incentive to produce wealth? Why is he working today? Is he working because his joints become stiff unless he keeps them in action? Is he working because he wants the thing he is making and expected to keep it for his own use? Not at all. A worker in a great industry never keeps the thing he has made. A worker's only incentive to produce wealth is to enable him to get money with which to buy the things he needs.

If that be a correct definition of incentive as it now applies to the worker, we will go on. Having learned what incentive now is, we will consider what Socialism would be.

Let me give you a bread-and-butter definition of it.

Socialism is a plan to enable the working class to get everything it produces and to prevent non-producers from getting anything.

If it is a bad plan, Socialism is a bad doctrine, because that is what Socialism is. Socialism is solely an attempt to end poverty by stopping robbery.

Any man who cannot find an incentive to work without having the bayonet of poverty prodding him along the way—he too should oppose Socialism. Under Socialism there will be no poverty. Make no mistake about that. Even Professor Munsterberg of Harvard university, who opposes Socialism because it would destroy incentive, admits that Socialism would make everybody comfortable—too comfortable in his opinion.

Now, as to the question of incentive, we may as well divide into two flocks right here. We who would be willing to trust ourselves with a little coal in the cellar and a little money in our pockets will go into one flock. You who are afraid of money (if there be any such, and I don't believe there are) can make another flock. Anyone who objects to Socialism because of fear that it would make him so comfortable that he would not work should lose no time in smashing at Socialism at every opportunity.

I HAVE JUST HAD an opportunity to make an extensive observation of 15,000 men who, to a considerable extent, have gotten rid of worry and want. I have returned from a day's observation in the Detroit plant of the Ford Motor Company.

The place is full of men who are almost on a "dead level." The "dead level" is a minimum wage of \$5 a day. Some people say that the \$5 a day story is a lie that Ford has told for advertising purposes—that only a few receive it.

If you ever hear anybody say that, tell him upon my authority that he doesn't know what he is talking about. I saw the men paid. I was taken into the cashier's office and shown the envelopes. I saw the sums of money that were marked upon the envelopes. Every envelope that was handed to a man (and some that were handed to boys) contained at least \$90—two weeks' pay. I saw these envelopes—thousands of them—with my own eyes. If you can believe me, you can also believe that 15,000 men in Mr. Ford's Detroit plant and 10,000 elsewhere are on a "dead level" of not less than \$5 a day and that poverty,

as they once knew it, is greatly diminished. But that is not the point. Mr. Ford may die tomorrow and others may restore the old wages. That is the weakness of the Ford plan that gives pay to workers as a favor instead of as a right. The point is that a minimum wage of \$5 a day has not impaired the incentive of Mr. Ford's employes.

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Again, I know what I am talking about. I saw the men. I saw them at their work. I looked into their faces. I never saw another such body of workmen in my life.

Every man was at attention. Every man's mind was plainly upon his business. Every man was well fed. No man bore a trace of worry. And they were the same men that I saw working there two years ago before the increased wages were paid.

They are not picked men gathered by the increased wages. They are the same men. And, without breaking their necks to do it, they have made twice as many cars this year as they made last.

For the benefit of anybody who may believe I am indulging in loose talk, I will give the exact figures.

For the year ending October 1, 1913, these men produced 165,419 cars.

For the year ending October 1, 1914, the same men produced 248,307 cars.

And, mind you, on October 1, 1914, the new wage scale had been in effect only nine months. The Ford people declare that increasing the wages has doubled the product without adding a man to the force. Mr. Ford's ingenuity in devising improved processes and inventing machinery has helped much. But the Ford people say that the big wages have turned the trick; that with low wages the men would have increased the output but little, because they would have had no heart in their work.

NOTHING IS MORE ABSURD than the argument that Socialism should be avoided because it would make men so comfortable that they would not work. A millionaire does not quit working the public when he gets a million. Why should the millionaire quit working if he were given the full value of his product and assured that involuntary unemployment would never again overtake him?

The millionaire doesn't think anything of the sort. He is simply lying to the workingman whom he wants to continue to rob. He is the modern type of the old philosopher who played the trick on the boy in the balcony.

Is a word to the wise sufficient? Are you wise?

Through pledges and promises—though we may roam To the Socialist party at last we'll come home.

THE FEUDAL COLONIES BY LINCOLN PHIFER

THREE European nations undertook to plant feudal colonies in America. They failed, because the feudal form was unsuited to a new country where there was abundance of unoccupied land; yet the feudal forms became the basis of many land grants that exist today.

The Dutch government, at that time a power in Europe, granted a charter to the West India Co. to monopolize trade with America. To facilitate trade in furs, posts were established at what are now New York, Albany and other places located in the present York state, then called New Amsterdam, Manhattan island, on which New York City now stands, was purchased by the company from the Indians for goods valued at \$24. The exactions of the West India Company from the settlers were so great that few came. The company, therefore, announced that it would issue "charters of privileges to patroons," giving large bodies of land and feudal governing rights to any citizens of Holland who would bring over 50 persons to be made serfs. Kiliaen van Rensselaer, a rich diamond merchant of Amsterdam, complied with the terms and became "lord of the manor" of large holdings on the Hudson. Sixty feudal estates, averaging 8,000 acres each, were created. But the boundaries of these estates were not clearly defined, and some of the serfs claimed to be outside the limits, thus waxing rebellious, while there was a "rent strike" that became a menace to van Rensselaerwick. Finally the English conquered New Amsterdam and the feudal colony passed into a capitalistic state.

Sweden gave a charter to a company to establish Protestant colonies in America. Dissatisfied members of the Dutch West India Company promoted the enterprise, and managed to create feudal estates in Delaware. But they were opposed by New Amsterdam, and were finally conquered by Peter Stuyvesant, governor of that province. The West India Company annulled the feudal claims of the former stockholders that had rebelled against it.

The Carolinas were settled under grant of the English king to "lord proprietors" who sought to establish a feudal state under a system elaborately drafted by John Locke, the philosopher. Locke was a logical thinker along one line, but failed to grasp the economic conditions of America and the historical development which made feudalism impossible at that period. The feudal government worked so unsatisfactorily that it was superseded by the private government of the lords proprietors. William Penn advertised throughout Europe that he would make feudal grants to persons who would

bring a specified number of settlers to Pennsylvania, but the response was unsatisfactory, and Penn abandoned his plan of establishing feudalism in this country.

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Hawaii, An International Crime

BY H. G. CREEL. Copyright, 1914, by H. G. Creel.

(HEATHEN, RELIGION AND CUSTOMS) These Hawaiian legends are authentic and accurate in detail. I have them from very old natives, educated and uneducated, from the poorest up to members of the royal family. I have verified their versions by personal talks with missionaries, by printed histories and by documents in the archives of Hawaii.

The legends are strikingly like Old Testament Bible stories, yet they were not given the Hawaiians by Christians. They have been handed down in story and song for more than a thousand years, centuries before the white man came.

Here is their story of creation: In the beginning there were three gods, Kane, Ku and Lono. These were the gods. The name of the trinity was Hikapooia. There was no earth, no light, sun, moon nor stars. Chaos ruled the universe. The trinity would that light appear and it came. Then they made three heavens, a dwelling place for each. And then, in the following order, the earth, sun, moon and stars.

Next they made many angels to serve them.

Creation of Man. After all that was done they created man. His body was fashioned from red dust or earth, mixed with the spittle of Kane. His head was formed from whitish clay brought by Lono from widely separated parts of the earth. The man was fashioned in the image of Kane who, when the work was completed, breathed the breath of life into his nostrils and the red dust and whitish clay became a living being.

Sometime after the man fell into a deep sleep, a rib was taken from his side and from that rib woman was made.

The man and the woman were placed in a beautiful garden through which ran three streams of life-giving water. All sorts of tropical fruits grew in the garden, among which was the tabued (forbidden) "breadfruit tree" and the "sacred apple tree." In some way not made clear by the legends these trees were responsible for the fall of the man and woman and their expulsion from the garden.

Another legend tells that the Hawaiian satan crept into the garden in the form of a lizard (snakes are unknown in Hawaii) and tempted the man and woman.

They had three sons in this order—Laka, Ahu and Ka Pili. The legend says that "Laka was a bad man and killed his brother, Ahu."

In course of time the trinity decided to destroy the earth by water. But there lived a man whom they wished to save. His name was Nu'u. They told him to build a great canoe and put a top on it. When it was finished he and his wife entered, his three sons and their wives and a male and female of every living thing. Then the waters came and covered the earth. How long the ark floated is not told, but after a while the waters went down and it rested on top of a mountain.

The Rainbow Legend. When Nu'u came from the ark he saw the moon shining and, mistaking the light for the god, Kane, offered a sacrifice to the moon. This angered Kane who made a rainbow by which he descended to earth and upbraided the Hawaiian Noah. Nu'u convinced him that he had honestly mistaken the moon for the god, however, and Kane relented. As a perpetual reminder of his forgiveness he left the rainbow in the sky.

I asked a Hawaiian how both the moon and a rainbow could be visible at night. He told me of the "lunar" or moonlight rainbow (which I have since seen) and then asked me if there were any horses in the white man's heaven. I told him no. Immediately he demanded to know what became of the horses that carried Elijah's chariot to heaven!

Unlike most savages the Hawaiians did not believe that their islands were the entire world. There are several legends about the creation of the group. One is that a great bird laid an egg in the Pacific ocean. It was hatched by the warm winds of the tropics and the islands came into existence. Another chant says that originally there were but two islands, that they married and all the others are their children.

There is an account of a Hawaiian Jonah who displeased the gods, was upbraided in his canoe, swallowed by a great fish and later cast up on the beach.

The Sun Stands Still. Maui is the name of the Hawaiian Joshua. His mother, Hina, made kapa, cloth beaten from the bark of trees. The process required considerable dampening of the cloth which must be thoroughly dried in the sun before ready for use. But the days were too short. There was much more darkness than light. The sun "moved" too quickly. Maui, through love for his mother, determined to make the sun "go" more slowly. Its rays or beams were supposed to have been "legs" by which it "walked" across the earth. The man wore a strong cord from the fiber of coconut husks. With this he went to the top of a mountain where the sun "started" each morning, made a noose and snared one of its "legs." Having caught the leg he broke it off. He repeated this day after day until the sun "stopped" to parley with him. Maui agreed to break off no more "legs" if the sun would consent to "walk" more slowly. The bargain was entered into and so, says the legend, the days became longer. The mountain where all this took place can still be seen in Hawaii; its native name means "sun snarer."

Let me repeat that the whites did not give these tales to the natives; until the missionaries came in 182, Hawaiians had never heard the story of Jesus. Christians, even had an unrecorded company landed here a thousand years ago, would not have related the Old Testament to the people and completely ignored the New. There are a number of theories, the most likely of which is that originally the

Hawaii, An International Crime

Hawaiians came from some of the old tribes of Israel and brought their Israeli legends with them. In the course of centuries these were modified to fit existing conditions and in that form were handed down from generation to generation. I met missionaries who said they believed the Hawaiians a part of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

Primitive Hawaiian Homes. Native houses were constructed of grass, woven twigs and leaves over a framework of upright and horizontal poles. An ideal "home" consisted of six separate houses; one was an idol house; another, an eating house for males; another, an eating house for females; another, the private eating house of the native's favorite wife; another, the work house of the woman and still another was set aside as a nursery. If a native could not afford so many houses he did with less, sometimes reduced to one large dwelling in which case it was partitioned off to meet these requirements. I shall remind you of this in a coming chapter when we visit the tenements of Honolulu and see the miserable, crowded conditions under the white man's civilization. It is a shameful contrast with "savagery" conditions.

They were, and are, the finest swimmers in the world. Native boys now swim out to meet incoming vessels and dive for coins thrown into the sea.

An early superstition was that a native priest could bring death upon any one by praying for it. But to do this he must have something intimately associated with the intended victim—a lock of his hair, a bracelet, a finger nail or even some of his spittle. Therefore the position of ipukua (spittoon bearer) to a king, a noble or a chief was a place of distinction and responsibility.

Music and Flowers. Men, women and children wore garlands of flowers with which the islands abounded. The custom is still retained. The Hawaiian will do without food to purchase a lei (pronounced "lay") or wreath of flowers to adorn a friend or himself.

As natural musicians they are unequalled. If you want to know something more about this side of the natives step into some music store and ask to hear the Hawaiian record, "Aloha oe."

Music and flowers were their two great passions. Even now the soft Hawaiian twilight is a signal for the wonderfully delicate "thrumming" of native instruments, the crooning of indescribably sweet lullabies and, finally, full throated song under the wonderful tropical moon. Seated beneath the palms they seem to slip back into the ages, five hundred and a thousand years ago, back to the days of their ancestors and in fancy they worship at the shrines of the gods of their fathers.

And that, "the gods of their fathers," brings us down to April 19, 1820, when the first missionaries landed, from the state of Massachusetts. Certain things happened after, and because of, their coming.

The Missionaries Stay. Here's just an inkling of what's to come: Because of religious dissertations certain missionaries were deported by the native government. But in 1839 a French frigate trained its guns on shore and threatened bombardment unless a company of missionaries on board were allowed to land and remain. With a thousand years of heathen superstition tearing at their hearts, fearing the gods of their fathers, but fearing the cannon of the white man more, the consent was given and the missionaries came ashore.

Frightened natives met them at the beach, smiled wistfully into their eyes, extended their hands and said, "Aloha!"

You will get a fair conception of the commercial war now "on" in Europe, by thinking over a news dispatch, telling of the making of a single grave in Austria four miles long. In it there were buried 40,000 Austrians. To enable all these to be crowded in this biggest grave on record, the corpses were laid side by side and three deep. There are a few of the homes that Socialism had nothing to do with breaking up.

The Southern Pacific railway is urging its employes to quit patronizing merchants that do not patronize that road. The boycott is all right for the masters, but let the workers apply it for themselves and you will see the courts imprisoning them.

Don't ask for a job—it disturbs business. Boost—that helps the man you lift. Learn to be glad the other fellow is prosperous at your expense, and don't be so ungrateful as to complain when you starve.

WIVES!! Could you run a farm if your husband's health failed??

Mr. Hattie B. Hardman of Kona Lake, N. Y. old time writes: "My husband's health was poor, and the doctors told him he must be on a farm. He said he would buy a farm if I could run it. I replied that I had not been reading the Farm Journal all these years for nothing, and that I certainly could run a farm. So we bought 'Willowbrook' on Lake Kona, and for two years I have had full charge of everything, and have made a success of it. How much I owe to your little paper I can never tell you. It certainly has done a great deal for me. My husband calls me his 'Farm Journal farmer.' You can get the Farm Journal at Mrs. Hardman's place. It is \$2.00 a year in advance. Write for a 100 day period back any time not satisfied. The favorite in every state. Subscribe now.

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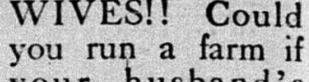
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AGENTS—AT LAST!



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Editorial Page of the Appeal to Reason

THE AMERICAN KRUPPS and damphools are busy again. Taking advantage of the war spirit created by the European conflict the manufacturers of armament and other war munitions of this country have through an insidious lobby begun a campaign for more warships, cannon and other murderous machines. That fine type generally called a patriot, but in fact a damphool, has easily fallen a dupe to these jingoists and is giving the American Krupps all the assistance at his command. On trains, at hotels, on street corners and, in fact, wherever one happens to be you hear some damphool remark, "This country is not prepared for war." Why should it be? Why should we not be prepared for peace?

Our damphool friend imagines that battleships and transports laden with soldiers of some foreign foe are surrounding our country ready to inflict injury and death to our "unprotected populace." First, there is not a country on the face of the earth who in the remotest way is considering war with our country. Second, our coast defenses are conceded to be the strongest in the world. America already has the second largest navy and even the German military authorities have admitted that our country would be a difficult one to invade.

It's absurd to try to be fully prepared for war. You cannot be. Supposing we build a large enough navy to be able to engage the British navy—the largest of all. What then? England would combine with France. Then we would have to have a navy as large as these two countries put together. Then after getting a navy as large as that of England and France—a feat that is absurdly impossible—these two members of the entente could call in the assistance of Russia, or possibly Japan. Now do you see, Mr. Damphool, where you get off? You cannot prepare to meet "all comers," in the language of the pugilist. Nobody knows this better than Charles M. Schwab and other American manufacturers of murderous machinery. But they know one thing and that is they can use this war scare to induce Uncle Sam to part with your cash. And that is all they are after.

More serious than the wasteful expenditure of millions of dollars is the war danger that comes of increased armaments. When a country is loaded to the teeth it becomes a "bully." America will then brag and bluster until it actually gets a war on its hands. Increased armaments always lead to war. The silliest delusion is that argument that you can prepare for peace by preparing for war. In every other phase of life you would consider a man insane who would advocate that the proper way to do a thing is to do the opposite thing.

It is, therefore, the immediate duty of every enemy of war and bloodshed to make himself heard in his community. Oppose your damphool friends with logic, facts and argument. Equip yourself with the best works against militarism. Circulate leaflets that actually stand for peace and humanity. Enlist in the war against war!

IT IS INCONCEIVABLE in this rich world, where labor can do everything, that a majority of the people should be in constant need; lacking houses, with builders idle;

Earth is Rich But the People Are in Want lacking food, with the land not half used; lacking clothing, with more mills than are needed to supply all; lacking education, with every facility for teaching and the power to increase that facility. It is astounding that, with all the means of transportation at the command of labor, any should fail to see the world, any should wish to visit a distant friend and not find the means to do it. No thoughtful man can consider the ability of the worker to do things, and the machinery that invention has given the world to supplement his efforts, and at the same time explain poverty, unemployment and despair on any basis except that of imbecility and crime. It is not needful that Socialism should "do" anything for anybody in order to end the infamous barbarity that prevails. The only thing needful is to get the workers to do that they can do it all—to open the highways of opportunity, to end exploitation, to set the toiler free and give him vision. If we had the discernment to see it, and the common sense to organize society for the good of all, instead of for the few exploiters as at present, poverty would end, war would pass away in the smoke and discord it creates, crime like a disease would be healed, despair would vanish like the night when dawn wakens the world, and life would become the good and joyous thing it was meant to be, sustained by a beautiful nature, and made glorious through creative toil.

HERE IS AN EXTRACT from an actual letter, written by an Indian resident in Amadorville, Ariz., which brings out strange facts regarding the white man's dominance of the red. It will be seen that he, too, is learning. He reads the APPEAL. As he says, "They tell me I know nothing, but I think heap all day," and again, "I got red card, I sure socialist." Here is his accusation:

"I live in Cherokee nation 50 years. In '06 Cherokee make bargain with United States, say no bother poor man as long as grass grows and water runs. Now see, All gone. Government give land to white man. White man he lost it too. Government get all injuns poor. I get mad and go to Mexico, but me good home. Fight there, I run too fast. Come back here. Too poor to go back home Oklahoma. What the government do. Hear wild land here; nobody work it. Company land. Company make law no kill deer. Why no way? I feel damn it."

By a curious coincidence, the same mail that brought this letter from the Cherokee Indian, brought also the report of the secretary of the interior, in which the following boast is made:

"On the first of last July the Cherokee nation ceased to exist. The Cherokee nation, with its senate and house, governors and officers, laws, property and authority, exists no longer. Surely there is something fine in this slight bit of history."

Something fine indeed! The history of the

Cherokee people is a tragedy. They were the most advanced of all the natives found in America. Originally their home was in Alabama and Mississippi. From this section they were removed, by force, to Kansas, being given a reservation "as long as grass grows and water runs," in southeast Kansas, including the section where the APPEAL is now printed. After the war they were removed from here to Oklahoma and again the reservation was given "as long as grass grows and water runs." Sequoyah, the chief, invented an alphabet—something no single white man had ever done—and books and papers were printed in the Indian language, while the red people, under federal guarantee, had their own government and own laws.

Now notice the "security" that the warrant deed gives. The land in Cherokee and Crawford counties, Kansas, promised "as long as grass grows and water runs," was alienated from the Indians. The land in Oklahoma, promised "as long as grass grows and water runs," was sold to the whites. The reservations, opened to settlement, passed by government patent to various white men within the memory of millions now living. Most of them have lost the land. Most of them are now renters or wage workers. As for Jasper Exendine, the Indian: "All gone. Government give my land to white man. White man lost it too." And now they take away the Cherokee government and say it means progress.

It may be progress. But where is the security in land tenure under this system? Reflect on this.

THE TOTAL AMOUNT of legal tender money held in the banks on the 16th of November, the day the regional bank system went into effect, was \$1,500,000,000. On this

Reserve Banks Are a Boon to Greedy Plutes foundation the banks had loaned out \$15,000,000,000, and had received interest in advance (discount, it is called) or were receiving interest thereon.

The secretary of the treasury says that on November 15, \$464,000,000 of the foundation was to be released on account of the banks of the country being required to keep only 12 per cent instead of 15 per cent on deposit, and the city banks 18 instead of 25 per cent of their deposits as reserves. It is very evident from this that almost one-third of the real money foundation was taken out from under the \$18,500,000,000 of deposits and the \$15,000,000,000 of bank loans. So they now have \$464,000,000 to use as a foundation, which will increase their loaning power five billions. The banks, when they get this new machine fully into operation, will be loaning twenty billions on the same amount of foundation (\$1,500,000,000) as they formerly loaned fifteen billions. This means, at eight per cent, four hundred millions of additional interest for the banks. Add to this \$100,000,000 given annually to them by the interstate commerce commission in increased freight and passenger rates; the saving in labor that has been and will be reduced; the clean-up on the stocks at 50 to 60 per cent of what they were sold for; and the postal saving deposits re-deposited with them, and you will realize something of what a steal has just been put over by the banking interests. No wonder they are clamoring for an increased army, in terror lest the people discover all it means and revolt.

DID YOU HEAR THAT? President Wilson is going to tackle the problem of unemployment. And what is he going to do? Have the postoffice tell the workers where there are jobs—when there are any—and tell the masters where they can get slaves—as if they didn't know! Great scheme!

Workers Want Jobs and Pay, Not Schemes Wonderful sociology for the professor! Why doesn't Wilson take the money the people deposit with the postoffice and use it in employing the idle at public works? That would create work and mean something. But he prefers to re-deposit the money with the bankers, so as to strengthen the master class that has caused all the employment, and then beg and whine to them to please be good and not starve everybody. A business man that would conduct affairs as foolishly as Wilson is managing for the people in America would be fired within two days.

We're all but defeated, our numbers depleted by judge, machine gun and thug; Our children are crying and many are dying— At the mercy of charity smug.

If the war keeps up for another five years or so, Europe will know what Colorado feels like.

If you feel inclined to get excited over the "increased armament" fad, "remember the Maine" was blown up from the inside.

WONDER if the steel coated bullets of the European war lords are any more dangerous than the steel coated bullets of the American money lords?

ONE of the belligerent nations has enlisted "a regiment of cutthroats from the slums of its capital city." But a regiment of loan sharks ought to be the real goods when it comes to charging.

CAPITALISM, endorsed by the old parties, gives the average school teacher \$50 per month, while the average saloon owner gets well over \$200 per month. Don't you feel a little ashamed sometimes when you vote an old party ticket?

WHEN the war ends and the workers of Europe begin staggering under the tremendous war debt that will follow, they can get some comfort by reminding themselves that they are not trying to make a living on an Oklahoma cotton farm.

A SCHOOL in Los Angeles has a course of instructions for immigrants in the theory of the nation's laws, customs and institutions. And the Colorado gunmen have a course of instruction for immigrants in the practice of the nation's laws, customs and institutions.

W. H. WAYLAND, Publisher.
LOUIS KOPELIN, Editor.
Associate Editors—Allan L. Benson, Lincoln Phil-
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Creel, Upton Sinclair, George Allan England,
George R. Kirkpatrick, Ellis O. Jones and P. H.
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JOHN A. HOLMES, director of the bureau of mines, in his annual report, says that through the use of improper methods \$75,000,000 is lost yearly in the consumption of coal. Three hundred million tons of coal are wasted annually through careless mining. Half the total output of the mines of every kind is now a waste. What an arraignment of the "efficiency" of capitalism! Not only is the system robbing the workers of today, but it is also wasting the wealth of coming generations.

WHILE it was declared that in the strike district of Colorado there had never been such a thing as awarding damages for injuries to an employe, though many suits had been brought under a liberal state law, from Washington comes the report that during the last five years the government has paid \$1,293,923 to workers as compensation for injuries received while in the employ of the government. Out of 14,963 claims 14,046 were allowed. Quite a difference in working for the government and working for private masters, eh?

The Socialist party is now considering Allan L. Benson's proposition, first made in the columns of the APPEAL, for the democratization of war and daylight diplomacy. Democratization of war means the putting of the war making power into the hands of the people, thus making it necessary for a referendum vote before an aggressive war is declared. Daylight diplomacy means the ending of secret diplomacy, which is the most insidious method of getting a country involved into an open breach with foreign countries. Both of these peace propositions have been initiated by Local Philadelphia, with a membership in good standing of more than 1,700. And the locals all over the country are seconding Local Philadelphia's resolution because it covers both of these anti-war propositions clearly and concisely.

Three Months for Ten Cents

Repeated requests from APPEAL Army workers have influenced us to accept for some time to come ten-cent subscriptions in clubs of ten. The comrades write us that owing to hard times it is difficult to get in many cases 25-cent subscriptions. They say that it will be a great help to them in their work for the cause if the APPEAL would accept three months' subscriptions at ten cents. It is true that this winter conditions are worse than they have been for many years and that the APPEAL will have to take this fact into consideration. We therefore wish to announce to our thousands of friends that we will accept three months' subscriptions at ten cents in clubs of ten. We cannot accept ten-cent subscriptions when sent in lists smaller than ten, because it means a dead loss to us. It costs just as much to put a ten-cent name on the list as it does a 25-cent name, but we make a saving in the expense when we get 10 ten-cent names on one list. So please remember not to send us lists of ten-cent names of a smaller number than ten.

Another reason for this announcement is the fact that a man will "take a chance" and subscribe for a Socialist paper when it only costs a dime. What taking such a chance means is clearly shown in the following letter:

Sometime ago you sent an offer to one of your subscribers in my locality agreeing to send the Appeal 13 weeks for ten cents. Just for fun I figured a dime wasn't much—I subscribed and now I am glad that I did.

If anything can stir a man to use his common sense judgment it is the Appeal. I have just joined the Socialist party.—Alfred Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn.

What Alfred Johnson learned by becoming a three months' subscriber to the APPEAL any normal person that you know can also learn. Remember that you were a non-Socialist at one time yourself. Where would you be today and where would Alfred Johnson be today if it were not for the APPEAL and its tireless friends?

The ten-cent rate gives you a splendid chance to build up the circulation of the APPEAL and the strength of the Socialist movement. Take advantage of it.

THE YEAR 1914 marked a worldwide rally of the exploiters. They precipitated the worst war the gored-soaked earth has ever known. They are piling up a public indebtedness that will leave the nations enslaved to the bankers for generations, unless it be repudiated. They forced on a so-called progressive democratic administration in this country absolute bank control of money and credits, and a legalizing of the fictitious values they had placed upon trusts, stocks and bonds. They persistently fought the unions, even with hired armies that committed terrible atrocities, and they won. They have suspended the debts of the trusts. They have refused to extend the debts of the tenant farmers, closing

Past Year Was Reactionary. Hope in 1915

them out remorselessly. They have forced a raise in railroad rates, and refused to grant government loans to farmers. The so-called progressive party has been relegated to oblivion, and old standpatters elected to power once more. With all this they have not employed the idle, they have not resumed business. Never was the outlook worse for the world than at the beginning of 1915. And it is by no means certain, with a jingo press and capitalist mob howling for blood, that America will be kept out of the war during the coming year. It seems the masters are ready to wreck the world and return it to barbarism in order to hold their power of exploitation. The hopeful thing is that they are as desperate as they are. If they did not realize their precarious hold they would not be ready to resort to such extreme measures. It is inconceivable that the millions will be willing to return to abject servitude. While 1915, therefore, will doubtless witness a continuation of the fight, we believe it will mark the turning of the tide of battle in favor of the people. It would be foolish to attempt to forecast what may happen in detail. However, the APPEAL is certain that, while 1914 saw the desperate bloody stand of the reactionaries in the interest of plunder, 1915 will bring us an awakening on the part of the workers that will mean the defeat of the demons of profit and the triumph of the toilers. But now in the time of stress it devolves on every soldier of the common good to do his whole duty.

ONE OF THE MOST adroit moves of the day is the promotion of the Rockefeller foundation. The thing sought is federal recognition of the trust. Being organized to promote "the welfare of mankind" federal recognition of the foundation would make it stronger than any state, and with the broad purpose suggested, would authorize it to do anything in the world. For years Rockefeller has sought federal incorporation for the foundation, but congress feared to grant it. Not deterred by defeats, he has financed it by putting into it bonds of 52 corporations and stocks of 63. He is thus gaining respectability for these pirate "securities" by using them for "charity," and there are thousands of religionists who are willing to commend the whole shameful swindle because of the pretense of "welfare" behind it. Dr. Eliot comes out in fulsome praise of the man who is oppressing more workers than any other being in America.—but Eliot has been given a place on the foundation! Now that Rockefeller has murdered workers at Ludlow and used a private army of criminals to shoot his employes into subjection, he proposes to "investigate" his own work—and of course white-wash it!

History never produced more consummate hypocrites than the Rockefellers. But the congress that legalized the watered stock swindle by making the fraudulent papers the basis of bank currency will give Rockefeller anything he may ask. Rockefeller's foundation is deeply laid, and on it they mean to erect a slavery greater than the earth has ever known, if you will let them get away with it.

War Is Hell, But It Means More Profits WHY SHOULD THERE be war? Reasonably—under capitalism. In the first place, war gives something to do to the millions that were out of employment, and sets them to killing each other rather than the masters. Then war provides investment for idle capital, in the way of war loans. And the investment comes right back to the bankers, while the people are tied up in interest forever and ever. War creates a market for battleships, for guns, for ammunition, for food, and for wearing apparel, sold by wholesale. War affords a reason for stopping embarrassing agitation. War makes it possible to censor the news and let the people know only what the masters want them to know. War affords opportunity for some to become heroes and others millionaires. There is every reason for war—from a capitalistic standpoint. The more war they can provoke the more business it means for them.

When every official, legislative, judicial Or executive, small or great By labor's selected, nominated, elected— Then labor will be the state.

WONDER if the modern tenant farmer has gained much by swapping the Indian of pioneer days for the landlord of "civilization"?

A PHILANTHROPIST wants to bring the Belgian refugees to the United States and give them land to work. Stick 'em on an Oklahoma cotton farm and make the bankers happy.

DIRECTOR JOHN A. HOLMES of the bureau of mines says \$1,000,000 a day is unnecessarily wasted in the mineral resources of the United States. He objects to Socialism on the ground that it is wasteful.

A COLLEGE professor who has a scheme to maintain industrial peace in Colorado while allowing the mine owners to squeeze all the dividends possible out of the workers, objects to Socialism on the ground that it is "a hare-brained scheme."

A 42-CENTIMETER professor says "The Socialist must defend the working of his socialistic state." It's a lucky thing for the professor that he doesn't have to defend the working of his capitalistic state.

If you have not yet identified yourself with Socialism, the year 1915 should see you definitely in the ranks. Reform parties have been tried long enough to prove their inadequacy. The need is pressing for definite action, and as the reactionaries are rallying to destroy liberty it is imperative that those who favor emancipation get together in definite opposition to the exploiters.

YOU HAVE HEARD of General Otis advising working people to boycott the APPEAL. You have heard of Judge Grosscup telling working people not to read the APPEAL.

Boycott the Appeal, Urges Angry Comrade You have heard of sore-head capitalists and chagrined politicians urging the dear people to keep away from the APPEAL as they would from a "venomous snake."

But have you ever heard of a salaried official of the Socialist party advising Socialists to boycott this paper? Of course this party official is an insignificant one. He is an isolated case and his influence amounts to practically nothing. Still we were curious to know why this Socialist office holder is so bitter against the little old APPEAL. So we investigated. And we found that he was not against the APPEAL because it did not propagate Socialism as it should be propagated. He was not against the APPEAL because it failed to champion the oppressed and the downtrodden. He was not against the APPEAL because it did not do its full duty to the Colorado coal miners. He was not against the APPEAL because it was not straining every nerve to get justice for the cotton growers of the south. He was not against the APPEAL because it was the only Socialist paper that had determined to bring Socialism to the farmers and the farmers to Socialism. But he was against the APPEAL, and wanted it boycotted, because it failed to give him a duplicate list of our subscribers in his state.

It is true we refused him this list. And here is an exact copy of the letter we wrote him and others who made similar requests:

Dear Comrade—Our experience the last few years has absolutely demonstrated to us that in order to protect our readers and the Appeal we must refuse all requests for mailing lists. Although it may not be the fault of the person to whom we send the lists, they often get into other people's hands and are used for commercial purposes. Another reason for our new rule is that we receive many complaints from our readers against being visited by people soliciting subscriptions or contributions. They claim that in subscribing for the Appeal they expect us to keep their names in confidence.

If you wish to circulate the Appeal readers for purely party purposes please forward your printed matter and postage to us and we will mail it out from here or if you wish you can have us do this work for you at cost.

So far as getting renewals for the Appeal, will say that under our new system we canvass our renewals directly from this office.

We hope that you will appreciate that this action is taken for the best interests of the Appeal readers who are naturally entitled to first consideration.

This party official, as we have learned from some of our readers, is taking liberties with our letter of explanation and giving his own interpretation of it. Knowing his carelessness in repeating our reasons we have reprinted the letter in full so that the comrades may know the real truth. We know that the old war horses who have worked with the APPEAL during the last score of years don't need this explanation to keep them from being hoodwinked by this party official's loose talk. They know that it has been the APPEAL's sound business judgment—necessary under capitalism—that has made it possible for it to attain the largest circulation of any Socialist publication and to make it practically the only Socialist paper that does not require financial contributions. The APPEAL never begged a cent to keep it going. All its income has been from subscriptions, advertising, books, etc. And who will say that the APPEAL does not give more for the money than any other agency? Of course, our friend, the party official referred to above, will probably answer this question differently than the rest of our half million subscribers. He is welcome to his opinion, but we will take a chance that the tremendous majority are right and he is wrong. What do you think?

THE HOUSTON POST declares: "Houston must have a breadline to keep people from starving to death by the score. The police say they are forced to pick up all stragglers to protect home owners."

A Texas Town Could Issue Its Own Money Yet these stragglers have been driven to crime to keep from starving." The same condition prevails in practically every city of the land, only for the most part the papers are keeping the fact dark in the interest of "confidence" and "business"—a confidence game that is anything but creditable to the papers working it. The Post, in addition to telling the truth, offers a suggestion that is not half bad. It appears Houston has already voted \$100,000 bonds for erecting school buildings, but that the capitalists who are so boastful of good times refuse to buy the bonds. The Post suggests that they be issued in denomination of \$25 each and sold to home people. If the issue were made in sums of \$1 each, it would be found the paper would circulate as money, and much of the hard times that is due to the tying up of things to the banker class would disappear. How much are you betting that Houston does this?

IF A MAN is dependent on another for a job, he is not free. If a farmer is dependent on others for a market he is not free. If a man wishes to work and cannot find means to enable him to purchase anything he may wish, he is not free. If a man is so hampered by conditions over which he has no control that he is unable to educate himself or his children, he is not free. If a man or woman longs for travel or sight-seeing and is unable to gratify that wish, he or she is not free. If a child has to quit school to work, it is not free. If any one is compelled to work at something that is not congenial, or kept from doing something that would be desired, he is not free. If one wants to invest in some great theme and is not able to carry through the work, he is not free. This is a slave world. Many are seeking to be masters; nearly all are slaves. In the last analysis, a billion and a half people are enslaved to less than one hundred families. What are you going to do about it?