

DON'T FAIL to contribute
ONE DOLLAR
or more to the Business Men's Edition
THIS WEEK

Appeal to Reason.

This is Number 517
Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., October 28, 1905

No man is great enough or rich enough to get this paper on credit or for a longer time than paid for. It is published as an advocate of International Socialism, the movement which favors the ownership of the earth by ALL the people—not by a PART of the people.
Entered at Girard, Kan., postoffice as second class mail matter.

2,767,149

copies of the Trust Edition were ordered at 6 p. m., October 20th.

The Trust Edition of the Appeal will be printed soon, and your opportunity to contribute to this great success is rapidly passing. This edition will undoubtedly reach 3,000,000 copies, at which figure we shall refuse further contributions and further orders, simply because the capacity of this office, great as it is, will not permit us to undertake to print more than 3,000,000 papers. We now have the Appeal building so full of paper that it threatens to collapse; the auxiliary warehouse on the other side of the square is jammed full, and we have rented and have in use every available foot of space in town for paper storage. In addition to that, there are FIVE cars of paper on the road, for which we have no storage—and all of this paper represents 3,000,000 copies in addition to the usual requirements.

You can still contribute any sum you desire from ONE DOLLAR up to the fund for sending the Trust Edition to the business men; you can still order extra copies at the rate of \$1 for 250 or \$4 per thousand copies until these full three millions are provided for, after which you cannot get it at all.

This edition is THREE TIMES greater than any other paper, not only in the United States but in the whole world, since printing was discovered. It is improbable that this record will ever be equaled by any other paper at any time in the future—it is extremely unlikely that the Appeal itself will ever be able to duplicate it.

NOW is the time to identify yourself with this great world record breaking feat. In a short time your chance to do so will be forever gone.

SOCIALISM IN BANKS.

My Dear Wayland—I recently entered the bank at Downey, Cal., and was struck with surprise and amazement; for, behold, also a stack of Appeals in plain view of the public. On departing, Mr. Scott gave me a copy and requested me to read it, saying I would find many good things in it. He also asked me if I would distribute a few copies among my regular subscribers, and that he is a student of economics, a positive proof that the world do not lack literate bankers. He also requested me to enlighten the wage slaves. Also the ignorant wage worker has always been the great stumbling block of the human race, and always will be as long as wage exists. By his vote he permits the master class to make all the laws, and to elect directly or indirectly the rulers for all the misery and poverty. By his vote he produces all the paupers and the beggars of the world. He is the man who truly determines the pangs of hunger and the tears on his back. For his himself and the millions of his kind, he is the power behind the law. I sometimes think that if the energy of the proletariat was used on the middle class instead of the wage-slaves, the world would be a different place. When John Brown, at Harper's Ferry, asked an old negro if he would fight for his freedom, he replied: "Wait till I ask massa. If massa fight I fight." Just so it is with the great majority of wage slaves today. When they will vote for it also.—C. Doty.

You vote for the capitalist system and you are getting capitalist treatment. How do you like it?

If I wanted to skin you I would rather control your job than control your vote, if you will promise not to use your vote to take away my control of your job. Are you on?

If you had not been raised up under the wage system you would revolt before you would submit to its extortion. But, like the Mohammedan, you can't see its horrors because you have become accustomed to it, and don't see any other system.

Which has been the most profitable to capitalists—chattel slavery or wage slavery? Under which has the greatest fortunes been built? You wage slaves are the most profitable. Isn't it about time that you woke up to your degraded conditions?

The wonder is how the work people live on as little as they do. How can men be extravagant and keep a family on three dollars a day? If they are extravagant, what about the idlers who spend thousands a day? But, then, the latter don't have to work for what they spend.

EVERY act of your life has been to supply yourself with food, clothing, shelter, housing, instruction and pleasure. Socialism will arrange industry so that you will be supplied all these things for half the exertion you now give, and without any worry about whether you are going to get them.

BECAUSE the Retail Dealers' association protested against it, the postal authorities issued an order that the farmers should not receive mail matter addressed to their boxes, as it would afford the mail order houses means of getting their catalogues into the hands of the farmers! Thus the government refuses to accept profitable business and helps to keep the farmers from buying in the cheapest market, just to aid a few merchants to make more profits! And you call this running government in the interest of the majority!

I MEET people occasionally who will admit that they would like to live under Socialism if it were possible, but that human nature is not prepared for it! When they are asked if they are prepared they say "yes" but that other people are not. When the other people are asked they say the same thing. All the people are ready if they will but say the word. Each but waits upon the other.

The Trust Edition

will be beyond question the greatest and most complete rendition of the trust problem ever done into English, or any other language. Care, pains and money have been used unstintedly; and in its finality it will be a perfect symphony—a song of the conception, the birth and the rise to power of the Modern Trust; showing in each detail the transformation of industry from individual hands into corporate ownership; the gradual utilization of the government for its own ends, until today the Trust is the U. S. government; the rascality, the dishonesty, the criminal intent and practice are all vividly set forth, together with a plain and authentic statement of fact regarding the concentration of wealth in this country and the futility of any attempt to return to the days of competition.

The paper will not offer any statement except that which is vouched for and proven by some leader in the world of finance, politics or economics—some man whom the masses look upon as authority. Roosevelt, Hanna, Bryan, Lawson, the Morgan, Standard Oil and various groups of great financiers, as well as eminent bankers, lawyers and the like; and added to this will be editorials from various leading financial journals which will clinch and prove every statement that we make.

The whole aim and tenor of the paper will be to show that Socialism must be substituted for the present murderous and discordant hell, miscalled an economic "system."

YOUR ORDERS MUST BE FILED SOON, AS WE CAN TAKE NO ORDERS AFTER THE EDITION IS ON THE PRESS.

Prices:
500 Copies \$1.00
1000 Copies 2.00
10000 Copies 4.00

WONDER if winter was created just to force the poor people to patronize the coal trust or freeze?

WHAT were you born for—just to vote the old party tickets and produce for the pleasure and power of the monopolies?

WHEN the work people vote as they strike—against the capitalist masters—there will be something doing for their benefit.

CAN you really point to a single benefit you ever received for any vote you have ever cast? All of you hold up your hands.

UNDER chattel slavery the workers were always trying to get away from their jobs; under wage-slavery they are always hunting a job!

THE work people build palaces and the idle and corrupting class live in them. Don't you think the work people very wise to do this?

LABOR leaders, who consort with capitalists, are traitors to the men they lead. Who associates with the king would be a very unsafe leader for patriots.

YOU call this your country? How must it do you own? Don't you have to pay some one for the privilege of living here, just as you would to live in China? If you don't own some of this country, how can you claim this as your country?

AFTER thousands of strikes that have left the work people the same wage-slaves they have always been, isn't it about time they read up and found out what would change the system that makes them the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the masters, and then vote it in?

WHICH would be worth most to you—a vote for who should be your foreman or superintendent, or a vote for congressman? Socialism will give you a vote as to who shall be your foremen, superintendents and managers in the industry in which you work. It is up to your vote whether you have it or not.

THE capitalists can't down the work people in an open fight either with force or with the ballot. So they deceive the work people by various traps laid for them by the use of the paid lawyers, politicians and puppeteers. They have played this game for centuries and have always kept the upper hand. Strategy is their game. Why be deceived by them forever?

Bogus Christianity

Topeka, Kan., has been having a big religious revival, and the mayor got religion to such an extent that he had all the business houses (except the joints) close one day for prayer. The papers there give the expense of the meetings at \$2,200 and the converts at 1,000, or \$2.20 per head. It is stated that the "free will" offerings were very small, yet when people were converted in the days of the Savior and the disciples they brought all their worldly possessions and paid them at the feet of the Savior.

And they that believed were together and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men, as every man had need.—Acts 2:44-45.

And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed were his own; but they had all things common. Neither was there any among them that lacked; for as many as were desirous to live as they were, they sold their possessions and brought the price of the things which were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.—Acts 4:32-35.

How many of the "converts" at Topeka have conformed to this rule laid down by the Savior? Probably not one, unless it were some poor devil who hadn't anything to bring. I do not believe that there was a single real convert to the "doctrine of fellowship" of Christ at Topeka. It was merely a "business" of those who conducted the meetings and make their fine livings by that process. When I see men conduct themselves differently toward their fellows after they get religion I will believe that they have gotten the real spirit of the Christ—but not before. Nobody but the Socialists advocate a system in which the wealth of the world shall become the common property of the whole race—that it shall all be laid at the feet of humanity, so that none will have need. Why doesn't there come a change with people when they profess religion? Why do they still hold private property and advocate the continuance of the same capitalist system which the Savior denounced? The professionals also make a pretty good living out of their business, but there is no Christianity in them or their teachings.

RAGS may clothe intelligence and fine raiment may cover the fool. Don't think that because the work people are going around in old clothes that you would not wipe your feet on that you have the monopoly of brains. The rich sneer at the idea of the work people operating society! They really do operate it now, only they are permitting its blessings to go to a few. Take away the work people and what kind of society would be left? They would be too ignorant to operate the machines, build houses, make clothing, or make entertainment. They could not even make their own bread or wash their own dirty linen. They would be a worse looking lot than the denizens of the vilest slums in a month if they had to sustain themselves.

If the work people were to double their production of wealth next year they would be no better off than they are now. The additional surplus would go to the capitalists and we would have them richer—the poor would be just as near the door of Want as they now are. They would get their wages and that would be all. Under Socialism the greater the production the richer the work people would become. That is the reason the capitalists are opposed to Socialism, and just the reason the work people should favor Socialism.

GOVERNMENT ownership of industries is not Socialism, unless the workers control the government. So long as they elect capitalist politicians to operate the government they might as well let the capitalists operate the industries.

How often would Socialism have gathered you into its bosom of brotherhood and plenty and we would not, but went off after the capitalist politicians and lived worse than any capitalists' dogs or horses.

WORK people make all the food, all the clothes, all the houses, all the entertainment of the world. Where does the capitalist come in?

THE people who work go in shabby and the idlers go in silks and fine linen. They both vote the same tickets so this will continue.

SOME one suggests that the coal barons must have a great pull with God to have had Him put all the coal away for their profit.

The Ten-acre tract for the week ending October 21st was won by Comrade J. S. McDonald, Box 277, Daltart, Tex.—84 subs.

If one needs a cozy nest in the Ozarks, where nature does all that nature ought to do, and where a reasonable amount of light labor will daily spread one's table with everything that the season affords, then he has it to gain and nothing at all to lose by moving imperiously into the contest, and winning one of the ten-acre tracts offered by the Appeal for the largest club of subscribers each week. No one can secure anything without effort, and if you are a Socialist the endeavor to secure one of these tracts of land simply assists automatically to make more Socialists, to spread the ideas in which you believe, to break down the ancient economic superstitions that are instilled into the minds of the people, and brings nearer the glorious day when the wires will flash the news to the waiting world that the Socialists are in possession of the full powers of government in the United States.

We give such premiums as we are able from the small profits of the Appeal. We would be glad to give more if we could, but we know and feel assured that the "gangs" is willing to take what we can give and call it square. When we don't have much money the premium isn't very big—when things come our way we hand out something more expensive. The premium is, and always has been, secondary to the real business of scattering Socialism. These ten-acre tracts are really something due for anyone that wants that much ground, in an almost ideal location, where vegetables, flowers, fruits and honey, as well as almost everything else that will grow in North America fruits to perfection, and you will make no mistake if you enter the board.

The fight is a good one, and it is a mark of distinction to be the winner of one of these premiums—it shows that, for the week, at least, you stood at the head of Socialist endeavor in this country.

Please read the rules carefully.
1. Ten acres of land will be given each week to the person that sends in the largest club of yearly subscriptions to the Appeal.
2. The week ends in each case at 6 p. m., on Friday.
3. Two or more persons cannot pool their work and have it count for one. Each individual must work alone.
4. The purchase of postal subscription cards do not count on this offer.
5. In case of a tie the tied contestants will settle the matter between themselves.
6. A contestant must not pay for the subscriptions of anyone else in order to swell his list.

GIRARD has 81 members of the Socialist local in good standing.

How much will you take for your interest in the country? How much would it bring if put up at auction?

THE czar draws \$12,000,000 a year and Rockefeller draws more than \$100,000,000 a year. What a tyrant and oppressor the czar is!

If you haven't done so, you should give your local editor a copy of "Suppressed Information." It will give his grey matter something to conjure over.

OZARK, Mo., has a mutual telephone system that charges 25 cents a month for use of 'phones! Compare that with your privately-owned systems, and you will see what private ownership means.

The number and influence of the Socialist press of the nation is increasing rapidly. What a difference from the time when the *Coming Nation* made its bow to the nation thirteen years ago—when there was but one paper piping its warning!

WHEN that great corporation owning thousands of stores, begins to get in its work, having millions of employees, as James R. Keene says they will, what will the little storekeeper do? Wonder if he won't begin to think some thinks worth thinking?

If the mail-order houses are making the small dealer tremble, what will they do when the corporation with five thousand millions of capital gets after them, establishing stores all over the country? That's as surely coming as capitalists are after the dough.

THE government pays out hundreds of millions to enable capitalists to skin the people; but it will not furnish a dollar of capital to enable the millions of more or less idle work people to produce their own living. But then, this is a capitalist government and not run for the work people.

WHEN the king and nobles control government, do they not always make laws in their own interests? And do you expect the capitalist-minded people to make laws in the interests of any other than their own class? You are simply geese to expect any different results than what you are now getting for your votes.

At a meeting of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor 29 per cent of the delegates voted for Socialism! A few years ago it would not have received a single vote. Gradually the workers are getting their eyes open to the fact that they must use their ballot to help themselves attain mastery of their tools of production and distribution. The world moves.

Defending the Loot

In an address against the government having anything to do with preventing the railroads from robbing the people, Daniel Daveport, evidently a railroad attorney, with his pocket full of passes or the long green which greases defenders of robbers, said:

In my home town of Bridgeport, Conn., with a population of 80,000, there are 42,000 depositors in our four savings banks, and they own six millions in railway securities.

Bridgeport is one of those Yankee towns that sold wooden nutmegs and other such devices, and is composed of more capitalists in proportion to population than perhaps any other town in the nation. More than half bank depositors—men, women and children! That shows that the usurers deposit money in these banks in the names of all the members of the family, for usually these banks pay interest on deposits up to a certain amount only, and when I was connected incidentally with a savings bank once, which paid interest on deposits up to \$3,000, these Connecticut Yankee capitalists sent money way out to Colorado in the names of their wives and children, so that they could get interest on a larger amount than was permitted to one person! I know that these deposits are of capitalists because I will venture the APPEAL plant on a wager that these sums are not returned for taxation, and that their possessors are, therefore, mostly perjurers—and that is why they are defended by Mr. Daveport. Go into their tax schedules and see if the Appeal is not right. And then ask congress to keep its hands off the filchings of men who are perjurers! Say, Daveport, give us something interesting. Under Socialism all the people will own all the railroads and all the other capital of the nation and that will be better than for a few to own them and thus live parasitic lives off their fellows—and corrupt every department of public life to hold that control.

O. J. BAILEY, chairman of the school board, president of a savings bank, "and one of the most prominent business men" of Peoria, Ill., has been indicted for grafting. These are the kind of men the laboring class elect to office. They won't trust one of their own class—they think it such a great honor to vote for the kind of men who wear silk hats and diamonds! A lot of other fellows there are also in the mire—every one of whom are bitterly opposed to Socialism that would make conditions under which graft could not be practiced. Vote the same old tickets and see the graft play continue. You pay your money, but have no choice.

In the United States court at Cincinnati, Judge Thompson granted an injunction against J. P. Stetson, in the interest of a former employer, preventing Stetson from taking employment with any firm in which his knowledge, gained while in their employ, could be used! It thus appears that the employers claim an ownership right in the brains of their employees forever! Now will the work people be good and recognize the superiority of their bosses? This is only one step from preventing a man from voting for whom he pleases. Great is capitalism, and the judges are its prophets.

"Be contented with your conditions in life," we are often told. But if all people had been contented there would never have been any progress; we would still be savages in the forests. Discontent is the sign of awakening life. Only the most stupid of men are contented, no matter what their conditions. The rich are not contented with their conditions—they are ever trying to better them, and why shouldn't the poor do the same?

If the homeless will vote for Socialism, under which each will have a good home, they will carry the day. A majority today are renters in the land of their birth—having to pay some landlord for the privilege of remaining in the country.

SOCIALISM will give you what you have been working for all your life—all the good things of life in exchange for less than an eight-hour day. Read it up and see for yourself.

The old party leaders say "Vote 'er straight." The Socialist says: "Read and post yourself." See the difference?

If the Irish were robbed by their landlords for making them pay rent, why are not American tenants robbed for the same reason? Does an act become a virtue in a republic which is a crime in a monarchy?

THE Workingmen's Progressive library has been established by comrades in Pittsburg, Pa. They need books and request donations from Appeal readers. Send to L. Levitt, 1643 Wylie avenue, Pittsburg, Pa.

THE Italian Socialist paper, *Avanti*, has been for the second time confiscated for publishing an anti-military manifesto. Why are the rulers so afraid the working class will follow the command, "Thou shalt not kill?"

WILLIAM WALSH, son of the Lord of Mathwaite, has been appointed as private secretary to United States Ambassador Reid. We do not believe in titles in America, oh, no! But we put up the coin, nevertheless, to keep them in positions of state.

JUDGING from observation during a recent outing among the farmers of Southern Missouri, I am satisfied that a majority of them are ready to accept a change of social institutions as soon as we can get our message to them. What are you doing to get papers into their hands?

You live by industry—not by politics; therefore, you should have a vote for the officers where you work, as you now have for political offices, with this difference—you would have the power to "fire them." You certainly know better who would be an efficient foreman than who would be an efficient congressman, wouldn't you? Socialism will give you this added voting influence.

THE government is spending a quarter of a million dollars near Garden City, Kan., erecting an irrigating plant, and has provided \$25,000 per year for its maintenance. At the end of ten years it is to be turned over to a syndicate of big farmers. No farmer not a member of the syndicate can secure water from the government plant.

THE Minneapolis Tribune is pleased to report the splendid work which the Associated Charities of that city has done during the past year. Over 2,000 families were helped to stave off the wolf of starvation, but "unfortunately the charities are not able to finish the year without a deficit, due to the largely increasing demands which are being made upon it." And this is the age of the Big Stick and Prosperity!

THE Alameda, California, county grand jury has just adjourned and finds that graft exists in every department of the public service. The remedy, of course, is to continue to vote the same old tickets as usual, and expect the thieves to reform! In every case of graft it occurred by reason of the private ownership of industries. Under Socialism the industries will be public property and there will be no opportunity for any grafting.

THE capitalists believe that the working class will never become sufficiently intelligent to see how they are robbed, and proceed with their skinning as if it were sure it would never end. We Socialists believe that we can awaken the work people to realize their degraded condition and wish to change it to a condition of peace, plenty and pleasure, which Socialism will give them.

ARE you doing what you can to get Socialist articles in your local papers? Many of the comrades are, and you should help. Trouble? Yes, but then it must cause you some trouble to pay the continual extortion of capitalists on every thing you eat and wear. You must do your part in the struggle. No one can do it for you. If liberty is worth anything it is worth struggling for. It will not come to you as a gift—it is something that must be taken.

TRIGGS' Magazine is a new Socialist monthly, issued by Prof. Oscar Lovell Triggs, who was kicked out of Rockefeller's Chicago university on account of the "doctrines he advocated." *Printers' Ink* says the new publication is backed by the publisher of the *American Lumberman*, which ought to provide it against disaster during its early days. Prof. Triggs is an able writer, and the Appeal predicts the new publication will make a place for itself. Send for a sample copy. Address Triggs' Magazine, 355 Dearborn street, Chicago.

The Standard Oil

Under the fight against Standard Oil by Kansas, its stock has advanced from \$605 to \$675 per share! The Waters-Pierce Oil company has just declared 300 per cent dividends for the year, the price of crude oil has been kicked under the table, and H. H. Rogers has been in Kansas looking at the prospects for taking in the whole state as a pocket piece. The Standard monopoly is safe as long as people elect democrats and republicans to office, but when they get wise enough to elect Socialists there will be something doing worth while in Rockefeller land. They will take the oil business, from beginning to end, and make it a public monopoly and sell oil at the cost of production, and no more millions will be added to the Rockefeller camp by reason of oil stored up by nature. In the meanwhile, I smile as the octopus gobbles up the little fellows who are trying to do the Standard Oil act in their own interest.

The Baltimore grand jury, according to the *Sun* of October 9th, reports that speculators employ many houses to rent out for immoral purposes, and that many women in them are forcibly detained in a sort of peonage that the speculators may profit by the business! These men are all prominent citizens, live in fine houses, dress in the swellest style—and, I might add, are all opposed to Socialism, because it would destroy the family. Under Socialism every woman will be given employment at wages that will sustain her as well as any woman can be sustained, and that she will not have to sell her body in order to live. Those who vote for the present system of private ownership vote to sustain just these conditions painted by the grand jury—not only in Baltimore, but in every city of the land. Are you not ashamed of your voting for such a damnable condition?

ROTTENNESS exists in all departments of life to a greater extent than was ever known. Now, as there is never an effect without a cause, there is a cause for this, and this cause must be found and removed before the effects will disappear. The Socialist says the cause is inherent in the private ownership of capital, by which, and by which alone, one set of men are enabled to graft off the others who do not own that capital. If you have any other theory more logical, why don't you trot it out and an anxious world will rise up and call you blessed. Everybody knows there is something wrong and getting rapidly worse, and that something not only must, but will be done, no matter the cost. It can be remedied now without internal disaster, but later it may not be so easy of adjustment. Are you still voting, as your father voted, to keep things going as they are?

WHAT do the capitalists mean by the "open shop"? Do they mean that the work people can go there and employ themselves at their pleasure? Try it and see. You will find the closed shop until you have agreed to keep the owner in luxury by producing five times as much goods in a day as you can buy back with the wages you receive. The capitalists have only the closed shop. They, not labor, say who shall and who shall not work.

ROOSEVELT has been president for four years, and not a single act for the relief of the people from the oppression of the trusts and combinations has been put in force. Nor will any during his administration. The trusts own congress and the courts, and he can do nothing if he would, and he don't seem to be very anxious to do anything, when he appoints none but members of trusts to cabinet positions and judgeships.

"Why don't you Socialists give your property away if you don't believe in it?" Well, suppose we gave it to you, would that alter the conditions or system? Wouldn't it still be private property just the same? You are very wise, you are.

SOCIALISM offers each worker, man or woman, more than \$2,000 a year for their votes and employment for every citizen who wants it. What does capitalism give you? NEVER mind what name your mother gave you, what number do you wear in the employ of some corporation?

The Small Producers Exit

SOcialism maintains that—
 1—The economic development of the capitalist system leads with the certainty of doom to the downfall of small production, whose foundation is the private ownership by the worker in his means of production—machinery, tools, land, etc.; it divorces the worker from his means of production, and transforms him into a propertyless proletarian, while the means of production themselves become the monopoly of a comparatively small number of capitalists and landlords.
 2—Hand in hand with this monopolization of the means of production proceeds the crowding away of the disjoined small industries by colossal concerns, the development of the tool into a machine, and the gigantic increase in the productive capacity of human labor. But all the advantages of this transformation are monopolized by the capitalists and landlords. To the proletariat and the sinking middle classes—artisans, small farmers, etc.—it means only greater uncertainty of livelihood, increase of misery, oppression, vassalage, degradation and exploitation.
 3—The number of the proletariat grows larger and larger; the army of superfluous workers swells ever more and more; the contrast between exploiters and exploited grows ever sharper; and ever bitterer grows the class struggle between capitalists and proletarians, which divides modern society into two hostile armies, and is the distinguishing characteristic of all industrial countries.
 4—The chasm between the property holders and the propertyless is further widened by the crises which are inherent in the capitalist system of production, which spread over an ever-increasing area and become ever more destructive, raising the population steadily to a normal condition of society, and which furnish proof positive that the productive powers of modern society have grown over its head, and that the system of private ownership of the means of production has become irreconcilable with the adequate application and complete development of these productive forces.
 Many a fellow imagines he has said something clever when, in opposition to this, he declares: "There is nothing new under the sun; as things are today, so have they ever been and so will they ever be." Yet is there no more mistaken and foolish assertion than this. Modern science has proved that nothing is as standstill, as the nature, undergoes a steady development.
 Production, whether in agricultural or industrial pursuits, starts with the labor of the individual alone, or of individual families. The productivity of such efforts is slight. So long as this stage lasts industry is carried on upon a small scale. At this stage, at the stage of small production, the product depends wholly upon the laborer, upon his personality, his diligence, his powers of endurance. As a result of this he appropriates his own product as his personal property. But this individuality in production cannot be developed by the laborer unless he is personally free and can produce on his own account. Production, in other words, unless the means of production are his private property. Private property in the means of production is the basis of small production.
 Now, it is this very ownership by the small producers in their means of production that the economic development of capitalism destroys, and thereby it abolishes the system of small production and the small producers themselves.
 The stages by which this development takes place are at first imperceptible, until the stages of manufacture and finally the factory itself are reached. In this development machinery plays a gigantic role. By its introduction the capitalist system was finally placed in possession of a weapon which enabled it to overcome easily all opposition and turned the course of economic development into a triumphal march for capital. This march was further accelerated

by the invention of steam power, which by degrees conquered all the industrial nations of the world. The productivity of labor was thereby multiplied many thousand-fold. Communication and transportation were in their turn revolutionized. Prices tumbled down in proportion as the merchandise became more plentiful; and in proportion as this process went, and still goes, on small production, and with it the small producer, went, and is going, by the board. To attempt to compete with production on a large scale, propelled by steam and electricity, is an act of despair on the part of the small farmer or city industrialist; neither can produce as plentifully, hence as cheaply, as the perfected factory or large farm; their prices must be higher than the market can afford, and their downfall is but a question of time. That there should still be as many small farmers and industrialists as there are today is simply an evidence of the capacity of man for starvation.
 The complete disappearance of small production is, however, not the first act of a tragedy that may be entitled "The Downfall of Small Production." The first effect of capitalist competition is that the artisan—and what is said of him holds good at all points of the small farmer—begins to throw into the breach, one after another, all the savings of his own industry, together with such as may have come down to him from previous generations. The small fellow grows poor; to stem his decline he becomes more industrious; the hours of labor are lengthened, and drawn deep into the night; wife and children are dragged into the vortex; yet, despite all this, and notwithstanding the extreme lengthening of the hours of labor and the feverish activity that affords him neither pause nor rest, the quantity of food he produces becomes steadily smaller, and the expense for household and clothing suffer ever-increasing retrenchment. There is no existence more miserable than that of the small farmer or small industrial producer who is endeavoring to hold his own in competition with a large agricultural or industrial producer.
 There is no little truth in the saying that the wage-earner of today is better off than the small farmer or the small industrial producer. Those who most frequently use this phrase mean to imply thereby that the wage-worker has no reason to complain. This statement is, however, a boomerang that hits, not the Socialists, but the advocates of capitalism. If, indeed, those who are wholly propertyless are better off than these small producers who still have some property left, of what use can property be said to be to the latter? If the artisan and small farmer stick to their small production, although they could earn more in the factory as wage-workers, simply because they still retain some property, it is evident that their property hurts rather than benefits them. To the small producer, whether agricultural or industrial, his property has been transformed from a shield against into a bond that fetters him to misery. To him the effect of private ownership in the means of production has changed character; that which a hundred years ago was a blessing to his class has now become a curse.
 But, it may be objected, this misery is the price which the small agricultural producer pays for the greater degree of independence which he enjoys over the wage-worker, who is wholly propertyless. Even this is false. Wherever small production is forced into competition with large production, the former sinks quickly into complete dependence upon the latter. The artisan becomes an appendage to the establishment of the capitalist; his home becomes an outhouse of the factory, or he sinks still lower. And as to the small farmer, to whom it is impossible to stand up against capitalist competition as farmer, he is forced either to take up some industrial pursuit in his home as the employe of capital, or he is bound to live out either himself or members of his family as wage-workers to the large farmer. What has become of the independence of these? Their little property is the only thing that distinguishes them from the proletarian, and it is this very property that prevents them from taking advantage of the best opportunities to labor, to rivet them to their own threshold, with the effect of making them more dependent than the wage-workers who are wholly propertyless. Observation shows that private ownership in the means of production not only increases the physical misery, but also the dependence of the small holder. The effect of these small holdings has wholly changed character; before the days of large production these small holdings were a bulwark of freedom; today they are a means of slavery.
 Another contention is that such small holdings vest in the producing small farmer or artisan the product of his labor. Where this is true it is but a trifling consolation, considering that the declining prices brought on by large production render the product of these small producers insufficient for their domestic needs. But even this consolation is mainly illusory. It does not hold good in most cases; for, in fact, it is wholly false in the case of those who are in debt. The usurer who has a mortgage on a farm has a stronger claim upon the labor of the farmer than the farmer himself. The usurer must be first satisfied; only what is left falls to the farmer; whether this remainder suffices to support the farmer and his family does not concern the usurer. Accordingly, the small agricultural and industrial producers work as absolutely for the capitalist as does the wage-worker. The only difference established between them by the private property

of the former is that the wages of the propertyless workmen is, in general, controlled by their needs, while in the case of the small property holders, there is no limit downward; it frequently happens that interest on mortgages will absorb the whole product of the labor of the small holder. In that case he has worked for nothing and paid his own expenses to boot—all this, thanks to his ownership of a little property!
 What can be the result of this painful wrestling of the small with the gigantic power of the large producer? What future is there in store for the small agricultural and industrial producer as a reward for his thrift and his industry, and of his having dragged his wife and children with him into slavery at the cost of their physical and mental ruin? The reward for all this is bankruptcy, and their final divorce from all means of production, their downfall into the class of the proletariat.
 This is the inevitable result of the economic development in modern society, a result that is as inevitable as death itself. The same as death may appear as a deliverer to him who is afflicted with a painful disease, so does bankruptcy, too, often present itself as a deliverer to him who is bound down by the burden of small property. Such is the degradation and misery of the small producers that it is doubtful whether it is not less charitable to keep them up in their present condition, and thereby defer the day of their final downfall into the class of the proletariat, than actually to hasten the process. Because, let it be remembered, it can only be a question of deferring their final downfall; to reinstate the small producer in his pristine vigor is simply impossible in these days of steam and electricity.
 This is a bitter truth to those who are interested in the upholding of the present social system, because the small farmer and the small city producer are recognized as the main props of the present system of private ownership in the means of production. For this reason the exploiting class is beating about for panaceas to save the small producer. The woods are full of quacks ready with specifics for absolute cure. In most cases these specifics are old. They have all shown their uselessness or their harmfulness. At best they can be useful only to a favored few, who may thereby be enabled to drop their small production and swing themselves up into the category of large producers, i. e., capitalists—at the expense, of course, of their less favored comrades, out of whose class they have raised themselves.
 All the "social reforms" all the schemes to save the small farmer and small producer generally, may be compared in so far as they are at all effective, with a lottery! A few may make a hit, but the large majority draw only blanks, and must foot not only the bills of the happy few who draw the prizes, but also of the whole scheme. If a poor devil who holds in his pocket a lottery ticket were to imagine himself rich because of it he would be considered a fool. And yet this is exactly the mental condition of but too many small agricultural and industrial producers. They imagine they are that which they would like to be; not what they are in fact. They carry themselves as capitalists, yet they are not a whit better off than proletarians.
 Present or prospective, proletarianism is the lot of the masses of our people, if the capitalist system of production is to remain in force. Freedom cannot be reconquered or reconquered without the national, collective, ownership of the means of production; without, in a word, the Co-operative Commonweal.

—Karl Kautsky.

THE REAL RULER.
 From the Wall Street Journal.
 Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, it can be stated, does not expect any tariff revision by the coming congress. When he does not "expect" such legislation, it can be set down as certain there will be none. He will introduce his bill providing for a maximum and minimum tariff, and probably offer it as an amendment to the bill reducing the tariff on Philippine imports, which is sure to come over from the house. This bill, however, will not revise the tariff. It provides that the present tariff rates shall be the minimum rates, and if any government discriminates in its tariff against American products, 25 per cent of our rates shall be added to the rates against products from such a country. This 25 per cent additional shall represent the maximum rates.

\$1.00 THE OCTOBER \$1.00 COMBINATION \$1.00

- 1 Ghosts Fulfilled..... 10
- 1 What to Do and How to Do It..... 10
- 1 Question Box..... 10
- 1 Trying to Cheat God..... 10
- 1 Minimization of the World..... 10
- 1 The Protestant..... 10
- 1 Patching the Old Garment..... 25
- 100 Weekly Leaders..... 25
- 100 National Platforms..... 25
- 100 American Circles..... 25
- 274 pieces, worth..... \$2.00

During October all the above will be sent, postage prepaid, for only \$1.00. Order the October Combination.

THE RIO GRANDE PUBLISHING CO.
 1015 Broadway, N. Y.

The Slave Power—1850 The Money Power—1905

"The non-slave holding whites of the South, being not less than seven-tenths of the whole number of the whites, would seem to be entitled to some inquiry into their actual condition, and especially as they have no real political might or consideration in the country, and little opportunity to speak for themselves. I have been a reader for twenty years of Southern newspapers, and a reader and a hearer of congressional debates, but in all that time I do not recollect ever to have seen or heard these non-slave-holding whites referred to by southern gentlemen as constituting any part of what they call the "South." When the rights of the South, or its wrongs, or its policy, or its interests, or its institutions, are spoken of reference is always intended to the rights, wrongs, policy, interests and institutions of the 347,000 slave holders. Nobody gets into congress but by their direction; nobody speaks at Washington for any southern interest but them."
 —Geo. M. Weston, quoted by Helper in his "Crisis," published in 1850.

One great idea stands out amidst the discoveries and improvements of modern times. It is that man is not to exercise arbitrary, irresponsible power over man. To restrain power, to divide and balance it, to create responsibility for its great use, to secure the individual against its abuse, to substitute law for private will, to shield the weak from the strong, to give to the injured the means of redress, to set a fence around every man's property and rights, in a word, to secure liberty—such, under various expressions, is the great object on which philosophers, patriots and philanthropists have long fixed their thoughts and hopes—Channing.

and with it is going your opportunity to get in on the Trust Edition. We are compelled to limit the edition to 3,000,000 copies, as that is the limit of our capacity, and there are less than 235,000 copies which we can sell. You may contribute ONE DOLLAR or more to the fund for sending the edition to the business men, or you may order among lawyers, doctors, laborers, farmers, mechanics, mill, factory, mine and railroad men. DO IT NOW!

SOME "FIGGERS."
 There are 130,000 families (the rich) who own \$73,485,000,000 of the national wealth, and, assuming that there are five to a family, and that they consume twice as much tariff and internal revenue-taxed goods as the average family, they would pay \$11,700,000 toward supporting the government, which lives on such revenue and not taxes, or, in other words, they pay 16 cents per year for each thousand dollars they possess toward sustaining the government which does so much for them.
 On the other hand, we have \$1,000,000 people, who possess \$8,165,000,000 of wealth, and who pay \$23,150,000 yearly through the same means of tariff and revenue, or \$88.57 on each thousand dollars which they possess to sustain the government which does so little for them.
 Now if the government were supported by the same tax system which which the state, county and school are supported, these 130,000 families of rich people would pay, according to their wealth holdings, and would pay \$360,365,000 a year instead of \$11,700,000; while the balance of the people would pay \$73,485,000 instead of \$23,150,000 a year.
 In 1890 the government cost \$1.88 cents per capita to operate. Today it costs \$9.00 per capita. Do you wonder why this is so, when the rich can shift the burden from their shoulders and property to that of the many? Do you wonder that grafting flourishes when the people quietly vote to pay the bills? When the capitalist can save \$630,000,000 a year by this indirect process of sustaining government, do you wonder that they favor subsidies and other grafts which you have to pay?
 —Percy Daniels, ex-Governor of Kansas.

GETTING READY FOR IT.
 The following dispatch from Pittsburg, Pa., will indicate the method to be adopted by the mine owners next spring. There can be much of a strike if the mines are closed down—but the price of coal and the things which are produced by the use of coal can soar skyward—making the plutocrats and more arrogant.
 There is talk here of a general shut-down on April 1st next of all the coal mines in the anthracite and bituminous regions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Illinois and a part of Kentucky. The object is to crush the United Mine Workers of America, if possible, and, incidentally, to increase the price of coal. Herman Justi, commissioner for the Illinois coal operators, has called a meeting of all coal operators of the country, to be held at Chicago, November 22d, next. This will be the first time that anthracite and bituminous coal operators will have met together, as their interests have always been antagonistic.
 Socialism is the most positive, aggressive force in the world today. It is more; it is the next hope of mankind and perhaps the sole inheritance of the disinherited. Whether it shall turn out to be an ignis fatuus, a false light, like so many a beacon that has shone along the toilsome path of humanity, I know not, but sure am I that men will give it a trial. Socialism is to be.

THE REAL RULER.
 From the Wall Street Journal.
 Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, it can be stated, does not expect any tariff revision by the coming congress. When he does not "expect" such legislation, it can be set down as certain there will be none. He will introduce his bill providing for a maximum and minimum tariff, and probably offer it as an amendment to the bill reducing the tariff on Philippine imports, which is sure to come over from the house. This bill, however, will not revise the tariff. It provides that the present tariff rates shall be the minimum rates, and if any government discriminates in its tariff against American products, 25 per cent of our rates shall be added to the rates against products from such a country. This 25 per cent additional shall represent the maximum rates.

THE REAL RULER.
 From the Wall Street Journal.
 Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, it can be stated, does not expect any tariff revision by the coming congress. When he does not "expect" such legislation, it can be set down as certain there will be none. He will introduce his bill providing for a maximum and minimum tariff, and probably offer it as an amendment to the bill reducing the tariff on Philippine imports, which is sure to come over from the house. This bill, however, will not revise the tariff. It provides that the present tariff rates shall be the minimum rates, and if any government discriminates in its tariff against American products, 25 per cent of our rates shall be added to the rates against products from such a country. This 25 per cent additional shall represent the maximum rates.

READINGS AND RECITATIONS.
 A 64-page collection of poems, declamations and articles suitable for readings and recitations in Socialist meetings and local. Compiled by Mrs. L. J. Tubbs. Price, 10c; a dozen for \$1.

Socialism Is to Be

Michael Monahan, editor of the *Papyrus*, California, N. Y., one of the brightest monthly periodicals in the United States, in the September issue, surprises his readers with the following editorial:
Socialism is the most positive, aggressive force in the world today. It is more; it is the next hope of mankind, and, perhaps the sole inheritance of the disinherited. Whether it shall turn out to be an ignis fatuus, a false light, like so many a beacon that has shone along the toilsome path of humanity, I know not, but sure am I that men will give it a trial. Socialism is to be.
 There are thousands of Socialists who have never turned a page of Karl Marx, never attended a Socialist meeting, and who seem to stand outside the Socialist propaganda. This fact declares the potency of Socialism as an idea—it is in the air and men involuntarily imbibe it.
 Socialism is the ultimate conclusion and definition of democracy. As such it may be staved off a long time, may be temporized with, bribed with concessions and half-measures; but it cannot be effectually halted, and in the end it is bound to prevail. We shall not see that day, but our children's children shall surely see it and celebrate it.
 The power of Socialism lies, first of all, in its purpose to redress the inequalities of the social state, which are ever becoming worse, even in a country of alleged equal opportunities like our own. This program carries an irresistible appeal, not merely to the submerged or downtrodden classes, but also to many more fortunate who have the ills of society at heart. It is daily working itself with practicality and convincing by its perfect alignment and unobscured advance. The old bugaboo conception of Socialism has been displaced in the popular mind. It is no longer viewed as an insurrection of idleness and beggary against industry and wealth; a revolution of the sans culottes against all decency, government, prosperity and order; an anarchistic rising of the House of Want against the House of Have.
 This idea of Socialism no longer holds with any great body of people. Socialism has made its greatest gains in Germany and France, among the most thrifty and industrious people in the world. Many of its leaders and many of its followers are men of ability, in stance, social position and wealth. It is essentially an intellectual movement; the Socialist leaders, advocates and doctrinaires include some of the ablest men in Europe, and even the humblest

accepted a hard portion in this world, have swallowed injustice and worn out their lives in a bitter, hopeless toil at the bidding of religion, followed by the dream of a future paradise to reward their cares. This was very convenient for those who drove them like laden asses, and religion got much credit as well as some profit for keeping the peace. The same thing is going on today in many parts of the world, but yet it does not work so smoothly as in those times called the ages of faith—the toiling, overburdened men are more and more bent upon getting a bit of heaven for themselves on this earth.
 Socialism makes war upon no religion, but it does not preach a God of fashion—money—that and it announces what no religion dare announce in absolute honesty—the brotherhood of man! Every creed in the world, by which I mean every organized church, dissolves before this touchstone.
 I repeat, Socialism is to be!

PARTY PROGRESS.
 Local organized at Yorkville, Ill., by Adam Kosco. Eight members.
 Comrade Debs will speak at the National Hotel, Dayton, O., on the 5th of November, 7:30 P. M.
 Local Sioux City, Ia., meets every Thursday, 8:00 P. M., 1027 Fourth street, basement. Everyone invited.
 Comrade Simonon recently held a meeting at Bentonville, Ark., and organized a local, with thirteen charter members.
 Comrade Benjamin F. Wilson, of California, spoke in Parsons, Kas., on Saturday night, October 14th, to a jammed street; organized in Comrade E. Carrington and gathered thirteen subs for the Appeal.
 The national office reports that Comrade Ernest Untermyer is seriously ill with brain fever at his present home in Orlando, Fla. His lecture tour is, therefore, abandoned in Comrade E. Carrington and gathered thirteen subs for the Appeal.
 The Women's Socialist Club of Lynn, Mass., has recently joined the Socialist Party, a dues-paying club. It is claimed that this club will strictly women's club and make it a citizen's ticket. It is certainly a credit to the prohibitionists and democrats embracing each other, and all craving for "Pure City Government." The whole kit and kaboodle of the party is on their trail.—J. S. Myers, Marion, Ind.

ADVERTISEMENTS
 100 SOCIALIST STICKERS, 8 kinds, mailed for 10 cents. 1,000 for 50 cents. They used to cost twice as much; this is just an object lesson in cooperation. Charles R. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago.
 IF YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE A BOOK printed, or in need of printing of any kind, the best place to send your order is to the job printer. Send us your name and postal and we'll send you samples and tell you all about it.
 CONRAD'S—Brownfield's Improved Little Liver Pills, by mail, 50 cents. They are the result of thirty years' experience, and they are not better than any 25-cent pills you will ever see. They are made of purest ingredients and the liver; I will refund your money. Send a box 14 boxes for \$1.00. Write to W. Brownfield, 3035 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.

SEND 25 CENTS HOME INSTRUCTOR.
 A Woman's Magazine from cover to cover, and the one that has made millions of girls dress patterns at 5 cents each. Illustrated dress-cutting lessons in each issue. Good stories. Stamp taken. Agents invited. A. OTIS ARNOLD, Publisher, Quincy, Illinois.

WING PIANOS
 Are Sold Direct From the Factory, and in No Other Way
 You Save from \$75 to \$200
 When you buy a Wing Piano, you buy at wholesale. You get the very best of making it with only our wholesale profit added. When you buy a piano, as many will do—at retail prices, you are retail dealer's store rent and other expenses. You pay his profit and the commission or salary of the agents or salesman he employs—all these on top of what the dealer himself has to pay to the manufacturer. The result is that a piano is from \$75 to \$200. Isn't the work saving?

SENT ON TRIAL Anywhere We Pay Freight
 We will place Wing Pianos on trial in homes in the United States on terms of credit asking for any advance payment or deposit. We pay the freight and all other charges in advance. There is nothing to be paid either before the piano is sent or when it is received. If the piano is not satisfactory after 25 days' trial in your home, we take it back entirely at our expense. You pay nothing, and are under no obligation to keep the piano; if you were examining it at our factory, there can be absolutely no trial or expense to you.
 Do not imagine that it is impossible for us to do as we say. Our system is so perfect that we can without trouble deliver a piano in the smallest town in any part of the United States, and with absolutely no trouble or annoyance to you, and without any thing being paid in advance, or on arrival either for freight or any other expense. We take old pianos and organs to exchange. A guarantee for 12 years against any defect in tone, action, workmanship or material is given with every Wing Piano.

Small, Easy Monthly Payments
 In 27 years over 40,000 Wing Pianos have been manufactured and sold. They are recommended by seven governments of State, by musical colleges and schools, by prominent orchestra leaders, music teachers and musicians. Thousands of these pianos are in your own State, some of them undoubtedly in your very neighborhood. Our catalogue contains names and addresses.
 Mandolin, Guitar, Harp, Zither, Banjo—The tone of any or all of these instruments may be reproduced perfectly by an ordinary player on the piano by means of our Instrumental Attachment. This improvement is patented by us and cannot be had in any other piano. WING ORGANS are used, cared and sold in the same way as Wing Pianos. Separate organ catalogue sent on request.

You Need This Book
 If you intend to Buy a Piano—No Matter What Make
 A book—not a catalogue—that gives you all the information possessed by experts. It tells about the different materials used in the different parts of a piano; the way the different parts are put together, what causes piano to get out of order and in fact is a complete encyclopedia. It makes the selection of a piano easy, if read carefully, it will make you a judge of tone, action, workmanship and finish. It tells you how to test a piano and how to tell good from bad. It is absolutely the only book of its kind ever published. It contains 106 large pages and hundreds of illustrations.
 In connection with this book is a complete instruction manual. Its name is "The Book of Complete Instruction About Pianos." We send it free to anyone wishing to buy a piano. All you have to do is to send us your name and address.
 Send a Postal-Order while you think of it, just giving your name and address, or send us the attached coupon and our valuable book of information, also full particulars about the WING PIANO, with prices, terms of payment, etc., will be sent to you promptly by mail.
 WING & SON, 350-389 West 13th Street, New York
 1865-27th Year—1905

NOW is the time to get in with a boost on the Trust Edition. **ONE DOLLAR** or more from you this week will help place this great edition in the hands of the 1,000,000 firms in the United States.

COMING NATION

NOW is the time to get in with a boost on the Trust Edition. **ONE DOLLAR** or more from you this week will help place this great edition in the hands of the 1,000,000 firms in the United States.

A Farmer's Talk to the Farmers

By CLAYTON J. LAMB

Brother Farmer: Let me tell you that Socialism is a subject that each person approaches and considers from his own standpoint and in the light of his own material interests. We see it differently according to the spectacles through which we look.

The business man is apt to view it from the business standpoint; scientists go at it with logic, philosophy and other scientific tests; artists see the art side; wage-workers are very apt to consider it from the bread-and-butter point of view; preachers from the religious or ethical side. I am a farmer, and, naturally, have considered the questions which Socialism raises from the farmer's view point.

The first men were hunters. From among these came the herders—the first farmers. Then came the planter. His entire farming outfit was a simple strong stick, which, for want of knife or ax, he sharpened to a point by burning in the fire, and with this fire-sharpened stick and his bare hands he dug holes in the ground and planted seed.

After many centuries iron was smelted and the fire-sharpened sticks were provided with iron points, as were the arrows and spears of the hunters. These iron points grew into blades with cutting edges, and rude spades, axes, and hoes were formed. In the process of evolution came these and other one-man tools. From the fire-sharpened stick all tools and machines for tilling the soil have developed.

From the farm came the blacksmith, and iron smelting and working became a separate industry. The first blacksmith was also a miner and smelter man.

So, too, the other now great industries, such as tanning, spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing and wood-working had their beginnings on the farm.

In 1782, only one hundred and twenty-three years ago, Watt invented the crank to the steam engine, and very soon after that the governor.

Then began the age of machinery. A thousand inventors brought forth a thousand machines for doing a thousand kinds of work and hitched them to Watt's engine. Then one man could do the work of many. The processes of wealth production were thus revolutionized. Old feudal institutions gave way and then began the era of Capitalism.

Now, Brother Farmer, I want to call your attention to one basic fact in connection with the evolution of the means of production. It is this:

BEFORE MACHINERY CAME PRODUCTION (OF FOOD, CLOTHING, ETC.) WAS AN INDIVIDUAL ACT. AFTER MACHINERY CAME PRODUCTION BECAME A SOCIAL ACT.

It required one man to sharpen a stick in the fire and only one man could use it after the rude tool was made. So with the other hand tools which followed. They were adapted only to individual use. There was no opportunity for co-operation in the use of hand or one-man tools or in the distribution of their limited output.

One man, with only a little help from the blacksmith, could make a wooden cart, a yoke, and things of raw-hide. Alone he could break his oxen and haul goods. But it takes thousands of men to run a railroad. One man could make a flail and thresh grain, but it takes thousands to make a threshing machine. One man could gather bark, build his vat and beam, tan a calf's skin, spin his thread from flax grown and hauled by himself, whittle his pegs from wood, shape a last and make a pair of shoes. That was individualism in production.

But, now that machinery has come, things are done differently. Thousands of farmers produce cattle, other thousands of workers haul them to vast slaughter houses where thousands of other men produce the hides. Other thousands spin thread and turn spools; other thousands make all kinds of tools and machinery from iron which is mined by other thousands using coal mined by still other thousands. More thousands fell trees and saw lumber, which other thousands work into buildings, and while those thousands are doing these things thousands of farmers are feeding them all, and all these tens of thousands of farmers, railroad men, lumber men, carpenters, brick-makers, tanners, machinists, spinners and masons, and the others, are co-operating in the production of each pair of shoes. This is Social Production.

Thus machinery has made us dependent upon each other. We are not independent; no man is. We are interdependent—made so by the mode of production by machinery—and the terms of this inter-dependence must be arranged.

There are several sorts of farmers, but, arranging them according to the source of their incomes, there are four general divisions of them:

1. **CAPITALIST FARMERS**—Usually bankers or business men of the towns, who, because of ownership, are enabled to levy a tax, which is otherwise called rent, upon those who do the work—landlords pure and simple.

2. **WORKING FARMERS**—Who are also small capitalists; those who till the land they own; those who are working about fourteen hours a day while their hired men kick if called upon to put in more than ten or eleven hours; those who are struggling fiercely to keep out of the renter or wage-working class, towards which they are rapidly drifting, as shown by United States census statistics herein quoted.

3. **THE RENTERS**—Those who own their own teams and tools (quite generally subject to chattel mortgages) and who farm land they do not own, paying cash or share rent. Usually, these, and also those who actually farm their own land, think they are their "own bosses," but the shrewd capitalists know better.

4. **FARM LABORERS**—These have no land, no teams, no machines. They have nothing to sell but their labor. They work for so much per day, month or year. They are proletarians. Generally they work shorter hours and have more leisure and less worry than their employers.

The first sort are not farmers at all. They are landlords. By farmers, I mean those who work their own or rented farms; not landlords or wage-workers.

The farmer's income is derived from three sources: from his capital, from his own labor and that of his family, and from whatever profit he can make by employing wage-workers. This last item on the whole is very small, because as a rule all he can make is passed up to the trusts in the form of rent, interest or profit. And that is what makes the shrewd capitalist smile. It means for him summers at Newport, yachts, private cars, dog funerals at \$1,000 per

dog, trips to Europe, political preferment, servants galore in gaudy livery, "society," introductions to royalty and nobility, ennui, freedom from punishment for crime committed, divorce scandals, exemption from taxation, notices in "Fads and Fancies" and numerous other privileges, luxuries and dissipation. These people stand between the farmers and their market and levy tolls and taxes on industry, and these tolls and taxes they call rent, interest and profit. For, Brother Farmer, we should remember that our real market is the millions who work in mines, forests and factories and on railroads and ships, and not the few rich men who come between all these workers, collecting toll and levying taxes upon their labor.

The farmer also receives an income from his capital. This income is about equal to four per cent net annually upon the value of his investment. Indeed, Brother Farmer, it is plain that if farms would afford more than the usual net rate of interest they would soon go the way of the mines, forests, railroads and factories—that is, they would be sought for by capitalists as an investment. As it is at present the capitalist class (by which I mean the real capitalist and not the little \$5,000 or \$10,000 imitations) can make more by letting the farmers think they own the farms and then skinning them when they go to the markets. So long as the capitalists can control the means of transportation and the markets in which the farmers must buy and sell they have a better thing than they would have by owning the farms and running them with hired labor. In fact, Brother Farmer, there is no man so profitable to the trust, or so "easy" for them, as the little ten or fifteen-thousand-dollar farmer who manages well, produces much, imagines he is the real thing capitalist, votes the control of most of his own business into the hands of the trusts and trust politicians without any disagreeable kicking, and then goes to the trust market, as he must, and gets skinned.

The interest of the \$10,000 farmer as a capitalist is about \$400 per year. But what is his interest as a workingman? Let us see.

When I first read in the good old Appeal, many years ago, that under Socialism the yearly income of the average workingman (farmer included) would be the equivalent of not less than four thousand dollars per year my first thought was that Editor Wayland had set the figures too high. Many Socialists accused him of exaggeration. But I knew that he had been a successful business man and that exaggeration would surely injure him. Besides, I had tested other of his "large" statements and found them correct. The proper thing to do was to investigate before deciding. I have done this, and am very glad to testify my belief that Comrade Wayland was right.

Actually we do not live very much better than our grandfathers' fathers did, though we produce twenty or forty times as much. Of the vast increase in wealth produced the farmers and wage-workers get very little. We know that. Then where does it go? Who does get it?

There are two kinds of people—those who are socially useful and those who are socially useless. The former are those who render useful social service by providing food, clothing, shelter, fuel, transportation, education, communication, etc. The socially useless class comprise those who render no useful social service, and these are far more numerous than is generally supposed. There are millions of them, all fed and clothed largely at the expense of the farmer, and altogether supported by labor.

1. **The army and navy**—Used by the capitalist class for purposes of conquest and to keep labor subject to capital.

2. **The police**—Who see to the preservation of order while capitalism gets in its work.

3. **Lawyers and courts**—Who juggle with the precedents established in the days of feudalism and chattel slavery, applying them to the settlement of issues between labor and capital in these days of semi-Socialism, uniformly deciding against labor even to the extent of declaring the constitution itself unconstitutional.

4. **Politicians**—All grades, from Bosses Belmont and Aldrich, Depew and Clark, Francis and Butler—a savory bunch of grafters—down to the bum ward heeler who does their dirty work for two dollars per and free beer. These are the fellows who control the organizations of both old parties absolutely and use the powers of government through them against the useful citizenship.

5. **Advertising**—An immense army of agents, printers, paper-makers engaged in diverting trade from one person or firm to another, rendering a personal and not a social service.

6. **Makers and vendors of shoddy and adulterated goods**—Certainly it cannot be claimed that cheats and swindlers are rendering useful social service. This army, No. 6, is a whopper. It includes some hundreds of thousands of very respectable business men.

7. **Gamblers**—Including board of trade men, speculators of all sorts, stock-exchange men, card sharps, old line insurance (fire and life), and their clerks and assistants.

8. **Lackeys**—Those engaged in personal service.

9. **Landlords, pawn-brokers, collectors, installment salesmen, and other "hold-up" men.**

10. **Three-fourths of the merchants and salesmen**, working miserably in the miles of little, nasty, individualist stores and saloons, a survival of the days of hand production.

This list could be greatly enlarged; to it can be added millions of honest workingmen who render themselves socially useless by serving socially useless people.

Thus a large part of labor's product is wasted and much of it worse than wasted. And, Brother Farmer, these socially useless people wear better clothes and live much more expensively than the working farmer. They are supported

by the workers far better than the workers support themselves. Mostly they are parasites on the useful class, and as a rule they are to be found lying in wait for the gentle agriculturist when he goes to market. Ah! say! Brother Farmer, do you vote for that?

Nevertheless vast wealth is "saved." The census statistics show what class "saves" it. It piles up in the hands of those who "own" the means of transportation and who control the market—that is to say, the trusts. Trace the wealth created by the socially useful class and nine times out of ten you will find it in possession of the people who comprise the socially useless class. Brother Farmer, is it not quite silly for us to sanction that sort of an arrangement with our ballots?

With machinery came business organization—co-operation—among business men. The use of machinery compelled, and still compels, business organization. On the side of capital, at first the partnership, then the joint stock company or corporation, followed by the combination of corporations into trusts. On the side of labor, at first the unions of men in shops, then the organization by entire crafts, then by entire industries and then combination of all wage-workers into federations covering the entire country. So now we unorganized farmers see capital organized with as much as the wealth of entire states under one control and wage-labor with the voting strength of entire states in one solid organization, and these two great social forces arrayed against each other in an almost constant warfare. What does all this mean?

Brother Farmer, it means that society is trying to adjust itself to the new mode of production by machinery. And nothing is more certain than that the struggle between these classes must continue until these adjustments are made.

And squarely between these two organized forces stands the farmer, almost wholly unorganized. What is sure to happen to the farmer under these circumstances?

Production by machinery has already half socialized society, and this class struggle cannot end till evolution has completed its work in that respect. Not until society is fully socialized in harmony with the mode of production can peace come. Labor must some time win this struggle or go back to the feudalism and chattel slavery from which it has only recently emerged.

A class of mere owners of the half socialized means of production seeks to continue to levy tolls and taxes upon labor under the guise of rent, interest and profit. This is the CLASS STRUGGLE. Here's another big job for us farmers. If it is not "up to us" now it soon will be.

And the farmer looks on this world-wide struggle and wonders what it is all about. He sees the trusts; but more, he feels them getting in their work on him. His first impulse is to wish them "smashed." No use. They can't be smashed; they control the smashing machine—that is to say, the government—themselves. Besides, if we were to "smash the trusts" and leave the present competitive system unsmashed, the weak ones would soon be again driven to the wall, the stronger would survive and the struggle continue until only a few strong ones would remain. These, to avoid utter destruction, would be compelled to organize a trust—and there we are again!

Brother Farmer, the day of the small individual capitalist is past. The only thing we can do is to organize the socially useful citizenship into the great Social Trust, eliminate the socially useless class and place society on a social service—that is to say, an honest labor—base.

When the trusts came that which was profit became in fact a tax. The trusts are exercising the governmental power of taxation. They are asking us farmers what we are going to do about it and they are going to force us to answer the question. There is only one time and place when and where we can answer, and that is election day at the polls!

Farmers have been told so often that they "can't organize" that most of them actually believe it. We see nearly all other occupations organized—doctors, lawyers, grain and hay buyers, grist-mills, steel, copper, lead, iron, oil, sugar, packing-houses, tanneries—in fact, the whole caboodle of them organized and "grafting" on farmers largely, and we have a pretty fair idea they are getting the best of us gentle agriculturists on every deal. And we feel pretty sure that the only way we can keep even is by farmers' organizations. But so far, though farmers have made several excellent spurts towards organization, they have not yet succeeded as they would wish; nevertheless they have done well, though not yet as well as they can and will do.

When the panic of 1873-9 came, the Grange, which had been struggling for some years, suddenly spread over most of the country. The farmers met in their country school houses and gravely deliberated; hard times were upon them and they were being squeezed. Politics was rotten and they knew it, so they resolved with due solemnity that the Grange would have nothing to do with politics—strictly nothing. "No politics in the Grange," said they, "not a bit of it." Nevertheless the Grange did go into politics. They took to politics somewhat as a bullfrog takes to water. It was a plunge—kerchug! and the farmers were in the "swim." They captured whole state legislatures—a good string of them—and went to make laws for the farmers, and even to changing state constitutions. They did it so quickly that their opponents were surprised, but not more so than the farmers themselves. When the hard times passed the farmers resumed their old way, and so did the corporations. This was only about thirty years ago.

Then in 1880 another panic set in, increasing till 1894, and the Farmers' Alliance sprang up almost in a day. But they, too, were firmly resolved that politics should be kept out of the Alliance and the Alliance should be kept out of politics. They would have nothing to do with the unclean thing, but notwithstanding this high resolve, the Alliance threw itself solidly into politics—their only way out then

and our only way out now. In a flash they stood almost to a man upon the political field, and they proceeded to do things. They captured state legislatures; they elected congressmen, United States senators, governors and judges. They enacted laws and even tampered with that divine institution of capitalism—the constitution. But they were divided in interest. They were part capitalist and part workmen. They abandoned their public warehouse proposition. Politicians crept in and steered the movement in the interest of the capitalist element. The great panic lulled, the politicians set up a song of the prosperity which they, and not the socially useful people, had brought about, and the Alliance was sung to its last, long sleep.

These were two great movements and they prove several things: 1. That the farmers can organize when they set themselves about it. 2. That so far they have only set themselves about it when they were pinched beyond endurance. 3. That farmers take to the political form of organization like a duck takes to water. 4. That the farmers, politically organized, are a great social force. 5. That unorganized farmers are as clay in the politicians' hands.

But why did the Grange and Alliance movements fail? They were organized to protect their interests as farmers—that is, as both workingman and as small capitalists. Here were two horses going in exactly opposite directions and they could not ride both—not very far—and they didn't. They could not protect their interests as capitalists and as workmen at the same time, and they never can. Neither can they organize as capitalists—they are financially too inconsequential. It is as workmen that farmers loom large, and it is only upon the strictly labor side that any effective organization, economic or political, is possible for them. On this side they can strike hands with the immense army of wage-workers. It is in the power of farmers to organize the useful citizenship into a political party that can sweep this nation clean of social uselessness, but not as small capitalists. Honest Labor has no more use for small parasites than it has for large ones. That is why the Grange and Alliance movements failed.

Brother Farmer, I am here to tell you that small capitalism is essentially an individualist institution. It cannot command the use of the best machinery at all. It cannot even use its own poor, little machinery to the best advantage. It cannot avail itself of the best business methods. It cannot "produce the goods" and it is too weak to get its puny product to a decent market after it has produced it with two to ten times the necessary labor. My dear brother, please do catch on to this thought: *The age of small capitalism passed when big machinery came.*

Modern modes of production are competing the small farmer out of existence. We see this process going on all around us. The United States census reports show it plainly. See page 218, Abstract of 12th Census, 1900. Here are the official figures:

YEAR	Percentage of Farms Operated by Owners	Percentage of Farms Operated by Tenants
1880	74.5 per cent	25.5 per cent
1890	71.6 per cent	28.4 per cent
1900	64.7 per cent	35.3 per cent

But a very large proportion of the farms reported as being "operated by owners" are mortgaged—about one-third of them, as shown on page 94 of the same report:

Tenant farmers	35.3
Mortgaged farm homes	20
Per cent of farm families having homes free from mortgage	44.4

Brother Farmer, this shows that only four-ninths of the farmers of the United States own their farms free, while five-ninths of them are practically renters.

So much for the farmer. Now, let us see how it is with the people generally. On page 91, same census report, I find:

Total number of families in the United States, 1900	16,239,797
Families living in rented homes	8,335,599
Families whose home are mortgaged	2,196,850
Families living in their own free homes	4,774,274

So it appears that much less than one-third of the families of the United States own their homes. Brother Farmers, is that what you are voting for?

Farmers lived, and lived well, in the days of the one-man tools, when the products of labor were not one-twentieth of what they are now. Labor now produces twenty times as much as it did only sixty or seventy years ago, and thirty times as much as it did one hundred years ago. (See Report Commissioner of Labor, U. S., 1898, Hand and Machine Labor, pages 24 to 70.) Labor lived then as it lives now, upon the least portion of its product that it will consent to live on. Under the capitalist system the wages of labor do not depend upon the amount of its product, but upon the cost of its living at the lowest standard to which it can be forced. And the reward which the farmer receives for his labor is governed by this same iron law of wages.

Mining, manufacturing and transportation have passed under the control of the trusts; agriculture comes next. Already big farms using big machinery are found by scores and hundreds, and the little would-be individualist farmer with his little old two-horse plow is trying to compete with the steam plow with which one man does the work of twenty. The result is certain—the little two-horse farmer will go the way of the village shoemaker, the one-man tannery and the old spinning wheel. *Those who own the big machines will own the land.* The little farm owners are rapidly becoming wage-workers. Those who own the means of production are in position to dictate the terms upon which the socially useful people shall work. The trusts cannot be destroyed; they are organizing the industries of the world. I am trying to tell you that machinery compels social organization. We cannot go back to fire-sharpened sticks or one-man tools. What we need is not less organization, but more. The power exercised by the trusts is a taxing power—a function of government. And what is the remedy? I can think of no means of escape except that proposed by Socialists, which is:

The Social (collective) ownership of the socially used means of production in the interest of the socially useful people.