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Before the next number of the passed into his tory. One hundred twenty-six years ago the Continental Congress, assembled at Philadelphia issued that farmous document wherein Continental Congress, assembled at Philadelphia, issued that famous document wherein
it was declared a self-evident truth "that all
men are created equal; that they are endowed
by their Creator with certain in-alienable
rights; that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Morgan is The king has to borrow from him.
But Americans would never submit to supporting a king—not on your life! Gee! how
easy the Americans are!

consistent with that declaration, and "in the name and by the authority of the good people of those colonies," they declared that "those United Colonies were, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES."

When the transport of the good people of the

When at two o'clock p. m. July Fourth, 1776, the bell on the state house rang out the note of freedom to the nation, the people answered with shouts. Everywhere the declara-At Philadelphia, the king's arms were torn down and burned in the street. At Williams-burg, Charleston and Savannah there were and bonfires. At New York, the people pulled ped! bonfires. At New York, the people pulled down the statue of George III, and cast it into bullets. Even the inevitable war could not restrain the joy and enthusiasm of those patriots. No thoughts were taken of the property that might be destroyed in the coming strugots. No thoughts were taken of the property that might be destroyed in the coming strug-The conservative had but one thing to

conserve—the liberty of the people.

But how has the spirit of '76 departed!
While the people are assembling on the morning of the "FOURTH" to honor the day and the heroes that made it honorable, certain socalled citizens of the republic are conspicuous by their absence—more conspicuous from the fact that they have crossed the ocean to do

reverence to a descendant of George III. European monarchs have grown in such fa-vor that it is only by strenuous effort that the statue of the Goddess of Liberty in New York harbor has been enabled to hold aloft her torch, while a statue of Frederick the Great. if it is possible, is to be erected in the very capital of the republic.

We have all kinds of favors to bestow upon

degenerate possessors of royal titles while at home we shoot our striking miners because they demand a small portion of the wealth

Do not think for an instant that the old pat-Do not think for an instant that the old patriotism is gone. It is here, but has no chance for expression where kings and princelets alone are welcome. The great mass of the people are true to humanity, true to the noble sentiments contained in the Declaration of Independence, no matter if persons high in authority have denounced it as a "d—d incendiary document." They are ready and willing to maintain the political freedom forced from the control of the political freedom forced from the profits for any one.

Father Hagerty, Catholic, taking the side of socialism, and Rev. Utter, a plutocratic present the profit of the profits for any one. thority have denounced it as a "d—d incendiary document." They are ready and willing to maintain the political freedom forced from George III., and moreover when they understand, are ready to claim the industrial freedom that will make us a truly great and free people. They all realize there is something priest had the sympathy of the audience alwrong but have not been told of Socialism. The capitalist mouthpiece was the only thing that can release them from the chains of wage slavery.

chains of wage slavery.

Where is the Paul Revere that will carry a message to them? Who will volunteer to devote a portion at least of Independence Day to

the movement for industrial freedom?

The Appeal Army is generally ready for such work, and I will suggest that while the young

machine that costs about \$1,000 to \$1,200 to build, pays about \$3,000 a year to the cowners! Raising cotton is not as profitable as raising the hide off the planter! But this is raising the hide off the planter! But this is roughly protects the owner of the patent but does not protect itself against extortion. But what is true of baling cotton, robbing as it does not protect itself against extortion, as it is true of baling cotton, robbing as it does in many other things. It is only one case in many other things. It is only one first the distant farmer is often confiscated by the case in many other things. It is only one sight of the distant farmer is often confiscated by the case in many other things. It is only one sight of the distant farmer is often confiscated by the case in many other things. It is only one sight of the distant farmer is often confiscated by the case in many other things. It is only one sight of the distant farmer is often confiscated by the case in many other things. It is only one sight of the distant farmer is often confiscated by the confiscation of the planters, but I us not loss sight of the dismal life, the hope existence in the form market pays no more of the market to a destant farmer who been called to take action concerning a symbate capital its permitted. It is distant from market should receive as much for his crop as the one near market, for it in the nation should lay down his tools until in the nation should lay down his tools until in the nation should lay down his tools until in the nation should lay down his tools until in the nation should lay down his tools until in the nation should lay down his tools until in the nation should lay down his tools until its distant from market should receive as much for his crop as the one reason that a farmer living the farther. The people reason that a farmer living the farther. The people reason that a farmer living the farther. The people reason that a farmer living the railing to ship his products than the nearest to the hendout the dulled eye and unintelligent es of the millions of working people on the dantation, farms, ranches, in the shops, mi. i, factories and mines, driven by the demands of nature to submit to conditions that render their elevation impossible. The whole system is wrong, There is little if anything as ft should be. The whole of it will have to be wiped out before injustice will be destroyed and man placed above the dollar. If the cotton planter feels the injustice of the round bale profit, he should also feel the injustice of the profit of the planter on his employes. Profit is wrong everywhere. It is the same KIND whether it is the same in the same whether it is the everywhere. It is the same KIND whether it be 1% or 100%—the difference is only in de-gree. No man should profit off his fellow man. And when the principle is admitted you will have the extertion of the baling baron and the

in its infancy, an its infancy, and it is infancy, as it has in manufactures. In fact, he extended make a great a revolution in farmpressed himself as believing that it would make a greater change, and that it would make go non-union men? They had no walking delegates—but they had stomachs just the tyranny of the labor unions—how about these non-union men? They had no walking delegates—but they had stomachs just the tyranny of the labor unions—how about these non-union men? They had no walking delegates—but they had stomachs just the tyranny of the labor unions—how about these non-union men? They had no walking delegates—but they had stomachs just the tyranny of the labor unions—how about these non-union men? They had not they had stomachs just the tyranny of the labor unions—how about these non-union men? They had not they had stomachs just the tyranny of the labor unions—how about these non-union men? They had not they had stomachs just the tyranny of the labor unions—how about these non-union men? They the scientific farming begins to perfect itself, they will find they are not in it—that a small farm will not be of any value. It will be just like a small shop set up against a great factory. But it takes the actual squeeze of conditions to make most poople realize a thing. They will not use their brains to think it out, and fail when they might save themselves.

Senator Vest opposes the election of senators by the people. The ezar of Russia is opposed to the election of czarship by the people. All tyrants are opposed to the people having a volce in the rule. There, you Missouri democrats, how do you like It?

the wheat threshers have combined to skin the farmers. And still the farmer be-lieves that private capital is the only method practical for him to vote for!

Morgan loaned \$1,000,000 worth of tapestries

Bread riot in Havana illustrate the condi-tions there. The men who hold the capital are yelling prosperity just the same as they do here. Havana was wild with liberty on the 20th of May, but from reports most of the people would be willing to exchange such liberty as they have for a loaf of bread. American and Spanish capitalism has sucked all the liberty of the working people in Cuba.

An agent of the beef trust refused to testify before the federal grand jury at New Orleans "because it would incriminate themselves," and they were discharged and the case drop

Dispatches from London state that American officers are in England enlisting men to fight the Fillipinos! George III. hired Hessians, and the name Hessian is a stigma in the English language—and here we are hiring Hessians! But the fleecings of empire are sweet to the ruling classes and what care they for sentiment or history—or liberty? Great is the American nation!

The price of lumber has been advanced by the lumbermen. They just met and decided to raise the price—and there you are. Did you ever hear of farmers meeting and deciding to

St. Louis boasts of a newsboy only three years old. It ought to be ashamed of the fact years old. It ought to be ashamed of the fact instead of glorifying in the prostitution of bables to commercial greed. But so sodden has become the commercial development that it is will be admitted by all. The forward march

his statements. Socialism is in the air-especially the air of Denver.

The Cubans evidently understood the de based character of the American congress. It has developed that they appropriated some \$8,000 for a lobby to get a law passed to enable work, and I will suggest that while the young lawyers with their hair parted in the middle are wasting the day and wearing out their audiences, the workers occasionally take a rest by taking a walk through the crowd and getting subscriptions.

Let us see how many \*Independence Day among this partial without the people of this country sugar without being too heavily robbed at the port of entry. That thing called congress at Washing a walk through the crowd and getting subscriptions.

In New Zealand, where the public owns and operates the railroads, a farmer living the farthest distance from market pays no more things better for themselves.

The coal trust opened up headquarters in New Orleans and advertised for "500 able-bodied men; militiamen or Spanish-American war veterans preferred; must be fighters. Three months work at \$3 a day." This is the way the rich bandits obey the law. But the sorry part of it all is, that men, working men, the men who hire for such purpose, would be behind the prison bars as quickly as they could be apprehended. They are outlaws and should be treated as such, but they never will be until the Socialists shall gain control.

Twenty-five hundred unorganized steel smelters at Pitsburg. Pa., went out on strike for 15% higher wages, "on account of the increased cost of living." The capitalists are loud against the tyranny of the labor unions—how

They will likely organize now.

Binding twine is prospering. The price this year is twelve cents—five years ago six cents! High prices mean prosperity, don't you know. The farmers growled at the extortion—wonder how they like private monopoly this year? Labor is not higher this year than last, machinery has been improved that creates more twine for a day's labor, and nature furnishes the raw material without any additional charge. Why is the price higher? The added price of 100% makes a difference of about \$5 to each farmer. As there are seven million farmers in the nation, the little game of private ownership means a profit of something like \$35,000,000 for the trust. But perhaps the farmers prefer this to having the public own and operate the twine factories.

THE FUTURE FARMER.

HEN the first shoe factory or wagon factory was built, the shoemakers and wagonmakers did not go out of business. It required some time for the new and better methods to the demands. But they finally disappeared. The first few scientifically managed farms, embracing machinists, chemists, managers and every technical knowledge that can be used, are here. The small farmer is here too, and will remain a few years longer, but he is doomed to extinction. The present methods of farming, improved as they are over the methods of days gone by, are very crude and

Secretary of Agriculture Wilson, in a recen article for the press, stated that he saw in the near future a system of gigantic farming that Socialist party and will make speeches from would create a greater change in that industry an automobile. Such things are occurring all would create a greater change in that industry an automobile. Stan in any of the industries that have been revolutionized by modern methods. The revolutionized by modern methods. The waste of raising crops on small farms is beyond computation. The machinery and technical knowledge for scientific farming is not possible of application to a farm of less than credited, all matter in the Appeal is prepared thousands of acres, and the greater the farm the more advantages can be used.

Even today the successful farmer has to have much machinery, must be a good business man and require much technical knowledge. The machinery that will produce the great results will be such as will cost more than the average large farm, but it will handle thousands of acres as easily as a few hundreds. The government reports have shown that wheat can be raised at a labor cost of less than four cents a bushel; they care can be raised. four cents a bushel; that corn can be raised

for eleven cents, and so on.

With all these facts staring them in the face. is it not time that farmers were finding out "where they are at?" What of the future? "where they are at?" What of the future? land Do they think they can compete with such methods? And when there are sufficient of it. these rapidly increasing farms to supply the annual product, do they not see that they will raise the price of their products? Not on your life. The farmers pay the prices that others put on their goods, but when it comes to having others pay the farmers' price—that is a black horse of another color. Yet the farmers but that is what the other fellows thought are so independent! And their tools are worthless and their occu-pation gone, just as will be the obsolete tools and occupation of the average farmer of today.

> is not going to stop for any person or any in-terests. If the farmers saw all these things they would be helpless to stop it or change it. It is inevitable.

> children from serdom to the great corpora-tion-owned and operated farms of the next few years is a change in the industrial system individually they cannot own these gigantic farms. Nor can all of them hope to have an interest in the corporations that will own them under the existing system. The only thing that can be done, and the thing that MUST be done, is for the whole people to own and operate the agricultural as well as all other industries of the potion that the beneother industries of the nation, that the bene up soon enough and apply the remedy before the ills shall have fastened themselves too firmly on the nation.

subscriptions.

Let us see how many sindependence Day clubs can be raised. Everyone has a little change on that day and can afford the quarter necessary for a year's subscription. This is a grand opportunity for a great work, and when the Appeal Army retires from the field at the close of the day I am sure that many thousands of new minds will have been turned in the right direction.

The public has from time to time had its attention called to the cotton round bale extortion. Mr. J. W. Davis, of Moore, Okla, gives the Appeal some data that shows how the thing works. The company owning the machine will not sell them, but holds them and charges a royalty for the use of them. Each machine that costs about \$1,000 to \$1,200 to build, pays about \$3,000 a year to the first strength of the content The remedy is the establishment of a So-

lic taking possession of the coal mines and operating them for the public good instead of

"The "only settlement that can take place will be for the strikers to return to work. There can be no outside interference. All the king's horses and all the king's men cannot

That is what King George III. said; that is what King Charles I. said; that is what King Charles I. said; that is what Louis XIV. said; that is what every master ple have got accustomed to being robbed and said of his slaves when they revolted against brutality. But the time is coming when some of these millionaire masters will have their of these millionaire masters will have their said against brutality. But the same. The working When men of brains want to get hold of a lot what a said of wealth held by the common herd, they look

The mayor of Minneapolis has been arres for bribery. And thus does private gain make criminals of men.

problem. It will require an intelligent procedure that has been logically worked out before

Norway, has fourteen Socialist members—just one-seventh. Last year there were only seven Socialists.

on it by the capitalists: everything the farmer sells has the price put on it by the capitalists! Great is the independent farmer!

for the Appeal.

law-makers laid a tax on these articles.

The Mexican government is exterminating the Yuqui Indians in order to obtain their land. Not even a child is spared. To own the earth is to own the people who must live on it. Kings learned that centuries ago, but the common people do not yet believe it.

Legal proceedings are begun against the inure to the benefit of the workers in the na-tional vineyard. This is the future of farming way just the same. If the people owned and as well as of other industries. There is no es-caping it, but there will be the escaping of houses no action would need to be taken Very as well as of other industries. There is no escaping it, but there will be the escaping of houses no action would need to be taken Very much suffering and misery if the people wake simple, yet the public prefer to be skinned rather than think.

To illustrate the difference between effort for service and effort for profit: Last January I wrote a letter to United States Consul Bell I wrote a letter to United States Consul Bell at Aukland, New Zealand. Having left there the letter followed him to Sydney, Australia; thence to London, England; then to Washington City, thence to Indianapolis; thence to Portland, Oregon; and reached him at San Francisco Jane 7, just as he was embarking for New Zealand. All for the five cent stamp on the corner of the envelop. Did you ever hear of an express company taking such care of a package? of a package?

When a majority of people will not submit to the minority who have control of the ma-chinery of public functions, the militia and chinery of public functions, the milita and soldiers is called out and they are made to submit. All over Rhode Island, because of the private ownership of street cars, the militia are marching with loaded guns to make the majority submit to the minority. It will be so as long as private capital is permitted. It is the same here as in Russia in that respect.

the raw material for all the clothing. What does he get for it? Some sheddy clothes, some adulterated food, a shack to live in and some operating them for the public good instead of permitting them to be operated for the satisfaction of the greed of the millionaire outlaws who obey no law of God or man. Speaking of the strike President Baer of the Reading as good food, as much entertainment and instruction as any other class of citizens. He was a side of the greed said. would live in the agricultural cities, where he and his family could have every advantage of modern life and progress.

In politics for themselves within the next few years. The majority shall rule.

The induence of the 5,000 bankers in this country has been such that they have had congress pass laws that give them the use of \$347,630,020 of bank bills without interest. This money produces them a revenue of more than \$20,000,000 a year. These are the men who tell the working people they should not take their unions into politics. Do they take their unions into politics. The wanting interests into politics are the many service of the interest will be drawn into this alliance."

When the results of the connection of the various foreign offices and for other reasons, the plan drawl the other than the other than the other than the use of the little fellows who expect to become great politics are the use of many have to pay interest when they get their money the politic

Published Every Saturday

OWNERSHIP of the EARTH AND THE PULLNESS THEREO

By ALL the People, and Not by Part of the People. The Appeal is NEVER sent on credit; if you receive it, it is paid for. Nobody owes a cent on subscription.

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#### \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* FARMING THE FARMER

Farming the farmer is a very profitable business with the trusts that are protected by the iness with the trusts that are protected by the iness with the trusts that are protected by the iness with the trusts that are protected by the iness with the trusts that are protected by the laws. Five years ago binding twine retailed at five and three-fourths cents—today, with all the great improvement in machinery that has cheapened the cost, the farmers are being skinned for twelve and one-half cents per pound? The price of wagons has advanced \$14; the price of wagons has advanced \$14; the price of all farm machinery has gone up—and this means hundreds of millions taken from the farmer is a very profitable business with the trusts that are protected by the laws. Five years ago binding twine retailed at five and three-fourths cents—today, with all the great improvement in machinery that has cheapened the cost, the farmers are being skinned for twelve and one-half cents per pound? The price of wagons has advanced \$14; the price of all farm machinery has gone up—and this means hundreds of millions taken from the farmer. Farmers, how do you like it? What are your political leaders doing for you in the matter? Have they anything except crockodille tears of sympathy? Have they any proposal for reflef? Isn't all they ask of you is on the farmer is a very profitable business with the trusts that are protected by the laws. Five years ago binding twine retailed at five and three-fourths cents—today, with all they ask cheapened the cost, the farmer are being skinned for twelve and one-half cents per individual to a five and three-fourths cents—today, with all they ask of with the trusts that are protected by the laws. Five years ago binding twine retailed at five and three-fourths cents—today, with all they are heing skinned for twelve and one-half cents per individual to a five and three-fourths cents—today, with all twe and three-fourths cents—today, with all twe and three-fourths at five and three-fourths are from the price o Farming the farmer is a very profitable bushave the giad smile and the ready hand and a cajoling word. They have been controlling your vote thus for years. You know it. You say it to yourself often, but are afraid to speak it out loud. Are you not getting tired of that In the recent Belgian election for half the members of the parliament the Socialists increased their vote over 1900 by 22.092, gaining three members. The clericals still hold the majority by reason of plural votes.

Adding to the price of sugar, oil, steel or other articles without your consent is just as much taxation without representation as if you were defied the right to vote and the law-makers laid a tax on these articles. come in at? Under Socialism your income would be more

than \$2,500 a year, not counting any labor for any other member of your family. You cannot know this is true because I make the state-You can only know of its truth by examining the matter yourself. If your chil-dren worked they would have the same in-come. How does that compare with your in-come now? And this for short hours instead of the long hours you now work. Under So-cialism your family would enter the compared to the compare A majority of the members of the senate and probably of the lower house of congress are stockholders in trust properties. The people expect relief from trusts by congress! The people are easy. They will vote the same old tickets to elect the same gang this fall and then expect great things!

The Socialist members of the French Assembly have demanded the disarmament of France. Now hear the fellows who deprecate war howl because some really definite action is demanded to abolish war. All members of churches should give aid to such demand—but will they, think ye? Hardly.

There are many people who have given the subject no thought who believe that the public cannot conduct business as well as private interests. The Appeal lays much stress on municipal ownership to show that such is not the case. Once convince the public that it can receive better service by public ownership and it will be ready for the adiption of the principle.

Legal proceedings are beggn contained and of the long hours you now work. Under Socialism your family would enjoy all the advantages which the most favored clitzen now enjoys. With no hope of any better condition facing you under the present industrial system, why will you not investigate for your-self what Socialism will do for you and all other citizens? Would such conditions not be desirable? Or would you prefer to have the present and be the prey of every combination of men to skin you? These are pertinent questions but they are questions but they are questions that affect you and such conditions not be desirable? Or would you prefer to have the present and be the prey of every combination of men to skin you? These are pertinent questions of socialism for myself and my children. I would like to have the just conditions of Socialism for myself and my children. I would like to have the just conditions of Socialism for myself and my children. I would like to have the full of the present and be the prey of every combination of the present and be the prey of every combination of the presen class of citizens will not live in hovels while another occupy the palaces; one will not fur-nish their children as servants that the other may full worm have the best conntions of life for yourself and your neighbors, study up on Socialism and you will support with your vote the Socialist party and help to bring in the good conditions.

> I am in receipt of hundreds of letters from working people in as many cities, asking to write up their grievances with their masters. with whom they are on strike. These letters embrace every vocation and come from embrace every vocation and come from every section. The limited space of the Appeal will not permit it to take up the cases, except here and there one just to point the moral of the situation. THERE WILL NEVER BE ANY PERMANENT PEACE BETWEEN THE EMMANENT PEACE BETWEEN THE PAGE TO THE PEACE BETWEEN THE PEACE BETWEEN THE PEACE BETWEEN THE BETWEEN THE PEACE BETWEEN THE PEAC terests are diametrically opposed. They will patch up a truce for awhile, just to get breath, but it will break out again. It is to the INTEREST of the men to get all the pay they can for the shortest hours; it is to the INTEREST of the employers to get all the work they can for the least pay Sued all the work they can for the least pay. Such conditions are inherent in the private ownership of capital and the wage system. Those who deny merly, is caused by the concentration of in dustries in the hands of great corporations whose managers are pressing to make more dividends for their employers—they must deit or lose their jobs. And these con doing an immense part of the necessary work in bringing in Socialism. Boys, fight for your rights. You won't get them unless you do. BUT DO YOUR FIGHTING AT THE BALLOT BOX WHERE YOU ARE STRONGER THAN YOUR MASTERS. Don't vote the same tickets your masters do.

The creation of new trusts daily does not seem to alarm the people as it did. The people have got accustomed to being robbed and ple have got accustomed to being robbed and are on strike that threatens to involve the people are on strike that threatens to involve the second strike the se Following on the heels of the settlement o said of his slaves when they revolted against brutality. But the time is coming when some of these millionaire masters will have their wings clipped just the same. The working when some of these millionaire masters will have their wings clipped just the same. The working when men of brains want to get hold of a lot kind to office and the whole machinery of the state, the army and the many, will be under their direction and control as it is now under the control of the rich bandits and then these kings will see that there is a way of settling these things besides the "kings horses and the kings's men." All the laboring people will be in politics for themselves within the next few years. The majority shall rule.

The great retail stores of the great cities are being "merged" into syndicate ownership. more centuries of strikes and riots will it take to prove to the public that private ownership and wage-slavery are not feasible? Every city in the nation is torn with strikes. A state of civil war exists between the employers and the employed—and it will grow worse unti-the whole of the people will be drawn into it. And if it is not settled right it will have to

#### Socialism and Farmers.

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T is not many years since all that was asked by the farmer to make him "prosperous" was pienty of rain and sunshine and no storms or insect pests. To be sure he always declared that "times were better" when the particular party to which he belonged was in control, but still he never really thought farmer. If he was saving, industri-ous and fairly intelligent in farm

management he could usually reckon on being able to stop work at fifty and enjoy a fairly comfortable, peaceful life on the income from the farm that he had paid for in his younger days. The farming class as a whole led a rather contented, if somewhat monotonous life, and found little fault or took little interest in

Bodial and labor problems.

Today, on the contrary, murmurs of unrest are heard in every agricultural community and at times these swell into a fierce outburst of despairing indignation as conditions seem to be almost unbearable. These complaints, unlike those of former days, seem to bear no perceptible relation to climate, storms, locality, insect pests, or indeed any of the natural calamities that were the scourge of our fathers. From the deserted farms of chilly New England to the vacant and overgrown plantations of the sunny and across the mortgage-cursed and rack-rented farms of the Mississippi valley and the Western plains to the overloaded vineyards and orchards of Californina, with their luscious life-giving fruit rotting for lack of a market, there comes a chorus of complaints of new burdens not traceable to defects of soil or climate or due to insect or animal scourges, yet which are plunging the farmers of America into greater misery and suffering than ever fol-lowed the wake of New England frost, southern drouth, Kansas cyclone or California earth-

There comes a year when crops are good rains have been plenty and sunshine beneficent and the farmer looks forth upon granaries full to bursting, upon herds of cattle and droves of swine fat to the market, and he thinks of the long needed and planned addition he will build to the house, the new buggy he will buy, or of any of the hundred and one little things that are ever Kept in prospect by those favored few who in this roaming, rambling age have remained in one place long enough to make that rarest, dearest thing in this day of flats, apart-ments and tenements—a home. But when he goes to sell his products and to change them into the desired pleasures and necessities he finds that he is the victim of a new calamity as merciless and unavoidable as the long feared terrors of flood or drouth. A financial panic has started in some distant city and in a single week he sees half his possessions swept away

by falling prices.

His orchards bend to breaking, his fields are a yellow sea of richness, his vines a purple wall of luscious beauty, but when he would sell their fruitage to secure the things that he can use he is told that so much has been produced that his products cannot be sold, and hence they must rot where they lay. But the same paper that brings him the news of this "overproduction" tells him also of men, women and children suf-ine great critics to tack or the very configuration are rotting in his fields. Perhaps it finally be-gins to dawn upon him that to-day his greatest

troubles are not NATURAL, but SOCIAL.

Now this is the situation that confronted the factory worker many years ago, and those who have looked most carefully into his condition as seen in the lands where modern industry has entered are beginning to agree that the cause of his sufferings is to be found in the fact that while the tools with which he worked are capable of producing much more than those his father used, he is deprived of his increased product because he no longer owns these tools. and hence can produce nothing of his own ac-rord, but must sell himself to those who do own the tools. It is pointed out that these "tools" having become great, complex machines requir-ing the co-operation of many workers to run them, they cannot be owned individually. Hence it is necessary that this ownership be in common, and this can be best secured through the union of the workers into a political party having this end in view. This is the position of the Socialists, and has now been accepted by millions of workers scattered through every nation on the globe and forming today the largest property. on the globe and forming today the largest political party the world has ever known and one

that is marching on to certain victory.

But although Socialism has thus come to be looked upon as the gospel of a better day to the ciaim it carried any message to the farmer. Indeed, its enemies al-ways offered as their strongest argument against it the claim that it could not meet the problem of agriculture. It was argued that farming would never form a great concentrated industry, and hence that it must always be conducted by a multitude of small, individual farm owners. Many were the wordy battles indulged in over the quesion as to whether farms were increasing or decreasing in size and as to whether the large methods and the state of the large methods. were increasing or decreasing in size and as to whether the large or the small farms were the best organized method of conducting agriculture. When the great "bonanza farms" of the West began to be broken up some of the Socialists seem to think that the battle was lost and that a special solution would have to be found for the troubles of the farmer. Now it just begins to be seen that they were

all looking in the wrong direction, and a closer examination shows that at the bottom the same laws prevail on the farm as in the factory, end that consequently the same problems are appearing and the same remedy must be applied. If this position is to be understood it will be necessary to recall briefly the main features of the great change that has taken place in indus try during the last century. The first thing that strikes us is the fact that the tools of production have become very much larger and more com-plex, and that the resulting product has been immensely increased, while the share of the la borer has remained at about the same point. The size of the market reached by each factory has grown continually larger with the cheapen-ing of production and improvement of communi-This has caused a concentration of own ership until today almost the entire productive power of the world has been concentrated it power of the world has been concentrated in the hands of a few for whose benefit the many

Now the only question is, has a similar process Now the only question is, has a similar process taken place in agriculture? And at first appearance there is a tendency to answer no, and if this concentration is to be sought in land ownership it would be hard to deny his position. But let us for a moment consider farming as what it really is—simply a means of producing certain goods—grain, cattle, fruit, etc. Now, it has been

it can be used at a TIME when it is wanted. No matter how these different processes may be disguised or intermingled, they are all present and are all necessary in any form of production, and no article is produced until it has gone through all these processes and has the proper FORM at the proper TIME and in the proper PLACE to be used.

Now we have seen that the trouble with the that politics had very much to do with his success or failure as a but belong to another class, who through that farmer. If he was saving, industrifact as the key to the whole situation. It is not necessary for the capitalistic class to own ALL the instruments of production concerned in the making of any article in order to have possesion It is only necessary to own the essentially dominant one. Because the machinist in a great shop happens to own a monkey wrench with which he works it does not mean that he is an independent workman who can live without his boss.

Just so with the farmer. He may own the land and grow his wheat and raise his stock, but while these are still on the farm they are not at any place or time where they can be used, hence are not yet "produced". When he we do not yet have all the facts before us, we will just take a turn in another direction and add these two essential qualities of place and time quife an unexpected fortion of the field. the finds that the instruments for this-the railroads, telegraphs, elevators, stock-yards, belong to some one else, who appropriates all that the farmer has produced, save the same share that the laborer has always received—a bare living. So well has this FACT become recognized that it is a common thing to "there is no money in farming" and that

"all the farmer gets is wages". It seems strange that this analysis of agricultural production should ever have been over-looked, for it is exactly the same process that has taken place in all lines of industry. Every where the land has been forced to a subordinate position in relation to the tools of production, and these have constantly grown more complex and been concentrated into fewer hands.

No farmer who has paused from his toll long them have since learned, that "Uncle Sam" is enough to think at all can fail to have seen that simply another name for the possessing classes, a multitude of changes have taken place in his work in the last haif century. The most notice-able of these is, of course, the change from the cheap and simple tool of earlier days to expensive and intricate machinery of today. Almost every tool that our fathers used has had its work divided and specialized until today it requires a dozen complex machines to perform the same task.

The old "A" drag that in earlier days bounded from stump to stone, and occasionally made a short scratch in the ground, has given way to a whole list of "spring-tooths, disks, pulverisers, sod-cutters, steel smoothing harrows," etc each of which is adapted to some special work and all of which must be used by the farmer who would profitably produce crops at present prices. The scythe, pitchfork and hand-rake that made up through almost the whole winter. Entirely new and expensive machinery appears, and the farmer who would feed his corn stalks and root crops or pumpkins with economy must own an ensilage cutter and steam cooker.

Still other changes bring the farm into closer connection with the factory system. Many things that were once a part of farming are now great capitalist industries. The creamery and the cheese factory are the first of these that occur to the mind, and beet sugar is an example of an almost new industry that has been grafted of an almost new industry that has been gratted upon farming and that is but a portion of the great factory system. The farm products connected, with these industries are absorbed by the owners of the plants, and the farmer who grows the beets or furnishes the milk and cream receives simply wages for his share of the performed upon the finished product, and not infrequently these are even lower than those paid the employes within the walls of the plant itself. Here at least there can be no doubt but that the interests of the wage-worker and the farmer are the same

There is the same tendency toward specialization of industry upon the farm that in a more developed form has worked such wonders in the factory. To be sure it is not yet possible to find the shoe trade, where each man makes but the hundredth part of a shoe. The process has taken mills and factories shut down and great numa somewhat different turn upon the farm. It has shown itself in the gradual transference of many industries from the farm to the factory. Fifty years ago nearly all the cloth usel open the farm was woven at home; stockings were always knitted there. Near.y every farmer was his own blacksmith, carpenter and butcher, and in fact was compelled to be a "jack at all trades". The change from this state of a Tairs to that of the present day is so evident that it needs only to be called to mind to be at once recognized.

The effect upon the farmer has been the same as that of the analogous development upon the laborer. It has increased the productive rower of the individual, but has rendered him less isdependent of his fellow workers. It has been frequently pointed out that with every day that passes the factory worker is becoming more de-pendent upon the actions of his fellow workers. It made little difference to the old-fashioned cobbler whether any one elseworked at the same time he did. His work was wholly independent of theirs. But the employe in a great shee factory making but the hundredth part of a shoe is helpless without the other ninety-nine. Just so the farmer who a generation ago made thing he needed upon his own farm cared little or nothing for what the rest of the world might do. If he could not sell his products he could (at or wear them, and had little need for intercours; with the remainder of the world. Not so the farmer of today, whose butter is made at the creamery and cheese at the factory and who never saw a suit of home-made clothes. He sell his grain and fruits in the markets of the world, and the rains of India or the floods of Ru may prove as destructive or as helpful to him as similar occurrences in his own fields other words, he, like the wage-worker, has be come a part, and only a part, of the world's great productive system, and is subject to all its vicissitudes, be they helpful or harmful

Now note this one thing, that all of the steps noted have been of a nature to increase the pro goods—grain, cathe fruit, etc. Now, it has been pointed out that production of any commonity consists simply in taking some pertion of the capitalist retained care-thand changing it into a \*ORM listral by of society in regard to farming has been imman, and then taking it to some PLACE where mensely ingreased. I think that any one who lion's share of the groduct. Another slice was

or the railroad and elevator with the ox-cart and scoop-shovel, will admit that the same amount of work in these departments will produce more-than ten times as much as it would one hundred years ago. But will any one dare to claim that the farmer of today lives ten times as well as did the New England or "York State" farmer of the beginning of this century? "pause for a reply" from the deserted farms of Massachusetts which then supported happy homes. If Robinson Crusoe had invented a disk harrow and attached his goats to it he would certainly expect to have more things to eat and wear with the same amount of labor than he had when he used a hoe. Now the reason why the farmer and the wage-worker do not receive this increased reward in our present society is not because of the greater number of people concerned. On the contrary, the work of the different members of our present society is so arranged that they co-operate in production and hence produce much more than they could with each one working independent of the others. Every farmer knows that two men with a cross-cut saw can cut more than twice as much wood as one man with an ax.

Where, then, does this increased product go? What is the "nigger in the wood-pile" that gets all these additional good things? Well, that is the whole question that we are trying to solve, but instead of trying to answer it at this time, when we do not yet have all the facts before us, we will just take a turn in another direction

Every one remembers the rush that took place to the West a few years ago, which, at we all know, was but the last of a long series of similar westward waves that have been flowing across the country at fairly regular intervals for the last century. Wonderful stories were to'd of the rich black soil of the prairies, waiting only for the plow of the farmer to tickle it into a bounteous laugh of all the good things of the world. Hosts of farmers from the Middle and Western States who had just begun in a strange undefined way to feel that their present sur roundings were undesirable, were lured to Dakota, Kansas or Nebraska by the siren song that "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm". They did not then see what many of them have since learned, that "Uncle Sam" is to which the farmers will some time dizcover that they no longer belong. Had they realized these facts they might have called to mind that old proverb to "Beware of the Greeks when they bear gifts", and would have looked with suspicion upon the wondrous generosity of "Homestead law". But they can comfort themselves with the fact that they were not the only ones who were deceived by this apparent bounty. It was halled by the great majority of the social students of the world, including, I am forry to say, not a few Socialists, as a res toration of the class of "independent farmers" But in little more than a decade these independent farmers, the recipients of so wonderful a gift, are in almost open revolt against the economic conditions in which they find themselve: the outfit of the haymakers of but a few decades and turning blindly toward free silver, popular ago, have now given place to the six-foot-cut banks, flat money, and a hundred and one other

> and was in a stage of great prosperity. The capitalists of America had just discovered and just recovered from the commercial crisisof 1872 begun to apply on an extensive scale a new method of organizing their business. This was called the corporation. Not that corporations had been previously unknown. On the contrary they had been common enough in some lines of industry for more than a century. But they had been hitherto largely confined to certain peculiar lines of industry, such as railroad, tele-graphs, canals, steamship lines, etc. They had as yet not been largely introduced into ordinary business. But in the years from 1880 to '88 more charters were granted for corporations than in any equal number of years before or Thousands of industries that had been previously conducted as individual enterprises were now turned into corporations. This had exactly the same effect as the invention of a new labor-saving machine. It made it possible through a better organization of industry to produce more goods with less labor.

Now it is a peculiarity of the system under which we are at present living that since the laborers are only given a small portion of what they produce, they naturally cannot buy back examples of such wondrous division as that in the whole product, and so every once in a while bers of people go hungry and naked because there is too much food and clothing in the world. Now, of course it is to the interest of the capitalist class to postpone these crises as long as possible, because profits are much less at such time than when there is "prosperity" The only way in which such a crisis can be delayed is by finding new markets for the "surplus goods" that have been taken from the workers. At the time of which we speak this need for "new markets" was being felt most keenly by the capitalist class of America. cast longing eyes to these great fertile tracts of land in the West. The problem before the American capitalist at this time was to settle this land in such a way as at the same time to secure the product created by the settlers and yet retain them as a market for the product

taken from their tolling brothers "down East". How this was accomplished is an interesting story. The capitalists had control of the machinery of the government, as indeed they have always had, and, had they so desired, could have divided the ownership of these ong their own class under some form of sale, as they had ordinarily done in the years imme diately following the Revolution. Indeed, the history of railroad land grants shows that a very large portion of the soil was so divided even at this time.

If the capitalists were as a whole to retain the ownership in these great tracts of land and secure any profits from their possessions, they would have to buy labor with which to operate them. In most cases this would have to be adult-male labor, which could ordinarily be forced to work only ten or twelve hours a day. The capi-talist knew a game worth two of that. All he was after was the products of the farmer's labor, and he cauld get these much easier by leaving the farmer in full possession of his farm So the latter received his title to his land and then proceeded to raise crops which the capitalist stood ready to take away from him. have seen some of the ways in which this was done in our examination of the process of ag-ricultural production. The capitalist retained farmer's task lighter and his income greater, were society properly organized.

With the development and improvement of farm machinery it too becomes a means to the farmer's enslavement. With the machinery as with the land, it was more profitable and involved less risk to allow the farmer to retain a nominal ownership and then under the disguise of credit pluck him to the last cent with exhorbitant prices, usurious interest and excessive "repair bills". Many and many a farmer has thus become as completely enslaved to his self-

ations of crops and prices that destroy the farmer's peace of mind.

Not only is it certain that the agriculture of today is a capitalized industry-it shows the very worst features of that system. Like the sweated trades of the city slums, it is homework, unorganized and fiercely competitive. Hence we might expect to, and do find the labor of women and children exploited with a most the longest hours and lowest pay known to the world of toil. The farmer who would rise in rebellion if required to work more than ten hours a day as a "hired man" upon a "bonanza and who reads with indignation the stories of the long hours and low pay received by the men, women and children in the factories and workshops of the great cities, will himself toil in the fields from sunrise to sundown of a long summer's day and then spend a couple of hours extra at night and morning "doing chores". Meanwhile his wife works nearly as "doing many hours at the never-done work of a farmer's wife which yearly sends so many of her class to the insane asylums. His children are compelled to work from the time that they are strong enough to walk, and are fortunate indeed if they do not have to skip school each year during planting, harvest and corn-husking or fruit picking, with no factory laws to regulate their hours of work.

In the meantime he congratulates himself that he is not subject to discharge at the caprice of any employer or driven to work by any task-master as is the factory worker. He has not yet learned to see that the sternest of all taskand homeless a tramp as ever went forth in desperate sorrow from a city workshop.

Every year that passes but serves to intensify the features to which we have been calling attention. Each year farm machinery grows more complex, more expensive and more necessary to the successful farmer. The railroad, the tele-graph and the elevator play an ever more im-portant part in farm "production." New forms of exploitation are constantly appearing to se cure any little remnant that may still remain to him above starvation wages. The substitution of the barbed wire for the "Virginia rail" fence means that the wire trust must have its share of tribute, and here again the interests of wage laborers in the factory and agriculturists upon the farm unite in a demand for the common ownership of instruments of production. More and more with each returning year in many sections of the country even the semblance of ownership is swallowed up in systems of rental, and the class of so-called "independent farmers" is becoming a race of "rack-rented" tenants to "absentee landlords". More and more the far-mer is at the mercy of fluctuations and crises caused by the wrong adjustment of production and unjust distribution of goods. Most significant, perhaps of all, each recurring season sec the markets for his produce narrowed by the decreased share which the wage-earner is allowed to retain of his product.

To sum it all up, every year that passes makes the problem of the factory worker and the er more nearly the same. problem" and the "agrarian question" fade into he one great question of how to secure the product to the producer. The trouble in cases is the same at the bottom. The things which each must have in order to produce and to live are in the possession of another class, who are able through that ownership to deprive the producer of the fruits of his toil.

It makes no essential difference in the situa tion that in one case the exploitation is done through railway charges, elevator tolls, farm and machine mortgages, manipulation of mar-kets, or any other of the hundred and one ways produce of the farm is filched away from the farmer, instead of, as in the case of the wage-worker, by the simple factory process of buying the labor power of a man orced by hunger to a desperate bargain small portion of what he actually produces. In either case the exploitation is by means of private ownership of the instruments of production and distribution maintained laws enacted and enforced in the interest of

There was a time when this ruling class was the feudal landlords. The farmers of that time did not pretend to be free, but were recognized as serfs, fastened to the soil. They worked a certain number of days each week for themselves and a certain number for the for themselves and a certain number for the lord of the manor. Today they have the ap-pearance of freedom, but the result is the same. The present farmer works so many days in the year for himself, so many for the mortin the year for himself, so many for the mort-ragor, so many for the farm machine manu-facturer, so many for the wire and twine trust and so on through the list of lords of capital-ism until he has left for himself, just about what the earlier sert had a bare living. How-ever, the present farmer can take to himself the cold comfort that his labor is so much more productive than that of his predecessor that the ruling class. of the present day can enjoy luxuries undreamed of by the medieval lords. lords.

possessing class at present as in the past, have control of all the machinery of government. They make and interpret the laws in the interest of their class and see that those laws are enforced. They secure injunctions against striking workmen, vote themselves land grants or nullify an Interstate Commerce

land grants or nullify an Interstate Commerce
Act with equal grace and case.
But there is a difference, which has been
hinted at before between the present ruling
class and all their predecessors. Hitherto
there has been no attempt to disguise the fact
of slavery and class rule. But today the laborer is given the ballot and told that he is a
free man and can have any form of government that he chooses. Strangest of all there
is no doubt as to this fact and the only reason
for the present slavery is that he has not yet
known enough to choose to be anything else. known enough to choose to be anything else. They have allowed their rulers to do their thinking for them and have year after year voted themselves into renewed slavery.

The capitalist class, having under their con-

will compare the work of the sickle and the fail secured through the creamery, cheese and beet with that of the self-binder and steam thresher, or the railroad and elevator with the ox-cart methods of doing work and should make the of those who were being robbed. They taught and preached the unrestricted right and sa-credness of the institution of private property, while at the same time establishing and main-taining laws and institutions confiscating all taining laws and institutions contacting at the private property of the great majority of the population. Most important of all they seek to keep the great body of workers divided and fighting each other. The producers allow themselves to be divided into two great polit-ical parties who make loud claims of antago-nistic aims and mutual hostility, but who agree prefectly on the one point of interest to the worker that the instruments of producgreat factory in which he tolls.

Under this system, while the farmer is given the form of ownership of his capital, he in reality only accumulates this capital for the use of the actual capitalist. What he really owns is a somewhat permanent "job" with exhausting toll and low wages. Even this permanency is largely a delusion, as the uncertainty of the wage-laborer finds its counterpart in the fluctuation. with the capitalist to enslave labor.

Both are deceived, and while they are fight-ing the capitalist gleefully picks the pockets of both. At bottom the trouble is the same for both and unless they fight together against the common enemy they must continue to suffer

together in slavery under a common master.

Either division of the workers can today produce many fold more of the necessities of life than ever before since history began and could easily supply all the wants of their members with a trifling fraction of their present toil were they not prevented from producing because they cannot secure access to the tools with which to work or else deprived of the results of their toil by a parasitic ruling class. The remedy for this condition is obvious. It is for the workers of the farm and factory to unite at the polls and secure possession of the instruments of production and distribution and then being both owners and producers they will retain the whole product and can produce until their wants are satisfied with no care for falling or rising prices, over-produc-

But the railroad, telegraph creamery, cheese factory and binder manufac-tory, like the steel works, cotton mills, coal mines and shoe factories of today are too expensive, complex and interdependent to be of any value to an individual unless he has the power to make others work in them for him. Hence the ownership must be in common. They must be the property of the whole body of producers organized for the purpose of con-

trolling and operating them.

Wage laborers and farmers must first unite
in a political party of the producing class to west learned to see that the eternest of all task-masters. Hunger and Suffering, stand ever at his elbow, urging him on under penalty or their stinging lash, while all too-often the owner of the mortgage discharges him from further toll and turns him out upon the streets as helpless and homeless a tramp as ever went forth in destural, commercial and manufacturing, are sufficiently intelligent and sufficiently con-scious of their class interests to unite-in a political party having for its first and fundamental principle the common ownership of all the instruments of production and distribution and to elect that party to power, is there any possibility of relieving the producing classes of the burdens under which they are suffering at present. When the toilers of field and workshop and office shall unite upon this platform and work together to this end it will be the beginning of the end of all economic oppression, exploitation and class tyranny.

This is the program of the Socialist. This is what he means when he says "Laborers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain." Already in response to this cry and in obedience to the reasoning here set forth millions of workers in other lands have gathered in compact ranks beneath the flag of Socialism for the final battle against the common event Ar the final battle against the common enemy. At first the laborers of the factories and the mines stood alone. Their toiling brothers of the field refused to unite with them. The farmers listened to the stories told them by their masters and fought for the capitalist against the workers. But in the last few years the agricultural workers of Germany and Belgium have hear religious by the stories and Belgium have hear religious by cultural workers of Germany and Belgium have been rallying by thousands to the Socialist standard, and marching side by side with their fellow sufferers of the workshops and the mines in the struggle for workshops and the

their fellow sufferers of the workshops and the mines in the struggle for a common freedom, and are striking terror to the hearts of the common masters who see at last their slaves refusing to quarrel among themselves that their slavery may be perpetuated.

What will the farmers and wage-workers in America do under these same circumstances? Will they show an equal wisdom? They must or remain in slavery. Neither class can possibly free itself unaided by the other. In a land where majorities must rule this fact must be beyond dispute. They are natural allies. This is more especially true of the farmer of the great west. His sifuation is more nearly like that of the wage-worker than of any other class in our present society.

class in our present society.

They have been driven west by pressure of economic conditions arising from this same capitalistic system. They have been followed into their new homes by an aggravated form of this same oppression, and have finally at all essential points been reduced to the same all essential points been reduced to the same oppression. all essential points been reduced to the same economic class as the city wage-worker. They have attempted to free themselves through the independent political action of the farmer class alone and found themselves helpless. They have been forced to recognize that the problems they sought to solve and the evils they aimed to abolish had their roots in the economic conditions that we to make economic conditions that go to make up the great world-wide industrial system of today.

great world-wide industrial system of today.

They are beginning to see that problems so rooted cannot be solved by any action that may take place within the conmess of a single state or even of a single nation. The solution, like the problem it attempts and the evils it seeks to abolish, must be international and world-wide in its ramifications. Most important of all, since it is a problem that affects all producers, it is useless for any one division to attempt its solution unaided. The farmers cannot do it. The wage-workers are equally helpless. Neither have the requisite majority to abolish present conditions, and neither alone has within tiself all the essential elements for the organization of the new society.

Now the only party and the only philosophy

Now the only party and the only philosophy that embraces at the same time the worldwide development of industry and allies itself with all producers is the Socialist party and with all producers is the Socialist party and the philosophy of Socialism. Therefore it is around that party and in accordance with that philosophy that the farmer must seek relief. The length of time that his present sufferings will continue depends wholly on the length of time it will take him to learn this lesson.

#### Labor Union Edition.

The interest recently taken by the labor unions in Socialism shows that the time has come to make a special effort to bring Social-ism to the attention of every member of a labor organization in the country. To facilitate this work the Appeal will, on August 2, issue A SPECIAL UNION LABOR EDITION of the Appeal intended to show the unions why they should use their power at the ballst box where it is a thousand times more effective than any-



#### The Eternal Conflict.

For the Appeal by A. M. Simons.



UROPEAN capitalists consider the farmer the backbone of the present system and depend upon his ignorance and prejudice to counteract all efforts of the wageworkers to free themselves. Some laborers, and not a few Socialists among them, think the American farmer is built on the same plan. But the fact is that up to the present time the American farmer has been far more ready to use his ballot for the protection of his interests than has the laborer. At the time when there was scarcely any sign of political rebellion among the city laborers, and when there was but a handful of men in trade-unions, 100,000 farmers organized in the grange for industrial and co-operative action were using their ballots to such good effect that they controlled the governments of half a dozen states. That they did not use their power as intelligently as they might is now plain to everyone, but re-proaches along this line come with ill grace from city laborers who were still slavishly voting the Republican or Democratic ticket. The farmers have learned

something in the quarter of a century since then. While Socialism has been gaining converts in the cities it has also found rich firlds for growth in the old spirit of rebellion that sent terror to the hearts of capitalist politicians so many times in the past. When next the farmers move against plutocracy, they will be fighting side by side with the laborers of factory and mine for the common possession of an earth which their united labor can alone make

While there is more land than is needed to produce all the wealth on which a profit can be made ownership of a farm means little. Ownership of a farm and ownership of labor power under present society amount to about the same thing. While the whole process of production was performed with simple tools which everybody could own, the possession of labor power gave control of the whole process of production and the enjoyment of the whole product. The man with muscles and the ax was the man who got the product, and whole product, on the frontier. But when the process of production became a long drawn out stream flowing towards a market where it must be sold at a profit, through a host of machines, factories ,etc., all of which are essential to the process, then the ownership of labor power is of no importance unaccompanied by ownership of all the tools essential to profitable production.

If there is just one tool without which it is impossible to complete the process and make a profit, then the owner of that tool can take all of the product save enough to keep the workers alive. The only thing that keeps him from taking it all is that if he did so he would kill the working goose that lays the golden egg. Ownership by a machinist of a monkey wrench, or a set of drills and chisels does not prevent him from being forced to sell his labor power (with limself attached) to the owner of the great machine shop or steel works. Ownership of pick, hovel and lamp does not help the Pennsylvania miner, so long as the mines are owned by omeone else and while picks, shovels and lamps can be supplied in unlimited quantities. It is better for the coal trust to let the miner keep these simple tools for he will then take better care of them and produce more coal for those to whom he must sell himself.

Just so with the farmer. While railroads, elevators, creameries, packing-houses, etc., are absolutely essential to the profitable production of wheat, butter and meat, and while production for profit is the only kind of production we have, the capitalists do not care who owns the farm. Indeed they prefer that the farmer should continue to own it, because he will then care for it better, work harder and make his family work harder than he would if he were working by he day, week or month for some capitalist, who owned the farm.

While there are more laborers than can be profitably employed the fellows who are looking for jobs will see to it that those who have jobs do not get much more than a living. While ere are more farms than are necessary to raise what wheat and butter and meat can be sold t a profit, the farmers will compete with one another until none of them get much more than ring and some are hard pressed for exist-ence.

Wherever there is a tool used in the process of production, which can only be used by the co-operation of a number of men, if that tool is individually owned, there is a dam thrown across the stream of production, and exploitation results. Each individual worker cannot own an instrument which must be used in common. Hence while individual ownership of such co-operative-used instruments exists there must be many who own none, and these propertyless persons must compete with each other for a chance to use these instruments. The owners will soon find that under these conditions they need not work but can wait for those who have labor power to sell to come to them.

The wage-worker and the farmer can escape from this condition as soon as they have intelli-gence enough to unite at the ballot-box and demand that whatever is used in common shall be owned in common. When it is so owned all can freely use it and the product, will all go to

The advantage of the farmer who owns his farm over the factory worker, is much like the advantage of the chattel over the wage-slave. The former is at least sure of his slavery, the

latter may be set "free at any moment to starve. What is the use of owning a man directly when it is so much easier to own something that he must use in order to live. All that one man ever wants to own another for is to get the results of his toll. The capitalist has been permitted to own the mines, machines, railroads, packing-houses, etc., which are necessary to the life of the worker. Then when the farmer wishes to complete the production of his wheat by putting it on the market, of his meat by skilling and packing it, of his wool, by spinning and weaving it, the capitalist says to him: "I constitute the only market to which you can sell your half finished product and I will pay you just enough for the labor power you have canned up in that product to keep you alive while you put some more labor power into some more products for me". Then the wage-worker of the city finds that if he is to live he must somehow get at these partially finished products, and the machines with which to fininh their production. And the capitalist says to him: "I have control of the only market in which you can duction. And the capitalist says to him: I have control of the only market in which you can sell your labor power and I will pay you, as I did the farmer, just enough to enable you to keep on creating wealth for me". All the rest of the product aside from the living expenses of the farmer and the wage-worker the capitalist keeps. No matter how machines are perfected, or processes improved, so long as the market for labor power in all forms is thus controlled. or processes improved, so long as the market for labor power in all forms is thus controlled, the price of that labor power will be kept down to the cost of production. That is, the workeds will get just about enough to keep hem alive and no more. The Socialist fails to see why the farmer and the wage-worker, who are doing all the productive labor of today, are helped in their work by having most of their product taken away from them by a man whose only labor is the watching of some paper titles to the land, mines and machinery of the world. Some day the workers will decide to elect a government of their own into power and then put these paper titles in a government safe belonging to all the people. This will just cut off the pipe line by which the capitalist sucks out the wealth the laborers create and will leave the workers free to enjoy all their own wealth.



#### Oriental Picture of the United States.

By Geo. W. Bell in 'The New Crisis.'



ojourning in an old Moorish village in Southern Spain, where the dismail old mosque, with vine-covered minaret, the briar grown fields and choked up canals, furnished the only evidence of ancient civilization once popular among those charac-teristically poetic people. It was one of the charming oriental tales, so in-teresting in its perusal, while leav-ing a valuable lesson on the mind

the contemplative reader. Of course, it was a prince, as stories to be pretty must be smbellished with the dazzling spiendor of wealth. A mighty prince, so the story goes, with all the love of pomp and show common Eastern times, prepared for a great feast lis whole people were to be his guests, and the orgeous spiendor of the occasion was to eclipse all the festivals of his opulent ancestors. Stuendous preparations were made. A great man-on was erected, with lofty rows of majestic sillars, balconies and balustrades, and alcoves and high-arched ceilings, upon which were ich paintings in gold and beauteous colors, iving in life-like reality the battles won by warlike ancestors, the marriage feasts and stately ceremonies of a prince new crowned. At the left, and looking to the east, were the canopied heavens, with azure-tinted clouds from whose soft lines angels emerged, with heavenly harps happifying the glad occasion. Away back was the dark blue vault, studded with brilliant galaxies of stars, bearing the outnes and names given by the old Chaldee, as e watched from his cloudless desert the wonders of the skies. In the palace wings, were dancing halls, where light-hearted mirth could e "light fantastic toe" and guide in the waltz some brown-cheeked beauty, and eat drawing-rooms and parlors, whose deep, owny carpets drowned the slippered foot; with lken gold embroidered doors and rare furniture, with brilliant chandeliers that ravished the eyo of the beholder. In the center was the great banquet hall, with space enough to plant a province. Its walls were deeply carved and glided with gold. In bass relief, were forests areen and fruitful. There were mountains clad with vines, with pleasant cots hanging on the frags and dimpled babes playing carelessly with the frisky mountain goat. There were golden fields of ripened grain, waving in the summer breeze and a happy peasantry, with sickles sharp, trudging gladly forth to reap the laughing crop. There were villages and towns with great mosques, from whose walls reaches up the tall minaret, and so real is all, that one ure, with brilliant chandeliers that ravished the

can almost hear the contemplative muezzin call the people to prayers. In shapely rows the thousand tables stand to bear the feast when spread. Years were spent in the great preparation, and the breast of the prince leaped joy as the last painter dropped the brush and saluted his royal master with a tear and smile. The proclamation was issued, and in the parchment corner was placed the seal of the On ready horse, the swift couriers flew toward every breeze of heaven. "All the people", from all the provinces, colonies, satrapies, islands and wealthy cities; all the sailors were choked up canals, furnished the only evidence of ancient civilization called from off the stormy seas; "all the people" against this despotic oppression. They appealed to the gods and claimed that the world was once popular among those characters, which is a special content of the gods and claimed that the world was once popular among those characters, waited for the last warning, to the undressed babe of an hour, were called, and the call meant obedience. "Empty-handed, too", the prince had said, "for has not the patient toil of these, my subjects, given me enough that I may entertain them all? Who brings a grain" he said "insuite me had. brings a grain", he said, "insults my bounty, for I only feed them from a purse which they themselves have filled and they are my guests" The march began as the lofty minarets ap-peared above the green old palms, the people kneeled and sang for joy the praises of generous prince. Soon, the sweet sw notes of music, from a thousand trained throats and timbrels and lutes and harps greeted their ears, and again they sang the praises of their prince. Liveried servants greeted the guests with a bugle blast and the prince, donning his royal robes, and bowing his head to receive the crown from loyal courtlers, ascended the throne and bade the people welcome, with a thousand smiles and becks, a thousand protestations of

love and gratitude for loyal, prompt obedience. At a signal given, the great doors swung on their golden hinges and the banquet hall was opened wide. A shout from the millions rent the air and the deep vales and forests took up the notes and echoed back the praise of the generous prince. The tables grouned beneath the weight of all that satisfies bunger or tempts the taste of the epicure. I said the banquet balls were large and broad; and in East and West, in North and South, for every taste and condition of men, the table groaned with and river; flesh from every mountain and plain fowls of every feather, breads and fruits and fine old wines, ripened into luxury by many

words of authority, said, "take you hence, this is mine". "When shall we dine", said a pale-faced woman, "where are our seats at the paie-raced woman, where are our seats at the feast"? "Don't know", gruffly said the few well seated, and each said, "this is mine". When hunger brought the people nearer, and contention arose, bold ones declaring that they said the few had been brought without their seeking, and that there was enough for all, a curtain moved, and armed retainers, with keen blades, and shouting "conspiracy", slew many of the people. They appealed to the prince but the prince mockingly sneered and called them idlers and conspirators, and he ordered the "law to take its course".

Then the people gathered together and held earnest council to determine what should be done to save them from the rapidly approaching danger of misery and starvation, and it was decided to send persons, fleet of foot and cun ning in observation, to seek out a country that corn might be sown, vines planted and the fruits of the land gathered to stay the famine. With a hope that held impatient anxiety in check the multitude waited and soon the shouts of joy once more rent the air, for their friends had returned with the gladdest of tidings. They reported that to the beautiful west, just across the mountain range, lay a vast expanse of gently rolling plains, with the fattest soil, rarest fruits and plants, with great forests and mead-ows, and mines of boundless wealth where never man had left a mark to show his presence. There were lakes and rivers and beautiful les

ser streams and a pure, sunny climate, that gladdened the spring with myriads of flowers, that crowned the summer with a golden harvest and gave each autumn the ripened fruits and crops that bring contentment and joy to the cottage home.

They soon forgot their sorrows, and the strong man gathered together his wife, little ones, his aged parents, and made hurried preparations to possess a new home. As the new land seemed so much more promising than the land beyond the mountains and seas, from which they came, the people forgot their sor-rows, and, in happy anticipations of the future fell on their faces and praised the gods, that they had led them to so great a good, through the instrumentalities of a bad prince. They even forgot the cruelty of the prince and re turned to their former allegiance

With glad hearts the great multitudes moved from the insolent throng that had mocked at their apparent misfortunes and dividing into families and tribes, proceeded to select for themselves abiding places. Some loved the mountain side, by stream and forest. Some, the gentle hiff, where flocks might graze on the undulating slopes and rear their young in peace. Some chose the broad valleys and plains where the patient ox could draw the plow and prepare more easily for the golden grain. Soon the deep valleys and hills and mountains rang with the glad songs of a new life. All felt secure, as the land was new and unpeopled

Some were guiding the plows, some with sharp sickles were reaping the waving meadow some felling the trees to prepare a habitation. some patiently sitting on the stream's baited book, and waiting for the unwary fish to take a tempting morsel, some satin the cool shade, whispering tales of love and others strolling over hills, plucking the bright May flowers and weaving them into garlands to wreathe the brow of the loved ones, when the hasty summons came, by the prince's servant, that others "owned the land", and the people were hastily ordered to depart.

Debate and expostulations were in vain. Loyal appeals for mercy, and pledges for future service, were alike unheeded.

The prince had divided his dominion among a favorite few, the fat sleek sons of opulence who sat at the long table at the "reat feast, and he must defend his dignity by saving his favorite estates from trespassers. The few owned this vast domain, and though they never saw it and could not occupy it their lazy minds unfolding by the quickening power of wine, feasted in proud insolence on the mystic picture which they drew of their estates. prince issued a proclamation ordering all his people, under pain of expulsion by the army of the kingdom, to depart from the lands which they had taken.

Merry laughter was changed to weeping, joy into sorrow, and dancing into the most griev-ous and mad murmurings of despair.

A great tumult arose, and none could advise the people of any other country. The darkest sorrow cast its shadow on the land. The babe Propped its rattle, and clinging to the withered breast of a shivering, wild-eyed mother, died in her arms. The blush of hope faded from the cheek of beauty, and strong men yielded to the power of want and died.

But from sleepless despair came As the wounded lion unable to flee courage. turns and rends his pursuers, so the young and heated blood of young and daring spirits, arose few. They said, the world is wide and bounteful. There is abundance for all. Man has but on body, with one stomach to feed, one back to clothe, and none can use or cunsume the pro-God intended that all should partake of His God intended that all should partiate of the bounties. But the insolent nobles sneered at the argument, in which they saw no force. They called the people traitors, as they had violated "vested rights" and deserved to be extirpated from the earth. The haughty prince, thirsting for glory, marshalled his hosts, of foot and horse, and marched against his rebellious subjects.

But the multitudes few to arms, the gods fa vored their cause, they smote the army of the prince, hip and thigh, and drove them into the walls of the city, where they prepared for a siege. But the prince, nobles, and the rich, having grown effeminate by many luxuries and much case, maddened the soldiers with their insolence and in the darkness of night, while the great halls were filled with reverry, and the inebriate robles were drinking health to fair ladies, who wore their virtues and their rai-ment with an ease in harmony with these voluptuous times, and mocking the unfed and poorly clad bestegers, the gates were opened and the wild multitudes, smarting from their many wrongs, rushed in and seized the city. The prince commanded his troops to slay the people, but the soldiers answered with a laugh, we "proclaimed" the people, but the people answered with wild shouts of deriston.

dor and opulence their rulers had lived, while they were so poor, they became like infuri-ated beasts, devoid of mercy or reason.

They roasted the fat, sleek rulers in their own grease; they smothered the prince and elevating his head on a pole, the young men shot arrows at the shastly face. They razed the palace and the city walls, and the great estates of wealth and splendor, and the chief

choosing of a new king the whole multitude be came clamorous with rage and would have torn him to pieces, had not the gods enveloped him in a cloud so dark that they feared, and desisted from their rashness. Scon their passions subsided and the council

proceeded to lay plans for the future good of the nation, when it was proposed that there be no high and no low, but that all should be equal, that the people should rule by themselves or their chosen agents, who should hold their power by the suffrance of the whole people, that each should have an indisputable right to the products of his labor; that none should have a right to demand tribute from another; that none should own that which he could not create, or mould, or fashion for the use of man, and detach the same from the earth, and as the gods made the world for the habitation of children of men, and the ownership of the world by a few had always resulted in injustice, insolence and despotism, therefore, that the land be divided among the people as each may need, to be held on such terms as the whole nation, or its chosen agents may determine; the loud huzzas of a wild and happy people shook the very hills with boisterous echoes

The council dissolved and the re-gladdened people went their way. Soon busy hands were toiling; each for the benefit of homes and loved ones. Forests were felled, mines explored, hills adorned with pleasant cottages, where hands of love pruned the rose and the jessamine and soft arms twined the neck of the evening returning husbandman.

Farms sprang up, and busy market places, and the lowing herds strolled lazily over the hills and mountain sides. seasons came and went, and went and came. happiness. As nature's bounties were greater than man's necessities, and none could priate what he did not produce or could not occupy, there were no rich, consequently no avarice, no tyranny and no despotism. As there were no rich, there was no poverty, for plenty beckoned everyone to honest effort, and so, there was no crime, no prisons, no paupe dens of misery, and for a thousand years the people dwelt in happiness, and the prattling

#### The Farmer's Library.

babes were taught to curse the name of king.

This number of the Appeal will reach thousands of American farmers who have never seen it and whose minds have never been di-rected to Socialism. For those who have become interested, the following list of books and pamphlets are recommended. Whether liever in the doctrine or not, no man can afford to remain ignorant of what Socialism proposes for in a very short time it will be the leading issue in this country and in all the civilized

THE AMERICAN FARMER, by A. M. Simons. This is a cloth-hound book of 208 pages the object of which is to bring Socialism to the farmer in such a way that he can readily understand its application to his own needs and conditions. Price postpaid, 50 cents.

FARMER SMITH, RENTER, and THE PAR-ABLE OF THE WATER TANK, are both contained in the January, 1901 number of Wayland's Monthly. They both throw a light pe culiar to themselves upon the farmer's condition, and are well worth the small price. Post paid, 5 cents.

NEW ZEALAND IN A NUTSHELL, is a compiled statement of the conditions in New Zealand, where the industrial questions are gradually being solved by the application of Socialist ideas. The chapter on the way the land is furnished to bona-fide residents and money advanced for its improvement win be interesting to American tillers of the soil Price postpaid, 10 cents.

LAND, MACHINERY AND INHERITANCE, by Geo. Pyburn, is a sixteen page pamphlet which touches those subjects in a pleasing and instructive way. Price postpaid, 5 cents.

TITLE DEEDS TO LAND, by Herbert Spen-cer, is the famous ninth chapter of Herbert Spencer's Social Statics which the British aristocracy forced him to eliminate from the later editions of that work. It contains the cream tion, and should be read by every intelligent human being. Price postpaid, five for 5 cents. THE AMERICAN FARMER, by F. G. R.

Gordon, is an illustrated pamphlet of sixteen pages dealing with the condition of the American farmer, its cause and cure. Arguments backed by statistics. Price postpaid, 5 cents.

AFTER CAPITALISM, WHAT? by William

Thurston Brown late pastor of Plymouth Church, Rochester, N. Y. This is a scholarly essay on the social tendency and presents the things for which Socialism is contending in a clear and readable manner. Price postpaid,

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The above books and pamphlets comprise unety-five cents worth of the best literature on the subject. We will mail the whole FARMER'S LIBRARY containing all of them,

ostpaid for 75 cents.

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#### Rural Mail Boxes.

St. Louis Globe Den When Senator Tillman added an amendmento the post office appropriation bill providing

that the post office department should furnish to patrons of rural free delivery boxes of a uniform design at a cost of fifty cents each. there were many predictions that no firm would bid for such a contract, and that the conditions imposed was an impossible one. It was freely asserted that the Tillman amendnent ended any prospect of uniform boxes for rural free delivery routes. But Congressiman Joy, of St. Louis, insisted that it was not only possible to furnish satisfactory boxes at the small cost proposed, but that it could be done by contractors at a profit. "His prediction proved true and a contractor proposes to done by contractors at a probation proceed true, and a contractor proposes to furnish the government, for fifty cents each boxes whiche he had charged rural free delivery patrons more than \$2 each for. Charley Joy says he made his prediction of this out. come on an experience he had years ago in St. Louis as president of a small book concern. It was handling a line of first, second and third readers, and through agents, jobbers, middlemen, teachers and members of boards of directors was placing them in the schools. They were selling from twenty-five to fifty cents each. Then the state of Indiana passed a law providing that all books should be uniform in the schools, and limiting the cost of first readers to five cents. The book trust re-fused to offer any bids, and it looked as if the law could not be carried into effect. The conditions came to the attention of Joy. a representative of his company he went the palace and the city walls, and the great estates of wealth and splendor, and the chief marts and the temples, and places of amusement to the ground. When the people tired of their work of destruction and reason returned, they held a solemn council and listened in silence to all who proposed plans for the future covernment of the country.

When an aged man arose and proposed the

#### \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* GERMAN, SWEDISH AND NORWEGIAN READERS. 3

"Ten Men of danced an early state of American readers and should be equally good and Norwegtan. Just to get them where they will be doing something, they will be sentpostpaid for 25 cents per dores. \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

#### 1850-1902.

The following from an oration made before the Massachusetts Anti-slavery society at Mal-odean Hall, Buston, January 27, 1853, by Wen-dell Phillips, in which he admonished his heardell Phillips, in which he authorised that they could not rely on the institutions that were then in power for relief, applies that were the insuguration of Sowith equal force to the inauguration of So-cialism at the present time—it will have to come through different agencies than the powers that be. Mr. Phillips, in part, said: "A' money power of \$2,000,000,000, as the prices of slaves now range, held by a small body of able slaves now range, held by a small body of able and desperate men; that body raised into a political aristocracy by special constitutional provisions; . . . the press bought up, the pulpit reduced to vassalage, the heart of the common people chilled by a bitter prejudice against the black race; our leading men bribed, by ambition, either to silence or open hostility—in such a land, on what shall an abolitionist rely? . . Where shall our church organizations or parties get strength to attack their great parent and moulder, the slave power? How shall the stream rise above its fountain? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it: Why has thou made its fountain? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it: Why has thou made

me thus?"

May the Socialist party, with the support of the working class and the trade unionist labor party recently launched at Denver be to Socialist what the republican party was to the abolitionist movement.

#### Socialists Victorious.

Berlin, June 17 .- Socialists and Democrats carried almost everything in the elections in Alsace-Lorraine today. the municipal

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this excellent work will be ready to mail June 5th. Com-nan Bavis devoted many years to the study of the railroad on and this es page booklet contains the concentrated re-f his work. Simple and strong, piato and practical. Post-The Socialist Party.



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By Henry E. Allen, In a Shroud with Pockets.

As a farmer, I feel that I have a right to call the attention of farmers to some industrial conditions of the present which economically unite the two great classes-farmers and wage-earners.

Under capitalism there are today in all countries but two great divisions, but two great classes—the exploited and the exploiting class. The working farmer and the wage-earing class belong together and constitute the one great exploited class. The actual pro-ducers of all wealth do not rececive but a small part of what they produce.

Do farmers as a class enjoy as much in the way of recreation, travel, entertainments, music, books and social life as people in other callings? Then why the general complaint that so many boys and girls are leaving the farms—already more than a third of our pop-

niation being urban.

If the farmers are so independent and prosperous, why is it that more than one-half of the actual working farmers of the United States at this time are homeless and mortgageridden? Is it not a fact that the great farmers which has so long and joudly hoasted. ing class which has so long and loudly boasted of its independence is today the prey of a horde of trusts and combines which makes the price, not only on every article the farmer buys, but also on almost every article he sells?

The fact is the American farmers have come to be a class of hard driven, exploited dependents. Not long ago this class was a dominant factor in the economic field. It is not so any r. The dominant class is always the that use their brains more than their i. We farmers have neglected to do this. so now we occupy a back seat in spite of the that we are the largest class, numerically,

in industry.

The working independent farmer is no more—industrial development has pushed him uside. The scheming, speculating class is in the saddle.

The home owing working farmer simply pwns his job-that is all. His labor brings now only about the same returns as that of the average wage-carper. He should realize the average wage-earner. He should realize that he has already dropped to the level of the that he has already dropped to the level of the city wage-slave in the economic field. IF HE for consumption.

ACQUIRES A REASONABLE COMPETENCY
FOR INFIRM AGE UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS, IT MUST BE, NOT BY HIS OWN have every advantage that any other worker worker worker to the consumption. LABOR, BUT BY THE EXPLOITATION OF OTHER LABOR.

The city wage-earner has found by bitter experience the necessity of organization. The farmer is woefully ignorant on this nt. Then, too, many farmers, even though y be renters, look upon a labor union as organization that should be stamped out by the government. We seem to lose sight of the fact that a dollar-a-day city wage-earner cannot be a two-dollar-a-day customer for farm in other words the great body of have not yet learned the vital fact that the class interests of all labor are the same, and that agriculture has long since ceased to be the dominant factor in economics because farmers do not study economic condieconomic class earner has been doing this very thing; so for this reason he realizes the nec essity for organization, and is rapidly coming to see the imperative need of all workers standing together and voting their class in-

CLASS STRUGGLE is the one vital fact of the present. The exploiting class has sense enough to always stand together. Busi-ness interests know no religion, politics or

color lines.
Farmers and the city wage earners belonging to the same class—the working or wealth producing class—must work together, or they will ultimately sink together to the industrial level of the European working classes. The whole situation is implied in this one sen-tence: Capitalism means, finally, WAGE-SLAVERY for the working farmer as well as for the city wage carner.

Brother farmer, let me urge that we study our economic class interests, not from any source that we have reason to believe has been poisoned by the self-interest of an exploiting class, but from the undeniable facts of present industrial conditions.

To vote intelligently we must do this. Lin-oln once said: "The man who will not inves-gate both sides of a question is dishonest." Is the farmer, who will persistently vote for the man on his back in the interest of an exploiting class- a good citizen under a free gov

Let us refuse to longer give our children to he bayonets and cannons of commercial reed; let us tear down our hideous industrial greed; let us tear down our hideous industrial tread-mill and make life a song for every human being. It is in the power of the great farming class to peacefully avert a future crisis, if we will intelligently and conscientiously ACT.

### CONDITIONS UNDER SOCIALISM.

If I own a section of land what will become of my title under Socialism? What will I get for the use of it.

Who will be boss over these farms to see that things are moving, and who will farnish the horses?

If I desired to visit the St. "Louis Pair, where would I get the money to pay expenses of the rip."

Would the government furnish the machinery to farm with, and how sould we know what was to be planted or sown?

How much would be a dey's pay, and how would we see
who worked three days and who worked six days?
Supposeeme is sick where is the curse and medicine coming from and who would pay the bill?
Would houses be free or would rent have to be paid?—Geo.
Walface, Hayes Center, Neb.

The public will offer you a position in the agricultural department that will give you five The public will offer you a position in the agricultural department that wil give you five times as much for your abor as you could make working on your section of land. You will likely take it. As one same offer will be remedy for such wars, they should be laid on made to all citizens, nobody would work the shelf. will likely take it. As one same offer will be made to all citizens, nobody would work your farm for you and what vowel you do with it? You simply wouldn't own it, even if it were forty sections. One does not own land it were forty sections. One does not own land for the sake of the land, but for the power it gives them to take something from the aduatry of those who possess no land and must work your land and give up part of the products. But when the public provided all with employment

These farms will be run as a department of the National Industry. The workers in each The workers in each department will elect, their own immediate foremen, and can remove them at picasure. Every person will have an interest in keeping things moving, else there would be nothing to eat. Self interest will be the motive. The public will raise horses and supply the needs for all demands, just as it will raise grain. Of course the public would make and furnish the machinery to operate its own farms. viduals could not own the expensive machin-ery that would replace the puny, crade ma-chinery that is now used on the small farms. chinery that is now used on the small farms. If the public would give you such machinery you would not have it, as you could get no other citizen to work for you unless you gave them the full results of their labor (as the public would) and that would profit you nothing to own the machinery. Personally you sould not run the great machinery alone. It

requires many men with different skill to do that in any great industry. As for the keeping of time, how do the great corporations today keep time on their thousands of employes! Do they have any trouble in finding out whether a man works three days or six days a week? Well, the public would find out in

just the same If you desired to travel you would have public credits as good as the government. The public would own the railroads, the hotels, the Fair and all-other things, and your credit: would give you all you could consume of the USE of any of these things, at the labor cost. The same would hold true with regard to the hospitals, the medicine, the physicians and the The latter would be free-that is, no direct charge would be paid for such services. The physicians and nurses would be public servants, paid out of the general wealth of the nation. This would be paying the doctors by well people, for if all the people were sick there would be no wealth to pay them with They would be interested in keeping people wall. Now if the people were all well all the time no "business" for the doctors and they would starve.

Houses would be rented. But the rent of houses would be just as much of your labor as you consumed of the labor of others by the USE of the house. That would mean practically

the maintenance of the property.

It is by means of this great sub-division of labor, the employment of great and improved ture every science, that the best results can be obtained—results not possible with the iso-

lated farmer with a section of land or less.

Another advantage to the farmer under So cialism will be that he and his family will not be compelled to live the isolated life they now do, but they will be congregated in cities where schools, lectures, theaters, parks gpmnasiums, libraries, art palleries, electrical and other imtheir various stations of employment on rapid tenance of the many roads, vehicles and other cumbersome methods now used, and these transits will also be used in bringing to the agricultural centers the products of the farm for shipment to their places of final preparation

best of any vocation under Socialism. He will will have, and will have the pleasure of work ing nearer nature in the purest of atmosphere.
I would suggest that my inquirer should read

Simon's "American Farmer", and he will gain much that is worth knowing.

## Thrifty Trustland.

The chorus girls and "supers" in the theaters of Chicago are preparing to organize to obtain better pay.

The leather workers employed by the Atchison Saddlery Company at Atchison, Kansas are striking for recognition of the union.

The result of the conference between the coal operators who have been in session a Pittsburg, Kan., indicates a strike of the Kan

The bill posters and 'll hangers, the butch ers and meat market employes, and the chan delier-makers and hangers, are organizing at Milwaukee, Wis.

The Santa Fe boiler-makers are still out and the boiler-makers on the entire system of the Union Pacific are in a fair way to tie up that road as the engines are getting in bad condition.

What is the use of laws in favor of the labor what is the use of laws in favor of the labor-ing people if the masters have control of the operation of the law? Only when the laborers shall elect their class to control the political machinery will labor laws be of any benefit to

call for a special national convention to be held at Indianapolis, July 17. There are about 450,000 coal miners in the United states, 350,000 of these are affiliated with the union

coal-trust are industriously circulating the story that many miners since the strike in the anthracite region have gone to Europe to take a vacation. The object of the report is to in-

Five hundred Pullman car cleaners are on pany says it will not pay the demands. The men who own the Pullman monopoly can't afford to pay human beings enough to live on to clean their dirty cars! Millions a year in profits-but not decent pay for workers make it for them! Great system!

From 1880 to 1890 there were 23,000 strikes involving more than 600,000 employes, accord ing to Carrol D. Wright. From 1890 to 1900 there are no statistics published, but the num-ber of strikes and the employes involved must have been much greater. This industrial war

Patterson, N. J., was the scene of wild and ratterson, N. J., was the scene of wild and destructive rioting in connection with the strike in the slik mills last week. Several people were killed and many wounded. All this because there is no method by which the differences between employers and employed may be adjusted. If these strikers had put one-half. co-operated at much more than they could get half the energy into politics that they put into for working the land by themselves they would strikes they could control the whole country, roon throw up the land and permit it to go back to the public from whence it was taken.

These farms will be run as a department of private exploitation of the workers? Things

> Wilkesbarre, June 17.-Three thousand fames of striking miners are to be turned out of their homes, owned by the Reading Coal and Iron company. Notices of ejectment were sent out today. The novement to dispossess the ten-ants begins at Branchdale. The houses are wanted for non-union workmen. The Lehigh Valley and the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal companies also are to evict their tenants, and it is understood that the Susquehanna Coal com-nany contemplates a similar step. District Secretary Hartlem said today of the stories of ery no strike breaker, and though the operators have done their best to irritate it our men don't propose to be trapped in this way. The operators would like nothing better than to get out the militia, which might terminate in a victory for them.'—Associated Press.

#### A Plutocratic Howl.

Harper's Weekly, May 3.

It seems a pertinent time to point out the wretched condition of the telegraphic service of this country as compared with other civilized lands. All of Great Britain, including Ireland, has an area less than California or Montana, its population but half that of the United States, yet 90,000,000 messages transmitted annually throughout the king while in all this vast country, with its feverish haste in business, there are but 75,000,000 messages. A twelve-word message anywhere in Britain, be it from Land's End to Aberdeen, costs twelve cents. Here for similar distances the charge is one dollar. In New York City the time required to send a message, as repeatedly tested by the writer, is around three hours. In London it is less than one hour, and the charge but one-half. And the British telegraph office is not run at a loss. There is simply no reason in the world why a ten-word message in New York should not be sent for ten cents, and I believe, under the hour. It can be done in Paris and in Berlin, as well as in London, and all over Europe. There is no reason why a message to the Pacific coast should cost more than twenty cents; it would pay at ten cents. The volume of telegraphic business in this country should be twenty times what it is, and nothing prevents this save the fact that this natural monopoly is in the hands of private exploiters for private profit and not for public convenience. Even as it is it seems nothing but sheer obtuseness machinery, the employment of chemists and on the part of the telegraphic company's man-machinists and bringing to the aid of agricul-agers that rates should be so high and the serin this country were cut to one quarter what they are, I venture the prediction that the amount of earnings would be increased fourfold. That was what took place with cheap postage. With wireless telegraphy fairly in the plutes hold the fort they will have to sight it may not be long before we shell send. postage. With wireless telegraphy fairly in sight it may not be long before we shall send hustle messages anywhere in the country for a little more than the bare cost of receptions and detaken livery—say a dozen words for a nickle. San Francisco and Tacoma will not then seem so far away. In the land of Morse and Edison it is a shame that it should cost more than twice a nickle new. In this regard we, the strenuous people, are as far behind Europe as a London omnibus is behind a Broadway trolley car

#### The Worker and Thinker.

A Workingman had a bit of ground on which he lived. It seemed to be worth very little, so, after a while, he gave it to the Thinkingman. Nevertheless, the Workingman had to live on the land, so the Thinkingman charged him rent. Then the Workingman called the Think-ingman a Monopolist.

The Thinkingman thought and made a law; then he nominated law-makers, and the Workvoted for them-the law-makers

adopted a Constitution, to prevent any change. The Workingman worked and made a gun; then he gave it to the Thinkingman for the rent. The Thinkingman said, "What good a gun to me unless I have a man to use it? can't risk my own life." So the Workingma So the Workingman voted an appropriation out of his wages to the Thinkingman to hire a man to use the Then the Workingman called the Thinkingman an Aristocrat

The appropriation set the Workingman behind with his rent, so the Thinkingman sent the hired man (with the gun) to turn the Workingman out of his tenement. The Workingman called the Thinkingman an Oppressor Now the question is, Who really disposesse that Workingman?—Bolton Hall.

#### The Oregon Election.

No official returns of the Oregon election have reached this office. From letters received and estimates made on returns, it appears that the vote for the constitutional amendment adopting the Initiative and Referendum, or Direct Legislation by the people, carried by 60,-000 to 5,000. It carried in every precinct in the State. That shows what the people think about it after having had it up for discussion in two campaigns. At the next election there will be several laws proposed for the voters to express themselves on, and the era of the people governing themselves will have made a begin ning in the United States. No legislature, lobby a sympathetic strike of the soft coal miners or other body can veto the people's will when the third Mine Workers of America has issued a state that the coal workers of the coal workers State that has a really democratic government

#### The Fourth of July

In another column we have asked the Grand Army of the Appeal to celebrate the anniversary of our political independence by making a special effort for industrial independence. a special effort for industrial independent.

The Appeal will take great pride in the work of our Army on that day and every reader of the paper who feels interested in the spread the paper who feels interested in the spread in the spread to identify himself with of Socialism is invited to identify himself with that magnificent body by using some of his time on the Fourth in gathering subscribers the Appeal.

How many of our readers will send in an INDEPENDENCE DAY CLUB? No matter if it is only one name you capture, there is no od the one subscriber may

#### Kansas and the Appeal.

Geo. B. Shaw, the genial representative of the Kansas City Paper House of Kansas City. Mo., sends the following clipping from a paper descriptive of a trip in the west and showing what the Appeal is doing in that section:

"In Wyoming we were met only by the atmosphere and the night. In Nevada we met the most calling."

the most galling reception. At Reno, on alighting from the train, we were met as kindred spirits—Oh, you are from Kansas, are you? That is where the Appeal to Reason is printed. Why, it comes out here in car loads, and is distributed to all the minera."

#### Next Week.

Next week, the Appeal will contain an excellent article by Hall Caine on "Unexpected Adversaries to Labor." Hall Caine is a member of the Manx parliament and a Socialist writer of world-wide fame and his article should be widely read.

Nebraska farmer who recently visited his a Nebraska farmer who recently visited his native land. Sweden, was greatly surprised to find that a McCormick self-binder can' be bought in Sweden for \$62 while the same kind of a machine costs \$125 in Nebraska. He also found that American wire nails cost \$2.75 in Sweden while they cost \$4 in Nebraska.—Nebraska Paper.

#### 9+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+ 50 cts: MAMMOTH COMBINATION 50 cts.

Coman and the Social Problem, by Simons, out is Love, by Win, M. Muiller, be Concentration of Wealth by Erving. Vhy? Geo. J. Bryan, unplus Product and Surpius Labor. Jones. dairess. by Henry D. Lloyd, incensisatis sind The Money Question, he Soldier and Bundholder. by Norron, he Soldier and Bundholder. by Norron, he Soldier and Bundholder. by Norron, he Labor Question, Harry Kucheman. he recept or the Politition. Taylor. Par Hepublican Monarchy, Voldo. The Secret of the Rowhschilds, Hobart. The New Sixyery, Chas. Hallam, a Financial Catechism, S. M. Brice,

rteen well printed, eve-opening books Order the Mammoth Combination.

### Strenuous Strikers For & Socialism.

Comrade Wilcox of Emporia, Kan., is doing good work among the Emporians.

Comrade Conklin of Francis, Colo., starts everal Appeals in the right direction.

"The Appeal makes them scratch heads."—Comrade Layne, Mound, Ore. Comrade Knight of Lowell, Mass., girded on his armor and captured four last week.

Comrade Lilley of Jefferson, Colo., sends bouquet of Lillies to receive the Appeal. And yet they come. Comrade Harkness of Northport, Wash., orders a thousand of No.

Comrade Johnson and others of El Reno. Okla., order a bundle of Farmer's Bulletin No. 343.

Comrade Bayless of Uniontown, Ky., serves notice that he is going to stir things up along the Ohio. Comrade Haney of Vernon, Tex., makes the

Monthly a valuable present of eleven subscribers. Comrade Sanders of Helena, Mont., remembers the needs of the young monthly and sends a list of readers for it.

Comrade Welch of Whatcom, Wash., is th boy what comes in t list for the Monthly. in this week with a splendid

Comrade Yenne of Puyallup, Wash., has every man with wh taken a fancy to the Appeal bull dog and sends in a business-like whim a few scalps to play with every little and direct talk to while.

Look out for the streets of Cairo. Comrade Farrell of that city has ordered the famous 1200 COMBINATION and you know what that means

Comrade Scott, formerly of the Blue Grass State but now of St. Louis, is an old friend of the Appeal and remembers us with a modest club of one.

Comrade Beaver of Beaver Creek, Ore., been out among the busy Beavers and orders a supply of books together with subs to the Appeal and Monthly.

Comrade Higginson of Bellevue, Ida., sends in his first batch, but warns us to look out for he is getting hostile and is likely to go on the war-path at any moment. Comrade Carpenter of Bunceton,

climbed Mt. Pisgah last week, scalped two of the natives, and after getting home captured a few more to make out a shipment. Comrade Groff of Kansas City, Kan., renew

gman his subscription to the Appeal, orders a bundle of the and the TWELVE HUNDRED COMBINA-gun. TION. If he don't catch fish, who will. Comrade Work of Des Moines, Ia., is a worker both in name and in fact. He orders a supply of Dewey's Ideal Republic to de-

velop the ideality of his Iowa neighbors. Comrade Cladek of Scio, Ore., has ordered a variety of ammunition that will enable him to bag all kinds of game from the fellow al-most persuaded to the boiler-plate moss-back. Comrade Denney of Columbia, S. C., is one of the many that needs the Mammoth Combination

Comrade Denney members the Appeal and Wayland's Monthly. Comrade McCormick of Phoenix, Ariz, writes the Appeal an interesting letter and in-cidentally sends in a list of his neighbors who will, through his efforts, read the Appeal for a

Comrade Radford of Leavenworth, Kan. again cheers the heart of the Appeal canine and those of the Appeal bipeds as well with an order for a bundle and a report of pro-

"The best way I have found so far is to take a half dozen Appeals, pick out my men and furnish them regularly; and I seldom fail to get up a club that way."—Comrade Allen, Tampa, Fla.

Comrade Walles of Damascus, Ga., writes the Appeal a stirring letter and reports satisfac-tory progress. Comrade Walles is sixty-nine years of age but more than able to do duty in the Grand Army of the Appeal.

The boys in Canada are making things hum, ast week one whole file of orders had very little else than orders from Canada. for the men of the north. Keep co we'll give you the best in the shop.

Comrade Piercy of Princeton, Ky., distributed ten sample copies of the Appeal and se-cured eight subscribers. Eight out of ten is good shooting. Can anyone beat it? There is plenty more of the same ammunition.

Comrade Jacob of Wall. Pa., sends in his customary list and asks how the red-headed girl is getting along. The last the Army edi-tor saw of her she was calling the bulldog to scratch her out of a pile of wrappers for the Farmer's Edition.

"What's this?" gurgled the business manager as he opened the mall Wednesday morning. "The Socialists have taken Holland." "Don't be in such a hurry." lisped the auhurn-tressed lady, "this is from Amsterdam, N. Y. Comrade Telford has been on the war-path is all."

Are you with us on the Independence Day campaign? While those who have lost the significance of the date are burning powder and making a racket generally, let the Appea Army quietly march upon the works of capitalism and capture all the subscribers possi-

ble.

Comrade Stache of Wallace Ida., orders a supply of TEN MEN OF MONEY ISLAND in Swedish, and Comrade Krueger orders a supply of the same in German. We have it also Swedish, and Comrane All We have it also ply of the same in German. We have it also in Norwegian and believe the Army could use in Norwegian and believe the Army could use it advantage at the very low price of

LABOR, LIBERTY AND LIFE, is the title LABOR, LIBERTY AND LIFE, is the title of a new thirty-six page pamphlet by Comrade Geelsmark of the Appeal Army. The chapter which tells of the waste of competition is worth more than the price of the whole pamphlet. Price. 10 cents, three for 25 cents. Postpaid from this office or from the author, C. F. Geelsmark, 1505 Montecello Av., Chicago.

To the Comrades of the Appeal Army: I To the comrades of the Appeal Army: 1 am in a position to use to good advantage in propaganda work, 100 copies or more weekly of the Appeal and other live Socialist publications but am unable to buy them. If any comrade will furnish the ammunition, I will agree to give the necessary amount of time and work in placing it where it will do the most good. Fraternally, Rev. Wm. Withrow. most good. Fraternally, Rev. V 544 Ann Av., Kansas City, Kan. Fraternally, Rev. Wm. Withrow.

"The best plan I find, is to carry a dozer the best pian I and, is to carry a dozen cards in my pocket, and when on a train hand them out and let the passengers read them, thereby taking a subscription or so. That is for strangers, but when acquainted I go after my man for two bits and tell him what it is for. A good plan is for each comrade to go after his barber, tailor, druggist, hotel keeper, etc., Postpaid 50 cents.

One taking their subscription, however, until they have agreed to read it. Traveling men

Boy. Comrade A. B. Conklin has been frying the ad. column of the Appeal for some time and is so pleased with the result that he has taken a larger space this week. Comrade Conklin is O. K. and should receive the support of the watch-buying comrades.

can get the Appeal into all the hotels and bar-her shops by a similar method."—A Railroad

"I find the best way to get subscribers for the Appeal is to hand sample copies to people. When they get a sample copy they decide to try a whole meal of it, as it gives them a good appetite for that kind of literature."—Com-

rade Liedy, Garrett, Pa. "My method that has proved the most effective in making Socialists, is to present people with copies of the Appeal or other Socialist ammunition. We have won victory after victory, yet many Socialists appear blind to vic-tories won."—Comrade Hall, Boston, Mass.

"I find in many cases it is well to approach people first with books that explain what Socialism is before trying to get subscriptions. Many are prejudiced against any paper at the start, and remain so until they understand ts principles."-Comrade Tappan, Terryall, Mich.

"To get subscribers, go to a gang of men at the noon hour and secure one or two. A good deal of talking may be required, but if the effort is not successful the first day try again the next and success is sure. The rest of the gang will be easy."—Comrade Johnson, Omaha, Neb.

"Being in a position to get copies of the Appeal thrown away by ignorant republicans, I place them in wrappers, stamp them and send them on their good wok. Where I know the men to be rank partisans, I cut out such pieces as 'Workman's Blessing and send them along.-Comrade Roff.

"The best way to get subs is to go after every man with whom you come in contact in a business-like way. Find out where he i and direct talk to Socialism. Show him copy of the Appeal and ask him to read Don't antagonize him in any way."—Comrade Wilson, Sloux City, lowa.

"I find the most effectelve way to get men to subscribe for the Appeal is to tell them if they will read it for one year and don't get their money's worth with a blg interest out of it, that I will cheerfully pay their money back to them out of my own pocket.'-Comrade Ridgeway, Hunnewell, Kan.

"The way I find best to get subscribers is to hand them a copy of the Appeal with marked articles showing them how they are skinned in their occupation under this system. I ask them to read it, telling them that there are some good ideas in it. That's what fetches them."—Comrade Dillet, Star, Neb.

"In approaching men to solicit their sub-scriptions for the Appeal, I study my man and scriptions for the Appeal, I study my man and strike him in the way I think most effective. When a man knows nothing about the Appeal, I say, "Thist is a paper that contains some good things and some things you probably will not like; but just read it for six months, and at the end of that time tell me what you think of it." Thus I have made quite a few converts."—Comrade Beery.

From A W. Dyng Shayerorst Let: "It are

From A. W. Dyer, Shreveport, La: "I approach a person and hand him a copy of the Appeal. I say, 'Here is the most wonderful paper on earth.' It is published for the sole purpose of getting people to thinking along class-conscious lines; it appeals to their reson.' After I have given them time to read the paper, I question them and if it has thrown them into a fever I leave them alone but if it has only made them cough or sneeze I repeat the dose. Get them to thinking and they want the paper."

The comrades have responded months fund for propaganda work among the miners in the anthracite coal fields. In another place we publish the amount subscribed. We have The comrades have responded nobly to the we publish the amount subscribed. We have sent out literature to several points but not knowing who can handle the papers and pamphlets so they will do the work intended, we are compelled to call for volunteers to distribute them. Please let us hear from the compades in the strike distribute them. comrades in the strike district, and in writing let us know what you can use to the best ad-

# Anthracite Propaganda Fund.

Wash .....

Money and postal subscriptions cards will be received for this fund and the literature forwarded to our workers in the anthracite

#### Wireless Election Returns.

On the head of the ticket, Clatsop county, Oregon, received 323 votes for the Socialist ticket out of 2,000. Direct legislation carried

ticket out of 2,000. Direct legislation carries with a vote of 1,370 to 86.

At the recent municipal election in Taxafila, the Socialists elected three councilmeran assessor and a collector.

Dairy precinct, Dairy, Oregon, cast 85 vote at the recent election. Of these the Socialist candidate for governor received 13. The cause

candidate for governor received 18. The cause of the eighteen votes as reported by a comrade of the eighteen votes as reported by a comrade on the ground was twenty samples of the Ap-peal judiciously distributed.

#### Party Buttons

We are now prepared to furnish the official button of the party with design of clasped hands at five cents each.

THE NEW

# Wayland's Monthly

The Next Time Wayland's Monthly is issued it will be four times its present size and bet-

ter in every way.

It Will Continue to be printed in improved form on good book paper with attractive colored cover, and contain not less than 32

pages.

Twenty-Five Thousand Subscribers are
needed at once to make the Monthly a suc.
cess, and the price is yet held at that of the
old Monthly as an inducement to prompt ograph Clubs for the Monthly will

Autograph Clubs for the Monthly will count on the Girard property, subject to the same conditions as apply to the paper. The Monthly is Offered for the Present at 25 cents per year at which rate every worker can seed of a club, as it will by gession of its compact form, clear print, strong paper and carefully prepared reading matter, be of the greatest value as a propaganda publication.

we the Monthly a Start and it will be able to win its own way.