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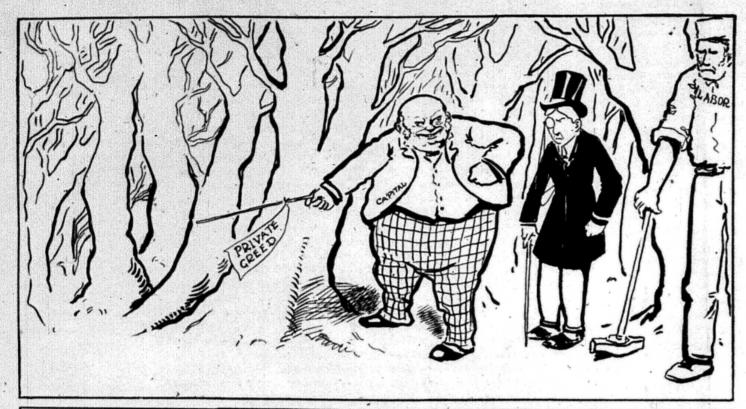
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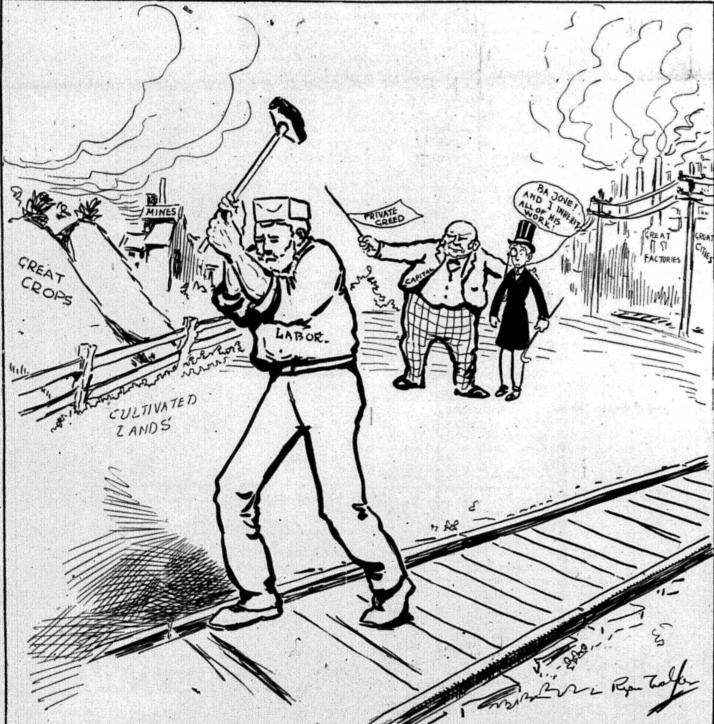
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But the Ogre said: "Never fear, my son. I have my wand, and our Slave will change this forest into cultivated lands, teeming with crops, he will open mines for us, build great cities and factories, and make railroads for you to inherit, you, who have never solled your hands with work. "Our Slave does all this for the poor board and poor clothes I give him."

SAMPLE OF THE NEW KIND OF LABOR UNION PAPERS



VOL II, NO. 4.

RÉADING, PA., SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1903.

TWO CENTS.

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From Chase in the South

Gainsville, Texas, April 27, 1903. Editor "The Socialist."

Dear Comrade Editor:-- I visited once upon a time one of our governmental manufacturing institutions and what I found there and an incident connected therewith may be of interest to you or your readers. It was in Rock Island, Ill. The plant was situated in a beautiful park, with fine, imposing shade trees, splendid concrete side walls, bicycle paths and drive ways.

In the center of this park was ten rows of stone building through which I meandered on a tour of inspection and investigation.

In the basement of one building found a thoroughly equipped up-todate machineshop, with all the modern lathes, etc. In another I found a blacksmith shop with modern bellows, anvils, triphammers, etc. On the next floor I found a long line of machines of the most up-to-date style, which were used for the purpose of making into shape, steel, copper, lead, bronze, etc. I soon discovered that all these metals were being wrought into imple ments of destruction, such as cannon cannon wheels and carriages, guns, cartridges and the "e.

On another floor some 200 men were marking upon leather making har nesses, knapsacks, saddles, saberholders, etc.

In a word, everything concievable nearly, for destroying life, was being turned out in that institution, which the people of this country maintain and operate through their government.

I asked a man after my visit if he did not think it possible to run a shoe factory and make shoes for ourselves as well as we could make guns or cannon-balls. "Oh, well," said he, 'that's different." "But how different?" I asked. "Is there any material difference between a cannon-ball and a shoe? And does it not require labor to make both?" "Yes," he said, "I suppose so." "And could we not make shoes as easily as we now make the cannon-ball?" I asked. "Yes, I guess so, if we fried," he replied. "And would it not be better, when you come to think of it," I asked, "and more in keeping with common sense and civilization for us to make shoes to shoe the shoeless than it is to make bullets to bullet the bulletless?" "Perhaps so, sir: perhaps so," he replied, and turned away round the corner and was lost among the seventy odd million other perhaps sos.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN C. CHASE.

to be doing something in the way of or sick or injured. He may be less ning alive of his victims-philosophizmaking Socialists. We are making a secure than the slave or the serf. But ing the while on the probability of few just now here in Dixie land. Say, there will be "something doing" in 1904 all right.

enter your sanctum.

TO GET RID OF HIM.

Norman, Wash., May 3, 1903. The "Socialist."

Enclosed please find twenty-five cents for another six months' subscription.

Six months ago I had to take the 'Socialist" for halp a year in order to get rid of the agent, as I was very busy when he was around.

But lo! and behold! Why didn't I drive him out of the house instead? That confounded "Socialist" has converted a populist into Socialism.

As to changing the name of your paper, I must say that I do not think it can be bettered any, as the present name can not be misunderstood by anyone

> Respectfully, JOHN KLATT.

THEY ARE COMING.

There is a crying need for a pres what the capitalist press does for the capitalist class; a press which shall raise its voice in protest against everything calculated to harm the working class; a press which shall stand for the rights of the toiler, a press which shall teach the toiler to think with his own brains, and see with his own eyes and speak with his own tongue.

Such a press the Socialists are now providing.—"The Peorla Socialist," (latest addition to the Socialist pres

THE INSECURITY OF LABOR

ly. These are his opening words:

Economic Insecurity. A new term has grown up in political economy-economic insecurity, which means the insecurity that attaches to labor when the workingman has exhausted his energy, or has become ill, or is incapacitated by accident or other misfortune. Under the wages system there is no security or protection against this incapacity, and the workingman, when he meets these

The Weakness of the Wage System.

tude.

conditions, is left to take care of

himself, to live upon friends, or to

become the object of public solici-

The condition described is known as economic insecurity because a man coming under it is insecure through the remainder of his life from an economic point of view. This is the weakness of the wages system. Such insesecurity did not exist under the systems which preceded the wage system, because under the feudal system, which meant service on the one hand and protection on the other, the serf was entitled to food, raiment and shelter during his entire life. These two conditions, protection and service, were inseparable. So, under the slave system, the humane master -and I am inclined to believe that the large majority of slaveowners were humane-cared for his slaves through life. They were quite sure of food, clothing and shelter as long as they lived. But he proceeds to speak of this change as

The Emancipation of Labor.

With the emancipation of labor under our modern system-that is, when the workingman was entitled to make contracts, thus passing from status to contracthe must take care of himself. When he becomes ill, meets with accident, or grows old, or is incapacitated for any reason, there is no one to whom he can turn to make his future secure. He has expended his strength that production might go on and that society as a whole might prosper industrially.

has passed from status to contract;" let not the wage slave forget that. He may be worse off. There may be that of the vivisectionist who coolly P. S .- You people out there seem no one to help him when he is old observes, and superintends the skin-"he has passed from status to contract," he has been emancipated!

My regards to the comrades who advise the worker to "save" out of his sometime be done to relieve their sufearnings, to lay by a store for his old ferings, in case they did suffer. age. The capitalist dailies tell uz the workingmen have untold millions in the victims are men, women and chilthe Savings Banks. How did Mr. dren, millions of them. old age? It is his own fault, he has matter.

This is the title of Carroll D. | wasted it in drink, say the Christians Wright's first article in Collier's Week- generally. But Carroll D. Wright seems to have dropped that old "chestnut" anyhow.

This fact of the "Economic Insecurity" of the Wage Slaves is so stupendous a fact of modern society that to deny it is to declare oneself a fool.

It is an awful truth that the Iron Law of Wages keeps a wage worker's income down to the subsistence level. and he simply cannot provide for his

Mr. Wright's Remedy.

After declaring that the remedy 'must be one that will not degrade the worker," for he "will not accept charity"; and after quoting Germany's "Compulsory Insurance" laws: after asserting that Society will not solve this problem "through the fallacious methods of Socialism"; after saying, "We all know that great hearted employers and corporations, like railroads and great industrial establishments, do much to enable their .employes to avoid this condition"; he finally reaches the sapient conclusion that "the genius of the world will solve the knotty problem, or at least alleviate the conditions by reasonable methods."

His Last Words.

Here are this philosopher's concluding sentences:

The burden is on society to see to it that economic adjustments are good, with the moral end in view of securing the best results not only from the point of view of production, but from the point of view of high citizenship. May we not look for such protection from an enlightened community?

His Interests Blind Him.

Carroll D. Wright is an employee of Capital. He is an official of a Capitalist government. He is the Capitalist Commissioner of Labor. 1He sees with Capitalist eyes. He speaks as Capitalists speak. His whole moral vision is obscured, worse, inverted.1

What is really immoral, monstrous, appears to him normal and moral.

His reasoning faculties are perverted, too. He can actually speak of the workingman as having "expended his strength that production might go on and that society as a whole might prosper industrially," and yet fail to perceive that this man who cons tutes "Society as a whole" has been A splendid Emancipation this. "He exploited and robbed of what was his by the right of creation.

In fact the attitude of this man is sensation becoming blunted through long exposure of the nerve tissues, We wonder why Carroll D. did not and whether something might not

Only in the Commissioner's case,

Wright overlook this fact? Why not | Their economic insecurity gives him declare it is the worker's shiftless and his class economic security. And ness that brings him to want in his that is the explanation of the whole

STILL HOAXING THE WORKERS WITH JUGGLED FIGURES How Carroll D. Wright Serves the Capitalists' Interest.



Puzzled Wage Worker .- "I'll be jiggered! I never would have known it!"

-From the Social Democratic Herald, Milwaukee.

The American Farmer and the Socialist Party

A Running Debate Between Ernest Untermann, Associate Editor of "Appeal to Reason," Girard, Kansas, and Hermon F. Titus, Editor of "The Socialist," Seattle, Wash. Debate to be Closed by Karl Kautsky, Editor of "Die Neue Zeit." Berlin, Germany. Published in "The Socialist," Beginning May 3, 1903.

THE RURAL PROLETARIAT BY ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Synopsis of Argument.

I. Introduction

II. Comrade Kautsky's Position.

II. Where I stand .-A. The Economic Development of the American Rural Proletariat B. The Political History of the American Rural Proletariat.

IV. Conclusion.

III-WHERE I STAND

A. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN RURAL PRO-LETARIAT.

It would be an interesting and fascinating task to trace the economic development of the American rural proletariat by the help of official statistics from the early days of the colonies to the present time. Unfortunately, this is out of the question. It will be even difficult to gather the most elementary statistics on agricultural development since the days of the American Revolution. And it is not always an easy matter to compile the array of data required for a practical presentation of the facts relating to the last decade of capitalist prosperity. There is a great lack of uniformity in the investigations carried on by the census office. Nevertheless, the available figures enable us to lift the veil sufficiently to gain an approximate idea of our progressive proletarianization.

The danger of proletarianization threatens the agricultural population in many ways. The most typical possibilities by which the effects of our "glorious civilization and prosperity" may reach the farming districts are the following: A decrease in the farm acreage while the population is increasing; an extension of the farm acreage beyond the demands of the population; a decrease in the number of farm owners; an increase in tenantry; an increase in mortgages; changes in the methods of production; the effect of machinery; industrialization of special functions; intensification of the unemployed problem; capitalist exploitation in the process of production. All these different means of proletarianization are more or less closely connected with one another, and all have their common root in the capitalist development. There are still other causes that threaten the stability of the farmer, such as crop failures, fire, floods, droughts; these natural phenomena, so painful in their consequences under the regime of capitalism, do not fall directly within the scope of this discussion, although their frequent occurrence and, still more, their disastrous results, may be in a large measure charged to the present system of society. Under a collective regime they would be considerably eliminated, and the effects of those that are absolutely beyond our preventive power, would be largely restricted and compensated by a co-operative constitution of society. However, I shall here only consider the direct results of the capitalist mode of production on agriculture.

The aggregate population in the United States has increased from 62,-979,766 in 1890 to 76,303,387 in 1900. The population in the individual states has increased proportionately, with the exception of Nevada, which shows a continuous decline in population from 35,634 in 18870 to 5,020 in 1900. The agricultural population still outnumbers the city population in all states but California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. The city and country population nearly balance one another, with the scale at present in favor of the latter, in Colorado, Maryland, and Ohio. Comparing the five great divisions of this country, we find that only in the North Atlantic division does the city population outnumber the country population.

There is, however, a growing tendency toward a concentration of the population in cities. How far this is true of the individual states, and what proportion will mark the saturation point, where all the population which the country can spare will have drifted toward the city, th which do not bear so intimately on the matter under discussion that we would have to dwell on them here.

I only wish to point out that while the number of persons engaged in agricultural pursuits has increased from 8,565,926 in 1890 to 10,381,765 in

1900, the percentage of persons so engaged has steadily decreased since 1880. In spite of the enormous increase of the population, and, as we shall see, the equally enormous extension of the farm area, the number of all persons above ten years of age now employed in agriculture is only 35.7 pr cent, as against 37.7 per cent in 1890, and 44.3 per cent in 1880. This decrease is not accounted for by a proportionate increase in the percentages of industrial and other pursuits. On the contrary, there is also a decrease in the percentage of industrial workers of all classes. This is clearly the effect of capitalist concentration and shows an indisputable increase in the army of unemployed, which the official statistics so carefully aim to cover up. It is also remarkable that the percentage of female agricultural workers has increased 1.1 per cent during the last decade, while that of the male workers has decreased 2.0 per cent during the last decade, and 6.6 per cent during the preceding decade, making a total decrease of 8.6 pr cent in twenty years, the increase in farm area and population notwithstanding. This is so much more strange, as the number of farm families has increased from 4,767,179 ir 1890 to 5,700,341 in 1900. This seems to indicate that the increase of female and child labor, so conspicuous in industrial production, is also in evidence in agriculture.

Acreage and Number of Farms.

The total farm acreage has increased. It was 623,218,619 in 1890 and 838,591,774 in 1900. There is a corresponding increase in the number of farms from 4,564,641 to 5,737,372. If we investigate the matter in the individual states, we find an increase in the number and acreage in all but three; Rhode Island and the District of Columbia, where there is a decrease i in both, and Maine, where there is a decrease in the number of farms in spite of of an increase of area

If we compare the improved and unimproved area, we find that the proportion had been reversed in favor of the unimproved land during the decade from 1890 to 1900. While the per centage of improved was then 57.4 against 42.6 of unimproved, it was 50.6 of unimproved against 49.4 of improved in 1900. Is this change due to a simple addition of new unimproved land, or does it include formerly tilled but now abandoned farms? The census is silent on that point. But a close investigation of the individual states reveals the following facts, which must be considered together with the fact of an increase in the population (except Nevada): The total acreage and the improved acreage decreased in Rhode Island and the District of Columbia, while the unimproved area increased. The total area and the unimproved area increased, while the improved area decreased in California, Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Vermont. The total area and the improved area increased, while the unimproved area decreased in Alabama, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia. In all other states there was an increase in the total area, the number of farms, the improved and the unimproved acreage.

From this it follows that the greatest increase of unimproved acreage must be due to the addition of new grazing lands. Nevertheless, there are also plain signs of a transformation of formerly improved farms into country residences, as in some of the ..ew England States, or even of concentration, as in the case of Maine. But the great prevalence of decrease of improved farms in the North Atlantic division is plainly due to the effect try industrialization, while in the case of Nevada it may simply be explained by the total decrease of the population. The decrease of the unimproved area in the Southern states seems to be closely connected with the marked increase in tenantry which we shall find later on.

Whatever else may be threatening the American farmer, it is certainly not a reduction of the farm area or of the number of farms. If there is any danger, it is rather that there will be too much farm land, especially when we consider the addition of the irrigated West and its unlimited possibilities There is a danger that there may soon be a superabundance of crops and a consequent surplus of farm products and a decline in the prices of farm products and farm property. But about this we shall see later.

The statement that there is no decrease in the number of farms must be supplemented by the additional statement that there is no decrease in the number of small and middle-sized farms. Hence there is no marked prospect in the United States that the small farm will be swallowed by the great. The bulk of the increase in the number of farms belongs to farms between 3 and 500 acres.

The Marxian Position

The original contention of the Marxian school was that the small farm was doomed. This is not to be understood in the sense, in which the Bernsteinians often criticise us, viz., that the Marxian simply transfers the laws of industrial competition to agriculture. On the contrary, according to the Marxian analysis, the elimination of the small farm would be brought about in two ways: On one side, the great farm would devour the small; on the other side, the great farms would be divided into smaller plots, and when the tendency to parcelling would have reached its limits, the industrial method of competition would also follow among these farms. These conwere derived from the study of the problem in t tries, the former in England, where concentration was the rule, the latter in France, where the tendency toward the division of the large farms was

But in the United States.

side, and there seems to be no tendency toward the exclusive domination of either. The great prevalence of the small and medium-sized farm stands out above everything else at present. Out of the total of small and mediumsized farms mentioned above, 4,719,636 are farms from 3 to 175 acres. And there is at present no sign of any movement that would eliminate them. For all we know from official data, this type of farm will predominate indefinitely in the United States.

Of course, I also realize that farming on a large scale will very likely increase for many staple crops, when new and revolutionary improvements in machinery and methods are invented. Many staple crops are well adapted for such a style of farming, and even crops which now are typical of garden culture may easily be grown on a large scale in certain localities and with improved methods.

I also recognize that the terms great and small farms are very loosely used as a rule. The area alone gives no conception of the actual size of the plant. A fifty-acre farm may be worked by a greater number of persons and with a greater investment of machinery and capital than a 500-acre farm, and yet, the official statistics do not reveal this fact. Hence we do not gain an adequate picture of the true state of affairs by a mere comparison of the area. Again, a Lord Scully may divide up his million-acre farm among a great number of tenants, and his ownership may thus be effectually concealed. And yet so far as actual results for himself and his tenants are concerned, he is carrying on farming on a large scale by small farm methods. But if we compare the actual number of farms with the number of farm families and the total acreage, we can not avoid the conclusion that the small and middle-sized farms will be an integral part of our social system as long as it may be destined to last. No matter what may be the progress of mechanical invention, no matter how much industrial surplus capital may seek investment at some future time in agriculture, the small farmer will remain a typical factor in agricultural production. And this will hold good, no matter whether the capitalist system should prevail during the whole twentieth century or whether it would be superseded by Social-

For this reason I hold that the agricultural development in the United States, during the course of the next decade at least, will proceed along the general lines suggested as the future tendency in European agriculture by the French economist, Augé-Laribé. According to him, the agricultural development will proceed along two main lines. On one side, new technical improvements will seek to reproduce that size of each farm in the various branches of production, which will permit of their most efficient application. On the other hand, each area will seek to adapt to its use that mode of production which will promise the best returns. The influence of the market and of technical advance will balance one snother.

Augé-Laribé sums up his conclusions in these words. "These two tendencies will give to agriculture a character similar to industrial production. The laws of competition wil make themselves felt with greater force than in the past. The future in each branch of agriculture will belong to a definite type which will not necessarily result in the superiority of the great farm, but will require considerable capital everywhere. The small farm on which surplus labor power has for a long time offset the want of correct technical methods, will then no longer correspond to the requirements of modern agriculture and will have to disappear, unless it would be possible to keep it above water artificially by means of legislative interference."

This passage expresses my own ideas very closely, with the exception of that part relating to the disappearance of the small farm. In the United States, the methods of industrial competition have already made themselves felt very distinctly in agriculture, because in this country the railroads take part in the exploitation of the farmer, a fact which seems to escape most European economists. While the government-owned railroads of Europe form an effective barrier to methods of industrial exploitation in agriculture, the privately owned railroads of the United States are one of the chief exploiters of agriculture. Hence it is plain, that in this country the process of industrialization can not be carried much further in farming, without bringing the class struggle to an issue that will end the capitalist system.

So much is plain, that competition among the individual farmers in the capitalist market against one another will tend to hasten their proletarianization, and the downfall of the capitalist system. Whether the individual occupants of the small and middle-sized farms will continue this competition as free owners, mortgaged owners, or tenants, remains to be seen.

But the general conclusion of this non-Socialist writer, and its applicability in the United States, seems to me so much more valuable, as a new champion of Bernsteinism has lately arisen in Germany and is offering a new farmers' program to the Socialist Party, which, if accepted in this country, would paralyze the political success of our movement and become a potent factor in keeping alive the effete and useless Democratic party. I can not enter here into a further discussion of the controversies of this new Bernsteinian, Eduard David, and his fellow champion, Eduard Bernstein, with Kautsky. If sufficient interest is manifested by American readers in this controversy, in which Kautsky has once again demonstrated the superiority Marxian method and standpoint over that of the revisionists, I am willing to present it in a special article.

(To be continued.)

Comments by The Editor of "The Socialist"

The Editor of "The Socialist" has no controversy with Editor Untermann when he declares that the American Farmer is in danger of becoming a proletarian. That is precisely what "The Socialist" has always maintained. In the issue of June 15, 1902, occur these words: "The farmer is a producer whom the system of capitalism is robbing of the most of his product, who is destined inevitably to join the wage class and who is even now practically in that class." But this is not saying that the farming class constitute the best material for the Socialist Party.

In fact, I cannot do better than quote extensively from the same issue of "The Socialist" just referred to. Direct comment on Comrade Untermann's third chapter is withheld until it is completed. But the bearing of the following quotations in this connection will be obvious:

From "The Socialist" June 15, 1902. The small farmer is a producer of wealth, is the hardest kind of a personal worker, while he gets but a bare subsistence. Somehow or other he is robbed of most that he produces. The point is how and why?

There is a marked difference beween him and the wage worker. The latter can see how and why very easily, if he does any thinking at all. It is not difficult to make a man on wages see that he works two hours producing enough to support himself. and the other six hours he works producing surplus value for his employer. There is only one way to abolish that robbery, namely, abolish the wagesystem. So long as men are obliged to sell their labor-power in competition with a multitude of unemployed. so long will they be slaves and be robbed as slaves of the most of their own product.

It is also not difficult to show the wage-worker that there is only one way to achieve his freedom, namely, by political action. He may be deluded for a long time with the notion the "unions" will save him, but sometime he discovers that a little more wages and a little less hours, afford a very small gain at the best. Then he turns to a union at the ballot

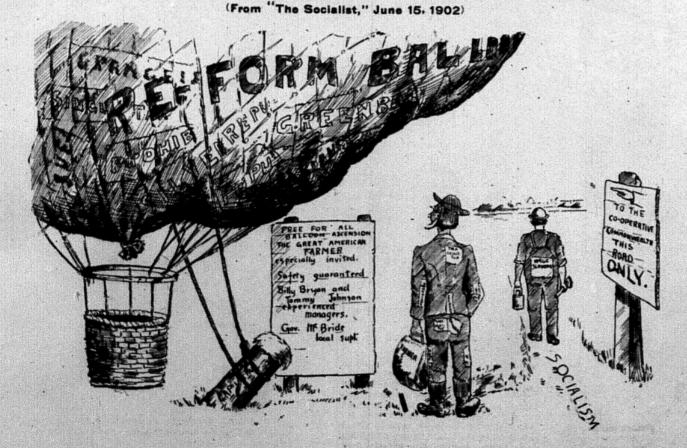
Even then he has not learned his whole lesson. He is often sidetracked with foolish hopes of favorable results from palliative measures, such as "Government Owhership." But a genuine "labor party" is pretty sure to arrive at the Socialist position. There is no stopping place short of that. Only the abolition of Capital and Wage Labor can bring deliver-

Now all this is easy to see, almost nevitable for the wage class. There is only one avenue of escape. While wages last, slavery lasts.

The Why and the How are right at hand in the direct sale of labor power and the direct exploitation of the laborer. +

(Continued on Page 4)

THE FARMER FOLLOWING THE WAGE WORKER



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MAILLY'S WEEKLY BULLETIN. National Headquarters Socialist Party. Omaha, Neb., May 9, 1903. Special Organizing Fund.

Since last report, the following contributions have been made to the Special Organizing Fund: Local Chico, Mont., \$10.00; Local Newport, Ky., \$5; Local Camden County, N. J., \$1; kell, North Olmstead, Ohio, \$1; Local Alpena, Mich. \$5; Otto Christoph, Buffalo, N. Y., \$1; A. E. Shober, King-fisher, Oklahoma, \$1; Local Newport, Ky., \$1; S. Rapp, Sanford, Fla., \$2.25; with C. H. Stockell as candidate for Ky., \$1; S. Rapp, Sanford, Fla., \$2.25; with C. H. Stockell as candidate for New Hampshire State Convention, \$2; A. W. Dyer, Shreveport, La., 20c; H. A. M., Westport, Conn., 25c; Christine Steige, Washington, D. C., \$2; Local Washington, D. C., \$2; fornia: J. W. Starkland, 50c; R. Web-Stockell is one of the veterans of the er, 50c; Al Davis, 25c; Fred Standt, Southern movement and is a good can-50c; C. V. Currier, 25c; D. McGath, Lenoxburg, Ky., 50c; and Local Ala-meda, Cal., \$10. Total \$47.70. Pre-viously reported, \$97.70. Total to-noon, Saturday, May 9, \$145.40.

twenty-five shares of stock in the growing interest in the party and the Charles H. Kerr & Co. co-operative organization becoming stronger. Maypublishing company of Chicago to be or C. H. Coulter of Brockton was the sold for the benefit of the organizafund. Any Socialist Local or in- in the evening. dividual may obtain one of these shares by sending \$10.00 to the office of Charles H. Kerr & Co. at once, sent May Day Greetings to the National Office as follows: "Dear Comtime a municipal ticket was in the the full amount of the remittance will rades: On this glorious day we greet field the local compades are greatly be turned over in the name of the re- you with 78 members and growing mitter to the National Secretary, to fast. J. A. Perry, Secretary." apply on the organization fund. The holder of each share of stock so bought will have the privilege of buyissued a call for funds to carry on were up, all professing to be "friends active agitation throughout the sumof labor," and put forward purposely the ordinary way.

The National Headquarters receivin the movement to abolish capital-

Charters were granted during the week to Locals Montgomery, Ala.; Rogers, Ark., and Jerome, Arizona.

National Organizer John M. Ray, returned to Tennessee from Alabama, last week, after helping to organize the new state organization of Alabama. Ray has given much satisfaction in Alabama and the comrades there speak enthusiastically of his work. Secretary La Rue of Bessemer. writes that Comrade Ray is a strong combination of fire and logic and will the "Appeal to Reason," also writes a county organization has been form-that "Comrade Ray is O. K. in my judgment. He is the best I have heard, and I have heard Chase, Mills and quite a few others."

Union. Slayton: will begin his tour of posed largely of former Populists, and

As an indication of what may be expceted from Massachusetts next fall, the Socialist vote of North Easton, at a local election, on May 1st, is interesting. Chase, for governor, got 40 votes last November, and at the \$5; Local Camden County, N. J., \$1; special election this was increased to John Sailer, McLouth, Kans., 50c; M. 112 against 183 for a combined Demo-P. G., Seattle, Wash., 25c; H. Zur-cratic-Republican ticket. This is what comes from fighting Socialism.

didate for mayor.

The Socialists of Central Massachu-Total to setts held a conference at Marlboro on May 3rd, and outlined plans for William English Walling has given active agitation. Reports showed a

Local Malden, Mass., on May 1st

the share had been subscribed for in mer. Arrangements are already made to divert attention from the real labor tary and Organizer of Massachusetts. ed May Day Greetings from Secretary John C. Chase, tour Maine in June, ditions has created something of a Serwy, of the International Socialist July and August respectively. The Bureau, at Brussels, with the request Maine state election takes place in sensation, and there is more take that they be transmitted to the Social September and the comrades there about this feature of the election than ists of America as an expression of wish to show a good example for over the successful candidate. the international solidarity of labor the country to follow by polling a There were some interesting largely increased vote for Socialism.

> Comrade A. M. Simons notifies the of the campaign, all of them tending National Office that Comrade Enrico to favor the Socialists. The arrests Ferri, of Italy, has informed him that of our street speakers had aroused having been elected to the editorship of "Avant,i" the leading Italian Socialist Publication, the American tour contemplated by Ferri will have to be sort of outdoor meeting being held postponed for one year.

State Secretary Holman of Minnesota reports that new locals have re-cently been organized at Heron Lake: Lake Ida and Shelly. Comrade Carl Thompson will resume his tour in the northwestern part of the state on May nake a power for the cause wherever 15th. Norman County is booking up

National Organizer, M. W. Wilkins, reports his work in Oregon during April as follows: . "Opened the First sional campaign at Ashland, The Illinois State Committee is April 15, where a special election raising a fund to put a permanent organizer into the field. The state will by Socialist candidate, J. W. Ingle, be divided into a number of divisions I have held meetings at Madford, Gold pose of giving working men a chance with an industrial center in each and Hill, Grant's Pass, Myrtle Creek, the organizer will be routed in each Roseburg (2), Drain, Cottage Grove, the organizer will be routed in each division through a committee.

National Lecturer Slayton's date in Pennsylvania for the remainder of May are as follows: 12. Meadville, Carpenters' union; 13. New Brighton, Carpenters' union; 16. Pittsburg, Carpenters' union; 18. Donora. Carpenters' union; 18. Donora. Carpenters' union; 20. Sunbury, Carpenters' union; 21. Plymouth, Central Labor union; 22, East Mauch Chunk, Socialities; 23. Lehighton, Carpenters' union; 24. Pottstown, Central Labor The Socialist Party in Oregon is com-

Ohio on May 27th. All his meetings while they have not been as well have been successful and enthusias guarded in the doctrines of our movement as in the older organized com- it belonged. munities, a more earnest and honest crowd, or any more desirous to get right cannot be found.

"At Grant's Pass, I debated with Robert G. Smith, one of the most noted criminal lawyers in Southern Oregon, a Democrat, and Mr. Hough, won out. At Salem, a Democratic lawyer of acknowledged ability ac-cepted a challenge to debate on May 2nd, but after my meeting in Salesn on April 28th, the opposition found that a debate could not be expedient shall remain here until the election in June, giving special attention to organization work. Comrade Ryan, the as a violator of the duties of a com-District Chairman, is pushing the cam-rade, as well as an official of the parpaign most vigorously."

STRIKE SITUATION.

First Election and a Good Vote-Straight Working-Class Fight Put Up With Splendid Results-Total Vote for Debs in Nebraska Was 823-Now Omaha Alone Gives

In the Omaha municipal election on May 5th, the Socialist Party candidate for mayor, Wm. H. Moore polled field, the local comrades are greatly pleased at the showing made. This vote was exceptionally good, consid- The City Central Committee of this The State Committee of Maine has ering that three capitalist candidates of labor," and put forward purposely issue. That the Socialists should poll resentative James F. Carey and such a vote under the prevailing consensation, and there is more talk thus far made with them. This local

There were some interesting developments during the last two weeks some indignation and had it not beer that stormy weather prevented any except on election eve, when our speakers were not molested, the policy pursued by the city would have caused more indignation still.

The cases of Comrades Hyland, Mc-Caffery and Morgan will be heard before the District Court, their refusal he goes." National Committeeman Headas the banner section for Socialism; to be pardoned by the mayor making ley, of Florida, who is traveling for a county organization has been form-

But if they were not able to use the · streets, the Socialists carried on their campaign in other ways and plenty of literature was circulated. On Saturday evening before the election, a meeting had been called for in one of to express their choice of the mayoralty candidates. The Republican machine was engineering the movement, but "workingmen" belonging to all parties were invited. Of course, the Socialists attended. The hall was jammed, and the meeting opening rather noisily, as all the "plugs" for the three capitalist candidates were on hand to capture the meeting. The Socialists kept quiet, and very soon (Continued on page 4)

MILLS AT IT AGAIN

Considering the corrupt history of the Socialist organization in Nebraska prior to the present one, and the hard fight by which the party in that state rid itself of the old middle class nature of a "stunner."

Omaha has been conspicuous of late for its uncompromising adherence to faith. You may be sure that the ad-the working class basis of our party, dresses which I will deliver in Omaha fust as San Francisco was before Prof. Mills opened his school there. Now to persuade every body to identify he takes occasion to visit Omaha, just themselves with it and to work for after it is made the National Head- the one party representing the one quarters, under the auspices of the outs," who are against the present working class tactics of Local Omaha.

Comrade Mills' persistent refusal to answer the oft-repeated charge that not permit them to interfere with the "he ignores the class struggle as the meetings which I am to hold. Assurcentral element in our political pro-

Copy of resolutions adopted by Local Omaha, in mass meeting assembled to disapprove of the action of Walter Thomas Mills in violating local and state autonomy by persisting in coming to speak for a counter movement against the known wishes o Local Omaha.

Whereas, a so-called Socialist Propaganda Club has been organized by a small group of indivduals, headed by F. H. Alexander, both having been removed from their offices for treachery to the movement; the first being proven a paid hireling of the Republi-can party; the latter, for organizing a literature club for the ostensible purpose of breaking up the local or-ganization, of which he was still a

Whereas, these two officials, being deposed by a unanimous vote of the comrades of the state, instead of getto capture the party name, which was defeated by a counter move of the state committee; outgeneraled, they carried the case to the courts, whose in the hands of the members, where

Whereas, Comrade Walter Thomas Mills, National Committeeman for the State of Kansas, having entered an agreement with this so-called "Socialist Propaganda Club" to give a course of lectures under its auspices, and be ing notified who these people are, and a Republican lawyer, and the audi- asked to cancel his engagement, not ence seemed to think that Socialism only refusing to do so, but turned a copy of the letter, an official communication sent him by J. Alfred LaBille, secretary Local Omaha, over to a body of non-members of the party.

Therefore be it Resolved, That we, the members of Local Omaha, in mass meeting assem-bled, do hereby bran. Comrade Mills ty. And further be it

Resolved, That a copy of these reso-lutions be sent to the National Com-THE OMAHA ELECTION AND THE mittee, to the State Committee of Kan sas and Nebraska. Also to the Social ist press of the country, and to Walter Thomas Mills.

B. McCAFFERY, W. H. MOORE, P. H. HYLAND, Committee on Resolutions.

Copy of Correspondence Between Local Omaha and Walter Thomas Mills.

Omaha, Neb., April 24, 1903. Walter Thomas Mills Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Sir and Comrade:-We have been informed that you have made arrangements to give a series of lectures called "Socialist Propaganda Club." local, thinking you might not know the character of the men with whom this opportunity to say that these men have proved themselves unfaithful to the Socialist Party. They do not af-filiate with this local in any way, and we believe it would be well for you is well organized and is capable of attending to all propaganda work, without a counter movement being started by its enemies.

Written by instructions of the City

J. ALFRED LABILLE,

Reply of Mills. Kansas City, Mo., April 25, 1903. To the Socialist Local, of the Socialist

Party, Omaha, Neb. Dear Comrades:-The letter, signed by your secretary, J. Alfred LaBille, is a great surprise to me. Of course, I am anxious to do nothing to in any way embarrass the work in Omaha. I could not speak any better words of The store that treats all alike.

For Omaha than I have spoken in my bor's. general statement on the headquarters

service for Omaha than I have been trying to render. In engaging to speak in Omaha, I had not the slightest intimation that I was not being invited by comrades who were active in the local work, and particularly so, as names which were familiar to me and bargaining crowd, all of which have looked over the correspondence. must be well known to Prof. Mills, again and discover nothing intended is every indication to me that the invitation was made in good faith, and

it has certainly been accepted in good will, in every possible way, endeavor cause of Socialism. I beg the comrades of Omaha not to involve me in any way in any local controversy. I orking class tactics of Local Omaha. urge you to support the meetings.

There is plainly good reason for which I am to address, with your presence, and whatever local misunder standings there may be among you do speak in no uncertain wry for the Socialist party for its regular organization and its regular work which I am endeavoring in every way to promote here and everywhere, and awaiting your further favors and the assurance that I may count on your co-operation

> Yours truly, WALTER THOMAS MILLS.

while in your city, I am,

I have sent a copy of your secretary's letter and of this reply to Comrade Alexander, so that there need be Max. Ragley the former state secretary and treasurer of Nebraska, Geo. E. Baird and of my meetings nor any expectation that I shall do any other thing than to talk for Socialism and the Socialist party, without which Socialism can never come, and attach copy of letter

> Copy of Mills' Letter to Alexander. Kansas City, Mo., April 25, 1903. F. H. Alexander, 627 S. 17th Ave., Omaha, Neb.

Dear Comrade: - I am just in receipt of a letter from Omaha, a copy of which I attach herewith and to which I have made the answer also attached I greatly regret that there should be carried the case to the courts, whose any division among the comrades in decision in our favor placed the party Omaha. This is entirely new to me. I had been boasting about the unity and enthusiasm of Omaha's local work I urge you to push your meetings in such a way that all Socialists will fee interested in my coming. I sincerely hope that I will not be made a party in any way to any local difficulties of any sort. I take it for granted that in inviting me to speak for you that you intended me to follow the lines which I here outline and have also outlined in the communication to Secretary La-

Awaiting the assurance that my po sition is satisfactory and that the meetings will be pushed to the utmost for the widest possible hearing, I am,

Yours truly. WALTER THOMAS MILLS.

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(Continued from page 3)

difficult task to discover the Why and creased percentage of tenants and the advisability of having the troops the How. He is much more likely to mortgagors. be misled. There are palliatives which will really palliate the farmrobbed in detail

capitalist state capture another por- class. tion of his product. Above all, for the wheat farmer who must deliver his product to a distant market, the storage and transportation rates reduce his product a very large fraction. Besides, since nearly 50 per cent, of farmers are now tenants, the rent eats up their product,

Now if the farmer can get relief along any of these lines, he is immediately better off. If his taxes are reduced, if he can borrow money at a reduced freight rates, he is robbed of less of his product. So the farmers of New Zealand, who constitute the body of the inhabitants, were relieved and satisfied with state loans on land security and with government ownership of railways affording low rates for the farmers' products.

with proposals for relief which are of had failed to do. no use whatever to the wage worker. On May 1st, the white waiters and wheat farmers would experience cheaper rates, would be of benefit.

Hence it is of the greatest importhe fundamentals of Socialism. He was on in Omaha. has more to learn than the wage

FARMER AND SOCIALIST PARTY ist ownership of all the small furms | It is not surprising, therefore, that going to win us the fight in 1908. is very marked. We awai, the resince election day the business men, turns of the census of 1900 with the mayor, chief of police, sheriff and But the farmer, while equally ex- greatest interest. It can not be the state adjutant general have had ploited of his product, has a more doubted they will show a greatly in conferences with the governor upon

er's conditions. He is not robbed in ists to push on the education of the probably be of the real compulsory mass, in one lump taken out of what farmer, hard though it may be. Rec. kind, which would leave the workers he earns, and his bare subsistence ognizing all his difficulties and tempt- no alternative, but to accept. Only handed out to him as wages. He is ations, we must yet not fail to see Mark Hanna and Samuel Compers of that he is a producer whom the sys-The interest on his mortgage takes tem of capitalism is robbing of the give these proceedings for "arbitraa part of what he produces. For a most of his product, who is destined tion's proper dignity and distinction. large proportion of farms are mort inevitably to join the wage class and gaged. The taxes imposed by the who is even now practically in that building trades are upon a strike, and

THE OMAHA SITUATION (Continued from page 3)

the confusion and uproar between the contestants for possession grew so intense that the promotors of the meeting dismissed it and the crowd started for the street. Then the Socialists took a hand, called the crowd back, had Comrade Morgan elected chairman, and a symposium, consisting of representatives of all the candidates lower rate of interest, if he can secure and parties followed, which lasted for three hours. The Socialists were represented by Comrades McCaffery and Morgan, and when the meeting closed a motion to endorse the hod carrier candidate, W. H. Moore, went through with a whoop. A vote of thanks was also given the Socialists for the firmness in which they conducted the meeting. They had done what the This is the reason farmers take up lawyers and professional politicians

There is no doubt Whitman county teamsters struck, but the city authori ties took no action until an hour besome immediate gain, if a railroad for the polls closed on election day, commission could be named which May 5. Then what the Socialists pre- fall the Socialists cast 230 votes. had power to reduce rates and which dicted would happen as soon as the would exercise that power. So direct working men had voted against them-Government Ownership, if it brought selves again, did happen. The mayor, in response to a demand from the It therefore becomes harder to convince a farmer that his interests lie strike leaders together, warned them with the working class party, which to "preserve the peace," ordered the can only be benefitted by the aboli saloons closed and a double detail of tion of wage-robbery. Indeed, the police to intimidate the strikers. On large farmer, who himself hires men Wednesday the transfer companies on wages is directly interested in the demanded an injunction against the retention of the wage system. He Teamsters' union from the federal profits by it. He is a capitalist pure court, Judge Munger presiding, and got one of the most sweeping infunctions ever issued with the result that today tance that the farmer be educated in one would not think a serious strike

The day before election the Socialworker. He is surrounded with a ists, by the merest accident, obtainmore complicated system of exploita- ed possession of a card which was tion, harder to analyze and penetrate, being sent out to all the business He is quite liable to accept his more houses by the Millard Rifles, the loapparent and immediate interest in cal crack company of the National preference to the certain but more Guards, requesting these firms to distant interest. Reforms appeal to pledge themselves to pay full wages to any of their employes who might 'Yet he has tried reforms and he is be called away from work as mem-"leary." He thought the "grange" bers of the National Guard. It was would save him. He thought the expressly stated that this was in order Omaha platform was a gospel. And to counter the labor unions in their many of him now are enthusiastic opposition to membership in the miliover "Public Ownership of Monopo tia and "to encourage enlistment in the National Guard." That such a card was being secretly issued proved that the Capitalists were already The truth is, the farmer is on his planning to have the troops called out way to become a farm laborer. While if necessary in order to break the he still imagines himself a proprietor, strikes, and that only the pending the majority of his class are either election day caused them not to show on mortgaged or rented farms, prac- their hands openly. The Socialists tically only laborers. These sell their had an exact reproduction of this labor power for a bare subsistence card printed and posted over the city

called out, incidentally also discussing "arbitration." The arbitration re-It is the part of wisdom for Social- sulting from such a conference would

It may be stated here also that the that Comrade Moore, the Socialist candidate for mayor, as president of the Hod Carriers' union, is the leader tion moves that have been presented He says: "I shall fight any proposition short of direct recognition of the working class and the right of the working class to organize in hostility to the capitalist class."

One reason for the white waiters' strike arises from an attempt to have state law requiring that women shall work six days a week enforced. Is it hands of the capitalist class? But voted otherwise last Tuesday and the local Socialist Party organization will be strengthened to ensure a greater and greater number every election

SPOKANE WASH

Spokane is almost alone in the United States in recording a decreased Socialist vote this spring. Last This spring one paper reports 190 and another 212 votes, in either case, a of the class conscious farmers in the

falling off. Their platform did not mention the working-class and the chief spokesman of the party in Spokane has openly declared the working-class needed 'leaders" from the intelligent middleclass to help them out of slavery. In the face of such principles, working men candidates did not deceive the ern farmers' movement is on the sub voters. It is an American Labor Union town, and had a A. L. U. national executive at the head of the Socialist ticket.

Under the circumstances the result is a tribute to the intelligence and -discernment of the working men of

GRAND ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE.

for benefit of SÓCIALIST ORGANIZER FUND

Germania Hall, Saturday evening, May 30. If you want to see a fine entertainment and have a grand, good time, come. Owing to length of program, entertainment will commence at 8 o'clock sharp. Another agreeable surprise in store for you. Come. Lueben's Orchestra. Tickets 25c

ORGAINZER'S REPORT.

What Are You Doing For the Cause o Socialism?

Business meeting of Central Branch, dineteen new members received.

Green Lake branches are growing The Finnish Branch meet at head-

neadquarters Friday night, we want to organize a German branch. Bring your friends. quarters hall every Sunday night.

your donation on the Organizer fund.
Comrades, if you have the time,
come to headquarters Sunday morning
and assist in distributing papers about
the city.

How many tickets are you going to sell for the entertainment and dance, Germania Hall, May 30? A year's subthe Civic Federation are needed to scription to "Seattle Socialist" or Welshire Magazine to the ten persons selling the most tickets.

A. HUTCHESON. City Organizer, S. P.

NOTES

Martha Moore Avery's suspension or two years from the Socialist for two years from the Socialist Party in Boston is bitterly resented by some Boston comrades, as an atagainst any and all the fake arbitra. Party in Boston is bitterly resented

Seattle held an enjoyable and suc-cessful "Neck-Tie Party" at the Socialist Hall last Monday evening. This league has interested many women in Economic subjects, and has been led any wonder the law is not enforced on inevitably to Socialism, as all genwhen the workingmen vote to keep uine economic study must lead. Such the enforcement of the laws in the leagues should be formed everywhere. The women are an untold power and Socialism will aid them even more there were 1,456 workingmen who than men, because their present slav-

ery is worse.

They are enthusiastic, too, and add an element much needed in our propa

In Seattle they are hustlers, too.

Comrade T. A. Hickey writes from offered for sale owing to illness. Good loquiam. Wash: "I am going back chance for a bicycle man or machinist. A. M. Flyer Spokane, St. Paul of Chicago and East Spm Hoquiam, Wash: "I am going back chance for a bicycle man or machinist. to the Woods. I will be working with Price \$250 00. Address "Bicycle," care the husky loggers all summer in one of the logging camps as a stripped-to-the waist proletarian. When the spirit moves me I shall send you some more De Leonism."

He says also: "Untermann speaks west who, with the progressive trades unionist, are the 'backbone' of 'the western movement. Ask him 'Where are they?' Not in Nebraska, not in Wyoming, not Montana, not in Wash ington, Not in California, not in Utah not in Colorado, not in Névada, not in Idaho. Where? Not in Kansas (see the National Treasurer's Reports.) There you will learn that your west scription lists of the "Appeal" and I greatly fear they are voting the Re publican ticket."

Comrade Jonas Solberg, of Ballard who presented "The Socialist" with his Prize Piano, because he was "stuck on its teachings," only reserv ing \$75 of its value for himself, has gone himself one better. He has giv en the instrument outright, because e wants to help us along. Again we say, with such backing from working men this paper can never fail.

We also have had presented to us a Sprayer for fruits and vegetables It is new and of the best pattern on the market. To spray has now be come a necessity for gardeners and fruit growers. We shall next week offer this as a prize for subscribers, together with other prizes of high value. Those who send in subscribers from now on, mentioning this noers from now on, mendoning this race California. for the prizes.

Comrade Ault sends us a letter correcting statements in the "New Times" made concerning him and others of the comrades in Spokane who protested against the opportunist in New York city. methods of the Local Spokane majority in the nominating convention. But we hardly wish to use our space in Praise John from whom oil blessings labor power for a bare subsistence and are subject to immediate discharge, like wage laborers. The tendency toward large farms is not marked and posted over the city on election eve and next morning, although the supporters of the capital from one to six applications at each meeting. Comrade Goldbach built a first and donated the use of it free to the branch. That's the spirit that is whole party in Washington. By next printed and posted over the city nineteen new members received.

Green Lake branches are growing from one to six applications at each state Committee made a full report after a careful examination and the matter is now being voted on by the whole party in Washington. By next —The Baby.

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week we shall know whether or not Local Spokane is still a member of the Socialist Party in this state.

George's criticism of "The Socialist" great gift for the Farmers, that is, in Boyce's Weekly, alias the Decoy Weekly. Comrade F. J. Spring, of California,

came and went like a Spring Day last week. We understood he was to setwere congratulating ourselves on one more accession to our working force. Tel. Main 198. Correspondence Solicited. But we are told he has gone back to

Cameron H. King, Jr., who resigned from the Socialist Party in San Francisco, anticipating that the Local would expel him for his Fusion advocacy, is now lecturing on Socialism

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