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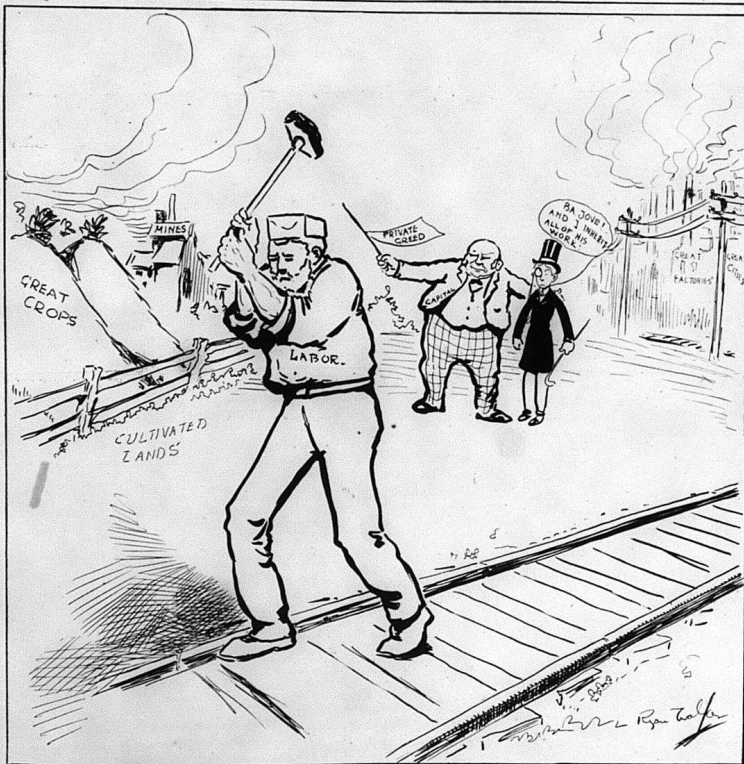
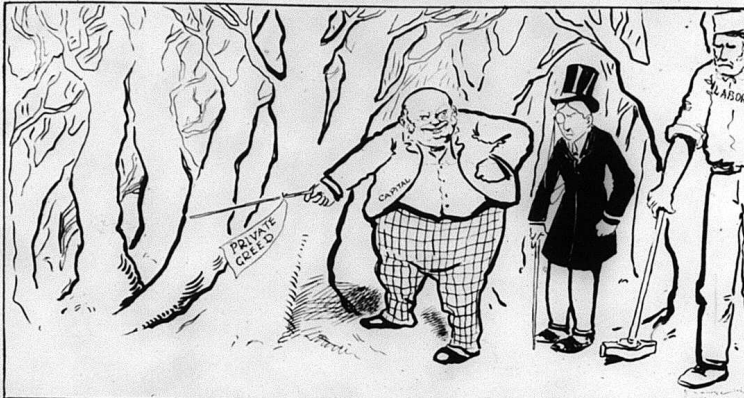
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116 Virginia Street, SEATTLE, WASH., MAY 17, 1903

REAL FAIRY STORIES No. 4

Once the Ogre and his Son were in a great forest. The Son said: "How wild and desolate it is here."



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 soiled 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

THE UNION SENTINEL

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF FEDERATED TRADES COUNCIL AND AFFILIATED UNIONS

JOIN THE FIGHT OF YOUR CLASS!

JOIN THE FIGHT OF YOUR CLASS!

VOL. II, NO. 4.

READING, PA., SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1903.

TWO CENTS

From Chase in the South

Gainesville, 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 I found a thoroughly equipped up-to-date machinshop, with all the modern lathes, etc. In another I found a blacksmith shop with modern bellows, anvils, tripammers, 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 iron shaps, steel, copper, lead, bronze, etc. I soon discovered that all these metals were being wrought into implements of destruction, such as cannon, cannon wheels and carriages, guns, cartridges and the like.

On another floor some 200 men were marking upon leather making harnesses, knapsacks, saddles, sash holders, etc.

In a word, everything conceivable, 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 the cannon-ball?" I asked. "Yes, I guess so, if we tried," 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 so.

Fraternally yours,
 JOHN C. CHASE.
 P. S.—You people out there seem to be doing something in the way of making Socialists. We are making a few just now here in Dixie land. Say, there will be "something doing" in 1904 all right.

My regards to the comrades who enter your sanctum.
 J. C. C.

TO GET RID OF HIM.
 Norman, Wash., May 2, 1903.
 "The Socialist."
 Enclosed please find twenty-five cents for another six months' subscription.

Six months ago I had to take the "Socialist" for half 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 press which shall do for the working class 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 brain, and see with his own eyes and speak with his own tongue.

Such a press the Socialists are now providing. "The People's Socialist," (latest addition to the Socialist press of America).

THE INSECURITY OF LABOR

This is the title of Carroll D. Wright's first article in Collier's Weekly. 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 conditions, is left to take care of himself, to live upon friends, or to become the object of public solicitude.

The Weakness of the Wage System.
 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 insecurity 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 slave-owners 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 is entitled to make contracts, thus passing from status to contract—he 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.

A splendid Emancipation this. "He has passed from status to contract," let not the wage slave forget that. He may be worse off. There may be no one to help him when he is old or sick or injured. He may be less secure than the slave or the serf. But "he has passed from status to contract," he has been emancipated!

We wonder why Carroll D. did not advise the worker to "save" out of his earnings, to lay by a store for his old age. The capitalist duffers tell us the workmen have untold millions in the Savings Banks. How did Mr. Wright overlook this fact? Why not declare it is the worker's shiftness that brings him to want in his old age? It is his own fault, he has

STILL HOAXING THE WORKERS WITH JUGGLED FIGURES

How Carroll D. Wright Serves the Capitalists' Interest.



Mr. Wright—"You see! You are getting better off every day! Paided Wage Worker.—"I'll be jiggered! I never would have known it!"

(In the Boyer's Weekly article Mr. Wright asserts that the wages of Carpenter, for instance, in 1890 were \$2.00 a day, increasing to \$3.45 in 1901 (or \$3.00 in 1902). The government census shows his, however, it shows that even in the period between 1890 and 1901 the average carpenter's wage DECREASED 10 per cent. False in one thing, false in all.)

—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. Edited 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.
- III. Where I stand.
- IV. The Economic Development of the American Rural Proletariat.
- V. The Political History of the American Rural Proletariat.
- VI. Conclusion.

III—WHERE I STAND

A. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN RURAL PROLETARIAT.

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 cooperative constitution of society. However, I shall here only consider the direct results of the capitalist mode of production on agriculture.

Population.

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 25,234 in 1850 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, these are questions 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

1890, the percentage of persons so engaged has steadily decreased since 1850. 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 per 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 number of unemployed, which the official statistics so carefully aim to cover army of unemployed, which the official statistics so carefully aim to cover army of unemployed, which the official statistics so carefully aim to cover

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 in both, and Maine, where there is a decrease in the number of farms in spite 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 cent of improved was then 57.4 against 42.6 of unimproved, it was 50.6 of unimproved against 49.4 of improved in 1900. 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 new 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 of 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 criticize 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 parceling would have reached its limits, the industrial method of competition would also follow among these farms. These conclusions were derived from the study of the problem in two different countries, the farmer in England, where concentration was the rule, the latter in France, where the tendency toward the division of the large farms was most marked.

But in the United States, we can observe these two tendencies side by

side, and there seems to be no tendency toward the exclusive domination of either. The great prevalence of the small and middle-sized farm stands out above everything else at present. Of the total of small and medium sized farms mentioned above, 4,719,626 are farms from 3 to 175 acres. And sized farms mentioned above, 4,719,626 are farms from 3 to 175 acres. And sized farms mentioned above, 4,719,626 are farms from 3 to 175 acres. And sized farms mentioned above, 4,719,626 are farms from 3 to 175 acres.

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 600-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 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 remote time in agriculture, the small farmer will remain a typical factor in agricultural production. And this will remain, no matter whether the capitalist system should prevail during the whole twentieth century or whether it would be superseded by Socialism.

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 local conditions that mode of production which will promise the best return. The influence of the market and of technical advance will balance one another.

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 will 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 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 to 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 effect 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 controversy, if sufficient interest is manifested by American readers in this country, which Karl Kautsky has once again demonstrated the superiority of the 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 controversies with the 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 those words: "The farmer is a producer whose mode of production 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 constitutes 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 of what he produces. The point is how and why?

There is a marked difference between him and the wage worker. The latter can see how and why very easily. If he does not see it, thinking of it, 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 this robbery, namely, abolish the wage-system. 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 while with the notion the "unions" will save him, but some time 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 box.

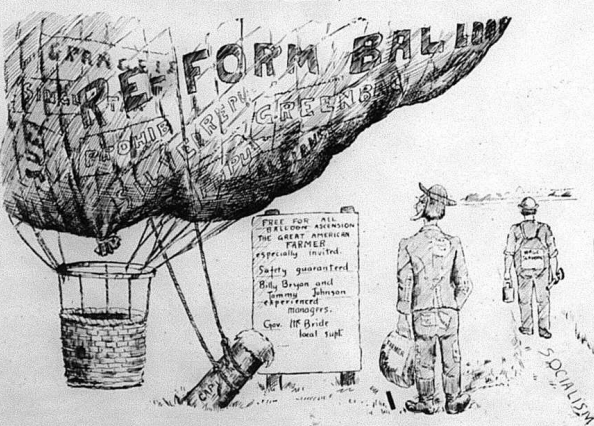
Even then he has not learned his whole lesson. He is often sidetracked with foolish hopes of favorable results from palliative measures, such as "Government Ownership." But a genuine "labor party" is pretty sure to arrive at the Socialist position. There is no stopping place short of that. Only the abolition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

Now all this is easy to see, almost inevitable 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

(From "The Socialist," June 15, 1902)



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FARMER AND SOCIALIST PARTY

But the farmer, while equally exploited of his product, has a more difficult task to discover the Why and the How.

The interest on his mortgage takes a part of what he produces. For a large proportion of farms are mortgaged.

Now if the farmer can get relief along of these lines, he is immediately better off. If his taxes are reduced, if he can borrow money at a lower rate of interest...

This is the reason farmers take up with proposals for relief which are of no use whatever to the wage worker.

Hence it is of the greatest importance that the farmer be educated in the fundamental principles of Socialism.

Yet he has tried reforms and he is "hearty." He thought the "strange" world save him...

It is not surprising, therefore, that since election day the business men, the mayor, chief of police, sheriff and the state adjutant general have had conferences with the governor upon the advisability of having the troops called out...

It is the part of wisdom for Socialists to push on the education of the farmer, hard though it may be.

THE OMAHA SITUATION (Continued from page 3) the confusion and uproar between the contestants for possession grew so intense that the promoters of the meeting dismissed it and the crowd started for the street.

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.

On May 1st, the white waiters and teamsters struck on the city authorities took no action at all. The bus lines were pulled closed on election day, May 5.

The day before election the Socialists, by the merest accident, obtained possession of a carl which was being sent away from work as members of the National Guard.

The truth is, the farmer is on his way to become a farm laborer. While he still imagines himself a proprietor, the majority of his class are either on mortgaged or rented farms...

Martha Moore Avery's suspension for two years from the Socialist Party in Boston is bitterly resented by some Boston comrades...

They are enthusiastic, too, and add an element much needed in our propaganda. In Seattle they are hustlers, too.

Comrade T. J. ... writes from Hoquiam, Wash.: "I am going back to the Woods. I will be working with the husky loggers all summer."

He says also: "Interriman speaks of the class conscious farmer in the west who, with the progressive and unionist, are the 'backbone' of the western movement."

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

What Are You Doing For the Cause of Socialism? Business meeting of Central Branch, nineteen new members received.

How many tickets are you going to sell for the entertainment and dance Germania Hall, May 30?

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