

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

(Continued from 1st page.)

ty owner. How can this be? Let us see? Grant that the state has sanctioned my right to life, then, necessarily, I have a right to the use of those conditions which make life possible. Food, clothing and shelter are essential to my physical life. If I cannot produce these I die. I can produce them only by application of my labor to the factors land and capital. But land and capital are private property. Assuming that I own only my labor power, if landlord and capitalist will not employ me for a wage they separate me from the factors land and capital, and I starve.

Thus it would seem that the right to employment is implied in the right to life. Because society has not recognized this right and made provisions for it, makes it none the less valid.

One may be deprived of the right of marriage by force of economic conditions arising from social injustice. It is only of this form of deprivation that I speak. If we conceive of the marriage relation and the family as an institution, the object of which is the development and perfection of the character of those who enter into this relation, then any obstacle to its consummation is a defeat of the purpose of life—a thwarting of the organizing idea which would result in marriage, the family, the home—the institution wherein one first learns of the true life in the life of others through self-sacrifice for the good of others.

It is in the family—the home—that one first comes to the consciousness of the brotherhood of man—the organization of the race—the state.

The government that permits the organization of "business" enterprises, and fosters them, which in their operation produce social injustice in an anarchical government. It destroys the state.

"The rights above enumerated are not absolute and unlimited; the government fixes their limitations in the act of creating them."

But it is "law that gives private and public control to land and capital, and thus gives individual owners, or a nation of individual owners, the power to determine the distribution of wealth."

I have thus far presented briefly the parts of the industrial system—mining, manufacturing, agriculture, commerce and the collateral industries. I have shown that all productive processes are carried on by the functioning of land, labor and capital; that these factors of production are also factors of distribution, and that the sovereign power—the state, acting through a government—organizes property and industry by law, and that it—the law and the modes of its interpretation and construction—becomes the most powerful factor of distribution.

Thus we have a system in which "the wants, energies and abilities of men," in their struggles to achieve the aims of life, "assert themselves within an economic and loyal framework created by the social class which controls the policy of the nation."

The functioning of the factors of production under the institution of private property makes necessary the legal rights of persons already enumerated, and also certain rights of property not here enumerated.

The legal system is the reflex of the inherent laws of the economic system. Or, stated another way, laws relating to property and industry are effects; economic laws of the particular system, the causes.

The social irritation and unrest today in all capitalistic countries is the necessary consequence of the mode of production and distribution of wealth.

It is popular with those who know nothing of the historical genesis of the present system, and who stand in an accidentally secure economic position to say that those who suffer from their industrial condition are only receiving the natural punishment of their economic sins. But the fact is, they are suffering from the consequences natural to this particular system of production and distribution. The laws of the system are "natural" to this particular system of production and distribution. They are not natural laws in the sense that gravity and chemical affinity are natural laws.

Based on this misconception that economic laws of the existing system are God's laws instead of those of an industrial system which was man-made, and slowly evolved through centuries of tyranny and oppression—it is this misconception that led the New York plutocrat to advise the laboring people of that city and the country at large to exercise Christian submission and fortitude to their industrial condition and to fill meekly and patiently the place which God had assigned them.

Such a conception of the will of God is based on the mistake that the will of God is identical with the inherent laws of an industrial man-made system which distributes its wealth products according to the laws enacted by the self-interest and organized greed of the social class that rules the policy of the government at a given time. If the plutocrat was sincere, he was ignorant. If he was insincere he was a hypocrite.

But my task is to find the economic condition of the farmer in this system. This can be done best by illustrating the process of production and distribution in some one form of the great industries, as manufacturing; and then comparing and contrasting this process with that of farming when the economic condition of the farmer, in relation to the economic condition of the other industrial classes will become clear.

A MANUFACTURING PLANT.

First we need a "Captain of Industry"—a Frick or a Pullman. He is a product of modern industrial conditions.

His qualifications are the following, among others. He must be a master of the details of manufacturing in some line—able to take raw material and go through every process to the finished product. He must have wide and exact commercial knowledge. His knowledge must cover the sources of all raw material entering into his product, and the demands and consuming capacity of his market. He must have the capacity to organize men in an industrial society so they shall be as perfect an industrial machine as the German army is a military machine.

He may or may not have much capital. Let us suppose he has \$100,000; a small sum. But one captain has wealthy friends who desire to live off the earnings of their capital without joining their own labor to it, and taking the pains and risks attending productive industry.

In fact they have no knowledge, and need none, of the details of the business. They have "confidence" in the ability of "capital" each of the four capitalists

put up \$100,000 which with that of the captain's makes \$500,000. A small sum now-a-days, but sufficient to illustrate. The captain is the manager. He buys twenty acres of land at a favorable location on which to establish the plant. Remember now, this is the factor land. The firm or corporation is the landlord. The captain then erects the shops and factories and puts into them the most improved tools and machines in the world; many of them protected by patents, thus giving him an advantage over competitive producers. He has examined the modes of production in all the details at home and abroad. He employs one or more mechanical engineers—men educated at our polytechnic schools—men who can invent and construct labor saving tools and machines to displace laborers and thereby save wages and thus cheapen cost of production. He then buys raw material out of which to make his product.

Buildings, tools and machines, and raw material are capital. Now the captain has two factors of production brought together—land and capital. Of themselves they produce nothing. They cannot function. Where is the third factor labor? The captain owns neither slave nor serf. There are only free men to deal with. He goes into the labor market to purchase labor power in his line of production. He agrees to pay one man \$5. a day; one \$4.; one \$3.; one \$2.; one \$1. according to skill and efficiency.

Captain and laborer confront each other in the labor market as free men—the one the buyer, the other the seller of labor power. Each is legally free to contract or not to contract for a wage. But it must be noticed particularly; that the freedom and equality of the contracting parties is only a legal freedom and a legal equality. It is not economic freedom and economic equality on the part of the laborer. The laborer's wage is determined by his skill and efficiency and by the intensity of competition with other laborers of equal skill and efficiency. His wage is not determined by a tariff, protection. Bahl He is coerced to accept a wage thus determined from the fact that he owns neither land nor capital and can produce nothing to support life except he sell his labor power for a wage so determined. His freedom consists really in the choice between work and starvation. His object in accepting the wage as determined is to support life.

The object of the captain will appear further on. Captain and laborer contract. Laborers enter the shops and factories. Now the three factors are united and production begins. Raw material enters the beginning of the manufacturing process. It comes out the finished product.

Suppose the finished product be my pocket knife. Land, labor and capital have been brought together and organized with much foresight and skill. They represent a vast amount of property, and an organized industry of property, and for the purpose of making jackknives. Is this the final end of all this organization and therefore the real cause of it?

The plant turns out millions of jackknives. Are they made for the consumption of the laborers?

One piece will do them. But what is to be done with the rest? Why, each unit of the product is sold for \$1.00. That's what is done with them. This answer only shifts the question. What is to be done with the \$1.00? Whose \$1.00 is it? The answer comes as quickly as the question. Land—(landlord)—demands rent; capital—(capitalist)—demands interest; raw material demands cost; wear and tear of buildings, tools, and machines their increment of replacement; insurance its cost; taxes—the government's share—their cost, and finally labor its wage. All these demands are inexorable. Under the system, they are the legitimate cost of production.

We proceed to divide the dollar in answer to these demands. There are laws which determine these rates of distribution, but they can not be discussed here. The parts of the \$1 may not be relatively correct, as distributed, but that will not destroy the value of the illustration. We take out five cents for rent; five cents for interest, because no landlord or capitalist allows the use of his private property without exacting rent or interest, if he can enforce it; five cents for wear and tear; five cents for insurance and taxes; twenty cents for cost of raw material, and finally twenty cents for wages. These items amount to sixty cents. \$1—60cts=40cts. The captain is the organizer and superintendent. His "salary" is counted in as a part of the labor cost in the twenty cents given to labor.

Total cost of a unit of the product 60cts, 40cts left. What is this 40cts? Whose is it? Two important questions.

IT IS SURPLUS VALUE; I. E.

what is gained over and above all cost of production. This surplus value is profit—is what the plant was organized for—what the knives were made for—what the knives were sold for—what the captain and his capitalist friends put their money into the plant for—is the final end—the real cause of organizing the factors of production and conducting the process of production.

Orthodox economists call surplus value "reward of enterprise." In legitimate productive industries wealth is piled up by the accumulation of surplus value. Surplus value is converted into capital by investing it to increase original capital. This is what it is. But equitably whose is it? A laborer, educated in a labor organization, comes forward and says, "It belongs to us, the laborers."

A colloquy ensues. Captain. Why so? Laborer. "Wealth belongs to him who produces it, and every cent taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery."

Is that proposition true? Captain. Abstractly, yes. But concretely, it depends on the legal system under which production is organized. Did not your laborers enter into a contract to work for a wage which you have received according to the contract? Laborer. Yes.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Land and Money

"Moreover, the profit of the earth is for all; the king himself is served by the field."—Ecc. 5:9.

Which is the greater, the land or finance question? Of the two problems we think the land lies deeper in the actual needs and independence of mankind, for if a willing worker could have five, ten, or as many acres of land as he could fully develop, it would be to him a bank with God as its president, never closed when he wanted to use its proceeds. Nor would God's tenant ever be evicted. We deem it just as essential to true manhood to understand the tillage of the soil as that

every woman to be thoroughly educated must understand all about good house-keeping.

To establish a noble government we must devise some plan that will break the monopoly of men in cities, also the monopoly of land in the country. Co-operative corporations seem today to be the nearest cut across the country's misrule to give mankind an object lesson of what the earth may do for man when he obey's God's command, "Go dress and keep the earth."

Bring our money problem to a full solution by finding a factor that will save a nation's credit by developing its people and resources to their highest point of excellence.

These two questions must be answered. And what throes of mental anguish have been and are yet to be suffered because mankind has evaded truth's exaction, the exact truth about all things. And the world cannot receive the "kings of God's peace upon its forehead" until self dies and God reigns instead over every heart and home. R. AGNES C.

The Doom of Our People.

I voice the plaint of millions of my class who till the soil, for everywhere our woes are one, and we bring the same indictment against the present order of production in the great American republic. Our ills are the same wherever you may go, whether it be among the fields that about against an unbroken wall of pines far down in Maine, in narrow gorges ridged in by the Alleghany or Rocky Mountains, where the crop must be wrenched from the soil by main strength, or in that vast zone of fertility, the Mississippi valley, which is the grandest agricultural region of all God's creation. In all these localities, so diverse and distant from each other, the farmer's lot remains the same, and it is a universally unsatisfactory one. It matters not what crop he may raise, whether it be cotton, corn, wheat, potatoes or rice. It does not affect his general state, whether railways and great marketing centers be near or far away, for favoring environments fail to rescue him from the onward sweep of a malign current that bears him ever nearer and nearer to bankruptcy.

From the older states bordering the Alleghanies to the new ones, at the base of the Rockies, all are alike blanketed with mortgages. The valuation of Ohio farms decreased an hundred million dollars between 1880 and 1890. In the great prairie state of Illinois, the most productive region in the whole world, the rural population is steadily diminishing, and yet Illinois has hundreds of thousands of rich acres that have never felt the plow. Nine millions of mortgages, aggregating billions of dollars, on the homes of the men who toil the hardest and most hours of any class of workers! There has been a shrinkage in the price of farm products in the past twenty-two years aggregating more than fifty per cent. The loss by reason of this shrinkage to the farmers of the West and South upon wheat and cotton alone has been more than three billions of dollars, although the change in the per capita production during that time has not been of itself sufficient to make any material difference in values. The conditions of the wage earning class are still more appalling. Look where we may, we find want and destitution increasing in an alarming ratio. All this, too, in a country unequaled by none in fertility, mineral resources and manufacturing and commercial advantages by any country in all the world.

There must be something sadly out of joint, somewhere, or these evil conditions could not be. There is a great and subtle enemy somewhere. An enemy that is not only bringing temporary hardships and privations upon us as a people; but our liberties are jeopardized, and the life of the republic is hanging in the balance. These are facts that no one whose God is not gold, and whose patriotism rises higher than his partisanship can doubt, after digesting President Cleveland's late message. That message was designed to be the climax—the consummation of all the conspiracies of the past thirty years—the last link in the letters of American industrial slavery.

My brothers, what is to be done? Are we so blinded by partisanship that we cannot learn wisdom from the cold and cold and cold acts of our enslavers? When we see them break away from all party affiliations and make common cause with the enemies of our race, can we not then, I ask, see the great demand of the hour? see that that demand is to get together? which can be accomplished only by every American citizen laying his partisanship upon the altar of his country. While there are millions of our people who already see this imperative necessity, there are other millions who have not awakened to the perils of the situation, but are still trusting to those who brought the present scourge upon the country. These people, while divested of their partisan blindness, be found in the front ranks fighting for our common rights.

The present is the most dangerous ordeal which our country has ever been called upon to pass through. Our free institutions are in the throes of dissolution. The immortal Lincoln once said: "We cannot long exist half slave and half free." Neither can we long exist half industrial slave and half monied plutocrat. Slavery and freedom are not more antagonistic than that of a monied plutocracy and free institutions. Neither of the two conditions have ever long existed in any country side by side.

My countrymen, we are fast approaching a climax. We, as a republic, are standing upon the brink of an awful abyss that no man can fathom. Our free institutions are suspended as by a thread above Ayer's Hair Vigor is the best preparation which can be obtained for removing dandruff and curing humors of the scalp.

It will not be accomplished in a day, but by years of earnest patient labor. "The summer soldiers and the sunshine patriots" will grow faint-hearted and lay down their weapons in despair before they have passed the borders of the skirmish line. The work the Populist party has undertaken transcends all former efforts towards the amelioration of mankind. The foe they have to contend with is the most formidable enemy of public peace and prosperity; its name is Ignorance, its leaders, Avarice and Self-aggrandizement. Education is the only weapon that can reach the foe and subdue it. Patience is the good right hand that must wield it. The sum of human misery is contained and perpetuated within its ranks, each individual is a martyr to false convictions, and while correction is imperative, it should be tempered with charitable forbearance from the fact that "they know not what they do." Labor, the mighty force that has transformed the crude materials of nature into the perfected instruments required for the comforts of the race, lies prone in dust, struggling for existence, conscious of wrong, but ignorant of the way of deliverance. Here is your field of labor and mine, fellow-worker, a labor of love and mercy with this captive host of false system of government. Not the work of a day or year, but the work of a lifetime if need be. If repeated try again, and yet again, and keep trying. All education is the fruit of repeated lessons, the product of persevering instruction. Therefore let us speak often to our neighbor, spare not the truth, but temper it with charity and kindness. C. H. KING. Sherman Co., Neb.

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its dark vortex. Shall we be equal to the emergency? Will we meet the perils of the situation like brave men, or will we skulk like cowards? Men with the ballot should never think of bullets. But with the one or the other these conditions will be met. If done with the ballot there is no time to be frittered away upon hobbies and isms. Once we are in the embrace of the serpent coils of the gold basis, gold standard, gold bond, green-back-destroying oligarchy; once the poisonous fangs of this devil-fish are thoroughly embedded in the vitals of the republic; once our national currency is cremated at a cost to posterity of \$1,250,000,000 as per President Cleveland's plan, and the ballot will avail little. Revolution or perpetual servitude is our certain doom. Leagues and clubs—not Populist party—but non-partisan, patriotic leagues, should be organized in every city, village and township, from Maine to California and from the lakes to the Gulf. The deserving doom of recreant senators and congressmen should be sounded in tones of thunder, and the vivid lightning of the wrath of an outraged people should strike terror to their bribery-debauched souls. JONATHAN WIGGINS. Cambridge, Neb.

The Work of Reform It will not be accomplished in a day, but by years of earnest patient labor. "The summer soldiers and the sunshine patriots" will grow faint-hearted and lay down their weapons in despair before they have passed the borders of the skirmish line. The work the Populist party has undertaken transcends all former efforts towards the amelioration of mankind. The foe they have to contend with is the most formidable enemy of public peace and prosperity; its name is Ignorance, its leaders, Avarice and Self-aggrandizement. Education is the only weapon that can reach the foe and subdue it. Patience is the good right hand that must wield it. The sum of human misery is contained and perpetuated within its ranks, each individual is a martyr to false convictions, and while correction is imperative, it should be tempered with charitable forbearance from the fact that "they know not what they do." Labor, the mighty force that has transformed the crude materials of nature into the perfected instruments required for the comforts of the race, lies prone in dust, struggling for existence, conscious of wrong, but ignorant of the way of deliverance. Here is your field of labor and mine, fellow-worker, a labor of love and mercy with this captive host of false system of government. Not the work of a day or year, but the work of a lifetime if need be. If repeated try again, and yet again, and keep trying. All education is the fruit of repeated lessons, the product of persevering instruction. Therefore let us speak often to our neighbor, spare not the truth, but temper it with charity and kindness. C. H. KING. Sherman Co., Neb.

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