

THE COMRADE



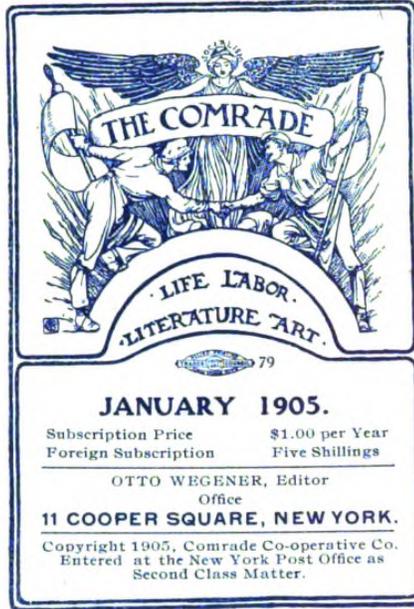
O strange new wonderful justice!
But for whom shall we gather the gain?
For ourselves and for each of our fellows,
And no hand shall labor in vain.

Why, then, and for what are we waiting?
There are three words to speak:
WE WILL IT, and what is the foeman
But the dream-strong wakened and weak?

WILLIAM MORRIS.

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Published Monthly

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The Socialist movement of America needs good Socialist literature. Good books, pamphlets and leaflets are the tools necessary for successful agitation and propaganda. To publish such books, capital is required and this necessary capital must be furnished by the rank and file of the movement if for no other reason than that the control of Socialist publishing houses should be exercised by the rank and file.

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The Tocsin.

Scarcely any book has yet been presented so copious in valuable quotations, so logical in its deductions or more successful in clearness of expression. It is worthy the perusal of anyone interested in the social question whether the person be a Socialist or not. The exhibition of the principles of Socialism and their result applied to society is of a character to interest the opposer as well as the supporter of the theory. It comes with the unmistakable evidences of careful and systematic preparation and is full of knowledge for the student and interest for the general reader. It has been unhesitatingly recommended by the leaders of Socialist thought in America, and as its increasing sales indicate has in it the true value which is appropriated by all students of sociology. The book is well printed and is indexed in a convenient manner, for easy reference.

The Class Struggle.

I regard it as a most opportune book, for it gives a clear cut idea of what Socialism really is, and its spirit and tone are such as to attract and convince. I shall do all I can to circulate it. There is no doubt in my mind but it will create as many Socialists as any book now before the American people.

Chas. R. Martin.

It would be hard to imagine a more lucid and tactful book than this. It seems to have been especially written for the perusal of the conservative and the orthodox, and a large circulation of the book must inevitably mean converts to Socialist doctrines. In fifteen chapters Mr. Vail covers the whole subject, both in its economic and ethical aspects, and the arguments here set forth are in most cases absolutely incontrovertible. The chapter entitled "Misconceptions and Objections Considered" would be especially effective to put in the hands of opponents. Mr. Vail answers conclusively and concisely fifteen stock objections to socialism, and incidentally furnishes socialist advocates with a great deal of useful ammunition.

Leonard D. Abbott in Commonwealth.

Some Reviews of the Principles of Scientific Socialism.

Mr. Vail's earlier work, "Modern Socialism," showed him to be a clear and, what is even rarer, a fair, thinker, a careful student, and a popular writer. The present work, somewhat larger and considerably more systematic in its treatment, is an improvement

upon the "Modern Socialism." We have long felt the need of a book which should give, within reasonable limits of space, a systematic and, at the same time, a popular presentation of modern Socialism for American readers—a book which, while it could not pretend to cover the whole field in all its details, should set the main outlines of the subject clearly before the reader and prepare him for further study. This it has been Mr. Vail's purpose to do. We will not say that he has made an unqualified success. Unqualified success is not to be expected, least of all in so early an attempt at so difficult a task. But he has achieved a very marked degree of success. The book is far the best of its sort yet published. It will be a means of making the Socialist position intelligible to very many who do not yet understand it; and many of our comrades will do well to read it carefully, in order to gain the right point of view, to meet common objections and put their arguments into a form that will appeal to the average man who is not already a student of economic questions.

The People.

In very many ways this is a book to be welcomed. It in a measure fills a long felt want for a fairly short and accurate exposition of socialism that is simple enough for the beginner and elaborate enough to be a help to the student of socialism. On the whole the book is one that should and undoubtedly will, find a place among the foremost of the propaganda works on socialism in the English language.

The Workers' Call.



Some of our friends may take a fancy to Lilien's beautiful drawing which adorns the cover of this issue and gives such a remarkably fine setting to the hopeful and inspiring lines of William Morris, the man. To those who do we wish to say that special impressions have been run off on good paper. They may be had for the asking if a dime is enclosed for paper and presswork. The sturdy lad who sings his song of

the wonderful days a-coming, and swings his hammer and hammers into shape the human heart until, glowing for freedom it emits sparks of hope, is allegorical of Socialism. A Socialist could hardly find anything more cheering and more artistic to hang up in his room or clubhouse. E. M. Lilien is a German artist of whose delicate and delightful work we may give further proof in a future issue of THE COMRADE.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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The Times and Their Tendencies

Letter Carrier Politicians

It appears that the rural free delivery carriers of the Post office department have been appropriating political influence instead of delivering it to headquarters. At this writing two more of them have got the sack for "political activity." The president does not mean that the admirable discipline of the public service shall be sullied by independent thinking or effort on the part of anyone in the employ of the government. This determination of Mr. Roosevelt is based upon his knowledge of human nature. He has discovered that political action is frequently dictated by selfish motives in the working class, instead of by that fine and lofty disinterestedness which marks his own political conduct and that of the class of which he is the expression.

It is undoubtedly true that the action of the letter-carriers in the defeat of Congressman Loud was prompted by their desire for higher wages; that is to say for more money;—a desire so rare under the capitalist system, and so reprehensible, as to make the letter-carriers an object of public loathing. Anyone wanting more money is certainly disgusting to all good people who are enjoying independence. (To "enjoy independence," is to live upon the labor of the working-class without being compelled to render any service in return.)

Congressman Loud was opposed to raising the pay of the carriers. The post-office department does not "pay". Hence, if the wages of the carriers were raised it would still further increase the deficit; or, if this alternative were not faced, the railroads might have to be asked to take less for hauling the mails. They are now receiving such a pittance for this great service that no one could have the heart to ask them to do it for less, especially as they own the senate, and so would not take less, anyhow.

So to get the opposition of Congressman Loud out of their way the letter-carriers used the influence of their organization to defeat him for re-election. They succeeded.

It is what might be termed class-conscious political action,—a pernicious and not-to-be-permitted expedient on the part of any class to which the president does not belong.

So the leaders in this pernicious activity lost their jobs.

The president does not mean that anyone whoever who is drawing a salary from the government shall take part directly in political campaigning. The president's high moral instincts will not stand for it.

Should it once leak out in Washington that Secretary Shaw, while getting more pay than twenty of the carriers put together, was out all during the campaign stumping for the Republican party, it is certain that the president would have no mercy on him.

Secretary Shaw must appreciate what a *very* close call he has had.

The Simple Life

The president's very cordial endorsement of "Pastor" Wagner and his "simple life" has brought that gentleman's book into marked public prominence. It pays to advertise. "The simple life" and "Frenzied Finance" are the classics whose popularity testify to the high moral character of the American people.

Pastor Wagner has gone home after a tour of some weeks during which he was wine and dined every night, and made public speeches over the walnuts. Simple living is fine and noble,—for the other fellow. The president, in praising the book, did not say he practiced the simple life himself; he said he preached it to his countrymen. The Pastor no doubt renders the same high service,—and example.

The advocates of the simple life in New York city are so enamoured of the fine sentiments expressed in the book that they are raising a fund for the building of a church in Paris for the Pastor. Paris is considered far enough away for this purpose.

It is notable that those who are getting maudlin over the simple life are those who could afford to live it if they would, but would not live it if they could. Anyone of any acquaintance with literature, who has taken the time to run through the Pastor's book, must be amazed that this book and its author should make so considerable a sensation

in a country where Emerson has been read for half a century, and the writings of the disciples of Jesus are not entirely unknown.

But if Wanamaker, and Carnegie, and Roosevelt can get from Pastor Wagner what Jesus and Emerson have failed to impress upon them; then success to Wagner, and hurrah for the \$150,000, which they say he need' to preach the simple life,—in Paris!

The Astors and Oregon

Now that the St. Louis "Louisiana Purchase exposition" has folded its tent and silently stolen away (after having stolen everything else it could), leaving the city looking like a plugged dime; we are invited to turn our attention to the city of Portland, Oregon, which is getting in line for its share of the same special kind of graft. It is interesting to reflect upon just what dimensions these commemorative festivals would reach—Washington inaugural celebrations, too—if they were shaven of their opportunities for private profit.

The Lewis and Clark exposition managers have tried in vain to interest the Astor family of New York in their show; but up to now have not succeeded. They have repeatedly written to John Jacob in New York, and William Waldorf in London, but have received no answers. The Astors are dumb and their pockets are buttoned tight.

The Oregon people vainly imagined that the part the original old-time Astor played in the fur-trade of the North-west, and later in the colonization of the Columbia river region, would arouse the family pride in the coming exposition, and make them an easy prey for subscriptions. But a little closer acquaintance with these Anglo-American apostles of the simple life, would impress the Oregonians that they are not at all proud of the fact that the founder of the family worked for a living. Two or three generations of graft produces a fine sensitiveness similar to the delicacy of the parasitic orchid.

The Astor nostrils by this time dilate with horror at the suggestion of foul-smelling skins. They are living upon rents now; a much cleaner business, and they do not care to have their antecedents flung in their faces, thank you.

It further appears that as a matter of fact the original John Jake lost some \$4,000,000, on his last Oregon venture, and all he ever got out of it was to have the town of Astoria named after him.

You cannot expect that to arouse much Astor enthusiasm.

Buying Legislation

A very fitting parallel to the burst of ethical enthusiasm over the simple life, is the excitement created in New York city over the alleged raising of a large amount of money by the liquor dealers for use at Albany this winter in influencing legislation. If it were the first, or the worst, instance of the kind, one could understand the hullabaloo it has created in the metropolis.

The only explanation of the disturbance seems to be that in this case the bribery is announced before, instead of after, it takes place. But even this is by no means new in Gotham, nor are the liquor dealers the only persons who have been currently reported and generally believed to have made arrangements for this species of transaction.

It is a canon of respectable capitalism to get what you want even if you have to pay for it, as Mr. Lawson of Boston has very interestingly shown. His recital of the introduction of the impossible Addicks to exclusive Boston circles, and his welcome, in all his vulgarity, by the silk-stockings of that city in their anticipation of making an honest dollar by him, shows that money is held in high esteem even by those who like to appear somewhat above it. For many years each successive legislature of New York has had a more or less unfragrant reputation. Reports of lobbying, with cash as the chief argument, have been numberless, and these reports have come very near to touching the men who are usually characterized as "our leading citizens."

This charge which has so profoundly stirred the metropolitan soul is no new thing, either in New York or elsewhere. It is the harmoni-

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ous continuance of a long series. It is so common as to partake of the established order. It is as intimate a feature of capitalist politics as the purchase of seats in the national senate.

When commercialism has once stifled ideals in public life there is nothing that is not for sale. Politicians seek public office; they spend more than the revenue of such office; because there are things to sell;—the property of the people.

It was such conditions that preceded the downfall of the Roman republic.

The Higher Education

Columbia university has recently furnished a reverent world with much needed insight into the virtues of the higher education.

When we listen to prominent educators glorifying the colleges and their curriculums and telling us of the great things the higher education has in store for society, we oftentimes regard their visions as a somewhat too vague presentment of what society appears to need. We are told in dignified rhetoric that to be "educated" is to be lifted in the social scale; to escape the degrading temptations and environments that hold down the "uneducated"; to find one's feet in the pathway of moral exaltation.

And now Columbia university, of New York, is illustrating for the benefit of a waiting people those rapturous but indefinite excellences which the educators have led us to expect.

The freshman-sophomore incident in which young Kingdon Gould figured so prominently last month is illuminative of the fact that this mysterious higher education we are looking to for the redemption of society, is the acquisition by the big boys of a wonderful proficiency in the noble and high-minded art of torturing and persecuting the little ones.

It is further to be gathered that these same sophomores are exhibiting the salutary effect of their first year's collegiate training and intellectual discipline, by assuming a truly heroic attitude of independence toward the faculty; and are educated to the point of threatening the institution itself when any of its officials undertake to rebuke them for behaving like a lot of hoodlums.

We may therefore assume that the chief function of colleges like Columbia is to train and let loose upon society a swarm of brutal and cowardly bullies, which, we take it, is the accredited equipment for a young man who expects to make his way under the capitalist system of industry. One may very readily recognize a parallel to the extinguishment of the small independent oil producers by the Standard Oil company, in young Gould's fleeing down the street, pursued by a ruffianly mob of highly educated gentlemen, who wind up the pursuit in a riot in which heads are broken, a subway station wrecked, and surface traffic blocked for half an hour. Also, like the Standard Oil company, here the law is on the side of the ruffians; and instead of clubbing the highly educated gentlemen of the mob, the police authorities get after young Gould for daring to defend himself.

It is like a page out of the business history of capitalism.

The attempt of the faculty to discipline the ruffians, is, to still further carry out the simile, like an attempt of the government to stop railroad discrimination. The big boys turned upon the college officials with the threat that if any attempt was made to abolish their time-honored privilege of bullying the little boys, they would put the college out of business. Lectures were suspended; professors talked to empty benches; and studies were cast aside as frivolous interferences with the great principle of hazing.

No one, in the face of such salutary proofs, can fail to accord to the higher education all the praise which it claims as its due, as an influence in the perfection of the social aspects of the capitalist system.

Washington Antics

As an illustration of the educative effect of the capitalist system operating outside of the lines of the higher circles, two of the advertising antics of the Washington Post are impressive. The first plan demonstrated the suspicion that dominates people to the extent of overcoming their cupidity. The second exhibited cupidity as overcoming all reserve of masculine and feminine dignity.

The Post sent a man out upon the street to offer genuine silver dollars at ten cents a piece. Up and down Pennsylvania avenue he traveled for hours, exhibiting and crying his wares without finding a purchaser. So suspicious were the people that they would not trust their judgment in deciding as to the genuineness of something which they handle every day. Suspicion triumphed; and the Post put its silver dollars back in the till.

The next week they tested the cupidity, without the elements of suspicion.

They advertised, in a puzzle phrase which was easily decipherable, that a man would be walking about in a certain district between certain hours in the afternoon, with \$100 in his pocket deliverable to whoever should ask him first, "Have you the Black Arrow?"

Long before the hour appointed crowds of men and women gathered in the district where the "ghost" was to walk. Everyone was

grabbing everybody else in the hope of securing something for nothing. The crowd became dense. If a man did not sing out positively, when first questioned, that he did not have it, he was pursued and his coat nearly torn from his back. Well-dressed and apparently well-bred and refined women grabbed men by the shoulders whom they did not know and implored them to say if they had the black arrow.

It was an orgy.

Finally a man named Dempsey, coach of the oarsmen at Georgetown college, found the right man and got the money.

There were, no doubt, but few people in the crowd who saw the demonstration in any philosophic aspect. Most of them were so consumed by their cupidity that they were unable to realize what ridiculous figures they were presenting. But to the thoughtful it was a distressing spectacle; typifying all capitalist society in a mad quest to get something for nothing,—something it had not earned.

When men and women together will throw away their dignity and take part in such vulgar scrambles for money, it is safe to say that the Stock exchanges will not fail to enrich the crafty at the expense of the foolish. Mr. Lawson's exposures to the effect that the cards are marked will not keep the public out of the game.

Colorado Troubles

The Colorado supreme court continues to divide on straight party lines in the political questions that come before it relative to the recent state election. The republican and democratic members of the court vote squarely against one another on every issue. Nothing could transpire to so sink the courts to the level of contempt in the minds of those who still humor the belief that they stand for abstract justice, instead of economic class-interest, than the behavior of the court in question.

Walt Whitman's declaration that the great city is where the people think lightly of the laws is apt to find its exemplification very soon in the city of Denver.

We have in that city a struggle in miniature (though it doubtless seems big enough to them), of that great struggle predicted by the Democrats in 1896, when it was openly declared that if the advocate of dishonest money won the election, Wall street would not allow him to be seated. The counter-declaration of the Democrats at that time was, that if Mr. Bryan could not be seated at Washington, he would be seated at Denver.

The present straining of forces in Colorado is naught but the class-struggle under the cloak of these two parties, and it is well perhaps that it should be initiated, under the old stalking-horse names, inasmuch as the real spirit seems to be present.

If Alva Adams were a pronounced socialist, instead of a democrat, the federal government would have long since essayed to interfere, and would have thus prevented the test as to whether the party in power can prevent the seating of the candidate of the opposing party when honestly elected, by charging dishonesty in polling and using all the machinery of the courts and legislature to prove its contention.

The enormous educative value of the present Colorado struggle should not be overlooked, however deplorable its possible violent outcome may be, and lovers of liberty should not fail to emphasize on every occasion the truth that when a candidate is elected, and the official incumbent of the office fails to vacate, that it is the holder of the seat who overthrows republican government, and not those who insist, even to the point of using force, upon the recognition of their rights under the law.

Peabody, in this struggle, represents monopoly, and its grip upon the resources of a great commonwealth. If the common people are not able to prevail against his usurpations of power, which already are admitted to be flagrant, then republican government in Colorado is overthrown, and Peabody is the leader of the insurrection.

The consequences of this anarchy should be laid at the door of the class which he represents; the class which has instigated and supported his lawlessness; the class of which he is the bald and conscienceless expression.

The Railroads and the Courts

In view of the partisan attitude of the Colorado supreme court the recent expressions of preference by the managers of railroads, as to how they shall be "regulated," are entertaining.

One of the most positive objections to the president's threatened control of rates, is stated to be that the plan places their properties "in the absolute control of men who are not trained in railroad work." This is equivalent to saying that the inter-state commerce commissioners, who do nothing else save to study railroad questions, don't know anything about them. Not very flattering, really, when you stop to think about it.

But the interesting aspect of the problem is that these same railroad managers manifest much less opposition against the plan to turn rate disputes over to the federal courts, some railroad spokesmen even going so far as to propose this as an alternative. But the federal court judges are so constantly engrossed with all sorts of cases that it is not unreasonable to suppose that they know much less about railroad oper-

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ation, and are much less "trained in railroad work" than the men hired by the government for the purpose. What becomes, then, of this objection to the commissioners?

Is it possible that there is any special sympathy between the great corporations and the men who sit upon that exalted bench before which the people have been taught to bow in reverence? Have the great corporations exercised any influence in filling these high judgeships, against the day when they may need privileges rather than justice?

While ostensibly holding the opposite position, the very evident preference of the railroads to leave their case in the hands of judges who do not know railroading, rather than in the hands of commissioners who do, is not calculated to inspire the people with any added confidence in the court thus selected.

Socialist Influence

People who are constantly reiterating the claim that socialism is impracticable, are singularly blind to the fact that the socialist movement is winning unmistakable victories every day. There is not a country in the world in which the entire governmental policy is not being modified and molded in deference to the revolutionary influence of socialism. No thoughtful person can fail to have noted the chastened and humble silence of the emperor of Germany since he collided with Bebel over the Krupp incident. It was confidently expected that he would involve Germany in every kind of international complications by his swaggering and unlicked attitude a few years ago; but he now appears as nice a little gentleman as if his training had been won at the ribbon-counter of a department store.

Why is president Roosevelt feeling around for a way to curb railroad lawlessness? It is already acknowledged at Washington that in arguing with congressmen on the subject, he is urging the necessity for some moderate measure, "in order to check the rising socialistic sentiment of the country, which before long, in case nothing is done, will precipitate upon us a formidable movement for government ownership and operation of the railroads."

So!

Everybody who knows the power of the railroads and their ownership of the United States senate, realizes that any attempt to "regulate" them is puerile. But the point is that the socialist movement is forcing the president to make the attempt; and as soon as the impotence of the effort is demonstrated, it will force those in power to some more positive step. This is the great strategic value of the uncompromising revolutionary position. It keeps the enemy on the run by constantly inspiring fear of radical action.

Its undoubted efficacy is even more interestingly proven in Italy, where the socialist vote is precipitating all sorts of concessions to the people in the hope of checking the steady progress of the proletariat. Internal taxation is being steadily reformed and the astonishingly agreeable news comes to us that the old-fashioned octroi taxes, collected on produce entering the city limits, are to be wholly abolished within a short time.

Meanwhile the railroads are being purchased from their private owners which will eventually remove this great corrupting power from Italian politics.

The socialist vote is potent even when it does not elect a man, and he whose eyes are open will hardly dispute it.

The Whipping-Post

The dignity of proposing the whipping-post falls quite naturally to a president who has his eagle eye upon the little republics, and warns them to be good if they want to stay on the map. But everyone in Washington does not enthuse over adopting the lash in the District. The Washington Star, which does not always stay in line, has this to say on the subject:—

"If Congress, as part of its campaign to make Washington an ideal city, imposes the whipping-post upon the national capital, it will confer by this act national indorsement upon the lash. Uncle Sam's fingers will again handle the slave-driver's whip, which with unspeakable joy he once threw aside; he will pick up the cat-o-nine tails, which John Bull has shamefully dropped. Like the Russian knout the American lash may become a national emblem."

As this was not exactly respectful to a president who wants to make Washington an "ideal" city, the Washington Post devoted a large part of a recent Sunday edition to proving that all the best moral influence in Washington was in favor of the president's proposition. All the Washington preachers were given a chance to indorse the president, and to their everlasting glory be it said that they stood by him,—and against the teachings of Jesus—almost to a man. All of which proves that Washington Christianity, like the "republic" of Panama, is only a stage "property" of the president.

General Huertas threatens a revolution; our minister, backed by our rear-admiral, then steps in and says, "No revolting, if you please,"—and General Huertas subsides into a resignation and a pension. Praise the Lord, for his gift of Peace!

Ideas of God

The reverend Lyman Abbott, eminent divine, editor of the Outlook (which believes in the subjugation of inferior races, and in taking the balance away from the working-class), is evidently still desirous of being a shepherd.

His recent announcement as to his ideas regarding the deity proves that he is trying to keep up with the sheep. He does not believe any longer in the "old man god" who sits up somewhere and watches us to smite us if we go wrong. This is very sensible, but in the eyes of the ruling class it must appear a rash abandonment of a very effective strategic position. The education of the working class in the belief that if they do not follow the smug and bourgeois ethics of the capitalist class some mighty force will reach out from somewhere and blast them, has been one of the most potent agencies in successful working-class exploitation. To declare that God is in everything, is equivalent to saying that he is in the working-man himself, which is dangerous doctrine to be inculcating in those who are to be kept in subjection. No wonder the reverend Lyman is being bombarded. The working class are finding out things fast enough without such conspicuous assistance from one who should be decorous enough to keep mum about the respectable absurdities he doesn't believe in. The Rev. Lyman is class-conscious enough; only, like all preachers he likes to talk. He must realize however that so eminent a divine as he is, is sure to be extensively quoted; and that there are portions of the world in which the strategic importance of the "old man god" is still considerable.

For example the archbishop of Warsaw has just sent to all the priests of his diocese a special prayer imploring god to send peace, with instructions to read it during the celebration of mass.

How can the reverend Lyman's kind of god send peace? Would he advocate the unheard-of doctrine that if men want peace they will have to stop fighting to get it?

One stands aghast at such an astounding discovery by a clergyman.

Crown Princess Louise

It must appear to anyone that a good deal of a row is being made over the attempt of Crown Princess Louise to see her children, by coming to Dresden all the way from Florence, Italy. It will be remembered that the lady was reported to have eloped with a tutor of her children, and in a high spirit of generosity the Saxon state voted her an income of \$7,500 a year if she would go off and never come back. But the working classes of Saxony,—"red" Saxony they call it, because it is so overwhelmingly socialistic—have a version of the princess' misadventure which holds her guiltless of wrong-doing. There is a well-defined rumor to the effect that she is a victim of a capitalist political intrigue of the "center"-party in Saxony, which is described as using unscrupulous means to prevent a strong Liberal from ever becoming Queen. It is certain that while Louise was in Saxony the socialists found out everything that transpired at court which was not meant for them to know, and the Crown princess fell under suspicion. The crowds which assembled wherever she was known to be during her recent visit to Saxony were of such a character as to indicate the prevalence of a very intelligent sympathy regarding her banishment. Of course, if she has been their special friend, the socialists would not be so impolitic as to betray her by any organized demonstration, and yet the remarks of the local capitalist press—evidently "inspired"—are to the effect that her pension will not be forfeited this time if she will never do it again. It is certain that they would rather pay her the \$7,500 a year and have her stay out of Saxony, than to take it away from her and run the risk of her coming back.

This very transparent bribery is, perhaps, an improvement over the time-honored method of the courts in getting rid of friends of the proletariat by sickness induced by drinking something which does not agree with one. At any rate a very romantic interest always attaches to anyone of a royal household whose heart is really big enough to contain the woes of the common people.

The present generation of Saxons who do not know already, will doubtless never know who the "tutor" was. Perhaps he was a revolutionist. Perhaps he was the biggest and bravest man in Saxony. Chance, and the accident of birth, do not always make the right men kings.

Franklin H. Whitworth

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THE COMRADE



THE MARSEILLAISE. After Doré's Drawing.

The March of the Workers

By WILLIAM MORRIS



What is this, the sound and rumor? What is this that all men hear,
 Like the wind in hollow valleys when the storm is drawing near,
 Like the rolling on of ocean in the eventide of fear?
 'Tis the people marching on.
 Wither go they, and whence come they? What are these of whom ye tell?
 In what country are they dwelling 'twixt the gates of heaven and hell?
 Are they mine or thine for money? Will they serve a master well?
 Still the rumor's marching on.

CHORUS—Hark the rolling of the thunder!
 Lo the sun! and lo thereunder
 Riseth wrath, and hope, and wonder,
 And the host comes marching on.

Forth they come from grief and torment; on they wend toward health and mirth,
 All the wide world is their dwelling, every corner of the earth.
 Buy them, sell them for thy service! Try the bargain what 'tis worth,
 For the days are marching on.
 These are they who build thy houses, weave thy raiment, win thy wheat,
 Smooth the rugged, fill the barren, turn the bitter into sweet,
 All for thee this day—and ever. What reward for them is meet?
 Till the host comes marching on.

CHORUS—Hark the rolling of the thunder!
 Lo the sun! and lo thereunder
 Riseth wrath and hope and wonder,
 And the host comes marching on.

Many a hundred years, passed over have they labored deaf and blind;
 Never tidings reached their sorrow, never hope their toil might find.
 Now at last they've heard and hear it, and the cry comes down the wind,

And their feet are marching on.
 O ye rich men, hear and tremble! for with words the sound is rife:
 "Once for you and death we labored; changed henceforward is the strife.

We are men, and we shall battle for the world of men and life.
 And our host is marching on."

CHORUS—Hark the rolling of the thunder!
 Lo the sun! and lo thereunder
 Riseth wrath and hope and wonder,
 And the host comes marching on.

"Is it war, then? Will ye perish as the dry wood in the fire?
 Is it peace? Then be ye of us, let your hope be our desire.
 Come and live! for life awaketh, and the world shall never tire;
 And hope is marching on."

"On we march then, we the workers, and the rumor that ye hear
 Is the blended sound of battle and deliv'rance drawing near;
 For the hope of every creature is the banner that we bear."
 And the world is marching on.

CHORUS—Hark the rolling of the thunder!
 Lo the sun! and lo thereunder
 Riseth wrath, and hope, and wonder,
 And the host comes marching on.

The Danger of the Trusts



IN a recent issue of the Century Magazine, Professor John Bates Clark gives his views of present tendencies in industry. He is of the opinion that trusts are here to stay and will further multiply. But he also thinks that they cannot fool all the people all the time. The people will sooner or later discover how oppressive these corporations are and he fears that they will force the people to take radical measures. He sees "danger for a democratic state." He says:

"When we speak of dangers of this kind, we do not think first of any steady tax which, day after day and year after year, the people are compelled to pay for goods; for, though such a tax would be an evil, it would not necessarily be a danger. If people were willing to go on paying it, political institutions would be safe enough. The peril comes when people become conscious of the cause of their sufferings and propose to end them in a summary way. It is foreordained that the trust should be a chief corrupter of national and state politics, as local corporations which resemble it are chief corrupters of municipal politics, and this is the basis of the dread that one class of intelligent men have of them. Persons of this class would prefer to let corporations grow and multiply *ad libitum* if their owners would leave politics honest and democracy secure. But we have come to a pass in which the policy of consolidated capital prevents them from doing this. The first bad and dangerous combination which the trust makes is that with the so-called political machine. Both the machine and its manager, the boss, existed before. The trust did not create them. The men who made politics a trade had already acquired the power to cajole members of regular political parties and lead them whither they would. For carrying on this policy they came to need much more money than they at first commanded, and the corporations had it in readiness. A party that has money and needs power is in a position to make a speedy bargain with one that has power and needs money."

If the state of today will not step in and "regulate" the trusts, Socialism will do it: "It is a hard and uphill road that democracy must travel in its efforts to regulate trusts; but there is no possible doubt that it must travel by that route or go farther and fare worse. There is socialism as an ever-present alternative.

"The real danger in the case consists in the possibility that the people may not unite. There are the rigorous individualists, who hope, against all reasonable hope, to keep the old-time sort of competition alive. They are in the field with their prohibitory statutes, or stern laws against consolidation—bulls against the comet, one and all. There are the men who perceive the futility of such efforts at prohibition, but have no faith in the policy of regulation, and these men are drifting into the camp of the growing socialistic army. One of the greatest of the dangers that trusts portend is this abandonment of a hard but sound policy for an apparently easy one."

The Message of Socialism to the Church



THE new pamphlet of J. Stitt Wilson entitled "The Message of Socialism to the Church" should prove an excellent means of propaganda among people of a religious bent of mind. The Socialist message is here set forth in a wonderfully condensed form, and yet in a language highly pleasing by its beauty. The little booklet will surely make a deep and lasting impression upon those who are still attached to the church. It is well to have such kind of literature, specially adapted to the needs of that class of people who would otherwise be left under the exclusive influence of the clergy, a clergy which is far from doing justice to the great cause of Socialism.

Original from
 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Ada Negri, Italy's Laureate of Toil



Modern Italy has given us in Leopardi the unrivalled poet of pessimism, whose melodious lines of sad melancholy and deep despair may be a deadly poison, but at the same time afford the sweetest and most bewitching draft of sombrous poetry of all literatures. Ada Negri strikes a far different note. She knows misery and want, but not despair. She has seen the proletariat, worn-out, a beast of burden, stooping to its daily toil, with the sweat of hard work on its brow. But to her has also been revealed the strength and destiny of this class that does the world's work, and she cries out jubilantly

Make room!—From busy ploughshares, from the infernal glow
Of horrible black forges, from tortuous mines below,
From furnaces ablaze,
From mills that with the noises of wheels and hammers ring
I rise, a free plebeian—I rise and joyous sing
To work a hymn of praise.

Hers is one of the most eloquent voices of the working class. Her verses speak with eloquence of the suffering and of the hope of that class. She thinks "of the brave champions of the spade," "of miners in the cursed dark below."

I think of champions, leaders brave of thought
Who stand as martyrs 'mong the unknowing crowd,
And, feverish care kindling their generous minds,
To battle call.

I think of those who watch and toil and die
Unknown, and from my heart bursts forth,
Re-echoing o'er all the earth, a cry:
Hail, hail, ye strong!

Hail, hail, ye bared, ye iron chests, ye arms
Sturdy and muscular, ye bodies lithe
That never tire amid the deafening din
Of factories.

Ye who with work's sacred ambition glow
And in the midst of toil some day shall die,
Of thought and of the mallet, of the axe,
Brave champions, hail!

Before my eyes in dreadful visions pass
Phantoms of working-women wan and worn,
And vessels pass that with the tempest's shock
Sink in the sea;

And weary children, pale and furrowed brows,
Disfigured faces, crippled bodies thin,
All, all that infinite exhausted crowd,
In endless file.

I hear the sound of voices from afar,
And blows of pickaxe, hammer, and of club:
Amid the tumult vast that stirs the earth
I freely sing:

Thee, thee I sing, great human family,
So widely spread, so diligent, so grand!
Go fight and hope, and without resting strive,
For life is brief.

Ada Negri is not the "sweet singer of an idle day." Her days have been very busy days. Teaching eighty little ragamuffins in the small place of Motta Visconti is no sinecure.

The poet was born at Lodi, February 3, 1870. The years of her youth brought much sadness and little happiness. The mother worked in a factory that Ada might be enabled to study and become a teacher. More than one poem of Ada is a lasting monument to her dearly beloved mother.

When her first book of poems appeared, Ada Negri was at once proclaimed the Sappho of Italy. Germany and other countries hastened to spread her songs in excellent translations.



ADA NEGRI.

A good translation of "Fate," under which title her first collection of poems appeared, has been published in a new edition by Small, Maynard & Co. We are indebted to this American edition for the above quotations and the prophetic lines, which we take from "Disturb Me Not":

No longer blood, no longer blood is flooding
The earth in gory run,
No longer war, the sorcerer inhuman,
Is levelling his gun;

No longer now the cannon madly fillet
The air with thunderous roar,
And battle-songs amid the raging slaughter
Fly back and forth no more;

All men are one; with ecstasy most sacred
Inspired as ne'er before.
A sweet and solemn chant of peace is wafted
Across from shore to shore.

Steam snorts and shrieks, machines are fiercely groaning,
Red burns the furnace-glow,
Cleaving the fertile glebe, the steady ploughshare
Is toiling to and fro.

And o'er the earth that, like a lion roaring,
With industry doth teem,
Proud in the wind her pinions white unfolding,
Rules Liberty supreme.



THE COMRADE



—Het Volk, Amsterdam

Press Poutpourri



THE bourgeois papers and periodicals continue to say all kinds of things about Socialism, the Socialist vote, and the Socialist party. Especially the Catholic journals have their eye on the political movement of the proletariat, and view its growth with apprehension. Here are a few of these lucubrations:

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

There has been much comment on the growth of the Socialist vote. Mr. Debs, as the candidate, made marked gains over the vote cast for him in 1900; but it would be a mistake to draw inferences from such comparative statistics, because both great parties were this year regarded by men of Socialistic leaning as under full control of the capitalists and plutocrats, so that the growth of the Socialist vote was to have been expected. There is nothing at all in the general conditions prevailing in the United States to give prospects of large growth of any one of the minor parties. What is more likely is that one of the two great parties will henceforth become more radical in its attitude toward economic and social questions.

THE MIRROR, ST. LOUIS.

Don't worry as so many people are doing over that big Socialist vote in the last election. It is not a threat of danger. It was only one form of expression of disgusted Democrats. There is no chance for out-and-out Socialism as a powerful third party in this country just now. The pinch of poverty is not general enough and the Socialistic theory doesn't appeal powerfully enough to a people who are not content with the idea that in this country one man is as good as another. The American believes that one man is not only as good as another, but a darn sight better when the chance comes. There's the idea. The chance is still there. Men find it and take advantage of it every year. There is no hardening of men into classes, no sticking in ruts by generation after generation. Until a man can't get out of his class or out of the rut in which his fathers stuck before him, there will be no general taking up of practical Socialism in this country. We may dally with the theory and let our fancy play over and around it, but we don't want to be children of the State. We want to beat the game just because it looks so hard to beat it. We don't want to fix things up so they'll be dead easy for us, like solving a cryptogram we have ourselves framed or like beating ourselves at solitaire by shifting the lay-out to our advantage. Socialism is a bugaboo.

THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE, NEW YORK.

In twelve years the Socialist vote in this country rose from 21,512 to 600,000 or thereabouts, in the last election. This is the first time they have succeeded in making any popular impression. They are now jubilant and are recalling Senator Hanna's prophecy: "The next great issue this country will have to meet will be Socialism." There is no need for fear at present. Socialists have never held together long. The Populists were vastly more numerous than they. Several promising political parties—Socialist in whole or in part—have risen in this country and fallen because they could not hold together. When a Socialist party arises with a few radical principles presumably workable and salutary, and is able to hold together, conquering single States one after another and increasing steadily in the Federal elections, the issue will be clearly drawn and an economic or social revolution may result.

THE CATHOLIC TRANSCRIPT.

There is no denying the fact that the tide is setting in favor of Socialism. And the day may come, here in America, when we will no longer have Democrats and Republicans—differing in non-essentials though both practically loyal to the Constitution—but Conservatives and Radicals or Constitutionals as against the advocates of anarchy and revolution. In such a readjustment, it is not difficult to imagine where all sane citizens will be found. When the reign of disorder is threatened, the Catholic Church will be recognized and acknowledged by all responsible men as a mighty element in making for authority and respect for the Constitution. It will then be found good statesmanship

to encourage her and second her in the work of education which she is carrying on in her schools—schools which will be regarded as nurseries of the law-abiding and the contented."

THE WORLD TO-DAY.

Socialism is fast becoming a living issue in this country, as demonstrated by the steady increase in the Socialist vote. Among the forces which retard its progress, the opposition of the churches has been accounted one of the strongest. The Roman Catholic Church has been condemning Socialism in Europe for many years, and the later utterances of Pope Leo XIII were so severe that probably thousands of Roman Catholic workingmen who were leaning toward the forbidden system were deterred. In the United States the authorities of this church lose no opportunity to declare an irreconcilable antagonism between religion and Socialism. Since they influence more workingmen than any Protestant body, the opposition of their bishops and newspapers is formidable. Until recently Protestant ministers have had little to say in public about Socialism, since they come so slightly in contact with those classes of the people among which Socialistic beliefs are popular. The congregations of Protestant churches, while not made up of rich men, as charged by their enemies, represent almost wholly those elements of the community which depend upon the profits and salaries characteristic of the present system of production rather than upon the wage of manual labor. It is natural that any economic revolution or evolution which if successful would deprive many of them of a livelihood should be regarded with apprehension and abhorrence; particularly since, in the minds of many, Socialism is associated with irreligious views and with loose family ties. But it is hardly prudent for ministers or other Christian leaders to remain content at this stage with denouncing Socialism as some horrible, anarchistic madness which must be averted by prayers or maledictions since it cannot be reached by reason. Rather should they put aside their prejudices and study Socialism historically and scientifically, striving to discriminate between its fundamental principles and the various secondary phases which it has assumed. They should learn to understand the difference between the "state Socialism" or paternalism now regarded with considerable favor in various American states and municipalities and Socialism as a system of co-operative production. Some of the favorite aphorisms of Socialism bear a close resemblance to the ethical principles of the New Testament, but this fact should not lead students to regard it as primarily an ethical system. Historically, it rests upon an economic basis, and is advocated to-day by its practical leaders upon economic grounds. The idealistic Socialism of an increasing group of artists and literary men fascinates many minds which are not prepared to embrace the economic system of which it is a corollary. Men are thinking to-day about the rights and wrongs of capitalistic production as no longer a closed question, sacred from discussion, but as a problem to be opened and settled upon new principles, perhaps within the century upon which we have already entered. The relation of the church to these questions is indirect but none the less important. In order to be able to provide enlightened ethical guidance in the social changes that are sure to come, the church must become more intelligent and more unselfish than it has hitherto shown itself in its attitude toward industrial questions.

THE NEW WORLD (CATHOLIC), CHICAGO.

With all their faults—and they have them—the labor unions of America continue to demonstrate before men that they are not socialistic. The charge is often brought, but invariably disproved. Out in San Francisco, at the national convention of the American Federation of Labor, now in session, three Socialist propositions have been rejected within the week. Each time the rejection was by a heavy majority vote.

Last year, at Boston, the comrades got turned down in like manner. It would seem they might feel discouraged by this time, but such does not appear to be the case. Anyone who knows the followers of Marx and Bebel is aware that they care little for discouragements. They will try again next year, even at the risk of breaking their political necks.

Industrial Peace through Socialism

By Dr. Howard A. Gibbs

Peace between capital and labor, is that all that you ask?
Is peace then the only thing needful?
There was peace enough in Southern slavery.
There is a peace of life and another of death.
It is well to rise above violence.
It is well to rise superior to anger.
But if peace means final acquiescence in wrong,—if your aim
is less than justice and peace, forever one,—then your
peace is a crime.—Ernest Crosby in *The Whim*.



THE growth of industrial unrest and discontent here in America which finds its expression in the strike, the lock-out and the boycott as well as in the industrial and political organization of the working class, has been coincident with the development of our present industrial system.

The first strike recorded in the State of Massachusetts took place in Boston in the year 1830. From that time to 1880 there are 159 strikes recorded,—an average of about three per year. In the period from 1880 to 1886 there are nearly 200 strikes recorded,—more by considerable than were recorded in the whole fifty years preceding. There is no evidence to show that there has been a material decrease since 1886, on the contrary, as the concentration of industry has proceeded the strikes have increased in intensity and importance, if not in number. The first strike in Boston involved less than a hundred men. Outside of those immediately concerned its effect was hardly perceptible. The coal strike in 1902 involved 150,000 miners and paralyzed the industry of the whole country.

Another indication of industrial unrest is seen in the growth of the Trade Union movement. Though it began in 1830 there were only 26 trades which had a national organization in 1860. Today nearly every trade has its state and national organization, and the American Federation of Labor and the American Labor Union together number their members by the millions. The prime object of all these organizations has been to secure better conditions for the working class. The fact that of the 159 strikes recorded above 142 were for shorter hours and better wages, while only 17 were for redress of personal grievances, is sufficient proof of this statement.

More significant still of the divine discontent of the working class and its struggle for better conditions is the growth of the Socialist movement, both here and in Europe. Organized discontent, of which the Socialist movement is the highest expression, is a direct product of our capitalist system. As that system was developed in Europe earlier than in America, the Socialist movement there has preceded the Socialist movement here. Germany leads the van. In spite of the most tyrannical, repressive measures directed by Bismarck, the movement has grown from a little band of 30,000 in 1870 to the strongest political organization in the German Empire. In the elections of June, 1903, the Socialists cast more than three million votes and elected 81 members of the Reichstag.

In France, in Belgium, in Holland, in Austria, in Italy, in England, in short wherever the capitalist system has extended there the Socialist movement is found numbering its adherents by the hundred of thousands.

In Russia and in Poland we count our strength not by the votes cast but by the number of comrades who have suffered martyrdom. In Poland alone in the year 1900 nine of our comrades were sentenced to death and more than 200 to prison and exile, and yet this movement which can only count its strength by the number of its martyrs is shaking the throne of the imperial Czar to its very foundation.

In the United States it is of more recent appearance. In 1888 there were 2068 Socialist votes cast. In 1902 there were 286,000 Socialist votes in 34 States, and in 1904 the Socialist vote of this country reached the half-million mark.

It is perfectly safe to say that this movement which here in the United States twenty years ago was confounded with Anarchism, Communism, Nihilism, Atheism and all the other isms distasteful to the native mind, now commands at least the attention and respect if not the support of the majority of intelligent persons. When the term Socialist is applied to a man today we no longer expect to see a wild-eyed individual with dynamite bombs protruding from his coat-tail pockets.

Thus both in Europe and America the growth of the Socialist movement has kept even pace with the development of the capitalist system.

Every effect has a cause. Let us trace for a moment the development of our industrial system to discover if possible the cause of this industrial discontent. In the Old World capitalism followed feudalism in the order of industrial evolution, consequently the transition between these two systems can best be studied there. Here in America feudalism gained but little foothold and industrial evolution followed a course peculiar to this country.

During our Colonial history and down to the middle of the nineteenth century the agricultural was the dominant type of American life. Even as late as 1850 the farmers held 55 per cent. of the wealth of the country. During this period manufacture in the handicraft stage was followed to a limited extent, and commerce in a few staple articles was pursued by the seaport towns, but yet the general statement holds good that the agricultural was the dominant type of life. Each farm was a community unto itself and supplied practically all the needs of its occupants. Production was carried on for use rather than profit. The farmer raised his own grain and ground it at home or at the village mill. He raised and packed his own meat. He raised his own wool, which was carded, spun and wove and manufactured into clothing on the farm. He produced the hides and tanned the leather which was made into boots and shoes by the travelling shoemaker. He cut his own fuel; sawed his own boards, built his own house, run his own candles, made his own butter and cheese and even manufactured most of the simple tools with which he worked. Economic and social equality was the logical result of this economic freedom and independence. There were no capitalists and no wage slaves: No millionaires and no hoboes: No trusts and no trade unions: No strikes and no lock-outs. These halcyon days of American farm life were the direct result of free access to the land and tools of production, through which every man received practically the full product of his toil.

With the discovery of the power of steam and the introduction of labor saving machinery a great change was inaugurated. One by one the industries were taken from the farm to the factory. The raising of wheat has gone to the bonanza farms of the West and the grinding to the great flour mills of St. Paul and Minneapolis. The raising of beef has gone to the Western ranches and the packing to Chicago and to Kansas City. The sheep have gone from our New England farms: the carding, spinning, weaving and manufacture of clothing to the factory. And so through the whole category of industries which constituted the agricultural life. One by one the farm has been stripped and agriculture reduced to the single occupation of tilling the soil. Within thirty years the last vestige of the old farm life, the making of butter and cheese, has been transferred to the factory. Thus the modern manufacturing has taken the place of the old agricultural and become the dominant type in America, as it has in Europe. The decadence of farm life is shown by the fact that in 1850 the farmers controlled 55 per cent. of the nation's wealth; in 1860 43 per cent.; in 1870 36 per cent.; in 1880 27 per cent., in 1890 24 per cent. Thus also has it come about that the industrial centres have absorbed the population. In 1800 only 4 per cent. of the total population lived in the cities. Today 46 per cent. of our population is in the incorporated cities and towns. "The Man With the Hoe" has moved to the city because the industries have gone to the city. There is a great deal of truth in Mr. Dooley's homely remarks:—"Th' place to live in is where all th' good things iv life goes to. Ieverything that's wuth havin' goes to th' city; th' country takes what's left. Th' cream comes in an' th' skim-milk stays; the sunburnt viggietables is consumed by th' hearty farmer boy, an' I go down to Callahan's store an' ate th' sunny half iv a peach. The farmer boy sells what he has f'r money, an' I get the money back whin he comes to town in th' Winter to see th' exposition. They give us th' products iv th' soil an' we give them cottage organs an' knock-out-drops, an' they think the've broke even."

This manufacturing life itself has undergone a vast change and development. At first the machines were small and simple, being usually some modification or combination of the hand tools which preceded them. The shops and factories were consequently small and the little village comprised the industrial centre. As the machines became larger and more complicated in the natural process of development they required larger buildings to contain them and more hands to operate them. Following the same law of concentration and combination the village became a town; the town became a city; the city became a metropolis. These enlarged machines and factories required larger amounts of capital to operate them, so in the course of this industrial development the individual owner became a partner; the partnership became a corporation; the corporation was merged into the trust and the trust into the international combination.

Of course many industries have been introduced which existed in earlier times, if at all, only in the most rudimentary form, and not all industries have reached the same stage of development. The outline

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given above expresses in general terms the process of development through which the great basic industries have passed and towards which all are tending.

The motive for production has also been completely changed. It is no longer carried on for the use of the producer, but for exchange, and for the profit of the machine owner.

The results of this change in our industrial life on the condition of the people and their relation to each other have been deep-seated and far-reaching. As these great social tools have passed into the hands of the few there has been a loss of economic freedom and independence on the part of the many and a consequent loss of economic and social equality. We have capitalists and wage-workers, trusts and labor unions, millionaires and hoboes.

These conditions are not peculiar to America by any means; the same causes have produced the same effects wherever the capitalist system has been developed. This system has produced a vast aggregation of wealth and its accumulation in the hands of a few men.

In 1855 there were 28 millionaires in New York City. In 1902 there were 1,103. According to Prof. Parsons there was in 1840 one millionaire to two million people. Now there is one to 15,000. In 1840 it took one-fourth of the people to buy one-half the wealth of the nation. Now it takes less than one-twentieth of one per cent. to buy all the wealth of the remaining sixty-five millions. In other words, the congestion of our national wealth is 700 times more intense than it was 60 years ago.

With this increase in wealth has gone an increase in power and arrogance of the owning class. Some time ago President Baer declared that the coal mines of Pennsylvania had been given to the operators by Divine Authority and that these Christian gentlemen would see that the interests of the miners were properly cared for. This piece of insufferable Phariseism met with an indignant protest. But why? President Baer did not declare any new doctrine. He simply put into the language of modern capitalism the old monarchical doctrine of the divine right of kings to rule. He simply put into the language of modern capitalism the old slave-holding doctrine that chattel slavery was a divine institution. He simply put into language, blunt and impolitic perhaps, the doctrine which is preached from every pulpit and proclaimed by the press, the doctrine of the sacredness of vested property rights and the divine stewardship of wealth, exactly as the Southerners proclaimed their doctrine of the divine stewardship of human beings. "Divine rights" are the last resort of tyrants and oppressors the world over.

With this economic inequality has come also a social and political inequality. The capitalist has little if any social relation with the worker. Under the old shop or factory system the owner was in most cases a master workman who toiled side by side with his employees and met them on terms of social equality. When, however, he merged his interests into the corporation or trust and became simply a stockholder, this personal interest and relationship ceased. The stockholder in a trust today knows little or nothing of the employees and they know little or nothing of him. Indeed they are often separated hundreds of miles or may even be in different countries. The stockholder, too, has ceased to perform any useful function in the production of wealth. He has become simply the owner of the tools of production and draws his remuneration by virtue of capital invested rather than useful service performed. This is the definition of a capitalist and this is the process of his evolution.

In politics the same separation has been going on. Economic dependence begets political dependence. Economic power begets political power. It never enters into the head of the ordinary politician that a workingman is capable of taking care of the destinies of state or nation. This must be done by corporation lawyers and business men, the so-called statesmen of today, and thus it has come about that this has become a government of wealth, for wealth and by wealth. Money, not manhood, is king.

At the other extreme of the economic scale the effects of this system are no less apparent.

One of the first effects has been the minute division of labor and consequent degradation of labor. Under the old handicraft system the workman was known as an artisan, a word which has the same derivation and much the same meaning as our word artist. The blacksmith was an artist in iron. The shoemaker was an artist in leather. The carpenter was an artist in wood. Under our present system of production this artisan has become merely a machine tender. He is a part of the machine and the least important part at that. By this division of labor and the introduction of labor-saving machinery his productivity has been vastly increased, but the proportion of the product which he receives has been steadily decreasing. Ninety per cent. of the working class today do not own a house, and while they constitute 55 per cent. of the population of this country, they own only 4 per cent. of the wealth which they have created. By this process of expropriation the workingman has become increasingly dependent upon the owner of the machine. He has nothing but his labor power to sell and he must sell it or starve. These same machines also have been steadily displacing labor, till we have a vast standing army of the unemployed numbered by the millions even in times of "overflowing prosperity." Con-

sequently the wage-worker must always sell his labor on an overstocked market.

Such are the conditions produced at the two extremes of our industrial system. This is the inevitable division of society into economic classes foreseen and foretold by Socialism a generation ago. It makes no difference how much abstract love and charity the capitalist and wage-worker may have for each other. It makes no difference what their social relations may be. They may go to the same church and sit in the same pew, but economically speaking they are at the two poles of our industrial system. Economically speaking they are as far apart as heaven is from hell. The capitalist owns the machine which the worker uses: the worker uses the machine which the capitalist owns. The capitalist buys labor at the lowest market price: the worker sells his labor to the highest bidder. The capitalist owns the product and sells it back to the worker on terms fixed by himself. The worker owns nothing and must buy back his own product on terms fixed by the capitalist. The capitalist is independent, the worker is dependent. The capitalist can live without his dividends, the worker cannot live without his dinner.

In the old world these class lines were clearly drawn long before they were in America. They have been obscured here by the large class of so-called middle-men, farmers, small business men and small manufacturers, who for many years have been flattered with the delusion that they were "independent," the "back-bone" of the nation. In the evolution of the capitalist system this class is disappearing as a factor in industry. It is being reduced to the level of the working class, though the old delusion of independence still remains. The census report for 1898 shows that 34 per cent. of our farmers are tenant farmers, 19 per cent. are mortgaged farmers, less than one-half are actual freeholders. A tenant farmer is a man who works a piece of land for the profit of the landlord exactly as a wage-worker works a machine for the benefit of the owner. The small business man still survives and he still flatters himself that he is doing an independent business and has a bright prospect of becoming a great capitalist. His shelves, however, are filled with trust-made goods, on which the trust not only fixes the buying price but also the selling price. In short he is nothing but a clerk for the trust, but he doesn't know it and "Where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise."

As the middle class disappears, the two extremes of our economic system, capitalists and wage-workers, come more clearly into view. The capitalists, content with a system which is giving them the cream of life, uphold it with its let-alone doctrines. The workers, dissatisfied with the skim-milk, seek to throw off the yoke of dependence. The struggle between these classes is bound to increase in intensity as long as present conditions prevail. It does not take a very deep mind to see that the basic cause of this industrial unrest, the fundamental injustice which makes peace impossible, is the exploitation of one class through the private ownership of the machinery of production by another class.

It has come about also that this economic system has developed a school of laissez faire doctrinaires whose duty it has been to defend the system. Indeed the science of bourgeois political economy may be said to be the science of upholding the prevailing order of things.

These doctrinaires tell us that both profit and wages are the reward of a man's ability. Let me ask how much ability does it take for Mr. Rockefeller to earn his income of \$4,800,000 per year. The average workingman receives \$480. Does any one outside of a lunatic asylum suppose that Mr. Rockefeller carries around under his hat the ability of 10,000 men? And of what does that ability consist? Read the history of the Standard Oil Company as given in Lloyd's "Wealth vs. Commonwealth." Read how it has corrupted judges, bribed legislators and defiled the ermine of state and national courts, how it has ruthlessly crushed its competitors and has not stopped short of murder to accomplish its ends. Tell me, if you can, wherein does this "ability" differ from highway robbery. The difference between Mr. Rockefeller and the small capitalist is only one of degree. The fact is that a man's ability under our competitive system counts for naught unless he can find some weaker man upon whom he can exercise that ability.

They tell us, too, that the capitalists' profits are the reward of his risks. He puts his money into an enterprise and takes his chances of getting it back. He should, therefore, be rewarded in proportion to the chances he takes. We answer that that is the argument of a gambler, pure and simple. If men must be rewarded in proportion to the risks they take, then we should wipe every gambling law off our statute books and make the faro bank a legitimate business enterprise.

They tell us, too, that the workingman's wages are also the reward of his ability, the measure of his value in the industrial world. A man receives a dollar and a half a day and he is taught to believe that he is a dollar and a half man. No more degrading or demoralizing idea can be promulgated. No greater falsehood can be taught. A workingman's wages in the labor market are gauged not by what he produces, but by what it costs to reproduce him and keep him running. In other words it takes so much meat, so much flour, so much butter, so much oatmeal, to make a workingman and keep him running. It is impossible to get the scale of wages very much below the cost of subsistence, for if you did you would not have any workingmen left. I can feed my horse on saw-dust, but he would not grow fat and he wouldn't do

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much work and the chances are that I shouldn't have any horse left in a short time. For exactly the same reason that it is good policy for me to feed my horse on oats, for exactly that reason the capitalist gives back to the wage-worker out of his product enough to keep him alive, keep him in good condition and allow him to reproduce more workers. That is just what he does and it is all he does. That is the iron law of wages under a competitive system, from which no workingman can escape in the long run. The cost of subsistence and not the amount of product governs the wages of the working class.

These doctrinaires tell us also that this system promotes individuality. We ask, whose individuality? and how much individuality is left to the working-class? Go to the gates of any of the shops or factories in our great industrial centers. See the operatives file out at the noon or the night hour. Men, women and children reduced to the dead level of the automatic machine at which they work. Tell me, if you can, how much individuality is left to the working-class. Go to any factory village in New England. See the rows of houses all built on the same plan, all having the same shaped doors, the same size of windows, built like Noah's ark houses by the rod and sawed off by the yard in convenient lengths, all of them painted the same color, usually the color of the owner's stable. Tell me, if you can, whose individuality is being promoted and how much is there left in the life of the workingman. I am a Socialist because I am an individualist. I am a Socialist because I believe that the very highest type of individual liberty is found in voluntary social co-operation. "We must learn the lesson of liberty and we must learn it through co-operation. We must learn the lesson of co-operation and learn it through liberty." Liberty and co-operation, now and forever, one and inseparable!

Again they tell us that this system furnishes an incentive and stimulates ambition. Let me ask what kind of an incentive does it furnish, and what kind of ambition does it stimulate? It says to the workingman if you will be frugal and saving, toil early and late and save up your hard-earned dollars, by-and-by you can work yourself out of the ranks of the toiling class; by-and-by you can become a little landlord, a little business man, a little capitalist yourself. In other words, if he will be content to let the capitalist ride on his back, by-and-by he can begin to ride on some one's else back. If he will be content to be exploited, by-and-by he can become a little exploiter. If he will be content to be robbed, by-and-by he will become a little robber. This is the incentive which this system furnishes. It is not an incentive to work but an incentive to shirk: not an incentive to produce but an incentive to plunder: not an incentive for a man to do his best or be his best, but simply an incentive to get the best of someone else.

These doctrinaires tell us also in one breath that there are no classes in this country and then assure us in the next breath that it is possible for a man to pass from one class to another. He may be a worker one day and a capitalist the next, and vice versa. They forget to tell us that according to Bradstreet, where three climb up, ninety-seven are pushed down. But even if it were possible for all to succeed, does this justify the exploitation in either case? A man may be a robber one day and the victim of robbery the next, but does this justify the robbery in either case? A man may be an exploiter one day and exploited the next, but does this justify the exploitation in either case? Just at present the door of opportunity for the middle-class is being closed by the formation of the trust and the bitter cry is being raised by this middle-class "smash the trust." The small business man is undergoing at the hand of the trust just what wage-workers have been undergoing at the hand of the machine. The door of opportunity for the working-class was closed long ago. When his little hand tool became a machine and that machine was privately owned, the door of opportunity for the working-class was closed forever under our present system. That door will never be opened by any middle-class schemes of government ownership or municipal ownership. It will never be opened by tariff tinkering or currency juggling. It will never be opened except by the magic key of a Socialist ballot in the hands of a class-conscious workingman. When that key is applied to the rusty lock, the door will fly wide open and the working-class will march forth to a fullness and freedom of life it has never known before, and the inalienable right to live and the boundless joy of living will be the common heritage of every son of toil.

Again we are told that capital and labor are dependent upon each other. Their interests are therefore mutual. This argument is very much in evidence about election time, when the workingmen are appealed to to support the so-called "business interests." If the capitalists enjoy prosperity, some of that prosperity will filter through their greedy fingers down upon the devoted heads of the workers who by their votes have given it to them. But the workers are beginning to see that they might as well get this prosperity first-hand as second-hand. They might as well vote prosperity to themselves as to vote it to the capitalist and take what he is pleased to give them.

The worker is also beginning to realize that this ante-election plea of "mutual interests" means that their interests are mutual in exactly the same sense and for exactly the same reason that the capitalist's interests and his horse's interests are mutual. It is for the capitalist's interest to feed his horse, to see that he is properly stabled and cared for. Indeed his economic interest in his horse is even stronger than in his workingman, but beyond that point his horse and he have no interests in common. Having furnished keep for his horse it is then

to his interest to get all the work out of him that he can in return for his keep. The horse being dependent upon him for his keep must perform enough work for the capitalist to earn it. This is the extent of their mutual interests, and this is just what mutual interests between capital and labor mean under our present system.

They tell us also that under this capitalist system labor is free. That both employer and employee have the right of contract. The employer can buy his labor as he pleases; the employee can sell his labor as he pleases. This right of contract is a double-edged sword. It means nothing for the worker except that if he doesn't like one master he can go and sell himself to another master. Instead of being sold for a lump sum by the master as in chattel slavery, he puts himself on the auction block, acts his own auctioneer, and sells himself on the installment plan. A few weeks since two laborers in the wheat fields of Kansas offered themselves at auction to the highest bidders and this was reported through the daily press as something new and startling. It is exactly what takes place every time a workingman goes into the labor market to sell his labor-power. He goes there to sell himself.

On the other hand under this right of contract the employer has gained a privilege which he never enjoyed under chattel slavery or feudalism, the right to separate the worker completely from his means of subsistence. The chattel slave owner was obliged to care for his slave in sickness as in health, in adversity as in prosperity. His own economic interests demanded it. He could not turn him loose to shift for himself whenever trade was dull. The feudal serf was tied to the land, but even the feudal lord could not separate him from the means of subsistence. Capitalism in this country keeps all the wage-workers in enforced idleness one-tenth of the time and keeps a standing army of one million in enforced idleness all the time.

They tell the story of the Southern darkey who wandering along the highway one day met a donkey turned loose like himself. "Lord bless us!" said the darkey. "Those Yanks is great fellers, they came down here and freed the darkeys, now they done gone freed the donkeys." But the donkey replied, "You ought to have the long ears instead of me. Don't you see that all the freedom either of us have is the freedom to hunt for our feed?"

The average American workingman does not like the term wage-slave as applied to himself. He much prefers to be told in the language of the Fourth of July orator that this is a great and free and a glorious republic, where the American eagle screams every time Mark Hanna puts salt upon his tail: where the early bird catches the worm, but the early worm gets caught every time: where every man is a king, though he is walking around upon his uppers and don't know where the next square meal is coming from: and where every man can have all the work he wants at the very highest wages paid in the civilized world. That is what Mark Hanna said at the Merchants' Club dinner in Boston a few months since, and that is just the kind of taffy that the American workingman likes, and as long as he likes it, I don't blame the politicians for giving it to him. But in spite of his likes or his dislikes the fact remains that our present wage system is a slave system, pure and simple. The capitalist class is the master class, the working class is the slave class, whether willing to acknowledge it or not. What is slavery? It does not consist in the color of a man's skin. It does not consist in any accident of race or nationality. In the words of Horace Greeley, slavery is a condition "in which one human being exists as a convenience for other human beings." It possesses two essential features, subjection and exploitation: that is the dependence of one man upon another man and the use of that man by the other man for his own interest and profit. Wherever these two features exist you will find a form of slavery, and they do exist under our present wage system, as they did under feudalism and chattel slavery. The difference is one of form rather than substance. The essential features of slavery, the division of society into economic extremes, an owning class and a dependent class, the expropriation of the product of the dependent class by the owning class, these are common to all. The corner-stone of chattel slavery was the private ownership of the slave himself. The corner-stone of feudalism was the ownership of the soil upon which the serf depended. The corner-stone of capitalism is the private ownership of the machinery of production upon which the wage-workers of today depend. All these forms of subjection and ownership rest in their final analysis upon brute force. A slave therefore without a soldier, mastership without militarism is an impossibility. The antipathy of the labor movement to the military is deep-seated and well grounded.

The changes from chattel slavery to serfdom and from serfdom to our present wage system were made by the master class in its own interests. By these changes the owning class has shifted from its own shoulders, under the specious plea of greater freedom, the responsibility of taking care of its slaves, while it has all the time retained the essential features of slavery,—dependence and exploitation.

The actual abolition of slavery is the mission of the working class alone. We boast here at the North that our fathers abolished chattel slavery a generation ago, but they didn't do any such thing. I do not question in the slightest degree the honesty and sincerity of the men and women of the old abolition movement. I do not question in the slightest degree the heroism and patriotism of the men who fought

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the Civil War. They thought it was a war for human freedom, a struggle for human liberty. All credit and all glory to the men and women who would thus sacrifice and struggle for an ideal, though its attainment revealed to us, as it did to Wendell Phillips, that it was only a "Dead Sea Apple" in their hands. They actually accomplished what the master class has been doing from time immemorial. They changed the form of slavery to meet the needs of economic development, the substance of slavery still remains North and South, upon black and white alike. If you are inclined to question this statement, go to the cotton mills of Georgia, Alabama, North and South Carolina, where there are more than 30,000 little white children from 8 to 14 years of age toiling 10, 12 and 14 hours out of every 24, driven to their tasks day after day with a cruelty and relentlessness that would make chattel slavery blush for shame. The slave driver's lash dipped in brine is a thing of the past, but the lash of hunger and of cold is quite as effective. The master class has never yet abolished slavery and it never can, for it can only abolish slavery by abolishing itself. The slave class must work out its own salvation. The working class of today must emancipate itself and it can only emancipate itself by abolishing forever all forms of mastery and all traces of servitude.

Economic freedom is the normal condition of mankind. Economic dependence and servitude is an abnormal condition. That the dependent class has always struggled, blindly, crudely and impotently at times, against this abnormal condition is the highest credit and the crowning glory of the human race. That this ages-long struggle is now drawing to a close; that in the natural process of economic development the promised land of economic freedom is already in sight, is the hope and inspiration of the working-class movement of today, and in the success of this movement lies the only assurance of permanent industrial peace. It is a short-sighted individual indeed who deplors the conflict and minimizes its results. The struggle between capital and labor is but the continuation and the culmination of an ages-long struggle of the exploited class to free itself. At the bottom of all the industrial unrest and discontent of today is this economic class struggle, the outlines of which are becoming more and more distinct even here in America.

We may cry Peace! Peace! but there can never be peace on any other basis than that of justice and no justice upon any other basis than that of economic freedom. Industrial peace without a clear understanding of the causes and nature of this world-wide class struggle: industrial peace on the basis of the superficialism and sophistries of the laissez faire doctrines of our capitalist system: industrial peace without a clear recognition of the fundamental economic injustice of capitalism, is a crumbling structure reared upon the shifting quicksands.

A scheme for adjusting the relations between capital and labor by mutual concessions may be as complete as can be devised, but it is a serious question whether such a scheme at the present stage is not more of a hindrance than a help to the cause of industrial peace. As a temporary palliative it may have its place, as a finality it is a delusion and a snare.

As long as society recognized the right of one man to own another, there was nothing to be arbitrated between master and slave. The fundamental injustice of chattel slavery, the ownership of the slave, could neither be reformed nor arbitrated, it could only be abolished. As long as we recognize the right of one man to own the means of life upon which others depend, there is nothing to be arbitrated between capitalist and wage-worker. The fundamental wrong of our capitalist system the private ownership of the means of existence, can neither be reformed nor arbitrated, it can only be abolished.

Establish industrial justice and peace will follow as naturally as daylight follows the sunrise.

The working-class movement of the world is the one force in modern society which with unity of purpose, with clearness of vision and with its feet planted on the bed-rock of economic evolution is working toward that end.

In my own city of Worcester, on Sept. 4, 1871, was held the first labor reform convention in the State of Massachusetts. The very first article of its platform read as follows:—"We affirm as a fundamental principle, that labor, the creator of wealth, is entitled to all it creates." That is the bed-rock both of economic science and economic justice. No moral argument can be brought against it. There is nothing to be added to it. Nothing can be taken from it. Upon this foundation we may rear an abiding structure of industrial peace. The winds may blow and the storms may beat upon it, but it will fall not, for it is founded upon a rock.

Wendell Phillips, who was chairman of that convention, and its nominee for governor, in his address upon that occasion, uttered these prophetic words, prophetic both of the character and the success of the labor movement:—"I regard the movement with which this convention is connected as the grandest and most comprehensive movement of the age. If there is any one feature which we can distinguish in all Christendom under different names, trades-unions, co-operations, internationals, under all flags, there is one great movement. It is for the people peaceably to take possession of their own. No more riots in the street; no more disorder and revolution: no more cannon loaded to the lips. Today the people have chosen a wiser method. They have got

the ballot in their right hand and they say, 'We come to take possession of the governments of the earth.' In the interests of peace I welcome this movement,—the peaceable marshalling of all voters toward remodeling the industrial and political civilization of the day."

The Socialist movement has not departed one iota from that fundamental demand:—"Labor creates all wealth and is entitled to all that it creates." It has not swerved one iota from that supreme purpose, peaceably to take possession of the governments of the earth and to remodel the industrial and political civilization of today on that basis of economic justice. The success of this movement means the complete overthrow of our present wage system. It means the end of the class struggle and the abolition both of mastery and of servitude. It means that vested rights in the means of existence shall be the property of the whole people. It means that the great social tools of today, which have been brought to the highest degree of perfection in the development of our present industrial system, our railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, our mines and mills and factories, in short, the whole machinery for supplying man's material wants, shall be taken by the people as a whole, owned by the people as a whole, operated by the people as a whole for the benefit of the people as a whole, exactly as we own and operate our post office, our highways and our public schools.

But you say this is a violation of our sacred doctrine of vested property rights. This is confiscation. Do you propose to take these things without compensation? I answer, No! A thousand times, No! The owners should be compensated to the uttermost farthing. We say with Ralph Waldo Emerson:

"Pay ransom to the owner, and fill his bag to the brim.

But who is the owner?

The slave is the owner, and ever was, pay him."

Take the manhood of the working class, the "Man With a Hoe"—

"Bowed with the weight of centuries,

The emptiness of ages in his face,

And on his back the burden of the world."

Take that man:

"Plundered, profaned and disinherited"

"This monstrous thing, distorted and soul-quenched"

"Touch it again with immortality,

Give back the upward looking and the light,

Rebuild in it the music and the dream."

Take the womanhood of the working class. The slave of a slave, under our present system. Give back to her that economic and political freedom and equality which is hers by every right, human and divine.

Take the childhood of the working class, stunted in body and blighted in mind. Take them out of the cotton mills of the Southland, out of the sweat-shops of New York, out of the potteries of New Jersey, out of the coal-breakers of Pennsylvania: take the two millions child-slaves of America out of the dust and the grime of the mine, the mill and the factory, take them out into God's sunshine, out into the green fields and under the blue sky. Give back to those children the inalienable rights of every child of God, the right to be well born and the bounding joy of childhood life: Aye! Take all the wrongs and all the infamies which have been inflicted upon the manhood, the womanhood and the childhood of the working class from Pharoah down to J. Pierpont Morgan, pile them up, Os upon Pelion, 'till their summit reaches the very skies, compute their value in dollars and cents, if you can, and pay back that value to the working class to the uttermost farthing. When you have done that and not until you have done that will it be time to compensate the exploiters of human labor for the wealth which they have plundered from their victims.

In the success of this working class movement lies the only hope of international as well as industrial peace. War between nation and nation is only the competitive struggle for exploitation on an international scale. Capitalism is competition: competition is war, and war is hell. When the competitive struggle becomes intense, national pride, religious prejudice, race hatred are appealed to and workingman is pitted against workingman in the field of international war.

More and more the enlightened proletariat is realizing that war means for him but continual exploitation and enslavement. More and more he is learning that every attempt to exploit the workers of another country only fastens the shackles of exploitation more firmly upon his own limbs. More and more he is learning that every blow aimed at the interests of the working class of Europe, of Asia, or the far-off isles of the sea, will only rebound with four-fold force upon his own back. More and more he is learning that the irrepressible conflict of today is not between the workers of one nation and the workers of another nation, but it is a conflict between the capitalists and the workers of all nations, and so above every appeal to national pride, above every appeal to religious prejudice, above every appeal to race hatred, sounds high and clear the clarion call of the Socialist movement: "Workers of all countries, unite! You have the whole world to win and nothing but your chains to lose." And back from the hills and valleys of the German fatherland in mighty volume more than three million strong; back from the sunny fields of France, green and peaceful and smiling; back from England, from Belgium, from Spain, from

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Italy; back from more than six million militant Socialists throughout the civilized world comes the answering cry in the language of that message which was sent by the Berlin comrades to the Paris comrades during the Franco-Prussian conflict:—"We are the enemies of all wars. Solemnly we promise that neither the sound of the trumpet nor the roar of the cannon, neither victory nor defeat will swerve us from our common purpose, the union of the children of toil of all countries." That is the spirit of the working class movement. That is the spirit which above all others is making for human brotherhood and universal peace. This is the spirit of the newer and truer patriotism. For the spurious and bombastic patriotism which arrays race against race and nation against nation, which glories in war and finds its highest inspiration in the trumpety of a military parade; for that spurious and bombastic patriotism which glorifies the deeds of our fathers but stultifies every principle for which they fought; for that spurious and bombastic patriotism whose other name is tyranny, oppression, exploitation, capitalism, the world over, we have no use whatever. Against it our whole soul sickens and revolts. But to that newer and truer patriotism which recognizes the whole world as my nation and every man as my brother: to that newer and truer patriotism which realizes that there is more glory in peace than in war: to that patriotism which would turn our warships into floating hospitals and our tented fields into kindergarten playgrounds: to that truer patriotism whose banner over us is the world-wide red banner of Socialism, not the flag of bloody revolution, but fitting symbol of the fact that one blood courses through the veins of the whole human family: to that newer and truer patriotism whose shibboleth is liberty, fraternity and equality and whose other name is justice and peace, forever one, the working class movement of the world, gives its whole-souled allegiance.

But says some faint-hearted and short-sighted individual, who fails to see that we proclaim the class struggle for the sole purpose of abolishing the class struggle, in thus arraying class against class you are promoting discord rather than peace. This same charge has been brought against every revolutionist since time began who disturbed the prevailing order of things in the attempt to overthrow giant wrongs. That charge was brought against Garrison and Phillips, Sumner and Seward, even the sweet Quaker poet of Amesbury—

"As peaceful by nature as a virgin lake"—

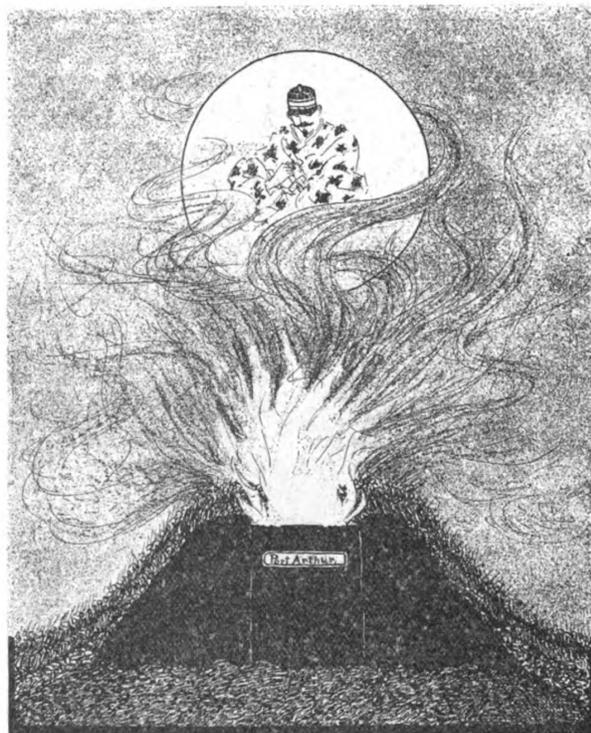
Even he was denounced as a disturber rather than a promoter of peace. But time has lengthened our perspective and history has reversed its verdict, and we gladly recognize the fact that these men, these fanatical disturbers of their time, were the real peace-makers of their day and generation.

So the real peace-makers of today are not the men who hob-nob in peace conferences and dream dreams and see visions of harmonizing the interests of capital and labor: they are not the men who patch up Missouri compromises: they are not the men who prate of mutual interests and equal rights of exploiters and exploited. But the real peace-makers of today, like those of sixty years ago, are the men who realize and proclaim the irreconcilable character of the conflict: they are the men who declare as did William Lloyd Garrison that so long as a single wage slave exists on American soil, they will never equivocate, they will never excuse, they will never retreat a single inch, and they will be heard: they are the men who declare, as did Wendell Phillips, that so long as our slave system exists silence is cowardice, harmony is treason and peace is a crime; they are the men and women who have felt the wrongs of our industrial system searing their very souls: they are the militant Socialists of today whose battle-cry the world over is not arbitration but abolition; they are the men and the women who while they stand in the very forefront of the battle and in the thick of the fight can yet see hovering above the din and dust and smoke of the conflict the white-robed angel of peace, and, behold! she bears in her hand the even-balanced scales, and her other name, her better name, is Justice. Blessed are such patriots—

"For theirs is the future, grand and great,
The safe appeal of Truth to Time."

And blessed are such peace-makers, for theirs is the kingdom of the co-operative commonwealth.

"It is well to rise above violence.
It is well to rise superior to anger.
But if peace means final acquiescence in wrong,—
If your aim is less than justice and peace, forever one,—
Then your peace is a crime."



MORITURI TE SALUTANT, MIKADO!

20,000 soldiers were sacrificed in honor of the Mikado's birthday.
—Der Wahre Jacob.

How Machinery Displaces Labor



American railroad development has reached a point where a man can sit comfortably in a private car and see recorded before him every imperfection of the rails over which he is riding. Twenty years ago, a track walker with a hammer tramped the cross-ties to find out this same thing. The track walker's work and much more is now done by the dynograph, a mechanism which not only records the deviations the rails make from a straight line, but automatically compose these deviations in feet and inches. It is the invention of Dr. P. H. Dudley. The invention is attached to his private car, which has been his home for fifteen years. The dynograph tests rails. It is a machine 42 inches high and looks like a hand printing press. It makes records on the roll of paper attached to the machine, made through power gained from the rolling of the wheels of the car over the track. The paper is unrolled by a shaft attached to the axle of the car. The paper is thus moved slowly as the car travels. Suspended over the paper are a number of glass tubes, each containing red ink.

They are really glass needles that make a continuous mark on the paper. There is one needle for each track, one for the gauge of the rails, another to measure the distance the car is traveling. These needles are all connected, first, by a shaft attached to the axle, and then by a delicate mechanism attached to the shaft. If the car is traveling over a perfectly level track, these glass tubes make a straight line. If there is an undulation in the track of a fraction of an inch, the sensitive mechanism wavers, and the line becomes broken. Since no track is perfectly level, the record for the best roadbed in America is wavering.

When the undulation or break in the level of the track is one-eighth of an inch or more, the mechanism opens a hose attached to a can of blue paint on the trucks, the paint is spurted on the rail and the defect is thus plainly marked for the section gangs. Every time the paint is thrown on the track a mark is made by the glass needle, giving a record to check the work of these track repairers.

At the end of a test trip, a permanent record of the roll is made and copies are printed for the various mechanical departments of the road. By this record the railroad is apprised of the actual condition of the roadbed.—*World's Work*.

Help Usher in the Brighter Day

By Rev. Charles H. Vail*



WILHELM LIEBKNECHT DR. EDWARD AVELING
ELEANOR MARX AVELING

Liebknecht and Eleanor Marx in America.

THE COMRADE considers itself fortunate to be able to reproduce in its columns a picture so full of interest to Socialists, as is the above group photograph.

Wilhelm Liebknecht, the "Soldier of the Revolution," was too well-known a figure in the arena of international Socialism, to need any introduction to our readers. The very first issue of THE COMRADE contained, a year after the death of Liebknecht in 1900, an illustrated article dealing with the life and work of the veteran.

Eleanor Marx Aveling is less known among the American Socialists of our day. She was the youngest of the three daughters of Karl Marx and the one that assisted him in his work during the last years of his life. After the death of Marx, Eleanor, who had married Dr. Aveling, edited some of her father's writings and published them. She took a very active part in the Socialist movement of England, and at several International Socialist Congresses acted as interpreter. Her husband translated some of the chapters of "Capital." Their matrimonial life was not a very happy one and in 1897 hapless Eleanor ended it by taking her own life. Dr. Aveling died shortly afterwards.

Liebknecht had been a friend of the Marx family for decades, and had known "Tussy," as Eleanor was called by family and friends, ever since her earliest childhood. When, after a stay of many years, he left England and returned to Germany, the friendship did not suffer in the least.

In the fall of 1886, Liebknecht, Eleanor Marx, and Dr. Aveling came to America for a short visit. They were received with open arms. Especially in New York thousands of Socialists welcomed Liebknecht, the leader true and tried, and Eleanor Marx, the brave daughter of the great economist Karl Marx. The three spoke before vast meetings at Cooper Union, New York, and elsewhere. It was in New York that the picture here reproduced was taken.

Liebknecht told of his experiences in America in his book, "A Glimpse of the New World," and the Avelings wrote "The Working Class Movement in America."



THE growth of Socialism has been phenomenal. It has swept with amazing rapidity over the civilized countries of the globe. It is a world-wide economy based upon universal principles, and destined to usher in a higher state of civilization.

This consummation is sure of attainment, but it may be hindered by measures designed to resuscitate the old order out of which we have evolved. While we are ever ready to give our support to any movement which is a step in advance, we refuse to be a party to any effort to bring back the past. Our work is progressive—the bringing in of the new order by helping forward the economic evolution.

To-day the forces of retrogression are battling with the forces of progress. It is a question every man should ask himself, Which side am I upon? The situation is becoming more and more serious every day and the signs of revolution are manifest to the careful observer. Whether the coming revolution shall be by ballots or bullets depends upon the education of the masses on the social question.

Socialists have a great responsibility resting upon them. Into their hands has been committed the new gospel. By faithful and diligent effort they may avert the danger which threatens the twentieth century. This danger lies in an unintelligent resentment of wrongs that are not distinctly understood. If men resent social wrongs without thoroughly comprehending their nature, it may result in civil war and the reestablishment of society, but without any marked improvement.

Socialists, and Socialists alone, have correctly diagnosed the cause of the present evils and prescribed the true remedy. It is their mission to carry the gospel of emancipation to others—to be missionaries of progress and civilization. It is chiefly into the hands of the proletariat that this commission is entrusted. The proletariat includes all who do not possess property in the instruments of production. While individual members of the proprietor class here and there may apprehend the truths of Socialism and lend themselves to the cause, still, as a class, we need not expect them to take the initiative or aid in carrying forward the movement for the abolition of the present system of industry.

The economic struggle is necessarily a class struggle, a struggle between the proprietor class and the non-proprietor class. The subjection of the working class is due to the fact that the instruments of production and distribution are the private property of another class. The interests of these two classes being diametrically opposed a class struggle is inevitable. The proletariat must work out its own salvation and the triumph of the proletariat means the triumph of Socialism. The proletariat is bound to put an end to its own exploitation and the only way by which this can be accomplished is by the abolition of the private ownership of the instruments of production and distribution. The emancipation of labor can only be wrought by a united effort of wage-earners along the line of their class interests, assisted by such members of the other classes as understand the economic question and possess sufficient moral courage to be true to their convictions.

That this struggle for freedom should express itself in political action is inevitable. Class interests always express themselves in class politics. As the laborer seeks to better his condition he comes in conflict with the governing power which is in the possession of the capitalist class. The ruling class of all ages has always determined the form and administration of government, as well as fashions and customs, codes of ethics, etc., and always in its own interest. The capitalist class is to-day the ruling class, having wrested the governing power from the old landed nobility, and wherever labor seeks its rights it finds itself thwarted by this class under the disguise of government. To-day the courts, the laws, the press, the legislatures, the police, the state and national troops, and often the pulpit, are dominated and controlled by this ruling class. This condition makes it necessary for the proletariat to master the governing power. An intelligent use of the ballot on the part of the working class would gain for them the control of the political power. In the effort to achieve this end, accept no political palliative. Any measure which does not tend to the abolition of the wage-system is unworthy of support. The laboring class must learn that it need expect nothing from any political party that does not stand squarely upon the Socialist demand to wrench from the exploiting class the political and economic weapons of exploitation. No such uncompromising demand as this will ever be made by any of the political divisions of the capitalist class. If the laborers are to achieve their end they must stand united in the political field on a platform of their own, demanding the complete abolition of the exploiting system. There are thousands upon thousands of workers who, to-day, are thus standing, conscious of

* Reprinted from "Principles of Scientific Socialism", of which this is the concluding chapter. The Comrade Co-operative Company has just issued the fourth edition of that work.

THE COMRADE

their class interests and endeavoring to bring about the fulfillment of the mission which the economic evolution has assigned to them. To-day we see the manual and mental laborers of the world, uniting in mighty class-conscious bodies, preparing themselves for the duties and responsibilities of the final work in economic and social evolution. Have you joined this great army in the universal struggle for freedom? If not, why not? Why longer waste your efforts in the old political parties which are but handmaids of the capitalist class? Their chief object is to divide laborers into various factions, fighting against each other, and so prevent the laborers from uniting to secure their freedom. The petty political issues which such parties raise are only for the purpose of fleecing the laborers on the one hand and throwing dust into their eyes on the other lest they see the only real question at issue—Socialism vs. Capitalism.

Be not deceived! Laborers, you have no interest in the success or failure of parties composed of classes whose interests are antagonistic to your own. Do not throw away your ballot then by voting for that which you do not want. As has been well said, "You had better vote for what you want and not get it, than vote for what you don't want and get it." But, friends, we shall get what we want. Socialism is the outcome of industrial evolution. That Socialism will follow capitalism is as certain as that light will follow darkness. Its speedy realization depends upon the faithfulness and devotion of those who have seen the light. Its advent, however, is not so far distant as often thought. The rapid growth of the Socialist vote evidences that salvation is nigh. We are blessed, in that the opportunity is ours to help usher in the brighter day. No people ever had a nobler cause, or one that should inspire greater enthusiasm.



Labor's Advancing Army

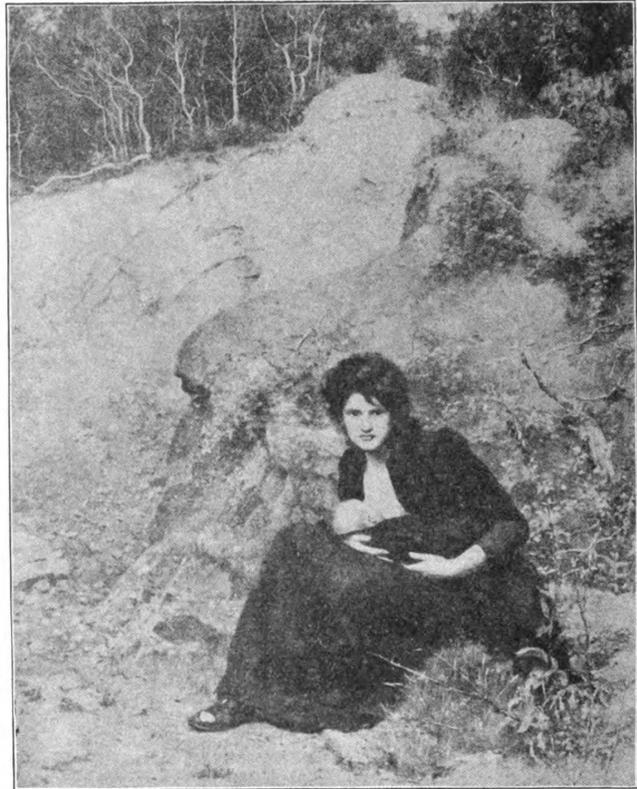
From material contained in "L'Organisation Socialiste et Ouvrière" issued by the International Socialist Secretariat, we have compiled the following interesting tables.

Socialist and Labor Press of the World

	Party Papers	Of these Dailies	Trade Union Pap.	Co-op. Papers
GERMANY	84	54	75	
FRANCE	45	3		
ITALY	60	5	23	
GREAT BRITAIN	4			
BELGIUM	42	6	11	
DENMARK	24	22	32	
SWEDEN	13	3		20
NORWAY	6	3		11
HOLLAND	12	1		40
SWITZERLAND	5			
AUSTRIA	37	2	55	
HUNGARY	7		8	
BOHEMIA	16	2	10	
FINLAND	8			3
AUSTRIAN POLAND	8	1		
SPAIN	12			
BULGARIA	9			
AUSTRALIA	3			
ARMENIA	2			
ARGENTINA	2			
LUXEMBURG	1			
UNITED STATES	40	2 (In German.)		

The Socialist Vote of the World

	Year of Election.	Vote.	Socialist Representat.	Whole Number of elect. of Repr.
GERMANY	1903	3,010,472	81	397
FRANCE	1902	805,000	48	584
AUSTRIA	1901	780,000	10	363
BELGIUM	1904	463,067	28	166
ITALY	1904	301,525	29	508
SWITZERLAND	1902	100,000	6	145
GREAT BRITAIN	1902	100,000	1	670
DENMARK	1903	53,479	16	102
SWEDEN	1902	10,000	4	230
HOLLAND	1902	38,279	7	100
SPAIN	1903	29,000	—	—
NORWAY	1903	30,000	4	114
BULGARIA	1903	9,000	—	—
CANADA	1903	8,025	—	—
ARGENTINA	1903	5,000	1	—
AUSTRALIA	1901	27,407	—	—
IRELAND	1902	1,063	—	—
UNITED STATES	1904	400,000	—	—
Socialist Vote of the World				6,686,000



HOMELESS—By John Collier

Socialist Representatives and Officials

GERMANY.....	111 Representatives in the different State Diets.
FRANCE.....	68 Mayors. 1200 Municipal Councillors. 43 Provincial Councillors.
ITALY.....	100 Municipal Councils in the hands of the Socialists.
BELGIUM.....	600 Municipal Councillors. 70 Provincial Councillors. 4 Senators.
DENMARK	400 Municipal Councillors. 1 Senator.
SWEDEN	20 Municipal Councillors.
NORWAY	17 Municipal Councillors.
SWITZERLAND	The Socialist Party is represented in 17 Canton Councils. 41 Municipal Councils.
AUSTRIA	526 Municipal Councillors in 178 Municipalities.

Strength of the Trade Unions

	Members.	Including Females.
GERMANY	1,276,821	40,566
FRANCE	580,800	
ITALY	890,689	47,464
GREAT BRITAIN	1,922,780	
BELGIUM	101,460	3,619
DENMARK	86,000	
SWEDEN	80,000	
NORWAY	80,000	
HOLLAND	46,000	
SWITZERLAND	51,291	
AUSTRIA	164,488	
HUNGARY	8,222	
SPAIN	56,900	
BULGARIA	1,655	
AUSTRALIA	250,000	
UNITED STATES	2,431,093	
Grand Total of Trade Union Membership ..	7,528,380	

THE COMRADE



SVIATOPOLK-MIRSKI'S OFFICE—The Russian Ministry of Interior
—*Ler Wahre Jacob* (Stuttgart)

The Socialist Movement of Russia



At the present time when Russia may be said to be the land of unlimited revolutionary possibilities and the revolutionary movement of that country shows signs of exceptional activity, a description of the Socialist organizations of the land of the Czar is of more than usual interest. We reprint the following articles about the Social-Democratic and Labor Party, and the Socialist-Revolutionists and the "Fighting Organization," from the *Anglo-Russian*:

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC AND THE LABOR PARTY.

This organization was founded in 1883, in Switzerland, by four well-known Russian revolutionary leaders, who formerly were more or less identified with the historical "Narodnaya Volia"—The People's Will Party. They are: Vera Zassoulitch, G. Plekhanoff, Paul Axelrod and Leo Deutsch. To Russians these names alone are whole books of careers devoted to the struggle for freedom, of suffering imprisonment, Siberian exile, escapes and continued devoted labor for the same cause, from places of more safety in Western Europe. Whilst the Russian liberals strive chiefly after a Constitution limiting the political power of the Autocracy, and number among their ranks many representatives of the capitalists and bourgeois classes, the "Social-Democratic and Labor Party," as the very name indicates, stands for the general socialistic ideals of our time and the transference of political power exclusively into the hands of the labor classes. The party is thus antagonistic to the Liberals, fearing that the triumph of the Constitutionalists would only mean the triumph of the bourgeois classes, leaving the labor population in the same economic bondage prevalent in other constitutional countries. The S.D.L.P. therefore appeals exclusively to the Russian proletariat both rural and urban, preaching a campaign against the autocracy and constitutional bourgeois alike. The party since its formation has enormously spread all over Russia, and has now local committees in nearly every town of importance. These committees issue constantly innumerable publications of all kinds, dealing either with the theoretic questions of socialism, or with the practical side of organization and with various topics of the day. The centre of activity, however, is abroad, principally in Switzerland, where the organization is assuming more and more formidable dimensions and getting firmly consolidated. Four years ago the official bi-monthly organ of the party was started in Geneva under the name *Iskra*—The Spark—with the motto: "The Spark will set the flame ablaze," which was the reply of the "December" revolutionists (1825) to the poet Pushkin. The *Iskra* publishes numerous correspondence from Russia relating to the progress of the movement, to strikes, demonstrations, etc., and contains also a variety of articles on other subjects of party interest. Up to the present there have appeared 74 issues of this periodical.

Last January the party started also another monthly, the *Rassvet*—The Dawn—devoted chiefly to the political movements among Russian

religious Nonconformists. This periodical is issued under the editorship of Vladimir Bontch-Brouevitch, and each number is a valuable contribution to the literature upon the religious revolt in Russia, containing also secret official documents, historical notes, polemics, etc. Besides these two periodicals, the party is issuing occasionally collections of various articles under the general title *Zaria*—The Daybreak—also a mass political proclamations, and various fly-sheet bulletins on the burning questions of the day. This year also the Central Committee opened in Geneva a Russian library and museum where are accumulated all possible publications interdicted in Russia, historical documents, and books and periodicals in foreign languages bearing on Russian subjects.

The Social Democratic and Labor Party takes up what may be termed a hesitating attitude towards revolutionary terrorism. The first Congress of the party, held in 1898, amongst its numerous resolutions passed the following:

"The Congress declares systematic aggressive terrorism untimely. In case, however, of individual acts of terrorism taking place, they should be used as means for developing the political consciousness of the proletariat."

However, we know at least of two of the founders and present leaders of the party who carried out personally acts of terrorism, viz., the famous Vera Zassoulitch, who shot at Gen. Trepoff, Prefect of St. Petersburg, February 5th, 1878, and Leo Deutsch, who attempted the life of the spy Gorinovitch at the same period. Evidently the Congress passed the above resolution guided not by the ethical aspect of the question, but solely its practical expediency.

The *Iskra* and all other publications of the S. D. L. P. devote much space to the purely doctrinal aspects of the socialism of the school of Karl Marx, and conduct endless campaigns against opponents of the liberal camp, as well as extremists of the terrorist party.

The *Iskrovtsi*—Iskranites—as the S. D. L. P. is now called, stand for such strict centralization of their organization that the Jewish "Bund," hitherto a branch of the party, found it no longer possible to submit to the demands of the Central Committee, encroaching as they did upon the claims of the "Bund" as an independent organization; it has recently therefore left the party, working now as quite a separate body.

The Social-Democrats have now thirty-nine organized Committees and eleven "Groups" in various parts of Russia. These have several secret printing presses, and a well-organized body smuggling in literature from abroad. Two trials connected with the *Iskra* party have just attracted general attention both in Russia and abroad. In Kishineff the police discovered the local printing press and preferred this time to bring the accused before a Court instead of dealing with them *administratively*. In Königsberg the German police at the instigation of the Russian government arrested and sent for trial nine German subjects who were instrumental in secretly transporting into Russia literature forbidden there but not in Germany. Three of the accused were altogether discharged, and six others condemned to imprisonment for various terms not exceeding three months, the time of their preliminary arrest being deducted from these terms. The trial created general indignation throughout Germany where the literature incriminated circulates freely and legally. The condemned appealed to the higher Imperial Court, and the case is yet to come on again. In Russia all the accused were condemned to Siberia without appeal.

THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONISTS AND "THE FIGHTING ORGANIZATION."

This party differs from the Social-Democrats more in the methods of attaining the emancipation of the labor classes, than in the ultimate socialistic ideals. In its manifesto, published in 1902, under the title "Our Problems" the Socialist-Revolutionists say:

"Our chief object is to reorganize society on the principles of socialism, which alone can lead to the realization in practical life of the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. . . . We must however always bear in mind that we live under a despotic and absolute government which crushes the slightest attempt to criticise the present state of things. A struggle against this government absolutism is therefore inevitable, as the attainment of political freedom must precede economic emancipation."

As to the methods of this struggle, the party openly states their conviction that autocracy supported as it is only by physical force will yield only to physical force, and therefore it is necessary to organize the people at large *en masse*, as well as to resort to secret acts of terrorism directed against the most pernicious and influential supporters of the despotic régime. Terrorism, in the opinion of the party, disorganizes the forces of the enemy, shatters in the eyes of the people the belief in its invincibility, encourages the more combative spirit, and finally is an absolute necessity to a secret revolutionary organization in its self-defense against spies, or traitors amongst themselves

The Statue of Liberty

In pursuance of its objects the party of Socialists-Revolutionists have formed a special section under the name of "Boevaya Organizazia"—The Fighting Organization—whose mission it is to carry out the execution of all those persons whom the party has condemned to death for particular acts of cruelty and as an intimidation to others. Since the formation of the "Fighting Organization" a whole series of sensational political assassinations and attempts has already taken place. Thus on the 2nd of April, 1902, the Russian Minister of the Interior, Sipiaguin, was shot at and killed in the Maryinsky Palace by a young student, Balmasheff. On the 29th of July of the same year an attempt was made in Kharkoff upon the life of the Governor, Prince Obolensky, now the new Governor-General of Finland. On the 6th of May, 1903, in Ufa, the Governor, General Bogdanovitch, was shot in the public gardens amidst many promenaders, the assassins, however succeeding in escaping. Besides, in April and May, 1902, preparations were made for the assassination of the Procurator of the Holy Synod, M. Pobiedonostseff. All these assassinations and attempts at assassination have been committed by the members of "The Fighting Organization," as the official indictment at the Gershum trial tells us, and as the accused themselves admitted. The young M. Pokotiloff who was killed by the accidental explosion of his own bomb in the North Hotel, St. Petersburg, and finally the young student Sazonoff, the assassin of the late Minister of the Interior, M. Plehve, were both as is now pretty well established members of "The Fighting Organization," which on the latter occasion has even issued a proclamation justifying the deed. This document is dated from St. Petersburg, July 29th, and is headed "An appeal to the citizens of the civilized world." The execution of Plehve was decided upon, as the document states:

"1. Because it was he who, twenty years ago, 'caused our brothers of "The Will of the People" to be walled up in the cells of the fortresses of Saint Peter and Paul and of Schlüsselburg, and made them the objects of such persecution, contrary even to the laws of the Muscovite Empire, that they died by dozens of privation and madness, caused by an existence worse than that of Dante's infernal regions.'

"2. Because it was he who, having become the omnipotent tyrant of Russia, revived and aggravated the policy of unheard-of reprisals against the intellectual workmen and peasants—in a word, against all who live, think, and suffer in Russia.

"3. Because it was he who, seeking to oppose the rising tide of the revolution, sought to encourage hatred between the various nationalities of the Empire, and to oppose them one against the other.

"4. Because it was he who sought to organize the International police throughout the civilized countries of Europe, and who had dared lay snares in Italy, France, and Germany for the Russian revolutionaries who had escaped the claws of the Muscovite eagle.

"5. Because it was he who, constantly pursuing his policy of 'diversion,' used all his influence with the Czar to provoke the war with Japan, and thus throw the unhappy country into one of the most disastrous adventures history has ever known, sacrificing thereby the lives of hundreds of thousands of young men, and thousands of millions of roubles, the product of the superhuman labour of a whole people.

"It is for all these crimes against the people and the fatherland, against civilization and humanity, that Viatcheslaf Plehve was condemned to death and executed by the fighting committee of the association."

The document ends with the following statement:—

"The necessary violence of our methods of combat should not hide from any one the truth. We reprove absolutely, as did our heroic predecessors of 'The Will of the People,' a terrorist policy in countries that are free. But in Russia, where, owing to the reign of despotism, no open political discussion is possible, where there is no redress against the irresponsibility of absolute power throughout the whole bureaucratic organization, we shall be obliged to fight the violence of tyranny with the force of revolutionary right."

The "Socialist-Revolutionists" have sixteen duly constituted Committees and twenty-six local "Groups" in the chief towns of Russia, with secret printing presses and itinerant agents who spread millions of various publications among all classes of the population. Last spring an auxiliary organization was formed in New York, which is since spreading widely among all classes of Russian emigrants in the United States. The official organ of the party is published in Russian under the title "Revolutionary Russia," a bulky and well informed periodical of which fifty issues have appeared up to the present. Besides, the party issues a popular periodical under the title: "The People's Cause." Within the last year the party started another periodical in the French language under the title "La Tribune Russe," edited by E. Roubanovitch. Of this periodical twenty-one issues have already appeared containing a mass of information, and frequently secret documents and circulars of the Russian government. "La Tribune Russe" has recently started also a special "Rapid Service Bulletin" of which twenty-six numbers have so far appeared dealing with events of the hour.



OTWITHSTANDING the fact that every patriotic American knows quite well that America is the finest country in the world we all have our moments of weakness, and in view of this contingency the Statue of Liberty has been erected.

When a free American citizen has been clubbed uncommonly hard by a policeman with even less than common cause he goes down to the Battery and looks across at the Statue of Liberty.

Then he knows that he is free.

Elevated railways dragoon him, compress him, squeeze him, extort good nickels from him for a seat, and give him barely standing room. They poison his blood with vitiated air; they demolish his chivalry with their Brooklyn Bridge crushes.

Surface cars slay him in his tracks, without shrift, without recourse.

The Staten Island ferry boats filch his life away.

The excursion steamers prepare him continually for death.

The railways drench him with smoke, the millionaires stifle him with lavish fumes from their factory chimneys.

His electric light is a great deal dearer than it ought to be; he is compelled to burn gas made of oil, or feeble illuminating power, and supplied at a high pressure calculated to stimulate his meter to an unnatural activity.

His stomach is perforated by fruit flavors extracted from corrosive acids; typhoid bacilli are given away with his snowballs. Grab, graft and pull are rampant in the land, and some citizens subsist entirely upon boodle.

Do these things, either singly or in bulk, ever become oppressive? By no means. Have we not the Statue of Liberty? Therefore, we are surely free. Oppression cannot touch us.

This is a precious thought.

No country which has a large-size Statue of Liberty can possibly be anything else than free. Pity the poor old worn-out countries Europe, which have no such statue, and therefore groan continually under the tyrant heel of the monarchical system. They have neglected to provide themselves with a Bartholdi. Therefore, they remain continually enslaved.

A glance at the distant statue is usually sufficient to recall the suffering citizen to a consciousness of his great freedom.—New York *Globe*.

WE MAKE THEM TIRED.

"Hello! here's a Socialist vote," said the election judge as the counting dragged wearily along by the light of a couple of smoking oil lamps. "Yes," said the teller, "there were two of them in this precinct two years ago,—wouldn't wonder if we'd find another one before the night is over." The Socialist watcher smiled and said nothing. When the eighteenth vote for the Socialist electors was called, the Republican judge snapped it down on the table with the remark, "The dampfools make me tired." "Don't get weary so soon," advised the watcher; "there's lots more of them to count yet; they'll make the Republican party look as sick as poor old Democracy does now, at the next election." The judges and tellers gazed at the man with the Debs button in undisguised astonishment, and then turned to count the nineteenth Socialist ballot without further comment.

Backus in *Common Sense*.



- WOMAN'S SOURCE OF POWER. By Lois Waisbrooker. Paper. 48 pages. Price 25 cents. Denver: The Alliance of the Rockies.
- REBELS OF THE NEW SOUTH. By Walter Marion Raymond. Cloth. 294 pages. Price \$1.00. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.
- LITTLE LOVE AND NATURE POEMS. By Josephine Conger. Paper. 47 pages. Price 10 cents. Girard Kansas: Appeal to Reason.
- L'ORGANISATION SOCIALISTE ET OUVRIERE EN EUROPE, AMERIQUE ET ASIE. Par le Secrétaire Social International. Bruxelles, rue Heyvaert, 63. 520 pp. Fr. 3,50.
- CHANTS COMMUNAL. By Horace Traubel. Cloth. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.
- THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN. March for Piano. Chicago: Illinois Music Book Co.

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MARTIN LAWLER, Secretary, 11 Waverly Place, New York.



The Whole Thing in a Nutshell
LABOR: "Hello, you get off of that!"
CAPITAL: "What for?"
LABOR: "I want it myself, see!"

—Our Day

Accurate Bookkeeping not Desired in the Old Parties.

During national campaigns, the books of the treasurer and manager are kept in a peculiar way. Instead of entering accounts by name, each account is given a number, and is thus carried throughout the campaign. The key to this legendary system is known only to two or three trusted men, and the accountants who keep the books have not the slightest knowledge of what state committee or other organization or individual stands behind the number. After the campaign is over the books are burned and all the records except possibly some private memorandum kept by the manager, are wiped out of existence. Such a thing as the auditing of campaign expenditures was never known, and probably never will be known, so far as national campaigns are concerned. Everything is trusted to the honor of responsible men, and I have never heard that any of the managers of a national campaign were suspected of betrayal of their trust in any way.—*Success*.

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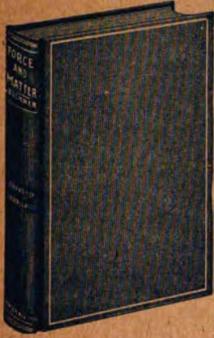
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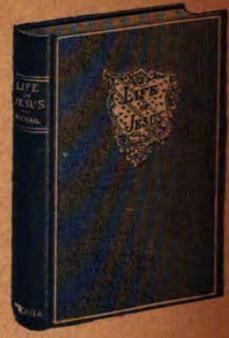
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