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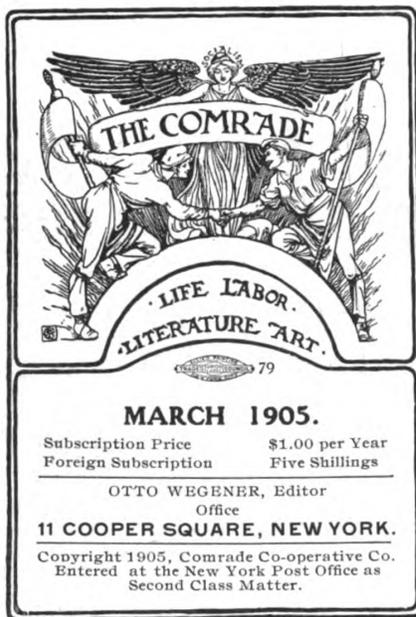
MARCHING THROUGH THE STREETS OF ODESSA

Original from

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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Published Monthly

It is one of the healthy signs of the times that the demand for Rev. Vail's books is constantly increasing. They ought to be found in the library of every lover of good literature. The style in which Mr. Vail's books are written is clear and convincing, and the many economic facts that appear dry or puzzling to the average man are explained in such simple language that anyone can understand them.—
Cleveland Citizen.

The searching vital point in this book, to me, is the sharp, illuminating contrast forced continually upon the mind of the reader—the contrast between Socialism with its simple honest workings, and our present, wholly barbaric and silly competitive system. . . . I trust each comrade will buy one or more of these books to loan—to jog the brain of some poor soul to let a ray of light in.
E. A. Hoisington.

Detroit, Mich.

Enclosed please find check for \$1.00 for my yearly sub. to THE COMRADE, of which I have the pleasure to be a subscriber since its birth. Never was I more pleased with THE COMRADE than just now. . . . Could you explain to me why THE COMRADE is not read by a million subscribers in the U. S.? If there is a magazine that will hasten the day of the Co-operative Commonwealth, it is THE COMRADE. Wishing you the greatest success I remain fraternally yours,
Wm. Schmalsbach.

New York.

(THE COMRADE would soon have a million subscribers if every one of its friends would send one or more new subscribers.—Ed.)

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THE COMRADE

The Times and Their Tendencies

Encouraging Signs

The actual filing with the president of the United States Senate of a petition for the expulsion of a senator who has openly represented a monopolistic corporation in that body marks a mile-stone in the progress of the people toward the light.

Thomas C. Platt, senator from New York, is the president of the United States Express Company. He has vigilantly and persistently and successfully opposed every attempt to provide the people with a parcels-carrying department of the post office, as well as a system of post-checks which will enable the post-office to be used for the inexpensive forwarding of small sums of money. Any attempt to lower the cost of the common post office money order below the price asked by the express companies for the same service has also been adroitly and successfully blocked by this gentleman whom the people pay \$5,000 a year to prevent their getting what they want. His quiet co-operation with the railroad senators has never been sought in vain at those moments when the postmasters general, in an effort to avoid the annual deficit in their department, have addressed an inquiry to congress as to why the government is paying to the railroads \$160 a ton for hauling stuff 500 miles, when the railroads make a profit in hauling the same kind of stuff for the express companies 1,000 miles for \$8 a ton.

The petition for Mr. Platt's expulsion asserts that Mr. Platt has publicly declared that he will oppose all legislation "injuriously affecting his company's interests."

It is not to be supposed that the Senate will take any action regarding this petition, or even consider it. It will be placed on file. If action could be forced on such a petition the Senate would be quickly decimated. There would not be enough left of the ninety to decently adjourn. But they are not answerable to the people and they know it. They know that they are secure as long as a legislature can be bribed, or the constitution remains in force. The people will have to overthrow the constitution to get rid of the Senate. They do not realize it,—yet.

This petition to the Senate to expel one of their number for a fault common to them all—the defense of special privilege—is simply of educational value. It indicates that criticism is beginning to shape itself in action. For many years all thoughtful people have realized that the Senate is simply a bulwark and defender of predatory commercial organizations. But this truth has not until lately begun to sift down and move the mind of the masses.

Public opinion is slowly coming to see, at last, that the Senate is a menace to all plans that can be initiated for relief from the private interests which are plundering the producing classes of the nation. But it is a long way from the passive recognition of a wrong to the birth of that energy which overthrows it. Spasmodic or sporadic efforts are educative but not vital. Any attempt simply to regulate or curb senatorial powers must demonstrate its futility. A conscious and definite public policy maintained over a long period of years, and absolutely revolutionary in character, is the only force or factor that can serve in such a situation. The Socialist party is the only force of this character in the United States today, and it aims at the abolition of the Senate altogether.

The attempted rehabilitations of the Democratic or the Populist parties are but surface manifestations of the presence of public wrong, and its recognition by considerable numbers of people, who heroically hurl themselves against it upon a new platform every year. It is a shallow reasoning that holds that such unsustainable effort can avail aught against the solid phalanxes of a half-century of cumulative power of which the Senate is the political front. There is no power in the country, except the growing power of the Socialist movement, which the senators of the United States do not look upon with derision.

The contemptuous and indifferent manner in which Senator Warren of Wyoming met the charges that were formulated in the legislature of that state against him last month, is sufficient indication of a fine sense of security.

Senator Warren's Case

These charges were not in the nature of innuendo or rumor. They were specific, and of such nature that the senator should have demanded the immediate purging of his reputation if he believed them to be untrue. It is not enough to point to the fact that the Wyoming state Senate tabled the resolution for an investigation. This may merely mean that the senator's local political organization is compact. It does not clear his reputation in any way or manner.

The charges were as follows:

That Charles M. Smith, brother-in-law of Senator Warren, was kept on the Senate payroll at Washington as a clerk of the Committee on Claims (Senator Warren, chairman), at a salary of \$2,200 a year, while, in fact, he never served in such capacity in Washington, but stayed in Cheyenne all the time, turning his salary over to Senator Warren.

That Hiram Sapp collected \$1,440 from the government as assistant clerk and turned the money over to the senator, while remaining in Cheyenne.

That Frances E. Warren, son of the senator, is drawing pay as an assistant clerk of the Committee on Claims, although being absent from Washington and a student at Harvard University.

That Senator Warren leased a building to the government, to be used as a post office, while a United States senator.

That Senator Warren has, in violation of the Federal statutes, fenced in a vast area of government land.

That Senator Warren used his influence to secure from the Federal government a contract for lighting Fort D. A. Russell, at Cheyenne, for the Cheyenne Light, Fuel and Power Company, of which he was incorporator and is a principal stockholder.

When Senator Warren was called upon in Washington to ascertain what he had to say in the matter of these accusations, he said:

"I won't discuss them. The legislature of Wyoming turned them down absolutely. I do the same. They are old, exploded, unsubstantial matters, which were brought up by personal enemies of mine. If I should go to explaining one I should have to explain them all, and I will not dignify them in that way."

But why should not the senator explain them all? They are sufficiently serious for an honorable man and a senator to wish to explain. The Wyoming legislature "turned them down" by a strict party vote, only one of Senator Warren's own party voting for the investigation. Has it reached the point where it takes a criminal indictment to wring from a servant of the people attention to his alleged crookedness? It is not as if the Senate's reputation for integrity were unblemished. It so long ago ceased to stand for political morality as a body, that aspersions against the individuals composing it represent just accusations in the absence of prompt and vigorous disproof. All of these charges can be readily refuted by investigation. Senator Warren's majority in his local legislature would insure an honest inquiry and report if he wanted it.

That he does not want nor ask for it indicates either that the charges are true and he wishes to avoid an inquiry; or that he has attained that altitude of contempt for public opinion which is more and more coming to be the prevailing attitude of public officials who do not owe their political life directly to the people.

Nobody in the country more than newspaper correspondents realizes how invincible the patronage and legislative privileges make a United States senator. Representatives, and even presidents come and go, but the Senate, like the brook "runs on forever." The moment one is

Newspaper Influence

THE COMRADE

ected to this body he has six long years in which to make sure of his re-election. He simply has to render satisfactory service to the monopoly interests entrenched in his state and any power of the people short of revolution and the consequent abolition of his office does not move him.

Capitalist newspapers are expected to stand for the interests of the capitalist class, but as the senate grows more corrupt the news sources may easily be poisoned directly by the senators themselves. Unless some method can be found for preserving the independence of the Washington newspaper correspondents from this overshadowing senatorial oligarchy, the press of the United States will lose even the shallow powers of criticism it now enjoys.

Admission to the press gallery is now guarded by a rule which forbids the entry of a person holding any office under the government, or who is interested in any contract or legislation. This rule was made in the old days with the intention of preserving the integrity of the press and insuring an honest report of affairs at Washington. It is now often evaded in spirit, but on the whole it stands for something.

There is however a growing menace to all reportorial integrity which the newspaper men at Washington are beginning to recognize,—those of manliness and dignity,—with fear and distrust.

A few weeks ago a correspondent in Washington received overtures from a newspaper of standing and prominence to undertake its Washington work. The duties were outlined and they were as arduous as is usual in such exacting work. The paper wanted daily letters by mail, and telegraphic dispatches on all important matters of vital and immediate interest. It was no easy job from any point of view. When it came to compensation the newspaper calmly announced that it was willing to pay \$8 a month; that it had always paid this and it had no trouble in getting a good man for that sum.

If the correspondent had been new he would have mistaken the proposition for a joke; but he was not, and so he knew exactly what was expected.

The eight dollars a month was merely a formal acknowledgment of his relation as an employee. His real compensation was to come from United States senators who would see that he had a remunerative position, involving no work, at government expense, if he "treated them right" in his correspondence.

This is by no means an isolated case. The reputable correspondents at the capitol are not refraining from the admission among themselves that newspaper reporting at Washington is in imminent danger of becoming merged into the political system, and of being made directly subordinate to it.

Most of the dispatches which now go out to the country are not impartial, and some of them are downright dishonest; but when this present tendency shall have worked itself out to a point where no man of honor or dignity will prostitute his brains in the only service open to him; then the Washington correspondence will fall wholly into the hands of vulgar and dishonest hacks, and plutocracy will have at last established a press censorship more absolute and deadly than was ever contrived by mediæval despot.

But as it is always darkest just before dawn, by this time the intellectual day-laborers who work with fountain pen and telegraph-blank instead of pick and shovel, will have risen to the perception of the fact that they are proletarians and that their interest and salvation lie in hurling themselves into the Socialist revolution.

The intellectually-exploited generally are the last to see it; they are so afraid they will not get their proper "reward" under Socialism; but when they finally get their eyes open they make very good fighters. We could use a few of them at the present moment.

The Creeping Dark

The entrance of H. H. Rogers as a community-of-interest director in the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe management, marks another interesting extension of the power of the Standard Oil Company in railroad control. The people of the United States have a vague idea that this monopoly has attained giant proportions, but they know no more about

its real subtle and far-reaching influence than they do of the geography of Mars. It is not merely that such massive aggregations of capital draw to themselves stupendous increments of interest alone; interest which seeks reinvestment; but every industry in which the funds of the Standard Oil Company find investment is run upon the principle that the largest possible dividends shall be extracted therefrom at the expense of both the producer and consumer. The Standard Oil Company has now assumed such proportions as to be forced by its own financial incubus to buy up, continually, one industry after another, in order to avoid stagnation of the whole financial system by a glut of the currency of the nation in one place.

Within the past few months representatives of this monopoly have been given increased representation in the New York Central, the Reading, and the Rock Island railroads. One can grasp faintly the power which this crowd of gamblers exercises in the markets and the government of the nation when it is known that their interest is now openly recognized in the management of the following railroads:—The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe; Baltimore & Ohio; Chicago & Alton; Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul; Chicago & Northwestern; Rock Island; Del. Lackawanna & Western; Delaware & Hudson; Denver & Rio Grande; Illinois Central; Kansas City Southern; Missouri, Kansas & Texas; Missouri Pacific System; New York Central; New York, New Haven & Hartford; New York, Ontario & Western; Northern Securities; Oregon Railroad & Navigation Co.; Oregon Short Line; Reading; Southern Pacific, and Union Pacific.

One hundred and thirty thousand miles of railroad, over two-thirds the entire railroad mileage of the country, are now controlled by this monopoly.

And this list does not include the twenty-four industrial corporations—including the Amalgamated Copper, the Consolidated Gas, the United States Steel, the Western Union Telegraph, the United States Realty, the Colorado Fuel & Iron, and the Linseed Oil—in which similar representation or control is exercised, nor the fourteen banks and fourteen trust companies in which the recognized representatives of the "Standard Oil group" have seats as directors.

At the head of this stupendous financial power stands, in Wall Street, Mr. Henry H. Rogers; in the United States Senate, Mr. Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island.

Mr Rogers' character has been sufficiently ventilated by the Lawson articles in *Everybody's Magazine*; Mr. Aldrich's in *McClure's*. These men fittingly express both the psychology and the morale of the interests which they represent. Is it remarkable that Mr. Aldrich should be called, in Washington, the "general manager of the United States"?

The Standard Oil Company took Frank A. Vanderlip, assistant secretary of the Treasury, and made him vice-president of their New York bank—the City National, whose deal with the government respecting the old custom house of New York smells to heaven. Then they took a certain other treasury official and made him vice-president of the Riggs National Bank of Washington, which is located across the street from the Treasury, and is the Washington creature of the Standard. These two "vice-presidents," with their intimate knowledge of the finances of the United States, and their "friends" in the Department, are of very singular service to the Standard Oil "group."

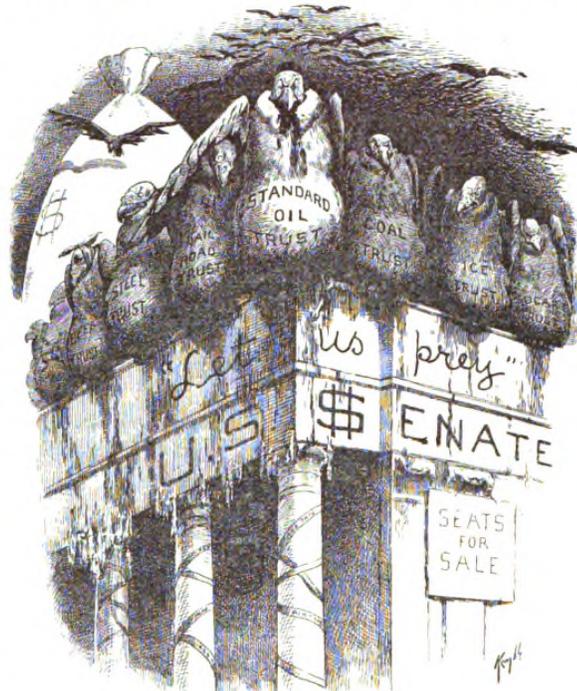
The City National Bank of New York and the Riggs National Bank of Washington; that is to say the Standard Oil Company, know every proposed operation of the United States Treasury 24 hours before any other bank in the country.

Those who are familiar with financial matters will understand what such a privilege may mean.

During the last financial stringency this system of "wireless telegraph" in connection with the government purse-strings helped the "Standard group" to exhibit its sprightliness as an early bird.

The working balance of the Treasury department is about \$40,000,000. Anything above this sum is usually placed at the disposal of the depository banks, whenever there is a stringency; they depositing bonds therefor, all of them having an equal chance to get their pro rata.

(That is what they think.)



The Vultures' Roost.

—Collier's Weekly.

THE COMRADE

When the Secretary of the Treasury decided to relieve the temporary stringency by loosening up for the benefit of the money market, there was \$68,000,000 in the cash drawer. There was therefore for distribution \$28,000,000 over and above the working balance.

The Secretary proceeded to bulletin the National banks throughout the country that this sum was available so that they might get in their applications, first come first served. Each bank thought the other banks got the money. They were all too late.

The Standard Oil banks got the entire \$28,000,000.

While the bank officers of the other banks were coming down in the morning to open the Treasury bulletin in their morning mail, the express wagon of the Standard Oil group was backed up to the United States Treasury waiting, with \$28,000,000 in bonds, for the doors to open. Its application was first under the wire and it took everything in sight.

The Standard Oil group was thus enabled to "relieve the money stringency" in its own peculiar way. The country banks had to go to the Standard Oil banks for the money they wanted; there was no one else to go to. The government had exhausted its power to help by giving up the \$28,000,000 to the Standard. It was a very pretty business, and demonstrates the fact that if you are going in for banking you should make the necessary connections with the United States Treasury to be unwaveringly successful.

The U. S. Transports

As an illustration of the constant, quiet pull of individual senators in the interest of their private employers, Senator Gallinger's attempt to force the sale of the government transports during the last session of congress is interesting. Everyone knows that a careful program of delay and obstructing tactics will be carried on by the transcontinental railroad interests against the Panama canal. It may take fifty years to get the ditch dug, during which individual congressmen and senators will acquire private fortunes by serving all the interests involved, upon both sides.

But the plan of Mr. J. J. Hill of the Great Northern to benefit his interests by "developing the northwest" has no direct connection with the canal question; a question which such a man of action as himself must consider too remote to bother with at present.

Mr. Hill's interests are establishing steamship connections with the Orient. The boats sail from Seattle and the other northwest cities. The government is competing with Mr. Hill's lines by transporting troops and supplies to the Philippine Islands in boats owned and controlled by the United States. Senator Gallinger, who was the distinguished literary engineer of the last subsidy bill, is never averse to doing a little turn for the shipping interests on the side; so his attempt to secure the sale of the government transports was recognized by the discerning as an effort to get the government out of the way in order that Mr. Hill might carry the soldiers back and forth to Manila.

The military influence at Washington blocked Mr. Gallinger's scheme. The soldiers had rather go back and forth in comfort on the government transports, built for the purpose, and provided with hospitals and other conveniences, than to go third class in the holds of Mr. Hill's ill-ventilated and unwholesome steamers. It was not the loss to the government that the sale of the transports would entail; no one ever thought of that; it was the army officials who called a halt. And yet if the people knew the devious route of taxation by which they are made to pay for things without knowing it, they would find such plans as these of Senator Gallinger food for criticism.

The transport service was established at the time of the Spanish war emergency at great cost. Those who will remember the revelations regarding the purchase of things through the agency of Mr. Abner McKinley know that the purchase of such things by a government is attended by many "opportunities." So is the sale of them. Several of the transports have already been sold, upon some of which the government realized less than ten per cent. of their value.

The United States now owns 22 transports the value of which aggregates \$12,742,578.55. Eight of these boats are not now in active service. As they are of little use except for the transportation of troops no private interest would be expected to pay much for them. The interests which Senator Gallinger represents could get them, through his quiet influence, for a song. Then they would be in position to hold the government up again in emergency; either by selling them back again at enormous figures, as they sold the old tub which the impossible Hobson conveniently sunk out of sight; or by getting transportation contracts of the kind made by Senator Alger while Secretary of War.

The unique senatorial peculiarity of the situation was that *the same senators who urged the sale of the transports because there is no danger of war, and their consequent use; were the very ones who clamored for the building of a lot more battleships and cruisers because we are in danger of war at any moment.*

The explanation is that the same crowd of cormorants that would profit by the sale of the transports—the shipping interests—would profit by building boats to sell to the government. The government is simply the organized political machine by which the people are taxed

to support private business under the popular misapprehension that government is an expression of the national life.

With the enactment of the "Philippine internal improvement" law all hope of Filipino liberty **Filipino Liberty** and independence passes out of sight. Those Americans who still believe, after perusing this measure, that the United States will eventually do justice to the Filipino people are glibly indeed.

The railroads projected under this act are to be under the control of a single American syndicate. The Philippine Islands have been given over bag and baggage to the exploitation of an American corporation. Not only is this corporation given powers which will enable it, in a very few years, to monopolize, as sole carrier, every productive industry in the islands; *but its career is successfully guaranteed as a commercial highwayman by the people of the United States themselves.*

The smooth and adroit plunderers behind the scheme, with the aid of their Congressional tools, succeeded in incorporating in the law the provision that the interest on their investment; four per cent. on \$30,000,000; *is to be guaranteed by the United States.*

Anyone with a knowledge of finance will readily see what an attractive "proposition" this is. The railroad stock becomes more desirable than government bonds; because, while having all the safety of government securities *it can be made to pay more.*

No matter what the road may earn, the Treasury of the United States will be tapped to pay this \$1,200,000 in interest every year; that is sure. There are a thousand ways of "milking" a railroad after it has been built, so that it will fail to pay its interest charges. This corporation will soon become so strong in its monopoly powers, that the people of the United States will be able to obtain no authentic information regarding what is going on in the islands except by private correspondence. Newspaper dispatches will be "inspired" by its agents to make American opinion upon the wonderful "prosperity" of the natives; and the American people will believe it, *just as even now they believe it of themselves while in the very clutches of sordid poverty.* The influence of its lobby and paid senators at Washington will enable it to appoint its own commissioners, and then the subjugation of the islands will be complete.

Ever since the United States war with Spain, American capitalists have been forcing the nation into a policy of colonial possession for the purpose of extending their area of exploitation. Under the cover of moral phrases and shallow platitudes their policy has been as merciless, as predatory, and as vulgarly unprincipled as the policy of England in Egypt. San Domingo and Venezuela are now on the carpet as uncompleted stages of this triumphant scheme of plunder. The "republic" of Panama was the last "incident to be closed" before this infamous delivery of the Filipinos over to corporate greed. There was never in history so grotesque and impossible a "republic" as this thing which Mr. Roosevelt has set up upon the isthmus. We were informed that after the abortive revolution of last November the army was abolished and the gallant general retired on a salary. We were puzzled to know how this could be done under the "republic's" constitution. Now we know. The army was not abolished. It is still retained in service. *It consists of twenty officers and THREE men.* In its ratio of officers to men this army beats the world. It should challenge the admiration of all the gun-carrying idiots throughout Christendom.

Promotion in such an army is possible. It points the way to the glad days of that vision of the military underling when all shall be officers, supported at public expense, and the canteen may become a horrid memory in the glad flow of liquor at the "officers' club."

But under the absurdity of all this there lies a human tragedy more deep and damnable than the historically infamous partition of Poland. American capitalism going out upon expeditions of plunder among the little nations which have so long looked to the big republic as the incarnation of republican principles; backed by the gunboats and sheriffs of this very republic, is enough to make the fathers of the nation rise from their graves.

Every little nation thus subjected must by the very force of circumstances become an object of our national neglect,—left to the mercy of the capitalistic powers which forced the original infringement upon its liberties. But while we are standing idly by when such atrocious schemes as this regarding the Philippines pass quietly upon the Congressional Record, we are losing our own liberties as well. This is the hope and promise of the world; the truth that you cannot enslave without becoming a victim of slavery.

The extension of commercial plundering and blighting to a larger area, means only a wider and nobler happiness for the world in that day when out of the dust of the empires shall arise the new world of the people.

Franklin H. Woodworth

THE COMRADE

The Shoe-String Man

By R. A. Theodora Bliss



SORRY thing it were for him,
Even if blind or lacking limb,
To stand upon the curb and cry:
"Buy, oh, buy!"

But that a man still in his prime
And sound of body, for no crime
Save want, should be compelled to cry:
"Buy, oh, buy!"

This seems too hard; aye, in his heart
A dull pang strikes, and tear drops start;
A tremor comes into his cry:
"Buy, oh, buy!"

At night into a hallway creeps
The shoe-string man, and, as he sleeps,
He mutters in his dreams the cry:
"Buy, oh, buy!"

And thus your brother spends his day,
In selling life for little pay,
Till Death at last accepts his cry,
Of "Buy, oh, buy!"



A Talk with Life

By Maxim Gorky



WO men who had been deceived by Life, so wild
and so pitiless, once stood before her face to face.
"What do you want of me?" asked she.

One of them answered in low tones as follows: "The cruelty of your contradictions appears revolting to me; my mind tries in vain to solve the riddle of existence; and my spirit is veiled by the darkness of doubt. But my reason tells me all the time that man is the most

perfect being in all creation!"

"What do you seek from me?" interrupted Life, with sphinx-like face.

"I want happiness! And in order that I may be able to realize it, I must conciliate the two opposed principles that divide my heart in making 'I want' agree with 'You ought.'"

"You have simply to desire what you ought to do for me," answered Life in rather harsh tones.

"No! I cannot desire to be your victim!" cried the man. "I who would like to rule you, I am condemned to live under your laws. Why?"

"Don't talk so boldly," entreated his companion, who stood a little nearer to Life. "Don't talk so boldly!"

But without paying attention the man went on:

"I claim to have the right to live in harmony with my ideals. I do not wish to be compelled either to be the brother or the slave of my neighbor. I want to be either brother or slave at my own sweet will, obeying only my own inclinations. I cannot be happy while Society disposes of me as a kind of lifeless stone which is only good to build up the prison walls of the common good. I am a man, I am a spirit, and I ought to be free!"

"Say no more," remarked Life, with a cold smile. "You have said a great deal, and anything you could add would be simple platitude. You demand liberty? Why do you not fight for it? Try a battle with me! Suppose you are victorious! Become my master and let me be your slave! You know with what resignation I yield to my conqueror! But you must conquer first! Do you feel able to cross swords with me in order to free yourself from your chains? Do you feel sure that you will triumph over me? Have you confidence in your own power?"

And the man replied with a very discouraged look on his countenance:

"You have forced me to an inner battle with my own self. Your words have sharpened my judgment, and now, like a keen blade, it plunges its edge deeper into my soul and wounds me all the time."

"Speak to her more boldly," pleaded his companion; "don't begin to whimper!"

But the man continued: "Would that your tyranny would grant me a little breathing space! Oh, leave me for one short minute to enjoy some happiness!"

Life had now a fresh smile, like the cold sheen of ice.

"Tell me," said she, "do you ask this of me as a favor?"

"I ask it as a favor," answered the man, like an echo.

"Then you speak like a beggar! But know, poor fellow, that Life never bestows ought from motives of charity. And then, don't you remember, you are a free man, and you can with your own right hand take away my gifts from me! But you—you are only the obedient slave of my will! He alone is free who knows how to give up everything else in order to fix his heart on some chosen goal! Have you understood? . . . And now, go!"

The man had understood, and now, like an obedient dog, he crouched humbly at the feet of Life, and licked the crumbs which fell from the table.

But the austere face of Life turned away from the groveller, and sought the man who had not yet asked any question of her. He had a heavy face, but his look was kind.

"What do you want to get?" demanded Life. "I ask nothing. I demand something as a right."

"What can that be?"

"Justice! Where can Justice be found? Give me Justice; I know afterwards how to get at everything else! At present I only seek for Justice. I have waited for Justice long and patiently, out in the night with sleepless eyes! I have waited—but the hour has at length come! Where is Justice?"

"Take Justice!" answered Life, with the same sphinx-like face.



MAXIM GORKY



Statistical Jugglery

By Dr. Howard A. Gibbs



IN a recent issue of a newspaper I read an interview with a prominent banker in which he portrayed in glowing colors the prosperity of the last twelve months, and the even brighter prospects of the coming year. The first article in the next column was an account of a charity dinner given on New Year's day to six thousand homeless and hungry men, women, and children of Chicago. On the face of it this appears to be a glaring inconsistency, but when we look beneath the surface the inconsistency disappears. The prosperity of which the banker spoke was the prosperity of the capitalist class. The poverty revealed by the Chicago dinner was that of the working class. Both are the inevitable result of the wage system, and the natural corollary of each other.

Our United States Ambassador to Mexico, General Clayton, was recently interviewed regarding conditions in that country. When he was asked "What is the condition of Mexico today, General," he replied, "It is in excellent condition. The people are prosperous and the country is on a good substantial basis." "Give some idea of wages, General." "Wages are low," replied the general. "Twenty-five cents per day is paid for ordinary farm labor in most parts of the country, and in the factories wages are proportionately small. The hours are long, and on the farm the laborers work from sunrise to sunset." Thus it appears that prosperity and cheap labor are inseparable twins in the Zodiac of capitalist production. This is the explanation of the seeming inconsistency which appears in two lectures recently delivered by Carroll D. Wright in Worcester. One delivered before the Economic Club of that city on "Economic Insecurity," the other a lecture on "Wages" before the students of Clark University.

In the first address Mr. Wright lays great stress upon the economic insecurity of the laborer, due to sickness, accident, old age, etc. He portrays this as "the tragedy of industry" peculiar to the wage system, and finally even at the great risk of being considered a Socialist, he declares that society should do all in its power to mitigate the evil by a system of state insurance which he outlines.

In the other lecture on "Wages" two days later Mr. Wright demonstrates to the entire satisfaction of those who wish to be satisfied, that the wages of the laborer have steadily increased for fifty years. That he is today better off than ever before in the history of the human race. Using the journeyman carpenter as an illustration he demonstrates that he receives \$3.45 for slightly less than 7½ hours work. That less than one half of this sum will provide his necessities, and he ought therefore to save \$11.10 per week against a rainy day.

In these two outlines we are confronted with a seeming contradiction, a constantly increasing condition of economic insecurity peculiar to the wage system while wages themselves have steadily increased to a point where the laborer ought to be able to save more than one half of his income to provide against it.

There is only one conclusion which can be drawn from this apparent contradiction, that the insecurity is due to the improvidence of the workers themselves. While Mr. Wright does not express this conclusion openly, when we come to examine the remedy he proposes we find it very cleverly concealed therein. His plan of state insurance on close analysis is found to be nothing but a scheme to compel the workers to provide for themselves against this insecurity. It is quite in harmony with the "benevolent feudalism" of the capitalist

system and therefore not at all out of place before the Economic Club.

A certain class vaguely known as "Society" for the sake of concealing its identity has organized in the city of Worcester under the name of the Economic Club to study social problems, that is, to do a little academic "slumming" which is quite a popular recreation with the aforesaid class. The club is composed of manufacturers, merchants, ministers, lawyers, physicians and professors. In short it is a typical aggregation of the capitalist class and its retainers. It is no better and no worse than the class it represents. I speak of it thus not in any spirit of hostility, but merely to fix its economic status. This club having partaken of an elaborate banquet at Worcester's swellest restaurant proceeds to discuss the condition of another class vulgarly known as "laborers" for the sake of making its identity clear with the same freedom, and the same sense of responsibility that a farmers' club discusses the feeding and care of a favorite breed of cattle, and for the same ultimate purpose, that is to determine how to make the most profit out of them. Presumably this purpose is not apparent even to the members of the club. They lay the flattering unction to their souls that they are actuated by the broadest philanthropy and honestly believe that they are rendering a great service to the "laborer" by thus condescending to discuss his condition between the wreaths of their fragrant Havanas. The "laborer" himself is conspicuous by his absence. An actual mechanic with toil-grimed hands, an actual ditch-digger in overalls and jumper would be as much out of place at their "feast of reason and flow of soul" as a cow at a farmers' club dinner. He is merely something which this other class known as "society" must take care of. The discovery has not yet been made by either class that the "laborer" not only actually takes care of himself but he really clothes and feeds and houses "society" which assumes to take care of him. He even furnishes the dainty viands and fragrant cigars which "society" consumes while it gravely and charitably discusses the amount of potatoes, corned-beef and oatmeal necessary to keep him in good working order. Herein lies the unconscious humor of the situation. If the laborer himself fails to see it, the capitalist cannot be blamed for being unconscious of it.

The signs multiply on every hand however, that the "laborer" is getting his eyes open. He is beginning to discuss and to decide these questions for himself. He is beginning to assert his right to take care of himself and also insist that "society" get off his back and take care of itself. And when his eyes are fully opened he may completely upset the fine-spun theories and paternalistic programs of the eminently respectable gentlemen who compose the Economic Club, and set up a system of his own under which a man shall earn what he gets, and get what he earns. When he does this we strongly suspect that the capitalist class will have its hands full in taking care of its own "economic insecurity" at least till it becomes accustomed to the new order of things. Undoubtedly the "laborers" will then condescend to reciprocate past favors and devise ways and means to take care of the capitalist, the real pauper and dependent of the wage system.

Meanwhile, however, we put the cart before the horse. The capitalist class which is impotent and helpless to take care of itself arrogates to itself the duty of taking care of the laborer, and it goes about it in a truly paternal fashion. Through the U. S. Bureau of Statistics it determines with mathematical exactness how much it costs to feed, clothe and house the worker. Through the same Bureau it makes the startling discovery that he already receives \$3.45 per day,

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more than twice enough to feed, clothe and house him, and that he ought to save \$11.10 per week out of his wages. Having determined these points the problem of providing against the laborer's economic insecurity becomes very simple. "Society" proposes to take care of the laborer, a la "divine rights" Baer, by persuading him peaceably through threat of losing his job, or forcibly by threat of law to save out of his surplus wage sufficient to take care of himself. This in its final analysis is all that any capitalist scheme of state insurance amounts to. It is a perfectly consistent program of benevolent paternalism originating from the capitalist class. An audience of the "eminently respectable" might confuse it with Socialism, but no class-conscious workman would make the mistake for a moment. We hasten to relieve Mr. Wright's anxiety by assuring that there is no danger whatever that outside of the banquet hall of the Economic Club his advocacy of state insurance will cause him to be mistaken for a Socialist.

Briefly stated, Mr. Wright's position as reported in these abstracts may be summed up in the following propositions:—

1st. With the establishment of the wage system and right of contract, labor was emancipated. 2nd. This emancipation imposes upon the laborer the duty of taking care of himself. 3rd. The wage system by paying him a wage largely in excess of his actual wants furnishes him the opportunity to do this. 4th. As the working class fails to do this another class vaguely known as "society" "the people" or "the state" must compel him to do it as a matter of self-protection. It is true that on several important points these abstracts of his lecture are decidedly hazy. Like many other people who have discovered the inevitability of Socialism yet fear its results on their own material interests, Mr. Wright more than once betrays a tendency to "wobble" and while disclaiming any leaning toward Socialism, he "damns it with faint praise." On the whole however, I believe that these propositions fairly state the logic of his position and that of the class which he represents.

That labor is free under the wage system, emancipated by the right of contract, is one of the sophistries upon which the political economists of the laissez faire school have rung the changes for a hundred and fifty years.

That this sacred right of contract has not lessened in the slightest degree the subjection and exploitation of the worker; that it has only put upon him the duty of taking care of himself and relieved the master to just this extent, and that it was designed for this specific purpose; in short that the wage system has merely altered the form of slavery to suit the convenience and interest of the master class but has not in the least removed the substance:—This virile truth permeating the mind of the working class now challenges to mortal combat this hoary-headed sophistry of a hundred and fifty years. This right of contract conceded by the master class to the workers as a token of their freedom has proven to be a Dead Sea Apple in their hands, full of bitterness and disappointment. It is a double-edged sword. It means to the worker nothing except the right to hunt for his subsistence and take care of himself as best he can while he is hunting. Jefferson Davis said with truth that the capitalist system had simply changed the slave-driver's lash dipped in brine for the lash of hunger and the lash of cold. The worker has nothing but his labor power, that is himself, to sell. He must sell it to those who own the means of subsistence or starve, and through the displacement of labor by the machine he must always sell on an overstocked market, which tends to force the price of his labor down to the cost of bare subsistence. If he doesn't like one master, the right of contract gives him the privilege of hunting for another, and running the risk of being arrested as a vagrant in the meantime.

To the master class it gives the right to discharge, that is the right to separate the workers completely from the means of subsistence. This is a right which the master class did not enjoy under feudalism, and which its own economic inter-

est prevented it from exercising under chattel slavery. The chattel slave master could not turn his slaves adrift to shift for themselves when trade was dull. He must take care of them in prosperity and adversity, in sickness as in health. His own economic interests demanded it. The feudal serf was a part of the soil. He was bought and sold with the soil and was inseparable from it. The feudal lord himself could not divorce him from his means of subsistence. The worker under our boasted wage system can have access to the means of subsistence only when it suits the convenience and adds to the profits of the capitalist. He has far more responsibility than the chattel slave. He has lost many of the slave's advantages. It is right here that the economic insecurity of the worker comes in. It is not because he cannot or will not provide for himself but because the capitalist cannot employ him at a profit. We have Mr. Wright's own word for it that this "tragedy of industry is peculiar to the wage system." Feudalism and chattel slavery knew nothing of it. Nowhere however, does Mr. Wright show any disposition to trace the clear relation between cause and effect, between the wage system and economic insecurity of the worker. He does not show that the insecurity is due entirely to the fact that the capitalist class which owns the means of subsistence, under the specious plea of freedom, has relieved itself wholly of the workers who are dependent upon it.

Without showing any clear conception of the cause or attempting to point out an adequate remedy Mr. Wright contents himself with offering a glittering generality in the form of a hope that "the genius of the race" will solve the problem. If this "tragedy of industry" is a product of the wage system and a necessary corollary to it, then all the "genius of the race" is hopeless and helpless to solve the problem if the wage system continues. Either there must be increasing insecurity for the working class with consequent degeneration and decay, or else the wage system must go. This is the alternative which confronts the working class today, and the impelling force of this alternative rather than the "genius of the race" will work out a solution. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and it is to the conscious self-interest of the working class rather than to the "genius" or philanthropy of bourgeois reformers that we must look for relief from this "tragedy of industry."

So much for the emancipation of the laborer and his duty to provide for himself. We come now to the third proposition embodied in Mr. Wright's lecture on wages in which he shows that the laborer already receives wages enough to enable him to provide against his economic insecurity. The journeyman carpenter whom he uses as a type, should according to his figures save more than half of his income or \$11.10 per week to provide against a rainy day.

Thus far we have made no attempt to question the rule by which he determines wages, the statistics he presents, or the conclusions he draws, but even at the risk of being considered guilty of statistical sacrilege against so eminent an authority we venture the assertion that he is open to criticism on every one of these points. The rule by which he determines wages, the comparative ratio between the amount the laborer receives and his cost of living answers well the purpose of those who support the wage system. It was designed for this specific purpose. Its acceptance by Mr. Wright is another demonstration of his class interests, unconscious to him perhaps. It is also an unconscious demonstration of the essential servitude of the wage system for it is the survivor and the standard of the slave systems which preceded it. Its line of reasoning is something as follows:—The chattel slave received the cost of subsistence. The feudal serf, under favorable conditions, received slightly more. If it can be shown that the wage-worker receives considerably more than the cost of subsistence then he must be better off than the chattel slave or the feudal

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serf. The subsistence standard is a slave standard. As a comparison between different forms of slavery it serves a useful purpose to the capitalist class, especially if the figures can be so juggled by a skillful manipulator as to make the comparison favorable to the wage system. As a rule to determine the remuneration of free men it has no value whatever.

The full product of his toil is the only remuneration for a free man. Horace Greeley said a slave is a man who exists for the convenience of another. A man is free just in proportion as he is master and owner of his own product. A man is a slave just in proportion as his product is owned and controlled by another. The degree of his exploitation is the measure of his slavery. Judged by this standard the wage-worker of today is in a worse condition of servitude than the chattel slave of the South, or the serf of the middle ages, for there never was a time in the history of the human race when the laborer produced so much and received so small a percentage of his product as he does under the wage system. And it can be shown by Mr. Wright's own statistics that the percentage received has been steadily decreasing till he receives today not more than one half what he did sixty years ago. The significance of this showing is vastly increased by another fact which can be demonstrated from Mr. Wright's own statistics that this increased production has been secured at the expense of lowering the vitality and shortening the working years of the laborer's life. The more he produces the less he receives, and the more his life is shortened.

No more ingenious and destructive system of slavery was ever devised than our present wage-system.

When we approached the statistics of Mr. Wright our first feeling was one of profound reverence. We felt that we must remove our proletarian shoes for we were treading on holy ground. Surely a man who would question the figures of this eminent statistician must do it in a spirit of presumption born of ignorance. But when we discovered the prejudiced sources from which these statistics were obtained, the partisan purposes to which they were put and the conclusions drawn from them utterly at variance with the evidence of our own experience and our own senses, our reverence underwent a shrinking process and we began to sympathize with the fellow who said that there were three kinds of lies, common lies, uncommon lies, and statistics.

Even at the risk of demonstrating the truth of the saying that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread" we essay the task of criticism.

The first thing that strikes us is that Mr. Wright attempts to prove too much. That he has somehow lost that unbiased attitude necessary to scientific investigation and exhibits too much the attitude of an attorney trying to make out a case. Perhaps unconsciously to himself he betrays the fact that his interests are on the side of the employing class and he is doing his best to earn his salary. In his lecture on "Wages" for instance, he takes the journeyman carpenter as the type of a laborer. He demonstrates by his own statistics that he receives \$3.45 for slightly less than 7½ hours work, then computing his cost of living he asserts that he ought to put in the bank \$11.10 every week, leaving him \$9.60 per week to live upon and rear a family. It would take but little additional figuring to show that saving at this rate for 30 years he ought to be able to retire at the age of 50 with a snug bank account of at least \$25,000 to live upon, and enjoy himself the rest of his life. If his figures are correct, it is a little difficult to see where the economic insecurity comes in. Mr. Wright's statistical carpenter seems to have a "dead cinch." Now the average man may accept all this as gospel truth. If he does assent to it intellectually however, it is safe to say that his stomach will send up a mighty howl of protest against his brains. Which only goes to show that on the cost of living it is easier to bunco a man's brain than his stomach. On the

question of subsistence the stomach has "inside information." This demonstration of an increase in wages is only one of several points on which Mr. Wright has juggled statistics in the interest of the employing class.

In his report on child labor he demonstrated with equal positiveness and fulness of detail that child labor in the United States had vastly decreased from 1880 to 1890. He turned this little trick by changing the classification of the children from 14½ to 16 years. If he had maintained the same basis of comparison he would have found 1,800,000 child workers instead of 860,000, and a substantial increase instead of a decrease.

He has demonstrated also that the per capita wealth of the country is steadily increasing. This is where he gets in his fine work with the rule of averages. Mr. Rockefeller has one hundred million dollars. His coachman has thirty cents. The average per capita wealth of these two men therefore is fifty million dollars and fifteen cents. Mr. Wright has demonstrated by this process that the per capita wealth of the United States is more than \$5,000 for every family in the country.

The campaign spell-binder rolls these statistics from his tongue with glib assurance. The band plays "Hail Columbia" and the eagle screams. The working man listens in open mouthed wonder, pats himself on the back and congratulates himself on the glorious possibilities of this great republic. On election day he votes for four years more of wealth, prosperity and a full dinner pail. On the morning after election he gets up before the whistle blows and begins to hunt around for that \$5,000 to which he is entitled. He never gets a sight or even a smell of it however, till at the end of another four years the spell-binder again puts in his appearance, with a brand new batch of Mr. Wright's irrefutable statistics, manufactured for campaign purposes, and assures him that the country is still prosperous and the per capita wealth steadily increasing. His stomach rebels but he swallows the same old bait again. His digestive capacity for statistical lies beats the Irishman's who swallowed one raw oyster six times before he could keep it down. Verily the American workingman has a tough hide and a short memory. He will keep this up to the end of the chapter, and when his body is laid away at rest in a white pine coffin in the Potter's field and St. Peter has admitted his glorified spirit within the celestial gates, he will never feel quite at home unless some angelic spellbinder of the heavenly choir assures him every four years by the official statistics of New Jerusalem that the celestial gates will be studded with diamonds and the golden pavements so cheap that he can throw them at the back yard cat. He was fond of Mr. Wright's gold bricks on earth, and he can't get along without them in heaven. If he should happen to go to the other place he will probably be consoled by Mr. Wright's assurance that though coal is dear, brimstone is cheap, and that he is really more comfortable in hell than he would be on earth with coal at \$7.50 per ton.

On another point Mr. Wright has come to the assistance of the employing class and demonstrated that while the machine has displaced labor it has also opened up new avenues of industry and thus compensated for the displacement. But in spite of this ingenious explanation backed again by statistics the army of the unemployed is here numbering its recruits by the million and steadily increasing. By his own statistics of 1900 there were 1,271,000 permanently unemployed in the United States, and whence is this vast army recruited if not from the ranks of displaced labor. The hobo is here too, recruited from this army of the unemployed, and his name is legion. The vagrant serf of the middle ages, separated from the land upon which he had depended, compelled to wander from place to place even at the risk of capital punishment, marked the downfall of the feudal system. The hobo of today marks the closing epoch of the wage system. A slave system which cannot support its workers is doomed.

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In computing the rate of wages and the cost of living Mr. Wright again uses the rule of averages with telling effect. For instance, in a certain brewery he found one master brewer whose wages had increased 275 per cent. He also found 133 other workmen whose wages had increased 29 per cent. Putting the solitary brewer in one class and the 133 workmen in another class and then averaging the increase of these two classes, he finds that the wages of the 134 laborers had increased 152 per cent. It must have been by some such jugglery as this that he obtained his statistics of the wages of the journeyman carpenter.

In another of his tables on the cost of living he gives the price of 223 articles; of these 51 are for metal goods, and of the 51 twenty-five are for different kinds of pocket knives. Only 15 quotations are given for house furnishing goods and of this fifteen 7 are for wooden pails and wash tubs. From the commanding importance of jack knives and wash tubs in this list we infer that the working man is expected to spend his spare time whittling up his wife's wash tub. On the vegetable list he makes two quotations, both for potatoes. On the fish list he gives four, three of which are for salt mackerel, from which we infer that the laborer is expected to make the festive fish ball a standard article of diet.

In another table prepared for use in the last presidential campaign by averaging the increase and decrease in 53 articles he demonstrates that living has but slightly increased. Again we find important and unimportant articles set off against each other as of equal weight. To show the absurdity of this method it is but necessary to say that the increase in price of butter is offset by a decrease in nutmegs; an increase in flour by a decrease in prunes: an increase in eggs by a decrease in vinegar: an increase in coal by a decrease in matches.

We can understand now the full significance of the sign which was displayed in a market a few months since. "Flour is higher, but great bargains in crackers." We might add also "Butter is dear but nutmegs are cheap." "If you can't afford eggs, fill up on dried apples." "If you want to bust the meat trust, eat starch."

In considering Mr. Wright's wage statistics two things should be borne in mind which largely vitiate their correctness. In the first place these figures are obtained almost exclusively from the employers of labor. In the second place, making no allowance for lost time, they show the wage rate, but not the actual wage. The possible amount which a man may earn under a given rate and the actual amount he gets are very different things. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor in a very recent report has pointed out these discrepancies very clearly and attempted to remove them. It obtained its figures from both sides, from employers and trades unions, then calculating the time lost, was able to approximate the actual wage in 36 different industries. The results are much at variance with Mr. Wright's statistics and will appeal to any person of intelligence as being somewhere near the truth. The report shows that the employees in these industries lost 21.92 per cent. of their time, which per cent. must be deducted from the rate wage to determine the actual wage. The report shows too that the average rate for carpenters in Massachusetts is \$2.88 for eight hours work. Deducting from this the average per cent. for lost time we have \$2.25 as the actual wage of the average carpenter in Massachusetts. There is quite a difference between this and Mr. Wright's estimate of \$3.45. The absurdity of using this carpenter at \$3.45 per day as a type of all the laboring class is shown by the fact that the average actual wage of all the laborers in Massachusetts for the last ten years has not exceeded \$450 per year.

I wish to close this part of the discussion with the assurance that I am not the first individual by any means who has criticized the figures of this official statistician or the conclusions he is so free to draw from them with all the authority of

an oracle. Some of the best sociologists and economists of the country have preceded me. I will quote briefly from Prof. Albion W. Small, head of the department of sociology in Chicago University. He says of Mr. Wright's statistics:—"Our faith in them as scientific demonstrations of anything tends to a zero point. There is ample reason for the belief among the plain people that officially sanctioned exhibits of alleged facts are not the reliable basis for social conclusions that they purport to be." "Massing the sort of evidence that we have in a way to leave the impression that it amounts to statistical proof is neither philosophically nor scientifically nor pedagogically sound."

Mr. H. L. Bliss, a prominent writer on statistical subjects says:—"It may be noticed that although Col. Wright is supposed to be the representative of labor, his misrepresentations are against labor. He always tries to make it appear that labor is better off than an honest presentation of the figures would show."

It seems to me that these critics have drawn it very mildly. For ways that are dark and tricks that are vain the official statistician of the capitalist system takes the cake. This applies to the whole group of them. From a working class point of view their statistics have no value whatever except as demonstrations of what not to believe.

In the conclusion of his lecture on "Wages" Mr. Wright declares that wages have been increasing for 40 years: that the purchasing power of money is greater and that the laborer is better off than ever before in the history of the human race, for which of course he should be devoutly thankful first to the Republican party who is the author and sole promoter of this prosperity, and second to the Bureau of Statistics for making it known to him. These optimistic deductions have a very familiar sound. They have been drawn with more or less frequency and variety for many years. They are the stock in trade of the capitalist political economist, and his voucher that he has earned his salary.

Prof. Richard T. Ely on this point says:—"This plea of present satisfactory conditions and continuous improvement in the lot of the working man has been a classic excuse for resisting reform. People have always been saying 'the laboring classes were never so well off as now.' It was said after the Napoleonic wars, when the masses were impoverished though the wealth of the few had increased enormously." "Similar arguments were heard in 1846 when factory legislation was urged on Parliament. When one reads of this past progress one fancies that they must now all be living in the finest residence portions of our cities and dining daily on roast duck and diamond-back terrapin."

That "the laborer is better off today than ever before in the history of the human race" is one of Mr. Wright's familiar optimisms the historical accuracy of which he has never shown, and which is open to serious question. Prof. Thorold Rogers in his classic work "Six Centuries of Work and Wages" thus describes the golden age of the English laborer, which includes the fifteenth and first quarter of the sixteenth centuries. "At no time were wages relatively speaking so high and at no time was food so cheap." "The wages of the artisan were generally and through the year about six pence a day. Those of the agricultural laborer about four pence." "It is plain that the day was one of eight hours. Very often the laborer was fed." "Food was so abundant and cheap that it was no great matter to throw it in with wages. The full price of a laborer's board was a shilling a week, often considerably less; his wages were twice or three times the cost of his maintenance under contract. Four cents in those days would buy eight pounds of meat, it would buy four dozen eggs, two chickens, or nearly a quart of honey. It would nearly pay his rent and buy fuel for a whole month." Summing up Professor Rogers says, "There are large masses of England's poorer classes

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today who are more destitute, whose homes are more squalid, whose means are more uncertain, whose prospects are more hopeless than those of the poorest serfs of the middle ages and the meanest drudges of the medieval cities."

But we need not go to England or back to the fifteenth century to disprove the accuracy of Mr. Wright's assertion. I have in my possession a pamphlet on "Early Factory Life in New England," by Harriet H. Robinson. I quote from it with all the more confidence and pleasure because it has been re-printed by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics under the supervision of Carroll D. Wright. Doctors don't like to take their own medicine and statisticians don't always like to face their own figures.

In this pamphlet Miss Robinson thus describes the early factory life of Lowell, Mass.

"Troops of girls came from different parts of New England and Canada. Some of them were daughters of sea captains, of professional men or teachers. A few were daughters of persons in reduced circumstances, and some like the writer were granddaughters of patriots who had fought on Bunker Hill and had lost the family means in the war of independence. At first only a few came, others followed, and in a short time the Lowell mills became filled with blooming and energetic New England women. They soon began to associate with those who formed the community in which they lived and were invited to their houses. They went to the same church and sometimes perhaps married into the best families. Those of the mill girls who had homes generally worked from eight to ten months in the year; the rest of the time was spent with parents and friends.

"They were subject to no extortion and if they did extra work they were always paid in full. Their own account of labor done by the piece was always accepted. They kept the figures and were paid accordingly. They were obliged to tend no more looms and frames than they could easily take care of, and they had plenty of time to sit and rest. They were not driven. They took their work-a-day life easy. They were treated with consideration by their employers, and there was a feeling of respectful equality between them. Life in the boarding houses was very agreeable. They wrote letters, read, studied or sewed, for as a rule they were their own seamstresses and dressmakers. Dickens in his "American Notes" speaks with surprise of their home life. He says, 'There is a piano in a great many of the boarding-houses, and nearly all the young ladies subscribe to circulating libraries.' They published a periodical for several years known as the *Lowell Offering*, of which Dickens wrote in 1842: 'It will compare advantageously with a great many English annuals.' Among these mill girls who wrote for this magazine were Margaret Foley, later a sculptor of merit; Lucy Larcom, the poetess; Harriet Curtis, Eliza Jane Cate, Harriet Farley, all of them voluminous writers of prose and poetry."

Such was the early life of the cotton mill operative. Forty years later in 1881 Harriet Robinson visited Lowell and spoke at a meeting of the mill girls. Of this meeting she says:—"When it was over a few of them gathered around and asked many questions. In turn I questioned them; about their work; their hours of labor; their wages and means of improvement. When I urged them to occupy their spare time in reading and study they seemed to understand the necessity of it, but answered sadly:—'We will try, but we work so hard, we tend so much machinery, and we are so tired.' There was a tired hopelessness about them that I am sure was not often seen among the early mill girls."

Since 1881 an even greater change has taken place. The Poles and Hungarians, Greeks and Armenians have displaced the French Canadians, the Irish and the Americans as they have in turn displaced each other. This change has taken place in all the textile centres of Massachusetts, and the result

is a degradation almost beyond the power of human language to describe. From the pen picture of a reliable writer I wish to describe the conditions he found in Chicopee, Mass. It is a fair sample of them all. He says:—"The cotton mills at Chicopee Falls are owned by the Chicopee Manufacturing Co. The stock of this company is said to be held by a few Boston families. The company employs about 1,500 men, women and children. It owns at least 135 tenements. These are nothing more or less than mouldy, disreputable looking two and three story plain, brick houses, built half a century ago. The houses were built to accommodate one family and no more; when they were built American labor was almost exclusively employed in the mills. Now some of these little houses are pressed to contain twenty-five families, and it is a rarity to see a house that does not contain at least fifty persons. The influx of Poles and French Canadians has increased to such an extent that they have about totally supplanted all other nationalities in the cotton mills. Out of a total population of 24,000 there are now about 3,000 Poles and 4,000 French Canadians in Chicopee Falls. Child labor is exploited here and the law constantly violated. The children get on an average thirty cents per day. Since April the average man employee has been able to make only about \$2.75 or \$3.00 a week for the four days a week work. The Pole usually has a wife and seven or eight children to support. To subsist he has to resort to the system of taking in boarders. He not only supports a wife and seven or eight children in a tenement of three or four rooms, but takes in on an average ten or twelve boarders. Few have beds. In the summer they cut grass on the river bank, dry it and use that, or later corn husks, as a bedding. In the damp, ill ventilated cellars it is customary for at least ten persons to sleep. About four years ago the Company's tenements became overcrowded. It had an old stable used for quartering horses. A new stable for the horses was built and the old stable partitioned off into tenements. About 200 men, women and children now live in the old stable. It has no sanitary appliances and it has but one stove. The old stable is divided into six tenements, including lofts and each tenement yields to the company from \$6.50 to \$7.50 per month rent." In the light of this comparison between the factory life of today and that of sixty years ago I ask you to judge Mr. Wright's assertion that the condition of the laboring man today is better than ever before in the history of the human race. The former head of the Bureau of Labor seems to have been indulging in a statistical pipe-dream.

I will close this part of my criticism by another quotation from Prof. Ely. He says:—"The bright pictures of the present condition of the laboring classes are drawn by those who are least animated by a desire for the improvement of the less fortunate portion of mankind. This is the secret of industrial optimism. It denies evils to escape responsibility and 'Makes us feel so comfortable.' These pictures are an excuse for doing nothing; they are opiates for troubled consciences."

I have said that this economic insecurity is a direct product of our wage system, inseparable from it, and therefore impossible of removal so long as the system continues. Indeed in the very nature of things it must go on increasing and intensifying.

A brief analysis of the elements which enter into this insecurity will show that neither capitalist nor wage-worker can solve the problem. Prominent among these elements is sickness and accident. It is true that all men must die, that it is given to but few to live the allotted three score years and ten, but it is also true that the sickness and death rate among the workers is abnormally large. In the tenement districts of our cities it is double that of the better residential portions. Tuberculosis, the White Plague of modern society, which annually numbers its victims by the hundreds of thousands is preeminently a disease of the working-class. It is traceable

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directly to the poor food, and unsanitary conditions under which the workers live. The death rate among the children of the working class in the tenement districts is appalling. The laborer is continually obliged to face accident and death in unhealthy and dangerous occupations. These facts are patent to everyone. We have been so accustomed to these things that we accept them as a matter of course. But why, we ask, is the working class compelled or even allowed to work and to live under such conditions as these. The answer is not far to seek. Human life and human labor is plentiful and cheap, so plentiful that it is not even necessary to provide healthful subsistence for all of the workers. A few thousand more or less will not be missed. The capitalist has never reasoned this out. He never realizes it. He would hold up his hands in holy horror at the suggestion, nevertheless this is a cold blooded statement of an economic fact. In order to make profit he must have cheap labor. Cheap labor means poor conditions. Poor conditions mean sickness and death.

Another element of insecurity is loss of time. I have already pointed out in the report of the Massachusetts Bureau that even among those who are supposed to be steadily employed the loss of time is a large factor. Add to this the army of a million and a half permanently unemployed, whose numbers are constantly increasing, and whose presence is continually menacing the employment of the rest, and this element of insecurity assumes large proportions. The sign "No Work" does not mean that human wants have been satisfied and there is therefore no work to be done. On the contrary it is oftenest displayed when the masses are in direst need and there is therefore most work to be done. It only means that the capitalist cannot furnish employment with profit to himself. Having no other motive for production, he discharges his workers and tells them shift for themselves till trade is good again, that is till he can employ them at a profit.

Another element in this insecurity and perhaps the greatest of all is the monotony and intensity of modern industrial life which saps the vitality of the worker and renders him prematurely old. Mr. Wright himself has shown that this "dead line" in industry is now clearly drawn, that the average working man is industrially dead at the age of 50; the average working woman at the age of 40. In some occupations and under some employers it is much less. The Carnegie steel works recently drew the line at 35 years. This does not necessarily mean that the workers are not efficient. It only means that they cannot keep up to the highest standard of efficiency. The capitalist must maintain the highest standard in order to make the highest profits. He discards the aged worker for the same reason that he discards the old-fashioned machine.

As we analyze these elements therefore we discover the limitations of the capitalist. He is bound by the iron law of competitive production. He must buy cheap and sell dear. This rule applies to labor as well as to every other commodity that enters into his product. He must not only make a profit but he must also make the largest possible profit. If he should be content with small profits he would soon be a small capitalist and the small capitalist is soon exterminated under competition.

The making of the profit, that is the appropriation of the worker's surplus product, which is the corner stone of the capitalist system, is also its greatest weakness, and will eventually cause its complete overthrow. Economic science demands that the equilibrium between production and consumption shall be maintained. Society cannot consume what it does not produce, neither can it long produce what it does not consume. The separation of production from consumption which is the foundation of capitalism is also its fatal defect. The profit of the capitalist rests in its final analysis upon the fact that the worker produces surplus value, that is his wages which are the cost of his subsistence are less than his total product, consequently he cannot buy back what he has pro-

duced, or what others have produced. A surplus must be left for the capitalist otherwise there could be no profit, and without profit there could be no capitalist. The capitalist can consume but little of this surplus. He must find a market for it and he first finds it nearest home. Tariff restrictions are enacted to enable him to keep this home market to himself. The surplus product expropriated from the workers soon overstocks the home market. Periodic industrial depressions follow. The workers are laid off in order to reduce production. Their capacity to consume is thereby lessened and the remedy only aggravates the disease. Reciprocity treaties are arranged with other nations. The surplus labor at home is thus brought into competition with the surplus labor abroad and another element of uncertainty is added to the worker's life. The capitalist finds while he has been seeking a foreign market abroad other nations are playing havoc with his market at home, and the nations which a generation ago were fit subjects for his exploitation are now producing a surplus of their own. The international trust and trade agreements are clear demonstrations of the futility of local tariff regulations against the operation of a universal economic law. These international agreements stave off the inevitable for a while but the time comes when these no longer avail. The tide of this expanding commerce turns back upon his own shores. He can neither consume his wealth nor re-invest it at a profit. If he attempts to curtail expense and reduce production he makes a bad matter worse. The culmination of the system is also its collapse. In the graphic words of Kautsky "the capitalist chokes with his own fat."

At every step in this process he is driven by the inexorable law of competition to make the greatest possible profit. He is therefore helpless to relieve the insecurity of the working class, however philanthropically inclined he may be. The worker is equally helpless. As he is compelled to compete in a labor market continually overstocked, his wages must always tend to the point of bare subsistence. A subsistence wage leaves no margin to provide against economic insecurity. But assuming that it does, the remedy only aggravates the disease. Assume for the moment's argument that Mr. Wright's mythical carpenter could subsist on \$9.60 per week, and assume also that he had \$11.10 left each week to put in the bank. What would be the inevitable result if this was done and all the workers hoarded one half of their earnings against a rainy day? Would it not mean that one half the business houses in the country would go into bankruptcy, and hundreds of clerks and proprietors be thrown out of employment to still further intensify competition in the labor market? And the more general this plan became the more general would be its dire effects.

The struggle of the capitalist for profit has resulted in an almost complete organization and concentration of the tools of industry. The struggle of the workers for subsistence has resulted in the world wide organization and consolidation of the working class. When the final history of the wage system is written these two results will be put down as the great blessings which it brought to mankind.

The labor market has become international. In the fiery furnace heat of the competitive struggle every barrier of race and creed and nationality has been broken down. Even the distinctions between mental workers and manual workers are disappearing, for it must not be forgotten that both are the dependents of the wage system. The physician who winks at the vices and evil habits of his wealthy families in order to hold his practice; the lawyer who shows his clients how to be dishonest in a legal way; the minister who preaches pointless platitudes to plutocratic pews; the political economist who juggles statistics and draws optimistic pictures to ease troubled consciences; the editor who writes editorials by the yard at ten dollars per week, all these, whether they are aware of it or not

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are but types of the intellectual slaves of our wage system. They have hitherto looked down upon the manual toilers and the manual toilers have been jealous of them, but these barriers of pride and jealousy are being swept away in the common interest, the common suffering, the common struggle, and the common heroism of the working class. When recently the streets of St. Petersburg were sprinkled with the sacrificial blood of the working class, the Jew and the Gentile, the priest and the layman, the student and the artisan laying down their lives together on the altar of human freedom demonstrated to all the world that unity and solidarity of the working class which today knows no barriers of race, or creed, or sex, or nationality.

Mr. Wright has truthfully described the economic insecurity of the workers as "the tragedy of modern industry." Worse than the destitution and want of the present is the continually haunting fear of poverty in old age. Its shadow falls athwart the pathway of the laborer from the cradle to the grave. It blights his keenest pleasure: It intensifies his deepest sorrow: The shadow of death itself can hardly efface it.

That this should be the lot of the working class whose deft fingers fashion and operate the wonderful wealth-producing machines; whose brain and whose brawn has cleared the forests, spanned the globe with wires of copper and rails of steel, and ploughed in the trackless ocean the highways of commerce; that this mighty giant, Labor, who, like Atlas of old bears upon his back the whole structure of our boasted civilization, should now be crushed beneath the weight of his own burden; this is indeed "the tragedy of industry." It is the damning indictment of our wage system before which all the sophistries of all the political economists of the capitalist class are but bits of straw in the path of a cyclone. It is the sure presage of its swift-coming dissolution which all their paternalistic palliatives cannot avert.

When the capitalist system has reached its final culmination towards which it is rushing with lightning speed; when the

capitalist class, workless and useless, hopeless and helpless, "choked with its own fat" stands face to face with the organized workers of the world whose brains and whose brawn can abundantly supply all the wants of mankind and who are yet famishing upon their own leanness because denied access to the great socialized tools of industry which they can no longer use with profit to the capitalist owners; when the economic insecurity of the working class has been reduced to the absolute certainty of final extinction under the wage system; when this climax has been reached: What next! Are the "Divine rights" of the capitalist class in the means of existence so sacred that the workers will shrink back into destruction and oblivion? Every step in human progress, every aspiration of the race, every hope for the future cries out in protest against such a conclusion. Out of the bitter shall come the sweet. Out of the shadow shall come the sunlight. Out of the war shall come the peace. Out of the chaos of our decaying wage system shall come the new order of industrial democracy whose corner stone is economic justice, whose visible superstructure is the Co-operative Commonwealth, whose political form is the universal republic, whose ethical reality is the brotherhood of man.

The morning star of the better day has already reached the zenith. The eastern sky is aglow with the sunbeams of the new era. The haunting shadows of poverty and want flee away. The day comes on apace bearing the healing of the nations upon its wings. In its golden beams old age shall renew its youth and childhood sport and play. The young man and the maiden shall plight their troth in a faith that knows no fear of want. Master and slave alike shall rejoice in the bonds of a common service. Man shall clasp hand with man the globe around, and the brotherhood of the working-class shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

Faces to the East, comrades! All hail the coming day! All hail to Socialism!



The Huns and Vandals are in the Capitalist Camp.
—Miners' Magazine.



UNCLE SAM: If you can lick one end of that monster, I might feel encouraged to step in and try my hand.

The Lessons of the Paris Commune

From "A Short History of the Paris Commune" by E. Belfort Bax



THE great general lesson taught by the failure of the Commune of 1871 is the supreme necessity of an organization comprising a solid body of class-conscious proletarians and other Socialists well acquainted with each other, whose views are clearly defined, who know what they want, and who have, at all events, some notion of the course to pursue on an emergency. Had there been such a body of men in Paris in February and March, 1871, the subsequent course of events might have been very different. As a consequence of the heterogeneous nature of the elements comprising the Central Committee, divided councils prevailed, and any dishonest or incapable person who only made himself sufficiently busy could obtain a momentary ascendancy which at a critical juncture may be fatal.

The importance of not taking men on their own estimation alone, was, moreover, never realized, either by the Committee or the Commune. Had the Committee not trusted Lullier, but seen to the occupation of Mont Valérien itself, one of the greatest military blunders would have been avoided. Had there been a leading body of men to have given a head to the insurrection of the 18th of March, the gates of Paris would have been immediately closed, and the already disaffected troops would never have been suffered to slip through the fingers of the insurrection and form the nucleus of a hostile army at Versailles. The Ministers, the officers, in short all the civil and military functionaries of the government would have been simultaneously arrested and preparations made for trying the guilty.

The Assembly and the government had been collectively guilty of a crime, even from the ordinary point of view. They had violated the conditions under which they were elected, their mandate being solely to ratify the forms of peace, and then to appeal to the country on the constitutional issue. Instead of this they had virtually usurped the powers of a constituent assembly with the avowed intention of crushing all Republican, Democratic, and Socialistic aspirations throughout France, and especially of striking a blow at Paris, which they regarded as the head-centre of such aspirations—in other words, they were traitors to the country.

They had chosen as their leader the "head of the Executive," Louis Adolphe Thiers, probably the cleverest, most hypocritical, and most unscrupulous villain that ever defiled the page of history. Owing to the remissness of the Central Committee, the chief of the monarchical conspiracy at Versailles was allowed to escape with the other Ministers from Paris instead of his having been arrested on the 18th of March. Had he, with the rest, been taken and tried, they might have been condemned and the execution of their sentence held over pending events. The Commune would then have had effective hostages. For the Versailles would have thought twice of massacring prisoners if they had felt convinced that the first instance of the kind would have been answered by the peremptory execution of (say) Adolphe Thiers. The Commune wished the war to be carried out on decently humane principles. This was excellent in intention, but would not work without the bargain being endorsed by both belligerents. It was a criminal weakness on the part of the Commune not to shape its conduct by the fact that the Versailles were determined to conduct the war upon wild-beast principles. But the best hostage of all, for the Commune, was the Bank of France. As M. Lissagaray well says, the bank, the civil register, the domains, and the scitors' fund, were the tender points on which to hold the bourgeoisie. Had the Committee or the Commune seized the bank with its millions, and the registers of 90,000 depositors throughout France, Versailles must have capitulated. Instead of doing this they allowed themselves to be bamboozled by a well-intentioned fool like Beslay, who in his turn was made a tool of

by De Plœuc, the sub-governor of the bank, the result being that the vast financial resources at the disposal of the Commune remained virtually untouched.

No one among those engaged in the Revolution we have been describing seemed to appreciate the French maxim *la guerre, comme a la guerre* (in war, as in war), and the scrupulosity of all concerned as to laying hands on the property or persons of their adversaries allowed the cause no chance. No one seemed even to appreciate adequately the ethics of insurrection—that an insurrectionary administration which has succeeded in establishing itself, becomes by that very fact (from the point of view of the insurrection) the sole rightful repository of power for the time being, and that the government, against which the insurrection was directed, becomes in its turn the rebel power, to be crushed in the most expeditious manner possible. The Assembly and the Ministers were rebels not to be parleyed with but suppressed. The Committee, instead of negotiating, should have at once thrown the whole force of the National Guard upon Versailles, then weak in resources, and dispersed the Assembly. This was the only reasonable tactics after having made the initial blunder of letting

the Ministers escape, followed by the elements of an army. Instead, they allowed a whole fortnight to be frittered away in abortive attempts at negotiations which the Versailles gladly protracted till they had organized their military forces, and made their arrangements with the German authorities for the rapid delivery of the prisoners of war.

One of the most unfortunate characteristics of the leaders of the Commune was their sensitiveness to bourgeois public opinion. The first thing for the leader of a revolutionary movement to learn is a healthy contempt for the official public opinion of the "civilized world." He must resolutely harden his heart against its "thrills of horror," its "indignation," its "abomination," and its "detestation," and he must learn to smile at all the names it will liberally shower upon him and his cause.

To aid in breaking the force of the representatives of the established order in press and on platform, it is necessary to have a vigorous party press which will place matters in their true light before that mixed and nebulous section of public opinion possessed of wavering or of no definite principles, but which, in default of thinking and examining into facts for itself, takes the impress of any statement that it finds repeated a few times without very decisive and publicly-made contradictions. The deliberate perversion of facts and the distorted judgment of the bourgeois journals ament the Commune were too impudently flagrant to have passed muster as the did, even with the ordinary mind, had there been a Socialist press to

expose them, such as we now have, for example in Germany.

But the dominant classes, though they may succeed, by aid of their wealth and power, in perverting the truth for the time, can do no more. The proletariat once conscious of its class-interests, and knowing what these interests imply, will not forget the pioneers in the struggle for liberty. Already the 18th of March has become throughout the civilized world the greatest day in the Socialist calendar. The wonder is, indeed, not so much that the great capitalist class, possessing the monopoly of every organ of public opinion, of the whole press, and of every hall and meeting place, were able to drown the voice of truth and justice by their noisy bluff and bullying, but rather that despite all the clamor, and without any Socialist press at the time worth speaking of, the true meaning and facts of the Commune should have come to light as much as they did. But so it was. There were a few honest middle-class men to be found who, though caring nothing for the Commune, and with no sympathy for its aims, yet refused to join in the great class-conspiracy of vilification, and who, at all events up to their lights, spoke the truth as to what they had seen and heard in



AN ENGLISH TRIBUTE TO THE FRENCH COMMUNE
DEDICATED TO THE WORKERS
OF BOTH COUNTRIES!

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Paris under the red flag, and who bore witness to the noble disinterestedness of the defenders of the cause, and to the foulness of their persecutors.

For the rest, if there is one lesson which the Commune has been the indirect means of teaching all who are willing to learn, and for which alone all Socialists should owe it a debt of gratitude, it is this:

It has taught us all that the opinion of the "civilized world," as voiced by the leader-writers of its great organs of the press, and the speakers, on the platforms, of its great party meetings, alike in its moral judgments, its political judgments, and its social judgments, has, in spite of all seeming diversity, one thing only as its final measure and standard—the interests, real or imagined, of the dominant capitalist class.

The Devastation of Our Forests



BOURGEOIS economists would have us believe that the possessions of the capitalist represent the fruit of his honest toil, and are the result of his having developed, in a marvelous degree, the ability to save. We know better. We know that what makes his capital grow from day to day is the confiscation of the surplus value produced by the wage worker. And as to the accumulation of the capital necessary for exploitation, why, America offers many an instance of "primitive capitalist accumulation." Just now Mr. Arthur Ruhl furnishes such an instance in an article in *Collier's*, where he describes how the thrifty accumulators of capital are "Walking off with the United States," intent upon saving it for themselves. He shows how our forest lands are stolen by some of these respectable gentlemen possessed with the saving mania. He says:

"More than three millions of acres of timber land, the greater part of it the magnificent timber land of the Northwest, has been practically given away by the government in the past two years. Probably nine-tenths of this was grabbed either by actual fraud or by violating the spirit of an absurd and impotent law. There is nothing particularly new in this except that the land grabbed has been particularly valuable, the destruction of timber particularly ruthless. Respectable citizens have always thought it proper to cheat the government. Were it not that such men as Senator Mitchell, Congressman Binger Hermann, Surveyor-General Meldrum of Oregon, and Frederick Hyde, President of the San Francisco School Board, are under indictment, the blasé East would not even now take any interest. The West takes land grabbing for granted. The whole history of our public lands is one of ruthless grabbing, and still more of idiotic laws and farcical attempts to enforce them. The manner in which the government has given away its public lands makes the dealings of Mrs. Chadwick's bankers look like the apex of conservative and astute finance. We have thrown away and are throwing away such an empire as was never given to any other nation under the sun. Under the altruistic theory that the public land should be given to the people for homesteads and farms, domains vast enough to constitute separate States have been tossed away to speculators, railroads, ranchmen, and lumber corporations. To the States, for the avowed purpose of providing for education, we once gave thirty thousand acres of land for each senator and representative in congress. The States which had no public land received scrip which eventually found its way into the open market. Wall Street speculators at one time advertised the college scrip of nine States. The entire scrip of one university was offered at one time for thirty-seven and a half cents an acre. The greater part of this land, the income of which was intended to be used for education, has long since been squandered and lost forever. Under the old Swamp Lands act thousands of acres in the Sierra Nevada Mountains were seized as swamp—lands five thousand feet above the level of the sea, actually requiring irrigation to make anything grow on them. Vast areas were surveyed when flooded and grabbed or included, because some far-off corner of them had a mud hole in it. They tell a story of a man who put a boat on a wagon and had his mule draw him across a stretch of fertile prairie. Then he went to the land office and entered his claim for swamp land, producing several witnesses who were quite willing to swear, orally, that he rowed over the claim in a boat. Railroads, by juggling the "alternate sections" they received when first running their lines through new country, have acquired tracts of twenty or even fifty miles, which they have held unimproved, waiting for values to rise, while the homesteaders beyond these belts were driven back, compelled to content themselves with the imaginary advantages of a railroad perhaps fifty miles distant. The government has not always even kept faith with its own children. It has invited settlers into a country, and after they had built houses and started farms in good faith, has sold out the whole area to a railroad or speculative corporation at, for example, \$1 an acre. The homesteaders were then ejected or obliged to buy back their own land from their new masters at, for instance, \$6 an acre, paying for the improvements that they themselves had made. And so on, and so on. It's an old story now—one that makes appear respectable the average performances of pickpockets and thieves."

Capitalistic Journalism



THE bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers."

These words of the "Communist Manifesto" were written more than fifty years ago. Then, and for a long time after, the professional classes could not see themselves in this light. Even today many of them fail to perceive that the glory which former times imparted to their occupation, has vanished and that evolution has resolved their "personal worth into exchange value."

The journalist is not specifically mentioned in the passage quoted from the Manifesto. But he is, of course, included in it. The veil of illusion which has long covered the bourgeois press, is gradually being torn away by the merciless winds of real life and we behold a vile and hideous creature—the prostitute of capitalism.

In the New York *Bookman* a writer who signs himself Richard W. Kemp, describes the American press of today. What he says contains nothing startling for Socialists. It simply corroborates their theories. We quote the following passages from the article in question:

"The contemporary newspaper has grown to be a very big affair. To conduct it requires an enormous expenditure of money. Its financial side is exceedingly important. Moreover, we are living in an age of great financial enterprises, and the newspaper has been swept into the same vortex that has swallowed up so many other agents of civilization. The money kings long ago saw the value of a newspaper as an adjunct to financial operations, and so by degrees they secured control of them, one after another, and for one reason or another. Some millionaires like to own a newspaper for the pleasure of it, just as they might like to own a racing stable, or an ocean-going yacht, or a Scotch moor. But most of them have a more practical object than this. They recognize the power of the press as extending in many different directions, and they covet power—political, financial, social. Therefore, in the past twenty years, to take the New York papers alone, there is scarcely one that has not been, or is not now, controlled by some moneyed magnate. Jay Gould at different times had his finger on the pulse of two leading journals. Cyrus W. Field did what he liked with another. The Vanderbilt interest was represented by an evening paper. Henry Villard owned another. Mr. Pierpont Morgan is believed to give orders to a morning paper. The Searles-Hopkins estate can do what it pleases with an organ which it has bought. And so the list might be extended, to show how the ultimate sovereignty of the great newspaper of today has passed away from the editor into the hands of the owner, of whom the editor is now only the salaried employee."

"There still remain among us many newspapers that illustrate ability, courage, and independence. But they are diminishing in number every year as the syndicate type of journalism becomes more prevalent. Our journalists are losing their individuality, and, what is worse, all pride in their own calling. You will hear them declare that the editorial page has no authority, and they are right; for the case cannot be otherwise when the editors themselves have no convictions. When the policy of a paper is dictated partly by the speculative interests of the owner, and partly by the commercial spirit of the counting-room, and when editors have no real belief save that the public is made up entirely of fools, then the day of the newspaper is over, so far as its influence and dignity are concerned. The man in the street knows nothing of how a paper is made, but in the long run he will detect the difference between what is genuine and what is a mere sham. . . ."

"The truth is that this new syndicate journalism is not a profession but a trade. It has neither the dignity, nor the independence, nor the originality which enter into the life-work of a professional man. A hundred schools of journalism cannot give it character under conditions such as I have just described. The earlier journalism was sometimes eccentric and sometimes bigoted; but, at least its leaders were their own masters, working single-mindedly for a definite end, and back of it were always those qualities that go into the making of a man."

The Story of a Russian Terrorist



An interesting document has reached us which throws a vivid light upon the aims and ideals of that famous "Fighting Organization," whose members have brought about the death of Sipiagine and Von Plehve, the predecessors of the present Minister of the Interior. The document is the speech prepared by Sasanoff, the assassin of Von Plehve, for his defence at his trial, but which he was not permitted to make.

"The Fighting Organization," says Sasanoff, "is not a separate independent society; it is only a part of a large organization of the Socialist Revolutionary Party . . . and I wish to explain that this party cannot be described as one which acts by "violence." Our party is by its very nature inimical to every kind of violence. . . . Our ideal is Socialism, which proclaims "Peace on earth, and benevolence to mankind." . . . We are not forcing our ideals upon the people, we wish only to speak the truth. . . . We hate and despise violence; we are convinced that violence is powerless against ideas. . . .

"Is it our fault that we Russian Socialists have become Revolutionists because of the pressure of circumstances? All our attempts at peaceful activity have been met by ruthless persecution on the side of the government. . . . Our manner of activity is first of all that of the press, but at our first word our speech is stifled and we are thrown into prisons or sent into exile. Who is it then that acts by violence? We—or the government? We are subjected to the humiliation of corporal punishment, beaten by knouts, trodden upon by horses, and shot down as soon as we resolve to declare publicly in the streets that which we desire and request. We are deprived of the protection of law, and declared to be the enemies of the people, and political criminals."

Therefore, declares Sasanoff, it is not the Socialists but the government which acts by violence. The "Fighting Organization" comes only from time to time upon the scene to punish the most criminal among the representatives of the government. It protects the people from ruthless assassins, answering by force to violence. To make the peaceful communication of ideas possible, the Russian Socialists request for the people freedom of press, of speech and of meetings, and the right of taking part in the legislative work of the government, and of controlling the State income and expenses.

Sasanoff then proceeds to enumerate the many crimes committed by Von Plehve, for which he (Sasanoff) "executed" him. Then he gives a sketch of his biography in order to show how by the force of circumstances he at last felt impelled to take upon himself the duty of avenging the people.

"I have no personal motives for killing the Minister, Von Plehve. By birth I am of a peaceful and exceedingly religious and monarchical



Title Design of *Free Russia* by Walter Crane.

peasant family, which removed from the country to the town where it quickly became rich through the exploitation of the forests of Bashkiriya. The atmosphere in which I was brought up in my own family was altogether opposed to any discontent or protest against the existing Russian order of things. The rooms in the house of my father were ornamented with portraits of the Czar side by side with holy ikons. Later on, in the gymnasium (second school) the educational spirit was of the same nature. The gymnasium of my time, was to me, and to all my schoolmates without exception, a hateful institution. The teachers endeavored to exterminate every living idea in us, and systematically deadened our power of thinking. They openly jeered at the Jews and the Poles. When I entered the Moscow University I only felt a great thirst for knowledge, and my favorite newspapers were *Moskovskiy Viedmosti* and *Sviet* (the most reactionary Russian jingo papers), and I did not think or know of any revolution."

The first shock to the student's political indifference was administered to him by the governmental order in 1901 to punish refractory students by enforced military service, contrary to existing laws. He felt obliged to take part in the students' protest against this order, and then he noticed, for the first time, that the police and their spies were the masters of the university. He was put in prison with many other students, and it was there that he became acquainted with revolutionary prints. Then came the excommunication of Tolstoy, whom Sasanoff greatly admired as a writer, and the news of the terrible ill-treatment of the students of St. Petersburg by the police. Then he understood that no freedom of speech or of conscience existed in Russia, and his thoughts began to turn to revolution. For participation in the students' protest Sasanoff was exiled to his native place, but a few weeks later he was again arrested because he was found to be in the possession of Socialist literature. Having passed some time in prison for the second time, he was liberated and then again arrested for participation in a peaceful Socialist organization. He was, for the third time, imprisoned, kept in prison for eighteen months, and afterwards exiled to the furthest part of Siberia for a period of five years. While in prison he was subjected to the most cruel treatment; every day he was stripped and searched in all parts of his body, his limbs being nearly broken by the rough usage of those who were appointed to search him. Every day scenes of beating and of ill-treatment of the criminal prisoners nearly drove him mad. His mother was constantly insulted by the prison authorities during her visits to him, and advised to renounce her "villainous son." To protest against this treatment he refused to take food during seven days and nights. During his incarceration thousands of political prisoners passed through the prison on their way to exile and each of them told him terrible tales of the misdeeds of Von Plehve: the shooting of workmen, the flogging of peasants, the violation of women, the massacre of the Jews and the extermination of educated youths.

"Yes, the government made of me from a peaceful man, a revolutionist. The great number of murders and other crimes committed by the Ministers and their agents forced me first to justify and then to adopt terror. . . . When I escaped from Siberia I felt that red ghosts were creeping behind me, never leaving me by night and day, and continually whispering to me—"go and kill Plehve!" Since I began to understand the work of the Ministers in Russia, I felt I had no right to enjoy a peaceful and happy life. In killing Plehve I acted only according to the dictates of my conscience!"

Sasanoff concludes by the expression of deep regret for the death of the coachman of Plehve and for the serious injury done to Captain Tzvetzinsky by the explosion of the bomb.—*Free Russia*.



Street Gathering of St. Petersburg Strikers Addressed by an Agitator.

THE COMRADE

The Social Democracy and the Revolutionary Socialists of Russia



ETWEEN the two wings of the Socialist movement of Russia exists a great amount of bitterness. In consequence of the execution of Plehve the terrorist wing, the Revolutionary Socialists, have lately attracted a good deal of attention. This leads Th. Rothstein, writing in the *London Social Democrat*, to claim for the other wing, the Social Democracy, the leadership in the growing revolutionary movement of Russia. He says, in part:

There is no denying the fact that within recent years the Revolutionary Socialists have acquired a reputation far beyond their intrinsic worth. Whilst Social Democracy was silently impregnating the proletariat with class-consciousness and preparing it by means of street demonstrations for a general attack on Czarism, the Revolutionary Socialists have startled the world, first, by the organization of peasants' riots in the southern parts of Russia, and then by a series of daring attempts on the lives of some of the most unscrupulous representatives of autocracy. More particularly was the world taken in by the assassination of Von Plehve, than whom there was no more hateful figure throughout Europe. This is scarcely to be surprised at. The world did not know Russia nor the forces that were really shaping her destiny. Partly despairing of any other means of salvation, partly impatient of the slow work of social forces, it greeted with delight the removal of such men as Plehve and thought that, if anything, it was terroristic acts like these that are likely to disorganize the autocratic system of government. And the Revolutionary Socialists themselves began to take themselves quite seriously. The Russian Liberals, who, like all other Liberals, have no understanding for the class movements of the proletariat, looked in their own helplessness with great sympathy upon the acts of terrorism, and money flowed from all sides to the "war chest" of the Revolutionary Socialists. What was Social Democracy to them? A doctrinaire movement engaged in theoretical hair-splitting, but with no "go" in it. "Everyone," declares in a leading article the *Revolutionary Russia*, the official organ of the Revolutionary Socialists, as recently as July of last year, "everyone who has followed during recent years the development of contemporary social revolutionary thought both in the West of Europe and in Russia, cannot fail to acknowledge that the so-called orthodox and 'only' revolutionary Marxism is living through its last and really tragical days of its existence. . . . In its instinctive endeavor to save at any cost its obsolete dogmas, its extremely narrow methods both in the domain of theory and in that of practice, the



The Bomb to Czar: I beg to report!

orthodox Marxist literature has fatally condemned itself to spiritual sterility, to the involuntary sin of 'double-tonguedness' and to the voluntary sins of casuistical hair-splitting and hypocritical diplomacy." Such was the opinion held by the Revolutionary Socialists of the Russian and international Social Democracy, and it was, unfortunately, shared by many who ought to have known better.

And now the 22d of January, with all that follows it at the present moment, has given the direct lie to these impudent assertions, and proved finally that it is Social Democracy which will deliver Russia from her secular slavery. At first it was thought that it was a spontaneous rising of the St. Petersburg proletariat with which Social Democracy had nothing in common. Now it is known that even in St. Petersburg Social Democracy had a direct hand in the movement, whilst in all other towns it is only Social Democracy that is organizing and leading the movement. The Russian proletariat is now a *class-conscious agent of the Revolution*, and this we owe exclusively to the Russian Social Democracy. It may well be—and, in fact, it is so—that in St. Petersburg a great portion, perhaps the majority, of those who went on the 22d to the Winter Palace, were not Social Democrats. But the very nature of their program containing Social Democratic demands as well as the fact that one single day sufficed to open their eyes to the real state of things, showed that the Social Democratic propaganda in the past has not been in vain. Social Democracy, which once upon a time sprang up in the minds of a few "intellectuals," is now leader of the popular Revolution, and no Treppoffs will be able to put it down. Autocracy has hitherto ruled, thanks to the *acquiescence* of the people, now it will have to rule *against the will of the people*—and that is a mighty difficult task!

We can rest quite assured as to the final issue of the Revolution. It has been foreseen when not a glimmer of it could be discerned with the naked eye, and the realization of the forecast will carry us to the end. No more uncertainty, no more despair, no more pessimism—the "dogma" has proved correct and the "dogma" will triumph to the very last! It is the proletariat which has risen in its *class interests* against autocracy, and it is the proletariat which will make an end of it.



Czar: I don't want to listen to the absurd demands of the mob—the heritage of my son must be preserved.

—Wahre Jacob.



THE COMRADE New Books

Chants Communal. By Horace Traubel



WHEN the scattered fragments of mind now apart and sensed apart as individualisms are restored to unity by the dissolution of the private property order of civilization the oft recurring I of a Whitman or a Traubel will no longer indicate only the growing perception of that which is greater than I but it will be the GREATER speaking with its various types and tongues of thought. These loose threads no longer swaying to and from the lines of central concord will be caught and keyed up and old Whitman and young Traubel will continue to be heard in the world as the types they were, and the types they strengthened in the immortal many voiced humanity.

The "Chants Communal" of Traubel is not an echo of Whitman. There are no self echoes within the same skull—it is Whitman, just as Whitman was himself the growing sense of the single mindedness of all humanity, with a resultant necessary protest against the mean and little invoked by such a perception, and also with a passionate and most knightly appeal for justice and manliness and deep moral breathing. Most knightly, I say, not in the errantry or futility of their protest, for that victory is sure, but in its utter cleanness from self righteousness. It is not an obverse indictment with a secret reverse of smug self reservation of "Not so am I." It is a common wrong perceived out of an acquired ability to see commonly—no more and a common righteousness maintained from the same ability.

There are two sources of mental unrest from whence comes a struggle towards righteousness—with its criticism and revolt. The first is the modern individual who is taught that all the universe moves for and towards him, and who knows the ego vessel to be too small for such a content, who will not therefore any longer be a live cross on which to crucify his own comprehending life. The second unrest is from the Whitman-Traubel source, and awareness of the cosmic and racial nature of mind, and therefore a resentment against contraction, against the crushing of the world man into an atom of virtue or an atom of vice. One resents a false expansion, the other a false contraction. Now it is the underminer of us all that produces both these revolts. It is the common mind in us which, notwithstanding our much fluttering thought, is doing all our thinking. Therefore Whitman calmly sits on his bench denouncing all, yet blaming none, praising all yet himself without praise, and therefore Traubel also chants communally his lines of hope and courage and with a great healing hand darts forth his arrows.

These "Chants Communal" contain a wondrous wealth of sentences that can stand alone anywhere. Few writers can yield as many complete quotable sentences to the page as Traubel and yet in few books does the separate sentence vanish so completely beneath the general thought as in this. He says:—

"I have thought that only the cryer of justice is at last logical."

"We are not millions of beings owing many debts, we are all one being owing one debt."

"To justice there is a common soul from which all personal souls emerge and to which all personal souls go for restoration."

Here are three extracts which can be matched on every page of the book. I have no intention of complimenting Traubel for them.

It is true that in the spirit of them these thoughts are more religious, nearer the divine, than can be heard from the lips or pens of Christendom's anointed teachers. It is simply true that the New Testament is weak, crude and contradictory in its morals as compared with this book, and that it offers no such number of lines that are eternally true; and therefore I do not compliment Traubel for it. I perceive that he has gone to the school of the common mind, greater than all old or new testaments. But I do compliment him on this that he is among the early ones of the secular prophets whose mission it is to supersede the old servile order of priests and who will restore both the liberty, and light of common-soul prophecy, and for penance and fasting will deliver strong joyful chants to the people. P. B.

Chips from the Workshop of Karl Marx



THE man who wrote "Capital" has been dead these twenty-two years, but not all he has wrought during a life of study and investigation has been given to the world as yet. Lafargue tells us in his memoirs of Marx that the great economist had planned to treat of several of the many subjects engaging his attention. Circumstances did not permit Marx to carry out all his plans, but we may expect to see some of his notes gathered by his literary executors and presented to us in book form.

Some of the material which Marx has left behind has just been put in shape by Karl Kautsky, who was entrusted with this difficult task by the heirs of Karl Marx. The book bears the title "Theories

of Surplus Value." So far only the first volume has been published, containing a historical consideration of the theory of surplus value from its inception up to Adam Smith. It should be remembered that when Marx died in 1883, only the first volume of "Capital" had been published. Friedrich Engels, his life-long friend and co-worker, prepared both the second and the third volume for publication. His intention of bringing out a fourth volume, contemplated by Marx as a critical history of the kernel of political economy, the theory of surplus value, was frustrated by his death. It is this posthumous work of Marx which is now published by Kautsky as a separate book, the contents of which may be said to be a historical parallel to the three volumes of "Capital."

The first of the three prospective volumes contains a series of keen controversies, literary and economic in their nature. The first part of the volume is devoted to the physiocrats, while the second part occupies itself with the conception of productive labor and the notions of Adam Smith and his contemporaries in regard to this matter. The second and third volume, treating of Ricardo, Malthus, and the dissolution of the school of Ricardo, will appear within the next two years.

A lengthy appreciation of the new book is to be found in recent issues of the *Neue Zeit*. The article is from the pen of Heinrich Cunow, who thinks that the value of this new contribution to the history of political economy consists in pointing out to us anew the conditionality of our movement and in leading us to search beneath the surface of the currents of the day for the rule of conduct which the economic evolution presents.

Eduard Bernstein devotes eight pages of the *Dokumente des Sozialismus* to a review of the book. He finds that it is deficient just where it ought to be strongest. Marx, the man who first set forth in clear and definite words the theory of the materialist conception of history, might have been expected to show in this historical treatise the intimate connection between the economic theories he speaks of, and the times in which they originated. "But it is just here that the book before us is disappointing." Bernstein's valuation of the book may be seen from his concluding remarks. He says:

"After all this it will be understood why we do not judge so very highly of the value of this latest Marx publication. In no essential point of economy and sociology does it bring us new knowledge, while in several respects it does not satisfy the claims which from the very standpoint of the Marxist—and we do not here use any other measure than that of the Socialist who has graduated from the Marxian school—are to be made on a treatise of a history of surplus value theories.

... In the development of its ideas it is generally ideologic-abstract and it indulges in all kinds of scholasticism. For a history of surplus value theories showing by a realistic presentation how these theories emanated from the development of economy and classes, for such a history there is offered here some material, but it is neither sufficiently digested, nor exhaustive as to quantity with regard to the epoch in question. . . ."

But Bernstein adds that nevertheless the great amount of patient work required to prepare the book for publication has not been spent in vain. "Its readers will meet with the experience of the treasure seekers in the fable. What they are looking for they will not find at all, or only to an unsatisfactory degree. But they will come upon all kinds of unexpected valuable material. Whole paragraphs or chapters of beautiful theoretic analysis . . . offer themselves for study to him who is endeavoring to delve more deeply into the problems of economy, and great is the number of remarks, which surprise by the depth of the opinion contained therein and which often may serve as a sign-post for further investigation."

A Soul's Love Letter. By Mabel



REAL life is the greatest fiction writer. What can be more interesting than the simple story of human experience, faithfully told and reverently read? Not the experience of one of the four hundred, but the experience of the four hundred millions within the circle of our civilization. Not the exceptional life of dissipation and adventure, but the common life of toil and pain. Human documents like "A Soul's Love Letter" have a value far above that of ordinary fiction. Nothing can be more fascinating to a Socialist than the account of one upon whom, after much struggling and heartache, the truths of Socialism lay their healing hands. We have a goodly supply of the scientific formulas of Socialism. Formulas that are the abstracted life of all of us. Here we have the concrete life of one of us. It tallies with and proves the truth of our formulas. To be admitted to the innermost recesses of another human soul is a great privilege. "A Soul's Love Letter" is addressed to all who care to read it. And since there is no soul without a deep longing for love, who will not read it?

THE COMRADE



Employer: What do you want of me? —
Strikers: Your secret, how to live without working.
—*Simplicissimus.*



OO much class struggle gives a man the dyspepsia," said a Socialist agitator when welcoming THE COMRADE as an exponent of Socialism in art and literature. The same opinion is held by many Socialists who complain that the Socialist papers are lacking the healthy element of humor. They are right. Let us grit our teeth, and do our work. But let us have some fun, also. Especially when the opponents of Socialism are so eager to supply us most generously with the choicest bits of humor, it seems a grievous and unpardonable sin to withhold from our readers these exhilarating remarks. We reprint here for the edification of our readers a few ebullitions which, it must be admitted, possess the rare virtue of original comic. It would mean spoiling your fun if we were to set out and comment upon them. To treat a good joke that way means to kill it.

The first gem of unconscious humor comes from East Aurora, N. Y., a place made famous so far only by Elbert Hubbard and his books and things. Now the East Aurora *Advertiser*, not satisfied with seeing all the world worshipping at the shrine of The Roycrofters and their prophet, makes a bid for immortality. *The Advertiser* is a Catholic paper. Of late it has been kept busy answering the arguments of the enthusiastic Socialist local talent. The issue of Feb. 9 rends the air with this cry of despair:

"Up, and be doing, Christian men and women of East Aurora! Fathers and mothers, save your children from this terror by night, the arrow that flieth by day, this pestilence that walketh in darkness, this demon of Socialism that wasteth at noonday. Be vigilant, brethren, because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour, whom resist ye, steadfast in the faith.

"The Socialist literature and press are reeking with infidelity and 'free love' and its slow but sure poison will spread insidiously till atheism covers our fair land, not wholly, indeed, praise be to heaven, for a remnant will always be found, but enough if you heed not now the warning, to fill your hearts with bitterness and from your lips to force the cry—Too late, alas, too late, too late! Many are called, but few are chosen!

"A remnant, did we say! More, 'The Church of Our Fathers' your and ours, will be always to the fore. The church of our fathers, built on the rock, for whom the promise endureth, the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

The other good thing emanates from the *Industrial Independent*, Parry's paper, which is "devoted to the interests of free and independent labor, opposed to organized lawlessness, Socialism and Anarchy, pledged to the support of sound industrial economics." Parry has sent out sample copies of his paper, and circulars, to all the Socialists whose addresses he could get. He thought Socialists were stupid enough to pay their good money for his rantings. His plan having proved a sorry failure, he is now in bad humor. To one of the Socialist locals, which had told him that they preferred to read their own Socialist publications, he sent the following mirth-provoking epistle:

Mr. J. F. Mabie, Sec'y Socialist Local, Chico, Montana.

Dear Sir:—I have your favor of December 10th and regret that the exchequer of your Socialistic council is so low that you cannot subscribe for first class economic literature. We have received many letters from Socialists over the country and they are all along the same line. If anyone presents an ugly picture of Socialism he is claimed by the Socialists to be "steeped in ignorance."

We only want to say, Mr. Mabie, that we have the largest library of Socialistic literature of probably any publishing concern in this country. Our editors are intelligent, seasoned, broad-minded men. We have studied the Socialistic philosophy from Marx to Debs and frankly we fail to see wherein it will cure the evils that now oppress humanity. We would like to be convinced that Socialism might bring about an industrial millennium but somehow Socialistic arguments fail to appeal to us. We are all poor men too and would like to get into the band wagon for anything good that is coming along but we fail to see wherein we can even get a "hand out" under Socialism. We do manage to make a living nowadays but the Lord knows how we would get along with a million or two Socialistic inspectors telling us where to get off every five minutes. It may be that you Socialists want the state to tell you what to do but by the eternals we call ourselves men here and we think that we are able to outline a plan of individual conduct very satisfactory to us. We do not want the state to tell us when to get up and when to go to bed and how many hours we are going to work and what kind of work we are going to do and all that kind of kindergarten governmental regulation. That system might do for a lot of mental delinquents but for men who call themselves men it is certainly the cheapest kind of folly and rot. We have been working for five thousand years to escape the Socialism and Communism of the early tribal conditions. Now that we are merging into the full manhood of individual rights here comes along a bunch of doctrinaires who want to strike down the government—strike down the church—strike down the monogamic family—in fact, strike down civilization as we know it and give in its place what? A colossal, stupid, asinine conception which is designated as the co-operative commonwealth. No Socialist can tell you how it is to be brought about unless by ex-appropriation which means "stealing the other fellow's stuff." We receive long letters from Socialists who ask that their letters be printed in our paper and yet these same writers are so cheap that they cannot afford to pay 25 cents for a year's subscription to the *Industrial Independent*. We are getting wise as to the Socialists. They are a pretty bum bunch.



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International Review

The New Program of the Social Democrats of Switzerland



HE Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, at its last convention, held during the month of November at Zurich, has replaced its old program which has done service since 1888, by a new one.

The final aim of the Social Democracy of Switzerland differs in no way from that of the Socialist party of this country. The objective point of both is the Co-operative Commonwealth. But what all Socialists are interested in most at present, is the question as to the tactics which have to be followed in order to achieve the aims of Socialism. In the following we give therefore a synopsis of the practical part of the Swiss program.

The program recognizes three roads leading to the Co-operative Commonwealth. These are the political struggle, the trade union movement and the co-operative societies. As regards the political struggle, the program demands an expansion of the functions of municipality, canton and state, to further the ends of state and municipal ownership. Land within city limits, water power, and forests, are pointed out as specially fitted to pass into the possession of the local or state community. It is the duty of the Social Democracy to fight for a continual growth of its powers and demand an increasing share in the business of legislation and administration, in order to more and more democratize them and make them of service to progressing socialization.

The position which this part of the program assumes with regard to the agrarian question is one of special interest. Switzerland is a country of small peasants and since property in land is for the small farmer not a means for the exploitation of the labor of others, and since the conditions for a complete socialization are still lacking, it must be the aim of the agrarian policy to help increase the result of peasant labor and secure to the peasant the full fruits of his toil. Means to this end are the consolidation of peasant estates, co-operative use of machines, insurance, and every other kind of co-operative activity.

Furthermore the acquiring of mortgages by the government and their gradual liquidation by the payment of a moderate tax to the state and municipality. "The natural development, manifesting itself in democratic forms, will lead the peasants into rational co-operative societies for production and in the end, to social property and social production."

An amendment was offered to this agrarian program by those who, in debate, called attention to the fact that the 212,000 peasant proprietors employ 119,000 laborers, and, evidently, exploit them. It was said in answer to this argument that very few of these farm owners employ strangers; those who work for them are in most cases members of their family. The amendment was voted down.

The trade union movement is declared to be a necessary complement to the political movement. "The trades organization is a school in which the workers are being educated for the carrying on of social production."

The program favors the co-operative movement on the ground that through it the workers are enabled to influence the industrial evolution in their capacity as consumers. "It is the mission of the co-operative societies, not only to influence the regulating of prices and guard the consumers from being exploited, but also to take in hand the production of goods, for whom a market is assured, and in this way, too, prepare the way for the socializing of production."

The program contains, besides, a great number of demands which deal with the perfecting of democratic institutions, the equality of all citizens, and of the sexes, the democratizing of the national defense, tax legislation, schools, reform of the penal code, sanitary measures, state insurance for the unemployed, and a hundred other matters.

The Municipal Resolution of the German Social Democracy



VIEW of the municipal elections to be held in many American cities during the next few months and in the coming fall, a study of the resolution on municipal affairs, as adopted by the German Social Democracy at their last annual congress, seems timely and appropriate. The resolution was prepared by Dr. Hugo Lindemann, who is one of the Socialist deputies in the German Reichstag, and is considered an authority on the matter in hand. He is the author of several books.

Those parts of the resolution dealing with conditions peculiar to Germany but not obtaining in this country, we shall eliminate from our translation, since they are only of secondary interest to us. Ques-

tions that concern the workers of America as much as those of Germany are dealt with in the following paragraphs of the resolution:

"In the modern state the municipality is an administrative body which serves the social needs of the population within a limited locality. It is at the same time an auxiliary organ of the state administration. In both these capacities it is subject to the aims which necessarily grow out of the class organization of our society and the state, and which tend toward the use of the administrative powers in the interest of the ruling classes and for purposes of their domination. It is only by putting an end to the class rule that the democratic organization of the municipality can be completed and the road cleared for an administrative activity which furthers the welfare of all alike. The establishing and carrying on of all institutions necessary for the performance of the duties of the municipality is to be undertaken by the municipality itself. This relates especially to those undertakings that presuppose the use of municipal means of communication and tend in their nature towards a monopolistic exploitation, as for instance central stations for light, power, and heat, street railways, etc. It relates furthermore to the institutions necessary for purposes of public health (street cleaning, maintenance of the people, physical culture, suppression of diseases, burial), of public education (libraries, reading-rooms), and the housing of the people.

"The principle of free use is to be carried out in all the institutions for public health and public education. Outside of these the amount to be paid is to be in conformity with the financial ability of the classes using these institutions."

In the field of municipal labor politics the following demands should be made on the municipality:

"Establishment of labor bureaus, charged with the tasks of gathering labor statistics, of keeping an employment office, of caring for the unemployed, of giving information and of keeping an eye on the social-political activities of the municipal administration.

"Insertion, in all agreements of the municipality with contractors, of a clause regarding the wages to be paid to the workers by the contractors; rejection, in all such contracts, of any clause doing away with the responsibility of the contractor in case of a strike."

In behalf of the workers in the employ of the municipality, the resolution demands:

"Creation of standing committees to represent the interests of the municipal workers. Rules and regulations for the engaging and employment of municipal workers to be drawn up with the help of these committees. Wages to be paid according to the scales of the trade unions. Formation of wage classes and scales according to length of service. Eight-hour day. Vacation with full pay. Establishment of pension funds for old and disabled workers, for widows and orphans."

The author of the resolution explained that he had abstained from going into details. He had simply confined himself to the formulation of general principles for a Socialist municipal policy. To some delegates the resolution seemed unsatisfactory in more than one respect. But all amendments, with the exception of one demanding the full right of organization for all municipal workers, were lost and the resolution was accepted.

Congress of Italian Trade Unions



GENERAL congress of the trade unions of Italy was in session in Genoa from the 8th to the 11th of January. The spirit that prevailed was proof of the revolutionary aims of the Italian trade unionists who, instead of trying to hinder the Socialist movement, as is the case in America, assume towards it a friendly attitude and, if necessary, urge it on to further progress.

The Anarchists, a small minority, endeavored to get the congress to commit itself as opposed to all social legislation in the bourgeois state. The resolution setting forth these views was lost by a vote of 52 against 8. The Socialists then proposed a resolution which recognizes social legislation as a means of elevating the working class, and this was adopted. The congress decided that hereafter no local organization is allowed to go on strike without the consent of the central body. The question of the general strike, as might have been expected, occupied the congress for some time. It was the opinion of the minority that the question of a general strike might best be settled by a vote in every special case. The resolution which was passed recognizes, however, the general strike as the only weapon whenever the organs of the state, police and military, brutally interfere in the struggles of labor against capital.

Among the delegates to the congress were a number of women, who took an active part in the deliberations. Maria Rygier, the ablest of them, represented the 25,000 members of the *Camera del Lavoro* of Milan.

“War against Socialism” the Watchword of the Catholic Church



IN its December issue THE COMRADE contained an article by Emil Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist, on “the impending conflict between Social Democracy and the Catholic Church.” Vandervelde called attention to the fact that throughout Europe there has been a marked reaction toward clericalism and that the Catholics have organized into powerful and well-disciplined parties which are arraying themselves in solid phalanx against the progress of Socialism. The many utterances against Socialism emanating from Catholic dignitaries of this country show that in America as well as in Europe the Catholic Church is eager to act the role of the savior of bourgeois society.

The following is from the *Civiltà Cattolica*, a Roman Jesuit organ. These remarks are of special significance. They come from the central seat of the Catholic Church, and, no doubt, reflect the sentiment of the Holy See.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* says:

“Our economic and social work with the people, our increasing influence in the administrative elections and the results obtained by our first entrance into the general elections, have modified the opinion of the public. Even the most inveterate enemies of clericalism are now compelled to render homage to the movement and to recognize the importance and significance of the work. A few years ago we were despised; now we are respected and feared.

“The modified conditions of the present have compelled us to enter, work, move, and organize on the basis of the present social struggle. This is the cause of our activity and the source of our strength in the public life of Italy today. In proportion as Socialism, during the past few years, has increased in our country, there has arisen among all social classes an intense desire for protection against the common enemy; that is, a popular reaction has taken place which is designed to arrest, repulse, and destroy the constantly increasing invasion of the Socialist propaganda. It was seen that the only force which could be successfully opposed to Socialism was that of the Catholics, and, therefore, the people have gladly welcomed our action on social grounds, and public opinion has seconded our propaganda and organization. If there has not been overt support, at least there has been given us the widest possible liberty of action. The abhorred Catholicism, the anti-patriotic and anti-national church, has become the social Catholicism and the Christian democracy, with right of citizenship in the camp of collective interests and in the struggles of civil life.

“The one thing, however, which we wish to bring into clear relief is that all parties, favorable or otherwise, indifferent or contrary, recognize the importance of our work in public life.

“A new organization is proposed which will cover the entire country; the propaganda of the society will be effected entirely by means of lectures, publications, and newspapers, while at the same time, separated from every tendency and internal division, it will follow that moderate way which has been indicated by the pontifical documents on social questions and Christian democracy. The two groups will be distinct. The one now in existence called the ‘second group’ will be the center of all the institutions and economic-social works forged and confederated into a compact whole. The other center will be the department of campaign, agitation, propaganda, information, and instruction, the head of a great army formed of all social classes, the watchword of which will be war against Socialism, and the defense of the social Christian order.”



Women of the Striking Mine Workers of the Ruhr District going to a Women’s Meeting in Essen.

Women and the German Coal Strike



ONE of the remarkable features of the great German coal strike, just ended, was the encouraging attitude of the female element of the mining population, declares *Gleichheit*, the organ of the Socialist women of Germany. There was a time when the wives of the miners had little sympathy with strikes. Sometimes they urged the men to return to work. All this has changed. Gradually the women are coming to understand the nature of these labor struggles and to see the strike in its true light. They now know that the miner struggles in the interest of his family and they encourage him in a truly heroic manner. Throughout the Ruhr district meetings were held for the women of the miners and every one of these gatherings was a splendid success. Everywhere resolutions were passed asking the men to stand firm and join the organizations. If it is stated that one speaker, the wife of a miner, addressed ten crowded mass meetings of women within seven days, it will be seen that the “slaves of the slaves” were thoroughly aroused. This agitation among the women is not to the liking of the bourgeoisie, and the police has grasped at every available pretense to prohibit some of the meetings or dissolve them.



A Report on Mining



VERY interesting report has been published by the English Department of Commerce. It deals with the mining industries of the world. Altogether 4,500,000 persons are employed in the bowels of the earth. About half of this number are engaged in coal mining. Great Britain occupies first place with 750,000 mine workers. The United States and Germany have each a half a million. The list includes France with 165,000, Belgium with 135,000, Austria with 123,000, and India with 100,000 miners. With the exception of Austria and America, the employment of women and children in mines has been almost wholly done away with. Among the mine workers of Austria there were in 1901 8,514 women and 9,045 youthful workers; in 1902 these figures had been reduced to 7,435 and 7,914 respectively. Belgium has made good progress in this respect. In 1891 it employed 3,691 women and girls. In 1901 there were only 120, and in 1902 only 84 women over 21 years of age in the coal mines. The figures which show the death rate among the mine workers are of special importance to America. While the death rate in Great Britain was 1.24 per 1,000 miners, in France 1.09, in Germany 1.93, it runs up to 3.25 in America. The number of killed miners amounted in Great Britain to 1,131 in 1901, 1,129 in 1902; in Germany 1,289 in 1901 and 1,080 in 1902. The United States showed in 1901 a total of not less than 1,536, and in 1902 even of 1,720 killed in the coal mines alone. Altogether 800,000,000 tons of coal were mined during 1902. Of these 230,239,000 are to the credit of Great Britain. America stands first in the mining of iron ore with 18 million tons in 1902. Germany and Great Britain follow next with 4½ million tons each. The gold taken from the mines is valued at \$300,000,000. America furnished 27 per cent, Australia 24 per cent., Transvaal 12 per cent., Canada 7 per cent.



Ruhr-Strikers leaving the Mines.

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