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THE AMERICAN SYSTEM

The system of government under which the United States citizens live is so complex, so foolish and irrational that it is a wonder that they have stood for it so long.

We who live in Canada can hardly understand the difficulties which lie in the way of the American Socialists. The Americans do not have government. They have anarchy.

The American people boast of their liberties. The American people have few liberties. Canada possesses representative institutions. The American people do not.

To explain the system of government to the south of us we must go back to the formation of the United States of America.

When the thirteen colonies revolted from Great Britain and achieved their independence, the quarrel was over taxation. At that time there were thirteen colonies along the eastern coast of America, each separate and each being ruled from Great Britain.

The labor skinner native to the American soil found their operations severely hindered by dictation from the king of Great Britain and his advisers. The native labor skinner therefore revolted, called themselves patriots and threw off the yoke of Great Britain.

The chief labor skinner of the thirteen colonies thought it was good to unite together into one body. But they did not like the idea of making this central body too powerful. So they formed a federation as it were. This federation was called the United States of America. It was formed in 1776.

The thirteen colonies thereupon called themselves states. The various leaders did not consider that they had given up the individual rights of the states. They considered that each state was free and sovereign and independent. They considered that the federal organization which they had created at Washington was little more than a sort of central advisory board. They considered the various state governments to be supreme and the central government to be subordinate and secondary. This was and is known as the theory of state rights and state sovereignty.

If you once grasp this idea you have got the central idea round which the internal history of America has swung.

The American civil war was fought over this question. It was called the war of secession. When the Southern states found their system of chattel slavery threatened by the system of wage slavery in the north they declared they would withdraw from the American Union. They took the position that, as the free and sovereign states of the south had entered an agreement which did not limit their sovereignty, they could put an end to that agreement. The north took the opposite view and the question was, as usual, settled by force.

When a mob rose about fifteen years ago and killed a lot of Italians in a southern state, the Italian government made representations to the Washington government to punish the perpetrators of the outrage. The Washington government declared they could do nothing as the punishment of crime lay with the individual states. The authorities of the state in which the crime had been committed refused to act and the Washington authorities settled the matter by paying large sums of money to the relatives of the victims.

There are things so simple that people cannot believe them. There are things so patent that it is thought foolish to believe them. Why not let our minds guide us? Why not let us be reasonable and declare what we feel to be the truth? We know that men are forced to do many things which they do not like to do. Business compels them to do these things. Then why not arrange our system of laws and business dealings so men will not be forced to do what they know will injure their rivals? What is government for but to be used in order that men may not be forced to do injury to their fellowmen? Let us replace competition with co-operation. Let us change the system which makes one man's gain another man's loss. Let us work for the co-operative commonwealth wherein the labor of the individual will benefit society as well as himself.

In Canada the courts are subject to government. In the United States the governments are subject to the courts.

The revolt of the wage slaves is the most hopeful sign of the times.

The Czar of Russia will attend Edward's funeral. The murderer of all the Russians will find a chill welcome from the people of England.

Socialism does not want to divide up. Socialism wants to prevent the dividing up which now goes on between the workers and the non workers.

Socialism will come through human endeavor, and the human endeavor will be exerted because humanity will not be able to live under the outworn capitalist system.

When Napoleon the first was given the suggestion that he might rule France after the fashion of the English king he replied that he had no desire to become the prize pig of the nation. Napoleon wanted to rule, not to be a show-puppet.

The high cost of living and the low wages will produce bread riots. Bread riots can be put down by bayonets. Therefore the standing army of Canada is being put on an efficient basis. The workers must learn to starve in peace.

Socialism will enable everyone to own a comfortable and healthful home, substantial, beautiful and attractive furnishings for his home, and all of the things which are necessary for expanding culture and a wholesome, healthful life.

Socialism furnishes the desirable middle ground between these two extremes, the golden mean, the happy medium, the condition wherein there will be luxury and poverty for none, but plenty for all, and the amplest opportunity for physical, mental, moral and spiritual development.

In every country the problems the Socialists have to face are different owing to different forms of government and of capitalist control. The main question of the abolition of wage slavery is the same. But the working out thereof will be different. France has not the same problems to face as Russia. The British Socialists have not the same problems that the Germans have. In the same way the problems to be faced by Canadian Socialists are different from those of the United States. Canadian Socialists have been trying to draw lessons from the Canadian battle for the battles of the American fight. The present issue is devoted to showing that Canada has not the same problems to face as have the United States.

Thieves are human beings. They have their joys and sorrows. They have their toothaches and pains. They want comforting and home life. But society frowns upon thieves. Society punishes them. They are locked up in big prisons and penitentiaries. The victims they have robbed want to see what they call justice done and do their best to convict. Humanity is forgotten. Human longings are neglected. Instead of home life the thief gets cold walls and poor fare of prison. The capitalist is also a thief. He steals labor from the laborer. He does not steal gold or paper money. He steals life itself. But he is not punished. He is legalized. He is regarded as the greatest benefactor the world has produced. Servants bow down to him. Kings give him decorations. And his victims, the workers, he has robbed, frequently hurrah for him and send him to Ottawa to make laws whereby he can steal more muscle, bone, life from his employees. Have you been one of those workers who have cheered for your boss on election day? If you have, wake up and get next the game of robbery that is being played upon you.

J. Mahlon Barnes, U. S. National Secretary of the S. P. declares that, "The feasible and most economical form of propaganda for this national office to conduct in the future is a systematical distribution of literature. For the same amount of money which the national office is obliged to spend to maintain national organizers in the field millions of pieces of literature could be furnished locally at the mere cost of shipment."

PAPINEAU AND MACKENZIE

Won for Canada Political Liberties which the United States has yet to Conquer

FEDERAL POWERS

The central government at Washington, which began so weakly, has gradually arrogated to itself more and more power. The states reserved to themselves all the powers not specially given to the central government. It has been a peculiar history which tells of the gradual extension of the central powers. This extension of powers has been brought about partly by the interpretation of the American written Constitution which has been hammered out by the Supreme Court and partly by brute force. For force is always the final arbiter when the decision is disputed.

Each state is in theory free and equal with every other state and supreme in its own dominions. Each state, therefore, possesses a state militia. This militia is an armed body of men. The men are in reality regular soldiers. They are raised and maintained for the keeping of peace within the confines of the state. We in Canada have nothing like these state troops.

But the federal government at Washington also maintains an army. This is the national army. This army cannot invade the territory of a state without being called upon by the governor to put down an insurrection.

But in the Pullman strike in Chicago, President Cleveland rushed national troops to Chicago to put down the strike over the protest and against the order of Governor Altgeld of Illinois, the state in which Chicago is situated.

In the Cripple Creek strike in Colorado it was the federal troops who committed the outrages upon the strikers and their families. Bill Haywood in that time of strife caused himself to be arrested by the state authorities for protection against federal troops. He was locked up in the Denver prison and was guarded by state troops against being captured by federal troops. Could you imagine in Canada, a company of Ontario militia guarding a prisoner against being captured by Dominion troops? The division of powers in the United States produces anarchy not government.

The Supreme Court has been instrumental in giving great power to the central government. In the early days it was thought that the Washington government could not borrow money on the credit of the nation. The Supreme Court said it could. It was considered doubtful whether the central government could impose a protective duty round the federated states. The supreme court said it could. It was thought that each state could impose protective duties itself against the other states. The general protective powers of the Washington government prevented this.

When recently the Philippine Islands were annexed it was considered doubtful whether the federal government, representing a federation of free and sovereign states, could hold subject colonies like the Philippines. The Supreme Court said it could. There are many other decisions from the Supreme Court giving more and more power to the central government, such as the power to establish banks etc.

The explanation is that the president of the United States appoints the supreme court judges and his puppets give the decisions their master wants. They eat out of the hand that gives them their jobs.

Humanity will be benefited by the substitution of Socialism for capitalism. Yet the burden of the fight for the institution of Socialism will fall on the workers. The wage slave must free himself and by so doing he will free humanity.

Why should the death of one man make such a commotion while the deaths of hundreds of thousands are barely mentioned? Was King Edward so preeminent in goodness that his death should overshadow the deaths of hundreds of thousands of others? Or is the mourning for the dead king a refined sort of snobbery?

DIVISION OF POWER

Not only is there division of power between the central government and the separate states, but the central government is divided. The Americans think their government represents democracy. As a matter of fact it represents the form of British government as it existed in 1774 when King George the third occupied the British throne and was making such a mess of things. The American form of government has stood still since then. The British government and the governments of the colonies under it have advanced along lines of democracy. There is ahead of the American people many of the political battles through which the British people passed in establishing the present form of highly imperfect democracy now in Canada and Great Britain.

In the days of George the third, there was the house of lords, powerful, arrogant and vicious. This is copied in the American Constitution by the Senate, a body of men, vicious, powerful and arrogant. The Senators are safe except against a revolution in the ideas of the whole nation.

George the third appointed his Cabinet Ministers. The House of Commons had nothing to do with the appointment thereof. The Members of Parliament could be as hostile as possible to the cabinet ministers, yet they could do little. The king appointed them, and they did not need to be endorsed by Parliament. That is the state of affairs in the United States. The President picks his Cabinet Ministers, or Secretaries. They do not need to be Members of either Senate or Congress. They do not need to be endorsed by Congress.

They are picked at the mere whim of the President. In Great Britain this no longer happens. The Cabinet Ministers must enjoy the support and confidence of the majority of the House of Parliament. If they lose that majority the Cabinet resigns. The Prime Minister also resigns. The government changes. The king is a mere figurehead and does not count. For this reason the debates in the House of Parliament are eagerly read. For the representatives of the people control. The Members of the House of Commons make and unmake the cabinet.

The President also chooses the Supreme Court judges and the Supreme Court decides the question of the Constitution. The Constitution is the fetish of the American people. And the Supreme Court judges are the great high priests appointed to interpret this strange document. And their decision is law.

When the thirteen colonies united, the American Constitution was drawn up. This is the document which defines the respective powers of state federation. It declares the form of government, sets out the powers of the various officers, and lays down rules to be obeyed. And the Supreme Court is given the function of interpreting this document. From its interpretation there is no appeal. The Constitution can only be changed by such a cumbersome method that few changes, and those of only minor importance, have ever been made.

The American people are governed by a document almost a hundred and thirty years old. The document is interpreted by nine men who are appointed by the President who is elected for four years in an indirect manner and at such expense to the President that only a multimillionaire or a corrupt briber who is willing to sell the nation to its plunderers can ever hope to be elected.

This corrupt President appoints corrupt and reactionary Supreme Court judges to interpret the American Constitution in a corrupt and partial manner to betray the American nation to its boodlers.

The American people are powerless to change the system save by a revolution.

Theodore Roosevelt refused to call on the President of the Swiss Republic. There is too much democracy in Switzerland to suit Teddy.

Why pay rent when you can have Socialism?

Socialism will not destroy the home. Socialism will free the home from rent bills. Socialism will provide homes, not take them away.

There are many men who believe in Socialism but will not give utterance to that belief for fear of being laughed at. The moral coward has been with us ever since civilization began.

The king can do no wrong is one of the constitutional maxims. Our constitution is a mass of shams and our politicians bow down and worship it. The reason is that it pays the politicians.

Capitalism provides by law that people shall not murder, nor steal, nor cheat, nor fight, nor adulterate, etc., etc. But the environment is such that they keep right on doing these things.

Political democracy was a great advance over absolutism. And industrial democracy will be as great an advance over political democracy as political democracy was over absolutism.

The wage slave problem takes on different complexions in different countries. The Canadian Socialist movement must tackle the wage slavery problem as it exists with the weapons Canadian institutions give them.

The economic conditions now prevailing make the environment of the average man such that he is condemned to mentally, morally and spiritually starve himself in order to escape physical starvation. He is compelled to scramble furiously for money enough to provide a bare existence for himself and family.

In Great Britain the theory is that Parliament is supreme and can do anything save turn a man into a woman or a woman into a man. The present struggle which Parliament is undertaking to abolish the House of Lords, shows how supreme Parliament is. In the United States the written constitution rules and is interpreted by the Supreme Court judges. The problems, therefore, of the American Socialists and their polemics against their government are not applicable to Canadian or British conditions. We must fight out our own problems in our own way according as our Canadian conditions dictate.

The workingmen die by the thousand. They are poisoned in the match factories. They die in the pottery manufactories. They are killed by fire damp in the mines. They are blown to atoms in the powder mills. They are electrocuted by live wires. They are crushed by the ear wheels. They die from preventable accidents. Little mourning there is for them. They are nothing but wage slaves. Other working cattle can take their places. Their children are yet their full stature be grown replace the murdered sires. No word of protest is raised. But a king dies. A man who has enjoyed all the luxuries this world can give, passes away. Wealth and position and long years have been his portion. Sunlight and travel and rare and costly wines he has enjoyed to the full. He has drunk of the pleasures of life to the dregs and the workingmen have paid for it. This old king dies and the workers are told they must mourn. Why should they mourn? Is the Christian religion true and was the king a Christian. Has he gone into the abode of the blessed dead? Then why should the workers mourn or anyone mourn? Has a righteous judge condemned him to herd with the goats? Then why should the workers whine at the just decision of an All Wise Judge? What have the workers to do with the king? He is not of their class. Let those who feel their power shaken mourn for his death. Let the workers fix their attention upon their own sad lot. If democracy means anything it means that men should stand equal in the eyes of the law and equal in opportunity. This sentimental mourning for one who is declared to be mightier than the common herd will not be limited by any true democrat.

CANADA AND THE U. S.

In Canada the House of Commons chooses the Cabinet Ministers and Prime Minister. In the U. S., the House of Congress appoints nothing. The President is elected at enormous expense and chooses his Secretaries.

In Canada the Cabinet falls as soon as the House of Parliament refuses to support it. In the U. S. the President and Cabinet last for four years however the House of Congress may vote against them.

In Canada the House of Commons can make such laws as it will subject to the supervision of the British Parliament, and the Canadian Senate which is appointed by the Canadian House of Commons. In the U. S. the government and the people are fettered to an antiquated document interpreted by a bunch of legal sharks.

Canada has representative institutions. The U. S. has not.

In Canada the representatives of the people can make laws, and govern those who execute those laws and control the judges who interpret those laws.

In the U. S. Congress cannot make what laws it likes, does not control those who execute what laws they do make, and have no control over the judges who interpret the American Constitution in what way they like.

The American people do not possess political liberty, cannot make what laws they like, are shot by troops over whom they have no control and are bound hand and foot to the financiers and exploiters who dictate the decisions of the Supreme Court judges and order the President to call out the troops against the people who protest against the decisions of their puppet judges.

Against this mass of corruption Fred D. Warren and the Appeal to Reason have been fighting. Like David before Goliath, Warren looks small. But he has chosen certain smooth pebbles, which look harmless, and has hurled them at the head of corruption and they are finding their mark. Fred D. Warren will yet have the pleasure of cutting off the head of the giant of corruption he has killed.

Every little while you see the workers striking for higher pay. They want more money. The expense of living has gone up, or the bosses are making more money, and the workers think they ought to have more. So they strike or arbitrate and sometimes wages go up. Then the employers declare that they must raise the price of their goods to meet the increased labor bill. Prices go up and the workers get more wages and spend more and they are just where they were before they struck, or even worse off. This view will meet with some objection on the ground that the medium of exchange represents value and that value cannot be manipulated. But the Canadian money of today is mostly wind. It is not based on gold. The paper bills with which the workers get paid are simply so much printed paper, and this paper can be put on the market as the masters see fit. So the medium of exchange is not limited but very elastic, and the masters can pay their workers fifty per cent more, charge fifty per cent more for their goods, and increase the circulating medium by fifty per cent so that every thing is just where it was before the change took place. The explanation is that wages never rise much above the living line. The rest goes to the bosses. When the workers want more the bosses give them more and then charge them more and the workers have been chasing themselves round a circle. The only way the workers can escape is to free themselves from the power of the masters by overthrowing wage slavery. When you workers get gumption enough to expropriate the machinery of production and take all that is coming to you, then you need not worry over the fall or rise in wages. You will be your own masters. You will control your own work and you will get all that is coming to you.

Parliament has dissolved. The Members have retired from Ottawa. There is rest for many of the representatives of the people. But the Socialist campaign never pauses nor rests. It cannot because capitalism never pauses nor rests. The wage slave is kept in his subjection. The slave driver still speeds up his victims. Life is being crushed out of the workers. Therefore the battle for liberty continues and will never cease till the freedom of the worker is accomplished and wage slavery is abolished.

THE FARMERS AND SOCIALISM

The farmers compose the greatest portion of the working class. Any party, therefore, that does not provide for the farmers cannot be said to truly represent the working class. The Oklahoma Socialists are almost the only ones on this continent to seriously consider the farmers from the Socialist standpoint. The Socialists of Oklahoma are winning the farmers and they have a good chance of success in the state elections. While the farmers have not been organized before it was due to the rush to the west and the possibility of obtaining free land. That possibility has disappeared and the evolution of farming into the capitalist mode makes the Socialist message attractive to the farmers. But the farming problem must be presented to the farmers from the view point of their own needs and the Socialists of Oklahoma have attempted this setting forth.

Without in any way giving it indorsement, the program which they adopted is herewith submitted as offering suggestions born of experience and therefore more worthy of careful consideration than any that might spring from a purely theoretical and doctrinaire knowledge of the subject:

FARMERS' PROGRAM.

As measures calculated to bring in to collective property the land, and enable the farmer to have the use and occupancy of the land sufficient for a home and the support of his family, we hereby advocate and pledge our elected officers to the following program:

ARTICLE 1.

Separation of the Department of Agriculture from the political government by means of

Section 1. Election of all members and officers of the Board of Agriculture by the direct vote of the actual farmers.

Section 2. Introduction of the merit system among the employees.

ARTICLE 2.

Erection by the state of grain elevators and warehouses for the storage of farm products; these elevators and warehouses to be managed by the Board of Agriculture.

ARTICLE 3.

Organization by the Board of Agriculture of free agricultural education and the establishment of model farms.

ARTICLE 4.

Encouragement by the Board of Agriculture of co-operative societies of farmers:

Section 1. For the buying of seed and fertilizer.

Section 2. For the purchase and common use of implements and machinery.

Section 3. For the preparing and sale of produce.

Section 4. For the working of land by groups.

ARTICLE 5.

Organization by the state for loans on mortgage and warehouse certificates, the interest charges to cover cost only.

ARTICLE 6.

State insurance against diseases of animals, diseases of plants, insect pests, hail, flood, storm and fire.

ARTICLE 7.

Aid and encouragement to be given the actual workers of the farms in the formation of district co-operative associations, which shall be given the power to issue bonds for the purchase of suitable farming lands—bonds to be redeemable in forty years. Individuals purchasing such lands shall pay the purchase price of land in share or cash annual or semi-annual rentals extending over a period of forty years, or may at their option pay in full in any given number of years.

ARTICLE 8.

Exemption from taxation and execution of dwellings, tools, farm animals, implements and improvements to the amount of one thousand dollars.

ARTICLE 9.

A graduated tax on the value of rented land and land held for speculation.

ARTICLE 10.

Absentee landlords to assess their own lands, the state reserving the right to purchase such lands at their assessed value plus ten per cent.

ARTICLE 11.

Land now in the possession of the state or hereafter acquired through purchase, reclamation of tax sales to be rented to landless farmers under the supervision of the Board of Agriculture at the prevailing rate of share rent or its equivalent. The payment of such rent to cease as soon as the total amount of rent paid is equal to the value of the land the tenant thereby acquires for himself and his children the right of occupancy. The title to all such lands remaining with the commonwealth.

Political institutions as we know them are becoming outworn. They will be abolished eventually and industrial democracy will replace them. But political institutions cannot be neglected. They must be conquered either from within or without. They cannot be conquered until the people of Canada see how outworn they have become and unite to overthrow them. So the function of the Socialist must be agitation, education and organization. Agitation against present conditions and institutions, education to show the remedy, and organization to replace the old by the new.

YOU CANNOT CHANGE HUMAN NATURE

(Written for Cotton's.)

You cannot change human nature, so say our critics. Possibly not. But you can change a man's environment and thereby change his conduct as regards himself and society.

Suppose I plant a potato in a cellar. It will not be much of a success, you say. But suppose I transplant it into a garden, it will then flourish and become a respectable potato and raise an interesting family.

Now, suppose we take the wage slave from the cellar of drudgery and privation and transplant him into the garden of abundant leisure and of all the things that make life worth living, would not the change of environment make a better husband, father and citizen out of him? It is worth a trial anyhow.

Suppose on the other hand, our wealthy idlers had a little useful labor to do to relieve that intolerable ennui, should we read about as much foolish, bizarre and outrageous conduct among the so-called upper class. I think the result would be a huge success.

A hog, the pariah of the barn-yard, a synonym for filth and greediness, is turned out into a pasture. What is the result? It becomes as well behaved as the sheep, and perhaps better than the goat. Just a change of environment.

I remember the time when, if an opportunity had offered, I would have been sorely tempted to steal a loaf of bread. It is no temptation now. Why not? Am I so much more honest? It's doubtful. But a bakery is today quite convenient and the nickel is reasonably so. Under the co-operative commonwealth I would not accept a county or a railroad as a gift much less steal one. That socialism will furnish very little, if any, incentive to lie, steal, cheat or to covet my neighbor's goods, I readily admit. But that lust for wealth is the mainspring of action, I do not believe. The people who have made history and are making it today believe beyond all doubt that the world can get along very well without an abnormal development of the organ of acquisitiveness.

H. E. ENGLAND,
Hutchinson, Kansas, U. S. A.

Ask Your Minister

Not your M. P. but the other fellow who wears fine clothes, gets his bread by the sweat of your brow, puts M. A. or D. D. after his name and caters to your spiritual welfare.

Ask him—Why he does not vote as he prays; if he did he would not pray for God's kingdom on earth, and then vote for a perpetuation of Satan's kingdom by voting the Liberal or Conservative ticket.

Why he is afraid to preach from the text contained in James 5-4. Why does he not preach deliverance to the captives, freedom for the oppressed, and comfort for the heavy-laden as the Master did whom he professes to serve.

If he believes in the laws of cause and effect; if he does, then why does he not help the Socialists in their effort to remove many of the causes of sin, by abolishing the profit system.

Ask him that, if the love of money is the root of all evil, why he does not believe in a practical application of the doctrine he preaches.

Why he does not believe in changing conditions to conform with the teachings of Christ.

Why he makes no attempt to unseat Mammon from the church where he has great power.

Why he is not persecuted for righteousness sake, as were the apostles of old.

Ask him: where are the Scribes and Pharisees of today and why he doesn't associate with Publicans and sinners. You might ask him nineteen more equally pertinent questions but not more than one at a time else he might collapse or probably tell you that his religion was too lofty in its ideals to live up to in a practical way, and that if those confounded Socialists would go to church more instead of reading their Bibles at home, and interpreting them in the light of present day conditions it would suit him better and etc.

C. B. COLLIFORD,
Beachville, Ont.

Toilers and Idlers

Our Serial Story

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SYNOPSIS.

A rich young man goes to work in a foundry which he discovers to be his own property. He learns social conditions and gets next to union people, anarchists, settlement workers, inmates of orphan homes and other types. He faces the problem of his relations to his employees, complicated with a strike and riot.

CHAPTER XIX.

(Continued.)

"Why, it is a fact that while everybody in our set may be important, they are really less numerous than the rest of the world."

"Please don't try to mix me up," she pleaded. "I know that you haven't been anywhere since last year."

"There it is again," he said, half smiling. "Everybody is somewhere—uptown and nobody is anywhere—downtown."

"I can't argue with you, Otis. Probably you have studied all these things and know just everything about them. I think myself it's glorious to be charitable."

"Unfortunately," he replied, "I used to think it glorious to be charitable, but I don't now."

She glanced at him with mild incredulity.

"Don't you think the poor deserve it, Otis?"

"They deserve justice," he said.

"Isn't that the same thing?"

"Well, perhaps, charity is a payment on account."

"I love the poor and I always feel sorry for them," said Gracia.

She had never seemed so thoughtful and sympathetic as now; with drooping eyes she picked an orchid and caressed the luscious colorful petals.

"We used to be such chums," she exclaimed with sudden gay sprightliness. "Why can't we be so yet? Why can't you let me know about your work and help you?"

He reddened and did not know exactly what to answer.

"Because really," she went on, smiling at him with her young blue eyes, "I suppose everybody agrees about doing good and all that. It's only some little detail they quarrel about."

"Possibly—I don't know—" He was absorbed in deep reverie.

She falteringly broke the silence by saying what chums they used to be and now that one went everywhere alone, people talked.

The response may have been perfunctory, for she soon left him, gliding away with a little wistful sigh.

Nevertheless he puzzled for a few moments whether the implied obligation had any basis. Up to this time it had seemed that their relations were conventional, a season's amusement. He wondered whether she really cared. The graceful personality and the pathetic air had effect, at least. She fitted in with the previous suggestions of easy cheer and comfort, amiable acceptance of things as they are. . . . perhaps one might manage a compromise, live uptown and still "do good." . . . The simple life on an unlimited income. . . . Justice and . . .

He guessed that a surrender of the moral advantage gained would be to sink into nameless depths.

Mrs. Morriss entered; dressed in a green and black, and with a bodiful sweetness and suavity of manner.

"Have you made it up with her, dear?"

"More or less," he smiled. "Less with myself."

"Poor child. You must have noticed her low spirits."

"Yes, auntie. Unlike yourself, we youngsters belong to the moping generation."

"Oh, my dear, she is remarkably brave and self-possessed."

"Not allowing things to interfere with social duties, perhaps?"

"Yes, Otis. And that requires a high sense of duty—to remember one's obligations to others—never to let private affairs interfere with public conduct. That was the chivalry and charm of the old days."

"Wasn't that a slightly strained code of heroism?"

"We did not think so. We believed it the first essential of gentility."

Gracia has this quality. She has been so self-possessed as to receive an offer from the Sardinian nobleman."

He considered and rejected comments.

"A member of the embassy at Washington," said the old lady, a trifle flustered.

"But what is new in miniatures, auntie?"

"I am sure, my dear," replied Mrs. Morriss, recovering herself, "that when you are quite past with present whims and fancies, you will be better pleased with one who belongs to your own station in life."

"Aren't the Tenneys of Springfield, Massachusetts?"

"The relation is not so close, my dear, as I believed."

"Then you don't think a man ought to marry as he would choose a friend?"

"As he chooses a friend, Otis—"

"Yes, one better than himself, who will inspire and uplift."

"There is no woman really better than my nephew," was the complacent answer.

They bantered each other a little. Madeline had to be gently raked over the coals for being too much like another, quick to lose balance in following new ideas; probably she would turn out an ambitious extravagant woman; while Gracia, having had luxury all her life, would develop into a good type of society matron.

Mrs. Morriss having presented this view with mild incisiveness, led the way to the picture gallery. She spoke now of radicalism, the epidemic scourge that arises at periods of the world's history to interfere with sane

normal progress. He wondered whether to attribute his rising spirits to filtered air or to a renewal of self-confidence bred by opposition.

"Your father and grandfather, my dear"—she touched the knob that lighted these portraits—"never went to extremes. They were men of mark, who fulfilled their duty to society and to themselves. They were respectful of institutions."

"It is a far cry to Pekin, auntie."

"The Chinese," she said spiritedly, "are a wise people to reverence their ancestors."

"Is imitation reverence? And, after all, were our ancestors so very conservative?"

"Surely, Otis, no one questions their conservatism."

"But it strikes me that they did things that for their day were radical and revolutionary. Isn't it a false witness that cowardly moderns bring against progress to say our ancestors were conservative?"

"I would like some illustration of that remarkable view."

"My grandfather was radical enough to discover it was wrong to own slaves and make freemen work more than eleven hours a day. My father took a step forward in giving away half his wealth. Why should I not think of going a little farther?"

Mrs. Morriss shook her head. "My dear child, see where that takes you. Suppose you gave away the remaining half. What is left for your son to give?"

"His honest services to the community."

"And what becomes of charity?"

"Justice annihilates charity."

"And the other Christian virtues."

Mrs. Morriss smiled benignly and said nothing for a few moments, except to ask opinion of a new morose vase.

"I visited Greenwood yesterday," she observed at length.

"Greenwood, auntie?" he repeated, somewhat puzzled.

"Yes, the family mausoleum, Otis."

"I see—yes. Of course."

"It's dilapidated state was very painful to me. Perhaps you don't know that the bronze angels at the four corners—Rodia's masterpiece—were struck by lightning? And the roof leaks, despite all the granite and marble."

"That is too bad," he said thoughtfully.

"Yes, but the bronzes, fortunately, are not injured to any extent. The superintendent of the cemetery estimates the cost of repairs at twenty thousand dollars."

"It is a small sum—considering the original cost of five times that."

"It is very reasonable," murmured Mrs. Morriss. "You will attend to it, then?"

"I am thinking, auntie," he said, "of one discouraging trait of workmen in this connection."

"A discouraging trait?" she repeated.

"Their lack of aesthetic taste in death as in life. Instead of caring for stained glass, granite and bronze angels, all facing a flowery tree-lined avenue, they are content with a pine box—like one I lately visited—and perhaps a shingle recording name and age. Beauty does not appeal to them. They live in the city slums and are buried in the cemetery slums."

"Isn't that irreverent, Otis?" she said gravely. "We know, of course, that the Resurrection. . . . In the next world all will be alike. . . . It is natural we should do special honor to our loved ones. . . . I am sure we would be glad if all had suitable."

He did not pursue the subject, lest he might needlessly hurt sensibilities. Half an hour later Rensen somewhat regretted forbearance when he met Mr. Townsend and Blake-Lawrence in a side room and realized the cumulative conspiracy against his views: so at least it seemed to his indignant mind.

The upright Superintendent shook hands very stiffly, smoothed his short gray side-whiskers and adjusted his horn nose glasses.

"Ha, my boy, still dodging civilization," said Blake-Lawrence, with slightly nervous jocularity.

"Yes, I come to the surface occasionally—eyeing the middle-parted white hair, the large stomach, pink nails, and perfumed glossy linen."

"To the surface—very good, Ha, ha! We poor devils of delicate constitution have to stay up."

"It's a great personal sacrifice, no doubt."

"That's it, that's it. . . . Have a smoke? . . . Look here, my boy, I have yielded to great pressure from various quarters, including my own most unreasonable fondness for you, and I want to meddle a little in your private affairs."

"I am listening," said Rensen.

(To be continued.)

Theodore Roosevelt will soon return to America. He will be radical. He will try to imitate Bismark. He will be for old age pensions and the curbing of the trusts and workmen's unemployed bills. He will be for the farmers for state owned elevators. He will be against liberty and freedom of the press and of speech. He will give state socialism while still maintaining rent, interest and profit. He will try to steal the Socialist thunder to direct it into the ground. If Roosevelt succeeds in his plans there will be ahead of America days of political tyranny with a false benevolent state socialism. Roosevelt is the menace of America.

Is not co-operation better than competition? Then why compete? Is not rewarding useful labor better than supporting idleness in luxury? Then why support idleness? Let us abolish rent, and profit, and produce socially for social needs, and competition will be banished and useful labor will get all that is due it.

8,000 SUBS

Another of those thousand marks met and passed. This time it is eight thousand. Not bad work for the army.

And the list is going to be kept growing. From Atlantic to Pacific come messages which show that the hustlers are hustling and that the wage slaves are beginning to see daylight.

There are many things to do but they all depend on circulation.

The Postmaster General has made regulations seriously interfering with the free circulation of the paper. He has made regulations which the U. S. postal authorities enforced against the Appeal to Reason, and later repealed in a hurry.

These regulations have not dismayed the hustlers. They have but made the army rise to the occasion and rush in straight subscriptions.

These regulations have shown the army that Cotton's has been biting the capitalist system, and the capitalists, the maggots who live on its rottenness have squealed for protection to their Ottawa henchmen.

So the sub hustlers have redoubled their efforts and the regulations have but aided the circulation.

The next mark to be passed is the nine thousand. How long will the army take to clean up that figure and shove it behind them?

They can do it in short order and I expect to see the nine thousand mark reached and passed in short order.

For the army does not lay down on any job it has undertaken.

Circulation Statement

Following is the statement of circulation for the issue of May 19th.

	OFF	ON	TOTAL
Ontario	31	66	2708
British Columbia	27	29	1281
Manitoba	105	78	877
Alberta	6	47	890
Prov. of Quebec	18	22	709
Nova Scotia	9	150	695
Saskatchewan	4	13	527
New Brunswick	12	8	291
Elsewhere	—	3	65
Yukon Territory	—	—	34
Prince Ed. Island	—	—	14
Newfoundland	—	—	6
Total	212	416	8097

Gain for week 204

Total issue last week was 9,000

TO HALLEY'S COMET.

Mysterious traveler of the skies,
That to the searching glass appears
A wisp of light among the stars,
Where hast thou been these many years?

Yon graybeard there who totters by
Perchance he saw thee when a lad.
Art thou a harbinger of war?
Dost come a portent good or bad?

How long upon thy lonely way
Hast thou been journeying? Was
the earth
A formless waste in darkness girt,
And void when thou didst have thy
birth?

Canst tell us aught of heavenly
things?
Is there a home beyond the stars?
Didst hear the choir of angels sing
When Christ was born? Have Ven-
us, Mars,

And distant Neptune life and love
And joy and sorrow, dost thou
know?
Dost God direct thy endless course
As centuries come and ages go?

Perhaps, when thou dost come again
The reign of peace will here pre-
vail;
Mayhap beneath the light of truth
The powers of darkness then shall
fall.

Man's inhumanity to man,
His petty pride and soulless greed,
Shall yield contrite submission to
The precepts of a kinder creed.

Mayst thou of good an omen be,
For man portend a better day,
When from this earth injustice,
wrong,
And sordid strife shall pass away!

—Wm. Ross Lee.

Be frugal and industrious is the advice the henchmen of the master class give to the workers. The more frugal the workers are, the less they spend and the cheaper they can be hired. Wages tend to the barest means of living and when the workers live frugally the less the boss will have to pay them. The more industrious the workers are, the harder they work and the more the bosses will make. For the wage slaves work for their masters, not for themselves. The more frugal and industrious you are, the less you eat and the harder you work, the more your bosses can take out of your hides. You are easy marks to swallow the dope your masters so cunningly dish up to you.

Boost the circulation Comrades, nearly 8,000 last week. Get a bunch of Sub Cards and go to work. Hurrah for the 10,000. We will send with every order for cards a bunch of our new Picture Post Cards. Come now, get into action, and boost 'er up.

SUB PRICE OF COTTON'S

Six Months, 26 copies 25c
Six Months, clubs of 5 1.00
One Year, 52 copies 50c
One Year, clubs of 5 2.00
Three Months, club of 5 50c
Three Months, club of 10 1.00

Dated from the office of the provincial secretary, this 14th day of April, 1910.

A tasty Souvenir Picture Postal card has just been issued by Cotton's Weekly. Shows Comrade Cotton addressing the Socialists on Champ de Mars, Montreal, on May Day. Every remitter to Cotton's for one dollar and over, will receive an acknowledgment on one of these cards.

ADVERTISING RATES

Advertising Rates for Cotton's Weekly are \$1.00 per line, per insertion till circulation goes over 10,000. Guaranteed circulation is 7,500 copies per week. Average issue per week is 8,500 copies.

All advertising copy is subject to Editorial approval and no contracts made. No Cash Goods advertised. No Fake ads. taken at any price.

ATTENTION

Now is your chance to do something for yourself and your movement by subscribing to the International Review through the Manitoba Prov. Executive Com. "Do it now." Review for one year and the book (Kerr's) for \$1.25; with \$1.00 book for \$1.50; with \$1.50 book for \$1.75; with \$2.00 book for \$2.00. Orders sent to the undersigned will be promptly attended to. Catalogue sent on request. W. H. Stebbings, 316 Good St., Winnipeg, Man.

THE FIRING LINE

THE TOP NOTCHERS

Berlin Local, per A. Gies 100
R. Heilinger, Montreal 25
S. Grainger, Fort William, Ont. 10
E. Adolphe, Montreal 10
G. Heal, Victoria, B. C. 10
J. W. Dargie, Medicine Hat, Alta. 10
A. Isaacson, Everts, Alta. 9
W. K. Bryce, DeMaine, Sask. 8

10,000 subs wins a home for Cotton's.

A halfer from Comrade Jas. Nesbitt, Wauchope, Sask.

Comrade H. Ellison, London, Ont., wants two yearlies looked after.

Comrade August Prescher, New Liskeard, Ont., adds two yearlies.

Comrade K. Stone, Westville, N. S., brings two yearlies in out of the wet.

Comrade J. Brereton, Edmonton, Alta., wants five halfers to be carefully looked after.

Comrade W. K. Bryce, DeMaine, Sask., wants seven halfers looked after and a yearling.

Comrade John Schejbal, Montreal, adds a yearling and commences sub hustling.

Comrade M. Brydson, Toronto, wants five half yearly sub cards to go fishing with.

Comrade T. Steele, Coleman, Alta., adds two yearlies to help along.

Comrade A. Shiland, Sandon, B. C., puts a halfer on the mourner's bench.

Every remittance to Cotton's Weekly of \$1.00 or over, is acknowledged on our new picture post cards.

Comrade Edward Hutchison, Steelton, Ont., becomes a bundle booster and takes a bundle of ten for three months.

Comrade Stephen Grainger, Fort William, Ont., takes ten half yearly sub cards as ammunition for Socialism.

Comrade M. Lazzaris, South Wellington, B. C., has snatched a yearling from capitalist errors.

Comrade Alfred Wark, Kinnear's Mills, P. Q., starts hustling for Cotton's with five halfers.

Comrade R. Heilinger, Montreal, swats the capitalist system over the head with twenty-five half yearlies.

Those new post cards are handy for your correspondence, and a good advertisement for Cotton's.

Some comrade in Erskine, Alta., sent in 50c for "Banner Collection," and failed to give his name. Please send in name.

Comrade Edward Tournay, Sydney Mines, N. S., takes a yearling and two halfers into the realms of economic knowledge.

Com. Hill, of Guelph, Ont., sends a photo post card of four lively socialists at work. The Guelph comrades are out to boost Cotton's for that 10,000.

Comrade M. Nix, Renfrew, Ont., wants three halfers looked after. Comrade Nix says the people of Renfrew are ready for Socialist propaganda.

Comrade J. H. Morrison, Glenora, Man., wants Cotton's to keep up the good work as it is opening the people's eyes in that locality.

Comrade Eugene Adolphe, a new sub hustler, finds ten victims of the Montreal labor thieves who are willing to use their brains to study the way of emancipation.

Comrade Fred T. Carroll, Gow Ganda, Ont., slings in five halfers and writes, "These are a few more 'al' most believers." See that you dish them up some good sensible talk.

From Comrade Addy, Pitco, Alta., come two yearlies. Comrade Addy is a homesteader and his experience makes a revolutionary Socialist.

Comrade Wm. Voss, Winnipeg, writes, "Enclosed please find one dollar for some more sub cards as my fellow wage slaves in the Golden West need enlightenment very badly and soon too."

A Dollar Bill shot through the mails will bring you five half-yearly sub cards, and some of Cotton's new picture post cards. Get in line for the 10,000, and a building for Cotton's.

A wage slave of Glace Bay, N. S., sends forward four yearlies and two halfers and is going to do some more boosting just as soon as he can find some new victims who know they are victims.

If you want to help Cotton's circulation, send in for a bunch of sub cards. You can pay in advance or after they are sold. Don't be bashful. Come along and join in the liberty march of the millions.

Comrade R. Marshall, Parry Sound, Ont., forwards a halfer and takes a bunch of sub cards. Says he can't do much with eight children and prices soaring out of sight but is enlisted in the army for freedom.

Comrade Alfred Isaacson, Everts, Alta., wants Cotton's to reach that ten thousand in a hurry. So he hustles in with four yearlies and five halfers and watches the sub list jump with a smile.

"We have started a local and have the community quite interested. Check up, Comrade. The work is going on," writes Comrade J. A. Leedholm, Lougheed, Alta., shooting in four yearlies.

Comrade Frank S. Hick, Toronto, says that it is surprising how few people use their own brains. However, Comrade Hick is out to teach the people to think and takes five half yearly sub cards to help him in his work.

Comrade August Gies, Berlin, Ont., writes, "Enclosed please find an order for twenty dollars for half yearly sub cards from Local Number Four, Berlin. You can depend upon the boys of this town. They are with you to a man. When these cards are sold there will be more to follow."

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Would women in the Co-operative Commonwealth get the same pay as men?

That would depend on whether they were to do the same quantity of work. It is supposed that in socialized industry each would be paid for his or her services according to the value of his or her product, such value to be determined by the amount of human labor socially required for its production. Labor is both the source and measure of value, and all qualities or kinds of work can be reduced, for purposes of estimation, to common abstract labor which enters into all things made, in greater or lesser quantities. If the average woman would produce an equal amount of a given product in the same time required by an average man, the result would be the same pay for the same work. If the woman would do more—produce more—than the man she would get more pay, etc. In determining the wages of men and women at the present time the amount of their product has little to do with it save that they must produce a greater value than they get in wages in order for the employer to "get his." The value of labor and the value of what the same labor produces are two separate and distinct quantities the difference between which is the surplus value or the profit of the employer.

If Socialism is a working-class movement, why not get Socialism through the unions instead of going to the trouble and expense of organizing a new party?

Because most of the unions were organized before there was a general demand for political action, and are therefore intended only for economic action. Moreover, the Socialist party is a party of the whole working class while the unions represent but that small portion of the workers who are members of them. It has been found by experience that both the political and economic organizations are necessary, and that the labor movement can be better served by the two separate forces each acting in its own field. There are many thousands of workmen who feel the need of Socialism who are working upon farms and in industries that the unions have not yet been able to reach. These non-union workers find a place in the labor movement by attaching themselves to the political branch of it and thereby come into touch with the members of their class, learning labor history and assisting in the solution of the common problem. Each wing of the labor army picks up the recruits that are ready for it and the solidarity of labor grows from two roots. One cannot take the place of the other, because both are needed.

Would children in the Socialist republic be under the control of their parents or under that of the state?

Nobody knows. A few Socialist writers seem to think that children should be the wards of the state, but a greater number are opposed to it. Just what will be is a matter that the people of that time must decide. However that may be, the regulation and rearing of children is no essential part of Socialism, and that will depend in the future, as it has in the past, on the will of the elder generation. The probability is that both the social organization and the parents of children will have a part in the control of the young. That is the case today, since the state requires a certain amount of attendance at school from each child, and imposes other requirements which even the parents cannot set aside. Certain opponents of Socialism are very busy creating the impression that under Socialism all children would be taken away from their parents and placed in charge of official nurses. It is so ridiculous as to scarcely merit attention because the Socialist party has never so much as intimated adherence to such ideas, which originated in the imaginations of our opponents.

How would the Socialists make laws if they were in power?

By any means that would faithfully register the will of the majority on the statute books. And it might be added that Socialists would have such laws enforced without interference of dead men's decisions or precedents handed down from the past. We have enough faith in the people living on earth today to believe that they are competent to govern themselves, but we do not think them competent to govern the people who are to live after them. We are today ruled by laws that had their beginning in the decrees of half-civilized Roman aristocrats. It is through these remnants of old laws and customs that many privileges of the ruling class are retained to the discomfort and oppression of those who toil. Because of popular stupidity the U. S. now maintains nine learned judges, appointed for life, empowered to set aside or mutilate in any way they may see fit any legislative or congressional act hostile to them or to the aristocratic class to which they owe their position. While not qualified to predict all the details of the proposed society it can safely be asserted that when Socialists make laws it will be so done that no Supreme Court or any other court can set them aside and thereby annul the will of the voting majority. Under Socialism the majority will make the laws and make them so they will stay made until unmade by the same power.

The mail order houses are going to crush the little merchants out of business. The little merchants compete. They are wasteful. The big departmental stores are organizing the retail business and cutting down expenses. The evolution of industry demands that the retail business be trusted and organized. That means the end of the country and village store keeper. With him will go others. The advocate will not have so much to do. The small business men will not be able to give the advocate any accounts to collect. The country printer will also feel the effects of the change. He will not get so many bill heads and letter heads to print. The lawyer will not give him so many legal forms and printed demands for payment to set up. The little villagers will have to find something else to do besides becoming the village printer, the village lawyer or the village storekeeper. The villagers will be drawn into the capitalist mode of production. They will be seized upon and turned into wage slaves. They will get the viewpoint of the proletariat—worker. After hunting for a job and not finding one the country villager will cease to think that this world is perfect and that the man who is willing to work has the world bowing to him and worshipping him. Cheer up, Comrades. That little fellow who has been sneering at you about your Socialism will be feeling the pinch pretty soon and will be kicking just as hard as you are.

Did you ever think about the question of contempt of court? The courts must be held in reverence. They must not have their decisions criticized. Why? Because the courts are the instruments wherewith the capitalist laws of Canada are applied. If the capitalist courts should fail capitalism would fail. Therefore the courts must be held in reverence. Once it was the priestly class who were held in reverence. It was blasphemy and sacrilege to say anything against the priests. A trifling of the human brain had been engineered and whoever tried to break the power of the brain-trust was tortured to death. The ruling class then relied upon the terrors of religion to keep them in power, backed of course by the force of arms. But the power of the priestly class dwindled. Martyrs died to bring about this result and freedom of thought was established. The ruling class has fallen back upon the contempt of court laws and the lie that courts administer justice. This fallacy must be shattered. Courts do not administer justice. They administer the class laws made for the enslavement of humanity and the upholding of an industrial tyranny.

Canada is a northern country. The bleak winds from the north sweep over her. The hot blood of the southlands is absent. Therefore Canadians move more slowly than do men of the South. But they move more steadfastly. They conquer and hold. Papineau and Mackenzie gave us our political liberties. They gathered round themselves the radical elements and broke down the political tyranny that smothered the life of the nation. The American nation has not yet conquered political liberty. They live under a political despotism. Their constitution has broken down. Therefore the battle for political liberty has to be fought. The anarchy of the big capitalists and the tyranny of the private detective and the company thug rule. The Supreme Court possesses absolute power. The United States of America have therefore to conquer political liberty. And Fred D. Warren is showing the people of the United States the way to emancipation.

A dressmaking establishment in Boston, almost entirely operated by electricity, has an electric cutter capable of cutting out 250 thicknesses of cloth at once. The machine has come to stay. It is doing the work formerly done by wage slaves and taking the jobs away from the workers. Under Socialism the machines will be run by the workers and for the workers. The machine, when owned by the workers, will bring comfort and leisure to the men who now work for the profit of others or starve without work.

World-Wide Socialism

"Organize" is the watchword of the Wisconsin Socialists this year.

During the past year seven new Socialist locals have been organized in the state of New Hampshire and the party membership has nearly doubled.

The British fear a native revolt in Egypt. The customs officials are on the watch for smuggled ammunition and the loyalty of the native troops cannot be trusted.

A hundred and thirty-seven miners have been entombed in a mine at Whitehaven, England. There is no hope of rescue as the mine has been sealed up and will not be opened for a long time.

A shirtwaist factory owned by fifty girls, supported by local labor organizations, and conducted along co-operative lines, is the outcome of the shirtwaist strike in Sedalia, Mo. The factory will be in operation after April 25.

The French elections show a greater gain than was at first stated. The Socialists gained twenty-nine seats and lost eight, a gain of twenty-one. Instead of possessing fifty-five seats the Socialists will possess seventy-six.

C. W. Post of the Battle Creek, Mich., food concern, is suing the Typographical Journal for fifty thousand dollars damages for an article published in the trade union paper paper alleging that the Post stuff was adulterated.

The Argentine chamber of deputies recently voted a proclamation of martial law throughout the republic, owing to threats of a general strike during the centenary celebration of Argentina's independence. The opening of the celebration is fixed for May 25.

Van Cleave, the notorious labor biter of St. Louis and of the Bucks Stove Range Company infamy, is dead in St. Louis. It was out of the Buck Stove case that Gompers et al were tried for contempt of court in publishing the "we don't patronize" list.

The U. S. Congress is considering an amendment to the post office act whereby trade union papers carrying advertisements of commercial concerns would be denied second class mailing privileges. This is a direct attempt to put the trade union papers out of business.

Chas. H. Morill, Socialist Representative from Haverhill in the Massachusetts State Legislature, has succeeded in having a bill passed whereby employers who advertise for seabs to take the place of striking workers must declare in the ad that the help wanted is to replace strikers.

The Merchants Association of New York city are agitating for a parcels post system. The four American express companies draw over ten million dollars a year in profits out of the private operation of the express business and the merchants want to see those profits go into their own pockets.

There are two hundred Socialist groups in Spain and the weekly and fortnightly Socialist publications number thirteen. The Socialist party is awake to the necessity of organizing the workers in the factories and had started a campaign in that direction but had to turn its attention to the protest against the war with Morocco.

It is pretty generally conceded that when Roosevelt returns he will renege on his promises and work the Bismarck trick upon the American workers. He will deprive them of power and liberties, make free speech and assembly illegal, and give a kind of state socialism to the toilers. However, Bismarck failed and Roosevelt will fail.

The New Castle, Pa., Free Press has been criticizing the public management pretty freely. Its editors have been arrested for seditious libel. This is a direct revival of the old press laws and if the editors are convicted it means that no paper can criticize the acts of public men without danger of arrest in Pennsylvania.

The Milwaukee Street Railway cars have killed two persons a week on an average since the beginning of the year. The Milwaukee council are trying to force the company to provide the cars with lifting jacks so that the car can be quickly raised from off the body of the victim of an accident. The company balks and the Socialists are advising the citizens, the next time a person is crushed under the wheels, to topple the car over and release the victim. "There are times," say the Socialists, "when property is not more sacred than human life."

New South Wales, the "Labor" colony, has passed savage legislation against the right of workmen to strike. The bill introduced into the legislature of New South Wales and assented to on December 20, 1909,

amends the industrial disputes act of 1908. The part of the bill relating to labor, and which comes under the head of new legislation, empowers any police officer above the rank of sergeant, when he has any reasonable ground to believe that any building or place is being used for a meeting for instigating or aiding in a continuance of a strike, to enter such building by breaking open doors, etc., and seize any documents which he may reasonably suspect relate to such lockout, etc. A meeting of two or more persons assembled for the foregoing purposes, etc., shall be declared unlawful. Any person taking part in such meeting, who has reason to believe that the probable consequences of such lockout, etc., will be to deprive the public, either wholly or to a great extent, of the supply of a necessary commodity, shall be liable to imprisonment for twelve months. The bill, in full, is on file in the bureau of manufacturers.

The Bank of Montreal has just cleaned up eight hundred thousand dollars on their operations for the half year. There are twenty-eight banks all doing business and all making a good thing out of it. That eight hundred thousand dollars would keep an army of four thousand workers going during the same time. The profits of the bank of Montreal would keep a city of twenty thousand people busy and contented and well provided for. But don't get mad at the bank of Montreal. Get mad at yourself for standing for your own robbery. If the boss did not rob you of what you produced the bank of Montreal would not be able to clean up what it does. If the bank of Montreal gets part of what is stolen from you don't attack the bank of Montreal. Don't try and lower the rate of interest. By so doing you would only be playing the game your boss wants you to play. The boss takes it out of you and the banks take it out of your boss. If the banks did not take it out of your boss your boss would have more surplus money. So don't think the banks are your chief enemies. And don't attack your boss. If he did not rob you some one else would. He is only playing the game as he finds it. But attack the wage system. Study up your own interests and find out how the trick is done. Then stop the robbery of all the bosses. If your boss cannot rob you then the banks cannot get the funds from the bosses—because the bosses will no longer be able to rob you. Become a Socialist and fight for

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

Everyone who appreciates the work Cotton's Weekly is doing, is invited to co-operate along the lines of this Special Subscription Offer. Printed government postal cards, each good for six months subscription to Cotton's Weekly, will be furnished in lots of five, at the rate of \$1.00 per lot.

Anyone ordering these cards may sell them at 25 cents each, thus making a commission of 25 cents on the dollar, or he may place them to his satisfaction in other ways, finding compensation in the fact that he is forwarding the cause of education and enlightenment in the forward movement of the race.

These cards may be paid for when ordered, or may be ordered and remittance made after they are sold. A coupon is printed below for the convenience of those who desire to increase the circulation of Cotton's Weekly.

COTTON'S SPECIAL OFFER
Application for Six Month Subscription Post Cards

5	10	15	20	25	50
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Cotton's Weekly, Cowansville, P. Q.

I am interested in increasing the circulation of Cotton's Weekly, and desire you to send me a supply of Half-yearly Subscription Cards. I agree to use my utmost endeavor to sell the cards, and will remit for them at the rate of \$1.00 for each five cards, when sold.

NAME.....
Box or Street No.....
TOWN..... PROV.....

Indicate the number of Cards wanted by marking X under one of the numbers printed on top of this blank.

If you believe this paper is doing a work that merits encouragement, fill out the above coupon and mail it to COTTON'S WEEKLY, Cowansville, P. Q.

Unionist Combination

Information is constantly being asked for on Industrial Unionism. This Unionist Combination of Books will supply it at small cost. Every awakened wage-slave should be conversant with the different phases of Unionism, and be equipped of argument with the force and power given by knowledge. All these books are pertinent to the man under the machine.

1. INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, by Trantmann.
2. REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM, by Debs.
3. YOU RAILROAD MEN, by Debs.
4. CLASS UNIONISM, by Debs.
5. CRAFT UNIONISM, by Debs.
6. INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, by Debs.
7. METHODS OF ACQUIRING NATIONAL POSSESSION OF OUR INDUSTRIES, by Richardson.
8. REVOLUTION, by London.
9. YOU AND YOUR JOB, by Sandberg.
10. THE MAN UNDER THE MACHINE, by Simons.

These books were formerly sold at Five cents per copy, but you can have the ten now for 25 Cents. Send a postal note for 25 cents to Cotton's Book Department and get this educative combination.

FRED. D. WARREN

In the Forefront of the American Fight

On the ninth day of May a case was argued in the U. S. Court of Appeals at St. Paul, Minn., which will go down in history as one of the great cases of the United States. If the accused is found guilty it will equal in interest and importance the famous Dred Scott decision. The case is the case of the United States of America vs. Fred D. Warren. The history of the case proves the class character of the American courts. It was a close connection with the Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone case.

It will be remembered that Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, the U. S. officials were accused of having instigated the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg of Idaho. These three persons were in Denver, Colorado. The Idaho officials went to Denver and kidnapped the three men and hurried them in a special train to Boise, Idaho, where they were tried and acquitted. The men would have been hung on the perjured testimony of Orchard had the corrupt courts of Idaho not trembled in fear at the indignation the farce of their trial had created.

According to American constitutional law the states are independent. It is the United States of America. The organization is federal. The constitutional is so different from that existing in Canada that the difference must be explained to understand what follows.

In Canada the criminal law is enacted at Ottawa and the same criminal law applies from Atlantic to Pacific. In the United States the criminal law is enacted by each individual state. It is as though the separate provinces of Canada had each its own criminal code and machinery of justice. Under such a system a warrant for the arrest of an accused person only extends within the limits of the state. If the accused person is in another state the state wanting him must extradite him and get the authorities of the state in which he is to arrest him and to hand him over, after due extradition proceedings, to the authorities of the state who want him.

This is exemplified at present by the case of "Baby" Hoffstott, President of the Pressed Steel Car Company, who is wanted by the Pennsylvania authorities for bribing the Pittsburgh aldermen. He is in New York and is fighting against being turned over by the New York authorities to the Pennsylvania courts.

In the case of Moyer and Haywood the prisoners were not extradited but forcibly seized and hurried without legal proceedings to Idaho. Their illegal arrest was taken to the Supreme Court and it was asked that Idaho return the bodies of the prisoners to the state of Colorado.

The United States Supreme Court held that these three men had been illegally rushed out of Colorado but that the U. S. federal courts could not interfere. The courts to appeal to were the Colorado courts. In the U. S. the separate states appoint their own judges and the U. S. government appoints other judges. It was as though the Supreme Court of Canada handed down a decision declaring that a crime had been committed by Ontario police agents in Quebec and that the only remedy lay in appealing not to the Dominion courts, but to provincial courts.

This decision was so peculiar that Fred D. Warren immediately decided to test it. The three arrested men were all workmen. The Supreme Court handed down a decision against them. Would the U. S. Courts hand down a like decision in favor of a workman against a capitalist?

When the Supreme Court decided that it was no crime against United States laws to kidnap a bunch of workmen, Warren, Editor of the Appeal to Reason, immediately issued a post card offering one thousand dollars reward to anyone who would arrest ex-Governor Taylor and return him to the Kentucky authorities. Taylor was under indictment in the Kentucky courts for murder. He was in the state of Indiana and the Indiana authorities refused to surrender him to Kentucky. Hence Taylor, although under indictment for murder, still lived in peace and safety. Workmen who were innocent could be kidnapped in a night and rushed out of the state. A capitalist politician could remain in safety because the authorities refused to surrender him. Warren's reward was simply a reward offered to the individuals to do to Taylor what had been done to Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and which the U. S. Supreme Court held to be no crime under federal laws.

But Warren was the editor of a workman's paper. Taylor was a capitalist politician. Warren was arrested and tried in the Federal courts for sending threatening and scurrilous matter through the mails. The Supreme Court had held it was no crime under federal laws to kidnap workmen. Warren was arrested for offering a reward to some one who would do what the Supreme Court declared to be no federal crime.

After numerous delays and postponements of the case Warren was tried and convicted and condemned to pay fifteen hundred dollars fine and to spend six months in jail. Warren had accomplished what he set out to do. He proved that the workman had not the same chance before the U. S. courts as the capitalist.

Warren appealed the case and the case was heard in Appeals on May the ninth. He dismissed his attorneys and argued his own case. He threw aside every technical objection and declared that he wanted a decision on the main point. Was it a crime for a workman to offer a reward for the doing of that which the Supreme Court had declared to be no crime if done to workmen?

The case has aroused great interest. It has focussed the attention of the American people upon the class character of their courts. Warren's case will have a great effect. It will reverberate from Atlantic to Pacific. He has torn the mask of respectability from the judges and has exposed the rottenness of the judiciary for all men to see. He has robbed the American courts of all respect. He has shown them to be contemptible. The same effect which followed the Dred Scott case, namely the overthrow of chattel slavery, will follow the Warren case, namely the overthrow of wage slavery.

To show with what spirit Warren spoke, the following is his speech in part.

I appear before this court in my own defense because my attorneys are unwilling to say what I think should be said. I desire to waive all that counsel for the defense has said with reference to the government's inability to prove that this envelope was mailed from the office of the Appeal to Reason, of which I am editor. I wish to waive all the objections interposed by my attorneys and the arguments advanced by them why I should be given a new trial. I do not want a new trial. This case has cost the defense \$20,000. A new trial, before a judge of my political opponents, selected by the district attorney's office from among government employees or those who hope to get a federal job, before a judge prejudiced against my cause, could result only in another miscarriage of justice.

PROTESTS AGAINST LAWYERS

In waiving the arguments of my attorneys of these points (and I wish to say here in justification of my course at this time, that the theory on which this case was conducted in the lower court was over my vigorous protest) I do so to put the issue squarely before this court: Is the mailing of this envelope with its offer of a reward, printed in red, for the capture and return to the Kentucky authorities of ex-Gov. William Taylor, under indictment at that time for murder, a violation of the federal statutes? Stripped of all legal verbiage and technicality, that is the issue here and no other.

My attorneys argue in the brief submitted that the indictment is defective. I do not pretend to know about this. I will say, however, that I have no desire to have my sentence set aside on a mere technical defect in the indictment, and I would regret to see the issue involved disposed of in this unsatisfactory manner. It would still leave the question in doubt as to whether the mailing of a reward, printed in red, for the capture of a fugitive Republican politician, is a violation of the federal statutes.

NOTHING UNMAILABLE.

I call the attention of the courts to the testimony introduced by the government, showing that I submitted a draft of the alleged defamatory envelope to the postmaster at Girard and asked his opinion as to its mailability. The postmaster, the representative of the government, informed me that in his judgement there was nothing in the postal laws that would prevent the mailing of this reward offer, as hundreds of similar cards and envelopes were mailed in the course of a year at the Girard postoffice. This certainly establishes my good faith. No man with criminal intent would voluntarily submit the evidence of his contemplated crime to the agent of the institution against which the crime was directed.

In this connection I wish to call the court's attention to the statement made from the bench by the trial judge that when this matter was first submitted to him, he himself was in doubt as to whether the mailing of this envelope was a violation of the federal statutes. If the law is so indefinite that even the trial judge is unable to determine whether a crime has been committed, until after he "had consulted higher authority," how is the layman to determine what is lawful and what is not? In the lower court's decision on our demurrer, Judge Pollock stated that the language was not scurrilous and threatening, as charged in the indictment, but that it was defamatory, inasmuch as it was calculated to impress the reader thereof with the thought that ex-Gov. W. S. Taylor was wanted in Kentucky by the authorities of that state for some alleged crime. Under this decision every offer of a reward for a man charged with crime, mailed by a private individual or a civil officer, is a violation of the federal statute under which this indictment was returned against me. In order to prevent this construction and its far-reaching consequences, Judge Pollock, in his final summing up of the case, decided that it was not defamatory nor scurrilous, but threatening.

"SUCH JUDICIAL REASONING."

It is hard for the average man to follow such judicial reasoning and I sincerely trust that this court's opinion will be written in such clear and unmistakable terms that there will be no question as to this law in the future.

It will be argued by counsel for the government that kidnapping is a crime and, therefore, an offer of a reward to kidnap ex-Governor Taylor is a threat against that gentleman. I will ask the counsel for the government to cite the federal law constituting kidnapping a crime. He cannot do this. On the other hand, the United States Supreme Court, in an exhaustive opinion, handed down in the case of the three workmen who had been kidnapped in Colorado and taken to Idaho, plainly states that it is no violation of the federal statutes to forcibly abduct a man and take him from one state to another. In its opinion the Supreme court says:

CITES MINERS' CASE.

"Looking first at what was alleged to have occurred in Colorado touching the arrest of the petitioner and his deportation from that state, we do not perceive that anything done there, however hastily or inconsiderately done, can be adjudged to be a violation of the constitution or laws of the United States. Even if it be true that the arrest and deportation of Pettibone, Moyer and Haywood from Colorado was by fraud and connivance, to which the governor of Colorado was a party, this does not make out a case of violation of the rights at the appellants under the constitution and laws of the United States."

Under this decision I do not see what weight this court can give to the argument of the government's counsel, that to offer a reward to do what the supreme court has explicitly declared is not a crime, is in violation of the law.

What I did, in fact, was to offer a reward to any one who would capture, forcibly abduct, if you please, a man under indictment for murder and return him to the Kentucky authorities. To kidnap means not only forcible abduction, but hiding from friends and the proper authorities. Under this view how can it be maintained that it is unlawful to offer a reward for the capture of ex-Gov. William S. Taylor and his return to the authorities of Kentucky?

JUST SUPPOSE THIS

Let me state a hypothetical case. Suppose the Socialists capture the political powers of Kansas—as we shall. We find that Mr. Armour is violating the anti-trust laws of our state. He lives in Illinois. The governor of Illinois, being a Republican, refused to grant a requisition. Suppose our Socialist state officials, who would be private citizens in Illinois, should quietly go at midnight, surround Mr. Armour's house in Chicago, capture him, carry him into Kansas, and there place him on trial before a Socialist judge and a Socialist jury. Would the men that kidnaped Armour violate any federal statute? Would they not be immune from prosecution under the supreme court's ruling?

The government's attorney emphasizes the fact that this reward offer was printed in red. Out of curiosity, I asked a number of the leading ink manufacturers in the United States for what color of printing ink they had the greatest demand, and they replied, without a single exception, that they sold more red ink than all others combined, save one—black! Black is the emblem of piracy and has been since long before the days of Captain Kidd. Under its sable folds march the land thief, the predatory rich, the employer of little children, those who barter justice, the Wall street speculator, the petty gambler and grafter, and all those who plunder labor and oppress the poor. Red

on the other hand, is the color of life; it glows with vitality; it is the badge of universal kinship.

SINCE SLAVES' REVOLT

It has been from the days of Spartacus, down through the ages, the emblem of revolt against tyranny. Under the crimson banner the revolutionary patriots of 1776 fought and won their battles against the English king. Longfellow's inspiring poem to Pulaski, the Polish patriot who gave his life for American independence, immortalizes the red banner:

"Where, before the altar, hung
The blood-red banner, that with prayer
Had been consecrated there—

"Take thy banner—and if e'er
Thou shouldst press the soldier's bier,
And the muffled drum should beat
To the tread of mournful feet,
Then this crimson flag shall be
Martial cloak and shroud for thee.

"The warrior took that banner proud,
And it was his martial cloak and
shroud!"

AMERICAN RED FLAG

The original flag of the American revolution was red. The stars and stripes were added later by our rebel forefathers to distinguish it from the national emblems of other countries. It is a significant historical fact that red predominates in the flags of all countries with one exception—Russia. It is not surprising, therefore, that the government's attorney who sails under the black flag, should seek to cast aspersions on the red banner. If the liberties bought with the blood of our forefathers, who fought under the red flag, are to be preserved it will be by the men who today march under the crimson banner.

The theory of law that a man is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty was wholly overlooked in my trial at Fort Scott. I was convicted and sentenced before I entered the court room. I was not prosecuted as a presumably innocent man charged with an alleged violation of the law. I was prosecuted by partisan politicians, before a partisan judge, three of whom it was proved later had declared they were prejudiced against me, and before a partisan judge and on perjured testimony. But this is not the first time in the history of the world that this same farce has been enacted. When the ruling class of any epoch is forced to use such means to bring about the imprisonment of a man advocating revolutionary doctrines, it has always foreshadowed the dawn of a new era.

JUDGES NOT FREE

By environment, training and economic interests, the judges who compose this court are opposed to me. (You can no more impartially consider the questions involved in this case than could the judges appointed by the English king consider impartially the questions which arose between that monarch and his American subjects.)

In all controversies that arose between the master and his slave prior to the revolution of 1860, the federal courts made their decisions conform to the interests of the masters. It was from the slave owners that they derived their powers and held their positions. No man openly antagonistic to the slave power could hold a position on the federal bench.

An examination of the decisions of this court—and your decisions are similar to those of all other federal courts—wherein the interests of the workingman conflict with the interests of the employer, is ample proof of the class character of the federal judiciary. Dissenting from the opinion of this very court, in a case wherein a working girl was pitted against a great corporation, Judge Thayer said: "I dissent from these doctrines which seem to have been formulated with an eye mainly to the protection of the employers and with too little regard for the situation and rights of the employees."

EXPECTS NOTHING

As a militant member of the working class I frankly confess that I expect nothing from this court. A court of justice, so-called, which turns away a mangled working child emphysematically, in defense of capitalist class property against working class life and limb, is not apt to look with favor upon one in revolt against such shocking inhumanity and the system responsible for it.

We know that this is the settled policy of this court. We understand why its decisions are in the interest of the employer and against the working man and working woman.

You are serving those to whom you are indebted for your position and are responsible for your power. I am simply trying to show to the working class world, which embraces a great majority of the population, the character of the federal court, to which must be submitted their liberties and their lives. The federal court under capitalist misrule is essentially capitalistic in its sympathies, its interests and its decisions.

GIVING REAL AID

In this important work of educating the working class as to the true character of the courts, you are helping me. It was the Dred Scott decision that hastened the overthrow of chattel slavery, and as history repeats itself, we may confidently expect that the decision of the Supreme court in the now famous kidnapping conspiracy, backed by the federal court's decisions in all other labor cases, will precipitate the downfall of wage slavery. When the toilers of the mill, factory, mine and farm once understand the true situation, they will realize that there can be no relief from judicial despotism until they use the power latent in themselves to abolish the present iniquitous system, based upon the legalized robbery of the nation's toilers and producers in which the courts are mere creatures of capitalist class rule, and instruments of working class subjection. These workmen will one day learn to choose their own judges and while these judges may know little of the intricacies of law and the chicanery of technicality they have an inherent sense of justice and they may be depended upon to serve their brothers.

MATTER OF SMALL CONCERN

Personally, it is a matter of no consequence to me what this court may decide in this case. If this court concludes to sanction the scandalous methods employed to secure my conviction and the outrageous sentence imposed upon me for the commission of what Judge Pollock termed "a mere misdemeanor," I shall consider it the proudest day of my life when I enter the jail at Fort Scott, because of my defense of the poor and oppressed. You will by that act increase my power a thousandfold and carry my message to the toiling millions from sea to sea. Gladly will I make this small sacrifice in a cause to which I would willingly give my life.

Paid in Advance

Every copy of Cotton's Weekly is paid for before it leaves this office. If you get Cotton's through the mail with a red printed and numbered address label on the wrapper, your subscription has been paid by some friend who wishes you to look into the truths of Socialism. You need not hesitate to take Cotton's from the post office as no bill will be rendered, and the paper will be promptly discontinued when the subscription expires.

The capitalist system steals the life from the victim. Van Dyke, who is a religious moralist much praised by the wives and daughters of the labor skimmers, says that we only pass through this life once and can never pass again; therefore let us do what kindness we can as we pass through. Good. But how does the wage system act? What effect has it on the workers? Can they do kindnesses? They are chained to the machine ten hours a day. Sometimes they are chained twelve hours a day seven days a week. The bright sun and the joyous sunlit hills are not for the wage slave. The wage slave must toil and sweat that the wives and daughters of the plunderers may read Van Dyke and be sentimentally affected with words about kindness. In the days of chattel slavery wives and daughters of the planters would weep over the death or sickness of a pet dog. Would read their bibles religiously. Would listen to exhortations of piety and loving kindness. While off in the cotton fields the lash would be descending on the backs of the slaves that these fair ladies could have the wherewithal to purchase their bibles and dresses fit for ladies to attend divine service in. In Canada the class war is on. The kindness of the women of the master class is narrow, selfish, bigoted. They sympathize with their own class. They may weep over the death of a household slave who has been more than usually sycophant. But of the brotherhood of man, of justice and equality and freedom, they know nothing. They are ignorant. They take the vaporing of such men as Van Dyke as true literature. Of revolutionists they are frightened. The literature of discontent they hate. They will not read it. But the revolution is growing. The slaves of Canada are becoming awakened to their slavish conditions. And the class antagonisms are showing in spite of Lemieux acts, arbitration boards, and the other patchings made to conceal the cracks of the tottering edifice of the capitalist system. Mute labor is mute no more. Its voice is heard in the land. And the power of the toiling millions will break the bonds of wage slavery which now fetters the only people in Canada who produce the wealth of the country.

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POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

The term industrial democracy is frequently used. This term is almost self explanatory. Yet there may be some to whom the words convey little meaning.

We all know what political democracy is. It is exemplified wherever a nation is given self government. The citizens of the state elect their representatives to a legislative body where laws are passed to govern the people.

Those who know little about Socialism consider that Socialists want the state to interfere, take over the industries and to run them as part of the government. This is what is known as State Socialism. There are many Socialists who look upon the state as outworn and who do not consider that the state can bring about Socialism.

The state is one body and the industrial corporation is another. Both make laws and both back them up with severe punishments. An example from the liquor traffic will illustrate this phase.

A legislative body enacts that no liquor shall be sold. This is called a prohibitory law. If anyone sells liquor within the prohibited territory and the law is enforced, the seller is fined or jailed. He is punished. That is the result of political action. The law was made by electing members to the legislative body who would vote for the prohibitory law.

But prohibitory laws can be made without the state directly intervening. A railroad company issues an order that none of its employees shall drink on or off duty. The penalty is dismissal from the railroad's employ. If an employee drinks then he is sacked. The penalty is as much to be dreaded by the offender as the penalty of the state against selling. Here is a case of industrial law and industrial punishment. It is a case of an industrial organization enforcing an industrial law and backing it up with an industrial punishment. The state has nothing to do with the anti-drinking railroad order.

The United States Steel Corporation is building the city of Gary. It will own the steel works there. It will own the stores. It will own the homes. It will own the jobs. It can do what it likes with the city. The employees will be compelled to do the bidding of the Corporation and the city will be held in the power of the steel trust.

The political actionists would say that this is too much power to give corporations and would propose the remedy that the state expropriate the steel trust and let the politicians and grafters run the steel industry. But such a remedy is considered by many to be as bad as the disease. The steel industry, under unskilful and dishonest management might go to pieces. They consider that the political state, by its very constitution, is unfitted to handle industrial concerns.

The idea of the industrial democrat is to conquer the machinery of the corporation itself from within, not from without.

The steel corporation is highly organized. It is a tyranny now because the workers do not control. But the time is coming when the workers will control.

Let the steel corporation go on. But let the workers conquer the steel corporation. Let the workers expropriate the city of Gary and the steel mills and let the steel industry be run by the workers for the workers.

The political state must be conquered before industrial democracy is introduced. The political state controls the police and the troops and machine guns and the law courts and the laws. So just as the bourgeoisie had to conquer the powers of the feudal state before political democracy was instituted, so the industrial democrats will have to conquer the political state before industrial democracy can be introduced.

Under the shadow of the political state the industrial organizations are growing. These are the trusts and giant business concerns. The state is becoming more and more outworn. The struggle is taking place on the industrial field. The new form of business enterprise will be democratized. That is to say, the management of the department stores, mines, etc., will be decided by the popular vote of the workers who will get all their revenues. The old political state will be abolished as having outworn its usefulness and industrial democracy will have replaced political democracy.

And another king arose and the same legend of special wisdom was weaved about the new king. And the new king waxed old and full of years and died and there was great mourning. And another king arose and the same legend of special wisdom was weaved about the new king. And does it not remind you of the endless tale, "And another ant entered and carried off another grain of corn?"

Agitate, educate, organize.