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Counter Revolution

After the revolution comes the counter revolution. The question is often asked whether the Socialist regime will be introduced by violence or not. It will be introduced peacefully, unless the defeated capitalist class appeal to arms, and this they are very likely to do. The workers are slaves. They are robbed of all they produce save a bare living. The master class and their agents enjoy the balance of what the working class produce.

To protect them in the possession and employment of their unearned revenues, the capitalist class have the whole power of the state behind them. They have the legislative bodies, parliament and the provincial legislatures. They have the judicial power, the courts which order the laws made to be enforced. They have the physical force, the bailiffs, police, militia and standing army to protect them in their possessions and revenues against the only useful class in society—the working class.

It is for this reason that when the miners in British Columbia strike the owning, non-producing class can have the militia called out to protect the scabs, to arrest the miners and to attempt to force the strikers back to work.

The Socialists are workmen who realize their slave position in society and how it is produced. They see how they are kept in slavery, and they want the working class to seize the political power, the state, in order to transform the means of production and distribution into the collective ownership of the working class. In other words, they want the owners to own instead of the capitalists to own.

When the workers capture the state, when they send enough members to Parliament and the legislative assemblies to control those bodies, the workers can make what laws they like. They can make the laws, the courts will be forced to enforce those laws, and the bailiffs, police, militia and soldiery will be compelled to do the will of the working class. The masters can be turned out of their possession and ownership of the means of life.

Will they go peacefully? At present the masters are very fond of talking about "law and order." Now we have capitalist law and order which benefits the capitalist class. When we capture the state we will have Socialist law and order which will benefit the workers and not the masters. Then the masters will not be in favor of the established law and order, any more than Socialists are in favor of the present system.

The masters will likely appeal to force. Beaten by the will of the people, they will not want to give in, but will appeal to violence, to sedition, to rebellion in order to maintain their unjust dominance. This appeal to force after political defeat is what is known as the counter revolution.

At present we can see a counter revolution in Ireland. "Part of the North of Ireland people are against Home Rule for Ireland. They are willing to have Ireland ruled from Westminster. They preached law and order and submission to government to the Irish who were drained by the English under British government."

Now that the Irish Home Rule Bill is about to become law by sanction of the very legislative body which the North of Ireland people have praised so highly, capitalist Ulster is in arms. Thousands of recruits are being drilled to resist the established government. Carson, a few peers and members of parliament and others are refusing to obey the laws enacted by "his most gracious majesty, King George the Fourth." When the laws are as they want them, they are loyal subjects and obedient citizens. When the laws are not as they want them, they are seditious, disloyal, and murderous criminals.

Socialists know the temper of the capitalist class. They know that our eminent citizens, our big financiers, our flag-waving patriots, are selfish to the core. They know these gentlemen are willing to obey the laws only so long as those laws protect them and their class. When the laws threaten their class they become raging demons willing to sink their country into the hell of civil war and fratricidal strife.

We are aware of this, so we take all their big words and loyal and patriotic utterances only for what they are really worth. We are wakening the working class to the necessity of seizing the political power. We know that when the working class seize that power, we will be faced by a capitalist class in a mood which if a worker showed at present would cause him to be shut up as a criminal lunatic.

The Nation In Danger

The London Times declares that the stability and security of the nation is in danger by the obvious sympathy between the English and Irish working classes.

The Times is owned by Lord Northcliffe, a multimillionaire.

The Times looks upon the British nation as being composed solely of multimillionaires, landowners, rent receivers, profit-getters, cutters of coupons and the like. The working classes are low creatures whose duty it is to obey the laws and hand over all the wealth they create to the members composing the British nation—the parasite capitalists above described.

The workers have no right to be looked upon as part of the British nation—save as a very low and insignificant part.

When these low creatures show sympathy for one another, when they unite by thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands, when they show they are getting strong enough to cut out of the revenues of the idle and useless classes which the Times considers to be the British nation, naturally the Times becomes alarmed.

But from the recklessness and revolt of the working class will come a new Britain where in the stock-broker, the landlord, the coupon-cutter, the capitalist parasite, will no longer be known. There will come a Britain of free working people enjoying the full value of what they produce. Slums, hunger, misery, poverty will all have vanished.

The British nation known to the Times will have completely disappeared, and a nobler, better, happier British nation will come in its place.

An anti-enlistment movement in Ireland is cutting down the recruits to the British army.

The Parable of the Water Tank

HERE was a certain very dry land, the people whereof were in sore need of water. And they did nothing but to seek after water from morning until night, and many perished because they could not find it.

Howbeit, there were certain men in that land who were more crafty than the rest, and these had gathered stores of water where others could find none, and the name of these men was called capitalists. And it came to pass that the people of the land came unto the capitalists and prayed of them that they would give them of the water they had gathered, that they might drink, for their need was sore. But the capitalists answered them and said:

"Go to, ye silly people; why should we give you of the water which we have gathered, for then we should become even as ye are, and perish with you. But, behold what we will do unto you. Be ye our servants, and ye shall have water."

And the people said: "Only give us to drink and we will be your servants, and we and our children." And so it was.

Now, the capitalists were men of understanding, and wise in their generation. They ordered the people who were their servants in bands, with captains and officers, and some they put at the springs to dip, and others did they make to carry the water, and others did they cause to seek for new springs. And all the water was brought together to one place, and there did the capitalists make a great tank for to hold it, and the tank was called the Market, for it was there that the people, even the servants of the capitalists, came to get water. And the capitalists said to the people:

"For every bucket of water that ye bring to us, that we may pour it into the tank, which is the Market, behold! we will give you a penny, but for every bucket that we shall draw forth to give unto you, that ye may drink of it, ye and your wives and children, ye shall give to us two pennies, and the difference shall be our profit, seeing that if it were not for this profit we would not do this thing for you, but ye should all perish."

And it was good in the people's eyes, for they were dull of understanding, and they diligently brought water unto the tank for many days, and for every bucket which they did bring the capitalists gave them every man a penny; but for every bucket that the capitalists drew forth from the tank to give again unto the people, behold! the people rendered to the capitalists two pennies.

And after many days, the water tank, which was the Market, overflowed at the top, seeing that for every bucket the people poured in they received only so much as would buy again half a bucket. And because of the excess that was left of every bucket did the tank overflow, for the people were many, and the capitalists were few and could drink no more than others. Therefore did the tank overflow.

And when the capitalists saw that the water overflowed, they said to the people:

"See ye not the tank, which is the Market, doth overflow? Sit ye down therefore, and be patient, for ye shall bring us no more water till the tank be empty."

But when the people no more received the pennies of the capitalists for the water they brought they could buy no more water from the capitalists, having naught wherewith to buy. And when the capitalists saw that they had no more profit because no man bought water of them, they were troubled. And they sent forth men in the highways, the byways and the hedges, crying: "If any man thirst, let him come to the tank and buy water of us, for it doth overflow." For they said among themselves, "Behold the times are dull; we must advertise."

But the people answered, saying: How can we buy unless ye hire us, for how else shall we have wherewithal to buy? Hire ye us, therefore, as before, and we will gladly buy water, for we thirst; and ye shall have no need to advertise."

But the capitalists said unto the people: Shall we hire ye to bring water when the tank, which is the Market, doth already overflow? Buy ye, therefore, first water, and when the tank is empty through your buying will we hire you again."

And so it was because the capitalists hired them no more to bring water that the people could not buy the water they had brought already, and because the people could not buy the water they had brought already the capitalists no more hired them to bring water. And the saying went abroad, "It is a crisis."

And the thirst of the people was great, for it was not now as it had been in the days of their fathers, when the land was open before them, for every one to seek water for himself, seeing that the capitalists had taken all the springs, and the wells and the water wheels, and the vessels and buckets, so that no man might come by water save from the tank, which was the Market.

And the people murmured against the capitalists and said: "Behold, the tank runneth over, and we die of thirst. Give us, therefore, of the water, that we perish not."

But the capitalists answered: "Not so. The water is ours. Ye shall not drink thereof unless ye buy it of us with pennies." And they confirmed it with an oath, saying after their manner: "Business is business."

But the capitalists were disquieted that the people bought no more water, whereby they had no more profits, and they spake one to another, saying: "It seemeth that our profits have stopped our profits, and by reason of the profits we have made, we can make no more profits. How is it that our profits have become unprofitable to us and our gains do make us poor? Let us, therefore, send for the soothsayers, that they may interpret this thing unto us," and they sent for them.

Now, the soothsayers were men learned in dark sayings, who joined themselves to the capitalists by reason of the water of the capitalists, that they might have thereof and live, they and their children. And they spake for the capitalists unto the people, and did their embassies for them, seeing that the capitalists were not a folk quick of understanding, neither ready of speech.

And the capitalists demanded of the soothsayers that they should interpret the things unto them, wherefore it was that the People bought no more water of them, although the tank was full. And certain of the soothsayers answered and said, "It is by reason of overproduction," and some said, "It is a glut," but the signification of the two words is the same. And the others said, "Nay, but this thing is by reason of spots on the sun." And yet others answered, saying, "It is neither by reason of glut nor yet of the spots on the sun that this evil hath come to pass, but because of lack of confidence."

And while the soothsayers contended among themselves according to their manner, the men of profit did slumber and sleep, and when they awoke they said to the soothsayers: "It is enough. Ye have spoken comfortably unto us. Now go ye forth and speak comfortably likewise unto the people, so that they be at rest and leave us also in peace."

But the soothsayers, even the men of the dismal science—for so they were named: of some—were loath to go forth to the people lest they should be stoned, for the people loved them not. And they said to the capitalists:

"Masters, it is a mystery of our craft that if men be full and thirst not, but be at rest, then shall they find comfort in our speech, even as ye. Yet, if they thirst and be empty, find they no comfort therein, but rather mock us, for it seemeth that unless a man be full, our wisdom appeareth unto him but emptiness." But the capitalists said: "Go ye forth. Are ye not our men to do our embassies?"

And the soothsayers went forth to the people and expounded to them the mystery of overproduction, and how it was that they must needs perish of thirst because there was over-much water, and how there could not be enough because there was too much. And likewise spoke they unto the people concerning the sun spots, and also wherefore it was that these things had come upon them by reason of lack of confidence. And it was even as the soothsayers had said, for to the people their wisdom seemed emptiness.

And the people reviled them, saying: "Go up, ye bald heads. Will ye mock us? Doth plenty breed famine? Doth nothing come out of much?" And they took up stones to stone them. And when the capitalists saw that the people still murmured, and would not give ear to the soothsayers, and because also they feared lest they should come upon the tank and take of the water by force, they brought forth to them certain holy men (but they were false priests), who spake unto the people that they should be quiet and trouble not the capitalists because they thirsted, and these holy men, who were false priests, testified to the people that this affliction was sent to them of God for the healing of their souls, and that if they should bear it in patience and lust not after the water, neither trouble the capitalists, it would come to pass that after they had given up the ghost they would come to a country where there should be no capitalists, but an abundance of water. Howbeit there were certain true prophets of God also, and these had compassion on the people and would not prophesy for the capitalists, but rather spake constantly against them.

Now, when the capitalists saw that the people still murmured, and would not be still, neither for the words of the soothsayers, nor of the false priests, they came forth themselves unto them and put the ends of their fingers into the water that overflowed in the tank and wet the tips thereof, and they scattered the drops from the tips of their fingers abroad upon the people who thronged the tank, and the name of the drops of water was Charity, and they were exceeding bitter.

And when the capitalists saw yet again that neither for the words of the soothsayers, nor of the holy men who were false priests, nor yet for the drops that were called charity, would the people be still, but raged the more, and crowded upon the tank as if they would take it by force, then took they counsel together and sent men privily forth among the people. And these men sought out the mightiest among the people, and all who had skill in war, and spake craftily with them, saying:

"Come, now; why cast ye not your lot in with the capitalists? If ye will be their men and serve them against the people, that they break not in upon the tank, then shall ye have abundance of water, that ye perish not, ye and your children." And the mighty men and they who were skilled in war harkened unto this speech, and suffered themselves to be persuaded, for their thirst constrained them, and they went within unto the capitalists and became their men, and staves and swords were put into their hands, and they became a defence unto the capitalists, and smote the people when they thronged the tank.

And after many days the water was low in the tank, for the capitalists did make fountains and fish ponds of the water thereof, and did bathe therein, they and their children, and did waste the water for their pleasure.

And when the capitalists saw that the tank was empty they said: "The crisis is ended," and they sent forth and hired the people that they should bring water to fill it again. And for the water that the people brought to the tank they received for every bucket a penny, but for the water which the capitalists drew forth from the tank to give again to the people they received two pennies, that they might have their profit.

And after a short time did the tank again overflow, even as before.

And now, when many times people had filled the tank until it had overflowed, and had thirsted till the water therein had been wasted by the capitalists, it came to pass that there arose in the tank and certain men who were called agitators, for they did stir up the people. And they spake to the people, saying that they should associate, and then they would thirst no more for water. And in the eyes of the capitalists were the agitators pestilent fellows, and they would fain have crucified them, but durst not for fear of the people.

And the words of the agitators, which they spake to the people, were on this wise:

"Ye foolish people, how long will ye be deceived by a lie and believe to your hurt that which

is not? For behold, all these things that have been said unto you by the capitalists and by the soothsayers are cunningly devised fables. And likewise the holy men, who say that it is the will of God that ye should always be poor and miserable and athirst, behold! They do blaspheme God and are liars, whom He will bitterly judge though He forgive all others. How cometh it that ye may not come by the water in the tank? Is it not because ye have no money? And why have ye no money? Is it not because ye receive but one penny for every bucket that ye bring to the tank, which is the Market, but must render two pennies for every bucket ye take out, so that the capitalists may have their profit? See ye not how by this means the tank must overflow, being filled by that ye lack and made to abound out of your emptiness? See ye not also that the harder ye toil and the more diligently ye seek and bring the water, the worse and not the better it shall be for you by reason of the profit, and that forever?"

After this manner spake the agitators for many days unto the people, and none heeded them, but it was so that after a time the people harkened. And they answered and said unto the agitators:

"Ye say truth. It is because of the capitalists and their profit that we want, seeing that by reason of them and their profits we may by no means come by the fruit of our labor, so that our tank is in vain, and the more we toil to fill the tank the sooner doth it overflow, and we may receive nothing because there is too much: according to the words of the soothsayers. But behold, the capitalists are hard men, and their tender mercies are cruel. Tell us if ye know any way whereby we may deliver ourselves out of our bondage unto them. But if ye know of no certain way of deliverance, we beseech you to hold your peace and let us alone, that we may forget our misery."

And the agitators answered and said: "We know a way."

And the people said: "Deceive us not, for this thing hath been from the beginning, and none hath found a way of deliverance until now, though many have sought it carefully with tears. But if ye know a way, speak unto us quickly."

Then the agitators spake unto the people of the way, and they said:

"Behold, what need have ye at all of these capitalists, that ye should yield them profits upon your labor? What great thing do they wherefore ye render them this tribute? Lo! It is only because they do order you in bands and lead you out and in and set your task and afterward give you a little of the water yourselves have brought, and not they. Now, behold the way out of this bondage! Do ye for yourselves that which is done for the capitalists—namely, the ordering of your labour, and the marshaling of your hands, and the dividing of your tasks. So shall ye have no need at all of the capitalists, and no more yield to them any profit, but all the fruit of your labor shall ye share as brethren, every one having the same; and so shall the tank never overflow until every man is full, and would not wag the tongue for more, and afterward shall ye with the overflow make pleasant fountains and fish ponds to delight yourself withal, even as did the capitalists; but these shall be for all."

And the people answered: "How shall we go about to do this thing, for it seemeth good to us?"

And the agitators answered: "Choose ye discreet men to go in and out before you and to marshal your hands and order your labor, and these men shall be as the capitalists were; but, behold they shall not be your masters, as the capitalists are, but your brethren and officers, who do your will, and they shall not take any profits, but every man his share like the others that there may be no more masters and servants among you, but brethren only. And from time to time, as ye see fit, ye shall choose other discreet men in the places of the first, to order the labor."

And the people hearkened, and the thing was good to them. Likewise, it seemed not a hard thing. And with one voice they cried out: "So let it be as ye have said, for we will do it!"

And the capitalists heard the noise of the shouting and what the people said, and the soothsayers heard it also, and likewise the false priests, and the mighty men of war, who were a defence unto the capitalists; and when they heard they trembled exceedingly, so that their knees smote together, and they said one to another: "It is the end of us."

Howbeit, there were certain true priests of the living God who would not prophesy for the capitalists, but had compassion on the people, and when they heard the shouting of the people and what they said, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy, and gave thanks to God because of the deliverance.

And the people went and did all of the things that were told them of the agitators to do. And it came to pass as the agitators had said, even according to all their words. And there was no more any thirst in that land, neither any that was shunned, nor naked, nor cold, nor in any manner of want; and every man said unto his fellow, "My brother," and every woman said unto her companion, "My sister," and so were they with one another, as brethren and sisters which do dwell together in unity. And the blessings of God rested upon that land forever.

Russell Sage left \$64, 411,218. Now if all you workmen had only been energic and saved your money and invested it, instead of simply being so foolish as to dig coal and make clothes and build houses and raise wheat, you could all have done what Sage did, and left sixty-four millions when you died. This is what the capitalist papers tell us. Of course if no one did anything useful the whole world would starve to death in about a month. But then a little fact like that does not seem to be perceived by our leading metropolitan dailies.

Three hundred and twenty-three delegates at the Trades and Labor Congress held in Montreal show that the workers are realizing the necessity for better and more thorough organization. Last year at Guelph there were two hundred and fifty delegates.

Locking The Masters Out

You a member of a union, and the cost of living goes up. Your wages shrink in purchasing power.

You go to your masters and demand an increase of pay. You do not get it, or you get a small part of what you ask.

You strike. Scabs are brought in. You picket. You are arrested by the police and judged by the judge.

You sell your labor power to your master, and when you do not act as they want you to, they lock you out of the mills. They own the mills and they can lay them idle when they wish. The laws are so made by the politicians, and the courts, the police and the soldiers will prevent you entering the mills when the masters say no.

How would you like to turn the tables on your masters? How would you like to lock them out?

If you capture the political power, cannot you make the laws?

If your masters have had laws made giving them the ownership of the railways, houses, stores, mines, your class have built or dug, cannot you, when you get the political power, make laws taking away that ownership from them and giving it to you and your class?

Sure you can.

Having got the ownership, you can lock your masters out. You can say to Bill and Dan, "Here, you big parasites, these railways no longer belong to you. They belong to us, the working class." Bill and Dan won't like it a bit, but we need not care for what they like. Have they ever cared for what they wanted in their mines or on their lines?

You can go to the clothing houses and say, "These clothing factories, which we the working class, created by our labor, no longer belong to you. They belong to us, the collective working class."

Now you have no right in the mills or on the railroads save on the conditions your masters impose.

These conditions are that you work for a wage which just supports you. All the rest of what you produce belongs to your masters. When you get political power and have made the laws giving you the collective ownership, your present masters cannot then enter the mills save upon such terms as you say.

These terms will be that they will become equal producers with you, and will receive the social equivalent of their labor.

You can lock your masters out as masters and admit them as fellow workers.

This is not an aim worth striving for? This is the aim the Social-Democratic party sets itself.

The Right To Be Lazy

The masters insist upon the workers having the right to work when the masters want slaves.

When the masters do not want slaves, the slaves have a right to starve.

In the days of chattel slavery, when the master owned the body of the slave, the master fed the slave when he had no work for him.

The old slave was better off than you wage slaves.

Now a "great reform" is being engineered by the "radicals." This is what is known as the "Right to Work." This means that the slave shall always have work for which he shall be paid his keep. If the private masters have no labor, then the state shall give the slave a job building roads and the like.

This is a reform which the capitalists do not fear so much, as the slaves will still be producing surplus values. As the capitalists own the state, any work done by the wage slaves for the state will benefit the capitalists.

The workers should have, not only the right to work, but also the right to be lazy. The workers, when they have produced sufficient wealth by their labor should have the right to loaf, to go on a holiday.

This demand is one that is abhorrent to the capitalist class. For they live upon the difference between what the slave gets and what the actual value of his labor is.

Should the slave get the right to be lazy when he has produced enough for the working class, the master class would get no revenues. They would be forced to actually go to work and earn their own living.

The right to be lazy is a pretty good right for the working class to demand.

A movement has been begun in Canada to put the fraudulent land sharks and company promoters out of business. By this is meant that those persons who sell worthless lands and stock in companies at high prices shall be punished. But those companies who sell stock upon which large revenues are expected out of the hides of the workers, shall still be allowed to do business and be considered respectable, and those land agents who sell land where workers can be hired and large rents be collected out of crowded buildings will still be allowed to do business with the full protection of the law. In the old days when a man sold a title to a slave, and he did not own the slave, he was jailed for obtaining money under false pretences. But the slave seller was allowed full scope for his activities. Today the sellers of stock in companies which actually exploit slaves are to be protected against those disreputable creatures who seek to sell stock in companies which exploit and rob no workers.

In the State of Texas consisting of 167,000,000 acres, only 27,000,000 acres are improved. Over 100,000,000 acres of the balance is in the hands of speculators who are holding it for large prices, much of it being held by those holding large areas of the improved lands. This condition of affairs has forced the propertyless farmers to become tenants. Tenantry in Texas has increased 120 per cent in the last twenty years. A monster petition is being prepared demanding that USE AND OCCUPANCY shall be the only title to land, and that all land held for speculation shall be taxed by the state at the full rental value thereof. This latter petition is being prepared by Socialists, and will be signed by over 300,000 people. Who stands for the rights of the people, the Socialists or the speculators?

Some plutes keep busy working the workers.

Socialism is common sense.

Communist Manifesto

PREFACE.

The "Manifesto" was published as the platform of the Communist League, a workingmen's association, first exclusively German, later an international, and under the political conditions of the Continent before 1848, unavowedly a secret society. At a Congress of the League, held in London, in November, 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned to prepare for publication a complete theoretical and practical party-program. Draws up in German, in January, 1848, the manuscript was sent to the printer in London a few weeks before the French revolution of February 24th. A French translation was brought out in Paris shortly before the insurrection of June, 1848. The first English translation, by Miss Helen Macfarlane, appeared in George Julian Harney's "Red Republican," London, 1850. A Danish and a Polish edition has also been published.

The defeat of the Parisian insurrection of June, 1848—the first great battle between Proletariat and Bourgeoisie—drove again into the background, for a time, the social and political aspirations of the European working class. Thereafter, the struggle for supremacy was again, as it had been before the revolution of February, solely between different working class was reduced to a fight for political elbow room, and to the position of extreme wing of the middle-class Radicals. Wherever independent proletarian movements continued to show signs of life, they were ruthlessly hunted down. Thus the Prussian police hunted out the Central Board of the Communist League, then located in Cologne. The members were arrested, and, after eighteen months' imprisonment, they were tried in October, 1852. This celebrated "Cologne Communist trial" lasted from October 4th till November 12th; seven of the prisoners were sentenced to terms of imprisonment in a fortress, varying from three to six years. Immediately after the sentence the League was formally dissolved by the remaining members. As to the "Manifesto," it seemed therefore to be doomed to oblivion.

When the European working class had recovered sufficient strength for another attack on the ruling classes, the International Working Men's Association sprang up. But this association, formed with the express aim of welding into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America, could not at once proclaim the principles laid down in the "Manifesto." The International was bound to have a program broad enough to be acceptable to the English Trades Unions, to the followers of Proudhon in France, Belgium, Italy and Spain, and to the Lassalleans in Germany. Marx, who drew up this program to the satisfaction of all parties, entirely trusted to the intellectual development of the working class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion. The very events and vicissitudes of the struggle against Capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help bringing home to men's minds the insufficiency of their various favorite nostrums, and preparing the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working-class emancipation. And Marx was right. The International, on its breaking up in 1874, left the workers quite different men from what it had found them in 1864. Proudhonism in France, Lassalleism in Germany were dying out, and even the Conservative English Trades Unions, though most of them had long since severed their connection with the International, were gradually advancing towards that point at which, last year at Swansea, their president could say in their name, "Continental Socialism has lost its terrors for us." In fact, the principles of the "Manifesto" had made considerable headway among the working men of all countries.

The "Manifesto" itself thus came to the front again. The German text had been, since 1850, reprinted several times in Switzerland, England and America. In 1872 it was translated into English in New York, where the translation was published in "Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly." From this English version, a French one was made in "Le Socialiste" of New York. Since then at least two more English translations, more or less mutilated, have been brought out in America, and one of them has been reprinted in England. The first Russian translation, made by Bakounine, was published at Herzen's "Kolokol" office in Geneva about 1863; a second one, by the hero Vera Zasulich, also in Geneva, 1883. A new Danish edition is to be found in "Socialdemokratisk Bibliotek," Copenhagen, 1885; a fresh translation in "Le Socialiste," Paris, 1886. From this latter a Spanish version was prepared and published in Madrid, 1886. The German reprints are not to be counted, there have been twelve altogether at the least. An Armenian translation, which was to be published in Constantinople some months ago, did not see the light, I am told, because the publisher was afraid of bringing out a book with the name of Marx on it, while the translator declined to call it his own production. Of further translations into other languages I have heard, but have not seen them. Thus the history of the "Manifesto" reflects, to a great extent, the history of the modern working-class movement; at present it is undoubtedly the most widespread, the most international production of all Socialist literature, the common platform acknowledged by millions of working men from Siberia to California.

Yet, when it was written, we could not have called it a Socialist Manifesto. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various Utopian systems: Owenism in England, Fourierism in France, both of them already reduced to the position of mere sects, and gradually dying out; on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks, who, by all manners of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances, in both cases men outside the working class movement, and looking rather to the "educated" classes for support. Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social change, that portion, then, called itself Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian Communism, in France, of Cabot, and in Germany, of Weitling. Thus, Socialism was, in 1847, a middle-class movement. Communism was a working-class movement. Socialism was, on the Continent at least, "respectable"; Communism was the very opposite. And as our notion, from the very beginning, was that the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself, there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take. Moreover, we have ever since, been far from repudiating it. The "Manifesto" being our joint production,

I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That proposition is: that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) the history of these class struggles forms between exploiting and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which, now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without, at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinctions and class struggles.

This proposition which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology, we both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845. How far I had independently progressed towards it, is best shown by my "Condition of the Working Class in England." But when I again met Marx at Brussels, in spring, 1845, he had it ready worked out, and put it before me, in terms almost as clear as those in which I have stated it here.

From our joint preface to the German edition of 1872, I quote the following: "However much the state of things may have altered during the last 25 years, the general principles laid down in this Manifesto, are, on the whole, as correct today as ever. Here and there some detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as the manifesto itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing, and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded today. In view of the gigantic strides of Modern Industry since 1848, and of the accompanying improved and extended organization of the working-class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this program has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz. that 'the working-class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery and wield it for its own purposes.'" (See "The Civil War in France," Address of the General Council of the International Working-men's Association," Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Co., where this point is further developed). Further, it is self-evident that the criticism of Socialist literature is deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847; also, that the remarks on the relation of the Communists to the various opposition-parties (Section IV.), although in principle still correct, yet in practice antiquated, because the political situation has been entirely changed, and the progress of history has swept from off the earth the greater portion of the political parties there enumerated.

"But then, the Manifesto has become a historical document which we have no longer any right to alter."

The present translation is by Mr. Samuel Moore, the translator of the greater portion of Marx's "Capital." We have revised it in common, and I have added a few notes explanatory of historical allusions.

FREDERICK ENGELS.

London, 30th January, 1888.

"The Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844." By Frederick Engels. Translated by Florence K. Wischniewsky—London Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre; Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been derided as communistic by its opponents in power? Where the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

I. Things result from this fact.

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European Powers to be itself a Power.

II. It is high time that Communism should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a Manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London, and sketched the following manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages.

BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS.

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome, we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journey-men, apprentices, serfs, in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

From the serfs of the middle ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burghers the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolized by close guilds, no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle-class; division of labor between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labor in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, modern industry, by industrial millions, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeoisie.

Modern industry has established the world-market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the medieval commune, here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France), afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner stone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world-market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, then callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless unfeeling, chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

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

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

The bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigor in the Middle Ages, which Reactionists so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former Exoduses of nations and crusades.

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are destroyed by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations; by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And yet, in material as well as in intellectual production, the intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world-literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap price of its commodities is the heavy artillery with which it bat-

ters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idleness of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together in one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier and one customs-tariff.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organization of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their places stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class.

"By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live.

"That is, all written history. In 1847, the pre-history of society, the social organization existing previous to recorded history, was all but unknown. Since then, Haxthausen discovered common ownership of land in Russia, Maurer proved it to be the social foundation from which all Teutonic races started in history, and by and by village communities were found to be, or to have been, the primitive form of society everywhere from India to Ireland. The inner organization of this primitive Communist society was laid bare, in its typical form, by Morgan's crowning discovery of the true nature of the gens and its relation to the tribe. With the dissolution of these primeval communities society begins to be differentiated into separate and finally antagonistic classes. I have attempted to retrace this process of dissolution in "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State." (Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Co.)

"Guild-master, that is a full member of a guild, a master within, not a head of, a guild. "Commune" was the name taken, in France, by the nascent towns even before they had conquered from their feudal lords and masters, local self-government and political rights as "the Third Estate." Generally speaking, for the economical development of the bourgeoisie, England is here taken as the typical country, for its political development, France.

(To be Continued)

The Revolutionary Flame In Old Ireland

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in Solidarity.

The class struggle has struck the battle hour in the Emerald Isle. A week-old strike involving thousands of street car workers in Dublin, Ireland, is challenging the attention of the world of labor. The leader of the strike, Jim Larkin, was spoken of by Tom Mann on his recent visit to New York, as "the Irish syndicalist leader and through his continual propaganda the unskilled are organizing a militant working class spirit as distinguished from the older, vague, nationalistic spirit, and a unity between the Irish and English proletarian, have been created. Too long the Irish worker has lost his class identity in a burning zeal for his country's freedom from the English government while the Irish capitalist had no scruples against maintaining commercial relations, helping him exploit his impoverished country for their mutual pocketbooks. "Ireland for the Irish," is to be realized by the Irish toilers organizing to crush their masters, regardless of their nationality. It is certainly gratifying to know that these Irish workers in their home country are not of the same calibre as the Irish politician, police and detectives we are unfortunately so familiar within the United States; that in the hearts of these Dublin strikers burns the same fires of revolt as animated their brothers during the recent street car strike in Milan, the miners' strikes of South Africa and Michigan, the silk strike of Patterson, New Jersey.

The strike against the Dublin Tramway Company was precipitated by discharge of 200 men for membership in the "Irish Transport Workers Union." The union responded by a general strike demanding the re-instatement of their fellow workers.

Discrimination was a last resort after all other means of smashing the union had failed. William Murphy, president of the company, is one of the biggest capitalists in Ireland. He owns street car and electric lighting systems, railroads, hotels, steamships, and two Dublin newspapers. Posing as an Irish patriot, he nevertheless accepted a knight-hood from the English King. Recently, he held a special midnight meeting of all his employees. He promised them a day's pay for their attendance, and 25 cents increase a week, served them with supper, provided special cars to take them home and finished with the announcement that the directors of the company had voted \$5,000,000 to "smash Larkin and his union." But the special cars were not used. The men remained in the hall to attend a meeting arranged by Larkin, and

there enthusiastically decided to take all Murphy would give but to stick to the union.

The strike produced intense police persecution. "Just like America," they comment. Keir Hardie, the Labor member of Parliament, is quoted as saying: "It is a form of action against trades unionism common in America, but I did not expect in any law-abiding country like our own, that the anarchist precedent of the United States courts would have been followed." While it is remarkable that a so-called socialist expects justice from a capitalist government, nevertheless this is an unconsciously humorous commentary on "Free America" and our boasted "superiority."

In the agitation prior to the strike, our friend and comrade, James Connolly, editor of the "Harp," author of many pamphlets and well-known in America, was arrested and sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

A meeting was arranged for Sunday August 31, at Sackville Street, a prominent Dublin thoroughfare, to protest and to enlist general support for the strike. It was prohibited by the police on the grounds of "sedition." On Friday at the strikers' meeting Larkin burned the proclamation of prohibition and announced that the meeting would be held. A warrant was issued against Larkin for "seditious language."

On Sunday a white bearded old man who had driven up to the Hotel Imperial a few minutes before, stepped out on the balcony and jerking off his beard announced himself, "I am Jim Larkin. I said I would be here and here I am."

The police rushed to disperse the cheering crowd and a wild fight followed. Men and women were beaten and trampled on, blood curdled the streets, five hundred were so badly hurt they had to receive hospital treatment, one man was mortally wounded and has since died, and another was killed outright, his skull broken by the blow of a policeman's club.

Larkin was arrested in the hotel, which is owned by Murphy. Cars were wrecked in all parts of the city and police and scabs were stoned from the houses. The attack on the good natured crowd was wholly unexpected and not at all in Ireland where the English government has lately made strenuous attempts to conciliate the people of Ireland.

It marks August 31 as "the bloodiest day in the history of Dublin."

The victim of the riot, Nolan, was accorded an impressive burial. Strikers and sympathizers followed the hearse in a procession. The description reminds us forcibly of the scenes in Paterson during the funerals of Valentino and Modestino.

This violent attempt to break the workers' spirit was followed by a lockout of all the members of the Transport Workers' Union in the employ of the Coal Merchants' Association. Other marine transportation companies such as the Carrier's Association are threatening a similar lockout, involving 30,000 men, so a complete tie-up of transportation is probable. This has served to add numbers and determination to the strikers' ranks. They have voted to pay no rents until the strike is over. Committees have been appointed by the British Trade Union Congress to visit Dublin and offer assistance. While no practical service will probably be rendered, except publicity, it will serve to cement the bonds of fraternity and is a unique event in the history of two hitherto antagonistic nations—the workers refuse to recognize the old barriers and join hands across the waters.

It occurred only once before, during the British Transport strike of two years ago when the Irish dockers joined under Larkin's leadership.

Larkin, "the man of the hour" in Ireland, has led a busy and adventurous life in the cause of labor. He is the nephew of an Irish rebel who was hung as a leader in the movement by the English government. He is proud of his family tree, a man hung in every one of four generations as a rebel.

Three years ago he was sentenced to three years in jail as a result of agitation against the Cork Shipping Company, but was freed after three months, through widespread agitation. On his release he was given \$2,000 by the dockers of Dublin, which he refused to accept and turned it over to the organization.

Aggressive and active, he is hated and feared by all middle class, landowning and capitalist Irish, denounced by priests and ministers, but is loved devotedly by all the toilers for his speaking and writing in their behalf.

So here's success to our brave fellow workers across the sea and a speedy liberation to their spokesman, the daring rebel and good fighter—Comrade Jim Larkin.

WAR.

The war is for the patriot.
The worker pays the cost;
The death is for the soldier;
Be the battle won or lost.
The widow and the orphan
Get almost all the woe,
The general gets the glory
Of conquering the foe.
The fighting nations, weakened,
Lose what they've battled for,
By stronger neighbors gobbled,
And that, my son is war!

—Chicago News.

In the old days the slaves were sold with the estate. When the slave owner sold his plantation he sold the slaves along with it. Today the masters do the same thing only many of the workers do not seem to realize it. The workers go into a factory and produce profits for the owners of the factory. The owners sell the factory to another set of capitalists. The same set of workers go into the same factory and produce the same amounts of profits. The only difference is different capitalists receive the unearned revenues. The capitalist buyers get the same benefits the old slave buyers got, which is all the wealth produced by the workers above what it costs the workers to live.

Although the prohibition areas are being increased, more alcoholic beverages are being consumed than ever. The present system wears men out. It makes them worry. It makes them work beyond their strength, on the side, and on the other it heaps vast unearned revenues into idle hands. Both conditions cause people to seek artificial stimulants and the whiskey trade increases. Change the system to one where the needs of all will be provided for by the lightened labor of all, and the liquor question will be largely solved.

Statistics show that the mining industry in Canada is carried on at a greater cost in life and injury than in any other country. This is the statement which appeared in the newspapers. Never mind your workers. Your employers are drawing nice fat dividends out of most of you and you should be willing to die in order to make them rich and happy.

If the capitalist class find it worth while to own the state and the politicians, the workers should find it worth while to take the control away from them.

THE CRUXIFIXION OF LABOR

By A. M. SIMONS.

The great tragedy of the ages, which art, literature and religion have touched their highest points in symbolizing is the crucifixion of labor. This tragedy is older than written history or the tales that run back into the twilight of the race. When history was scratched upon uncrushed bones in Neanderthal caves, or cut into the rocks of Egypt, labor was even then nailed to the cross of the enslaved and exploited toil. This is the one great basic fact in the life of the race. Know this and all it means and you know all that is worth while in history. Only in so far as this fact is grasped and reckoned with does the chaos of events, past and present, resolve into order.

The kings and emperors and generations of belittled parasites, quarrelling and driving their slaves to battle, overturned, enthroned, killed, lifted up or tossed aside by the rolling waves of real events are but the comedy, the tinsel, the gauds and trappings on the edge of real history.

The great, terrible truth through all the days since class rule began has been that those who fed and clothed and housed the people of the earth and bore upon their backs the galling load of painted baubles whose glittering history recounts, have always been robbed of the fruits of their toil.

In the brick yards of Babylon, as in the steel mills at Gary, workers built palaces into which they could never enter, created boundless wealth they could never enjoy. The fall of man came when class rule entered into the earth. Then was man driven out of the Garden of Eden, where every man's product, small though it might be, was his own to enjoy. In the folk tales of the race this time when man and woman stood together in tribe and clan and fought the hard fight with nature has been always looked back to as a Golden Age.

Then when a few of nature's secrets had been sought out and it was possible to wrest from water and soil more than enough to sustain life, there arose a class that took away this added fruit of hand and brain.

Then came the sin of robbery and human slavery into the world. Then was that primal curse laid upon the workers: Another shall live by the sweat of thy brow. Then were the workers driven into that outer darkness of poverty and misery and ignorance, where they have dwelt even unto this day, while their labor furnishes luxury and happiness and culture for the idle oppressors.

Labor has had no time to write its chronicles. Books have been dictated by those who have fed from the idle hands of labor. So these were written to glorify the idle and the useless.

In these books the spoil was all; the toil was nothing. A robber's fight for plunder became a glorious art, a thieves' supper to divide the loot was a conference of mighty statesmen. The highest honors went to those who could longest ride the bent backs of the toiling slaves. These became rulers by divine right.

But it is written that "The seed of woman shall bruise the head of the serpent," and out of the toil and torture and age-long crucifixion of labor was drawn the philosophy, the literature and the force that shall free the race.

When Labor chained steam and electricity to giant arms of steel he could not build and tend these complicated creations without some measure of the divine spark of learning that had hitherto been so carefully guarded. But a thinking slave is a contradiction which cannot endure.

Slave revolts are no new thing. Whispers of them have crept down through the caste written chronicles we call history, and no pages of these chronicles are so bloody as those that tell how the masters of the bread scoured rebellious workers back to their tasks.

New and peculiar forms of torture were invented for those who committed the unpardonable sin—rebellion against class rule. Law and morality and justice were for the rulers alone. Beyond the line that divided the robber caste from the workers there was no law the master need observe.

It is this great cosmic fact that made the story of Golgotha of such universal appeal. The cross was the particular instrument of torture reserved for the execution of the slave. No patrician ever endured its horror. Only the limbs that toiled were nailed to its outstretched arms.

When the great Labor Agitator scourged the money changers from the temple and expiated his revolt against the rulers of his time with his life upon this symbol of human slavery, there was something in the event so marvelously symbolical of this age-long crucifixion of the workers that its significance was seized by the toilers of his time and the cross became the badge of these "common people" who had "heard him gladly" when he came to preach deliverance.

Always as Labor has hung upon the cross of class slavery he has caught glimpses of a freedom that might be. Once that vision was the Golden Age behind him. Then for ages more the vision was dim, its outlines distorted by ignorance and agony. But each succeeding era of pain brought new capacity to draw strength from that very agony. Each desperate struggle that loosened the bonds ever so little brought opportunity more clearly to search out the road that leads to the kingdom of liberty.

Today the vision is clear, the way is charted, the unconquerable strength that is born of numbers united in bonds of brotherhood is ready to achieve that liberty.

The old body of labor that knew only suffering and misery and slavery and crucifixion is dying. The new spirit of rebellion and solidarity and brotherhood and freedom is arising. The race is lifting to a new resurrection when the old earth and the old hell shall pass away and a new earth shall be born.

Tom Mann, the British labor leader, says there is not a church today which does not sanction the robbery of the poor by the rich. The capitalist papers take umbrage to this statement, and say that it is the sort of blatant buncombe which gives organized labor an hard name amongst sane people. The papers of the masters are sore because the workers have discovered just exactly what the churches of today stand for, and are keeping away from them. Tom Mann is not the first man who has made such a statement. Organized labor has long been wise to the pulp orator who has befuddled the brains of labor in the past; this is the reason the churches are losing their grip, and the congregations are going fishing or hunting instead of attending church. The church has been a powerful weapon in the past to suppress the workers, but is losing ground in every civilized country in the world. The people are becoming sane.

Because it was said long ago that man should eat his bread in the sweat of his brow, the capitalists want to keep the working class sweating all the time.

BLAME THE WORKERS

A large strike has been pulled off in Ireland. Eighteen thousand transport workers ceased their labors. The farm laborers around Dublin also went on strike. Other workers threw down their tools.

As a natural result, hunger slightly increased. But the capitalist papers raised a great howl. They painted lurid pictures of the hunger and disease that stalked through the strike region. They pictured children rushing to the garbage barrels and fighting for refuse scraps. And they laid the blame upon the striking workers. If only the workers had stayed at work, the newspapers would say if not openly at least by inference, all this hunger and misery would not result.

The master class are blind. They are blind today as they were in the days prior to the French revolution.

The poverty of Ireland has been notorious. The rapacity of the landlords has known no bounds. The industrial magnates knew no mercy. The sweated linen industry was a stench and running sore upon Ireland. Such things, however, were not talked about by the capitalist press. The poor ye have always with you was the smug maxim of the robbers.

The workers produced much. The master class took the surplus and ground the wealth producers in fearful poverty.

At last the workers rebel. They had nothing to lose, as they lived in misery. They ceased work.

Their pitiful wages upon which they lived ceased and no doubt the poverty during the strike has been a little severe. And the hypocritical masters howl aloud in wrath. They weep words of crocodile tears. The poor workers are starving because the wretches won't work. They are letting their wives and children suffer. Thus the hypocrites, the mouthy demons of the master class.

They care not for the sufferings of the workers. But when the workers cease working in large numbers, the profits of the masters cease. This is what makes their faces taut. This is what makes their hearts beat with indignation. The sacred revenues of the parasite capitalist class have slightly diminished. Hence the cries of anguish.

If the workers would go back to work, they would still be in dire poverty. They would be sweated and trodden on and despised. But the lordly revenues of the idle priest, capitalist would flow in upon the idle cases and the papers would again tell about "prosperous Ireland."

What has happened in Ireland happens in Canada. When the workers rebel on the industrial field against poverty and robbery, the masters blame the slaves for the trouble. The masters are faultless in their own eyes.

There is a way to cause the masters to lose their power. There is a way for the workers to unite on the political field as well as in their unions. Let them capture the political power so as to make the laws in their own interests.

Then the whole power of the state, which is now hurled against the workers, will be in the control of the workers.

MORE ABOUT WAGES

By OSCAR AMERINGER.

Whatever it costs to produce the labor power of the worker, under free competition, will be the wages of the worker in the long run. Beans, potatoes, kum, bread, eggs, milk and meat. These things are produced by the stomach; are burned up and produce labor power. Just as coal shoveled into a boiler produces steam power.

Horse power is produced by transmitting hay and corn to the interior of a mule. Whatever it costs to produce the horse power of the mule will be the average wage of the mule.

The mule gets his pay in keep and the case the mules don't keep in the cost of living. But the worker, who gets his keep in pay, feels himself continually with the mule idea that by cheap living he can make his wages go further or that higher wages will bring him on a level with the cost of living. All this don't bother the mule.

Let us say the mule gets twenty ears of corn per day. At one time his owner fed him more, but it only made him fat and lazy. At another time the boss fed him less and the mule got too weak to pull a load. So the boss settled down to feed the mule whatever corn was required to produce the mule power. The amount was twenty ears a day.

If twenty ears of corn cost 10 cents, then the wages of the mule expressed in money is 10 cents per day.

One day a fine looking fellow comes to the mule and says, "My name is Windy-teddy-bill. I am representing the grand old Leprechaun party. I understand you are working for 10 cents a day. Now, this may be all right for the pauper mules of Europe, but we will respect the mule should work for such a wage. We have organized a political party for the benefit of mules. At present we are advocating a 100 per cent tariff on corn. As soon as this is accomplished the price of corn will be double, and you will get 20 cents per day instead of the measly 10 cents you get now."

Wonder what the mule would say to that argument? Well, if he were just an ordinary four-footed mule he would say, "Windy-teddy-bill, I don't eat the noise, but the corn. I get the same quantity whether the price goes up or down, because the boss found out I've got to have just so much or he'll have to pull the wagon himself." And then the mule would wink one eye and jokingly tickle the great statesman under the double chin with his left hind hoof.

Neither would he join the William Jennings Bryan Marching Club, which the Democratic Party has honored the mule by making him the patron saint of democracy. Cheap corn and free trade has as little attraction to a normal mule as high corn and tariff. But while we may be unable to rile up the mules on the tariff question, the politicians had no such trouble with the workers. Four generations of toilers have chased the will-of-the-wisp tariff over the dismal swamp of American politics without ever being able to bring wages and the cost of living visibly nearer to each other. From "Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam."

The anti-Socialists sneer at the Socialist contention that under a sane system the hours of labor could be tremendously reduced and at the same time cry out in horror against the abolition of standing armies because such a measure would flood the countries with unemployed people. If the men now engaged in war preparations and kept idle in the armies could be turned into useful workers, the long hours of labor could be shortened and the workers freed from slavery.

The robber capitalists want their friends to make the laws dealing with the exploitation of the working class.

PLATFORM S.D.P. OF CANADA

We, the Social-Democratic Party of Canada in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of the International Socialist Movement.

By virtue of the ownership of the means of production and distribution (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) all wealth the workers produce, accrues into the hands of the capitalist class. This property the capitalist defends by means of the state (the army, the navy, the judiciary.)

The object of the Social-Democratic Party is to educate the workers of Canada to a consciousness of their class position in society, their economic servitude to the owners of capital, and to organize them into a political party to seize the reins of government and transform all capitalist property into the collective property of the working class. This social transformation means the liberation not only of the proletariat, but of the whole human race. Only the working class, however, can bring it about. All other classes maintain their existence by supporting the present social order.

The struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation produced a constant state of warfare between these two forces for the control of political and economic power. As a means of preparing the minds of the working class for the inauguration of the Co-operative commonwealth, the Social-Democratic Party of Canada will support any measure that will tend to better conditions under capitalism, such as:

- (1) Reduction of hours of labor.
- (2) The elimination of child labor.
- (3) Universal adult suffrage without distinction of sex or regard to property qualifications; and

the Initiative, Referendum and Right of Recall.

I, the undersigned, hereby apply for membership in Local _____ Province of _____ Social-Democratic Party of Canada. I subscribe to the platform of principles as laid down by the Social-Democratic Party of Canada, and if admitted to membership, agree to be governed by the constitution of the Party.

Name of Applicant _____

Occupation _____

Age _____

Are you a voter at present? _____

Admitted to Local _____

Chairman _____

Rec. Sec. _____

(No person under the age of eighteen shall be admitted to membership.)

When five have signed the application form, after having read the platform, they receive a Charter, and thereafter form an integral part of the Social-Democratic Party, which governs itself according to the rules laid down in the constitution.

Jaures Puts one Over

In France whenever a speaker makes an address that is considered as a particularly effective piece of campaign work for the majority, the parliament votes to post it on the official bulletin boards throughout the country.

At the close of the debate on the increase in the term of military service, the Minister of Justice, M. Ratier, had prepared what was intended to be the final crushing blow to the Socialist opposition. This much-heralded climax was found to consist almost entirely of extracts from Socialist writings for many years back denouncing war, military service, and Jaures.

When he had finished this speech, upon which the government proposed to rest its case, Jean Jaures, the Socialist parliamentarian leader, rose and solemnly moved that it be posted.

The government was in a panic and demanded an explanation. "Because we wish to show to the people of France the completeness of the bankruptcy of the present government," replied Jaures.

Frightened at this show of friendliness, the government forces were rallied, and voted against the posting of their own speech. Now all France is laughing at the dilemma of the bourgeoisie politicians.

The days of Sir Richard McBride, Premier of British Columbia, are numbered. He has been a faithful henchman of the exploiters. He has ripped the heart of British Columbia and laid it bleeding at the feet of Bill and Dan and the whole host of parasites. He has laid labor upon the altar of profits and torn and mangled its quivering limbs. Sir Richard has given, given like a fool. He has held nothing in reserve, so that now he has nothing more to give. So the vultures of finance are forsaking him. In desperate plight, he fawns upon the masters who are kicking him in the face, and turns the soldiers, the special police, the thugs upon revolting labor on the one hand, and the masters will fling him as a victim to the wrath of labor. Let B. C. labor be on its guard. McBride is not the enemy. He is a tool of the enemy. The game is being prepared for the big interests to swing to the Liberal party and back them in the hope that labor, to get even with McBride, will vote the Liberal tools of the plunderers to the Victoria legislature. Labor has no friends among the Liberals any more than among the Tories.

Labor is in the triumph of the revolutionary working class under the Socialist banner.

"Business is business," says the landlord, as he reaches out for the money from the jeweled hands of the bawdy house mistress.

"Business is business," he says again, as he orders the bailiff to seize on the poor possessions of the widow and her starving children.

"Business is business," says the financier as he stops a loan at the bank to his competitor and puts him down and out.

"Business is business," says the banker as he borrows money at 3 per cent and loans it out at ten and twelve per cent.

"Business is business," says the white slaver as he entices a bunch of girls from the country to the reeking, rotten city.

"Business is business," says the steel magnate as he buys a cemetery plot near his works, and sells lots for the burial of the workers who have worked themselves to death or been killed in his mills.

"Business is business," says the coal baron as he orders him to send the militia to shoot up and jail the striking miners.

"Business is business," says the sausage manufacturer as he buys a lot of old horses and makes them up into choice bologna.

"Business is business," says the land manufacturer as a worker falls in a boiling vat and comes out as pure leaf lard.

"Business is business," says the business man as he turns several other things also. However, the business man is content with the definition that business is just business.

The useless owner dines in a spacious room, the useful worker has his cats at the factory gate.

Agrarian Discontent in Canada

By Gustavus Myers in the New Review.

The first faint beginnings of middle-class antagonism to concentrated great capitalism power are in evidence in Canada. Antagonism properly describes the situation; it would be far-fetched at the present time to magnify the movement as one of an intrinsic revolutionary character, even as middle-class movements go. Nevertheless, considering the long prevailing quiescent, submissive attitude that nearly all elements in Canada have taken toward capitalist rule, the agrarian agitation now commencing has its social and economic significance.

To understand this, it is only necessary to review the conditions hitherto and still prevailing in Canada, the land of strange contradictions, where, drugged by theological dogmas, dominated by church, saturated with ancient traditions, enslaved by political formulas and fettered of origins or even bordered intellectual thought, the mass of the people are only now beginning to wake out of their stupor to find that without their realizing it a great economic revolution has been going on. They see to their alarm that the Trust system is here in all its power, that mighty concentrations of capital have taken place, that vast fortunes have been created.

In other words, Canada presents the phenomenon of having almost reached the apex of modern capitalism, concentrated rule, yet unlike the United States, this rule has come about without having to encounter a single serious middle-class revolt. True, there were laws passed aimed at preventing combinations, but nothing was done. Such acute middle-class revolts as the Greenback-Labor party, the Farmers' Alliance, the Populist party and Trust investigations and prosecutions as have succeeded one another in the United States have been unknown in Canada. All of those stages of aggressive middle-class resistance to accumulating Trust supremacy which have so markedly characterized the economic struggle in the United States during the last forty years, have been absent in Canada.

The sudden apprehension of the middle-class elements is, indeed, pathetic and in this category there must be included the whole of the professional class and large numbers of the working class.

Perhaps nowhere in the world are the skilled workers, as a whole, so bourgeois in thought, attachments and views as the native English-speaking workers in Canada, particularly in Eastern Canada. Large numbers of them own their own homes, or at least have the nominal title subject to mortgage, and their views are essentially those of the small property-owning class. With some exceptions, their ideas of unionism are those of the obsolete and decadent British trade unionism of thirty years ago. For decades they have been content to move along the narrow lines not only of an old-time compromising economic action, but also of ancient theological thought.

Inexplicable as this may seem, it is easily explained in a country where the church has the same bigoted dominance as it had in the United States a century ago. The entrenched hold of the Protestant churches in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick is still powerful and militant; the clergy are looked up to as the ordained of heaven and earth, and preach their dogmas and demand obedience without fear of contradiction. Those stages of free inquiry or critical analysis which were common in France before the French Revolution and epidemic in the United States fifty years ago, have never reached Canada. Even the stages of "higher criticism" within the church itself are still to come; the simplest questioning of the divine inspiration of the bible calls forth the fiercest denunciation, and it is considered that there is no greater crime than to question the bible. Hence the skilled, property-owning worker too often seeks above all things to be held in esteem as being thoroughly pious and respectable, like the church-going shopkeeper or the silk-hatted business man, bible under arm.

As for the Province of Quebec, the theological and economic hold of the Roman Catholic church seems in more than one respect like a weird chapter from the period before the French revolution; many of the educated Catholics become atheists or agnostics, but the proletariat are kept under control of the priests; there the church encourages large families, and since the church encourages large families, and it is seldom that a French-Canadian family with few children is seen.

Everywhere the churches teach obedience to authority and submissiveness to masters. These teachings might not be effective were there a tendency to read real and thoughtful stimulating serious works, but the native Canadians as a whole are in a more prejudiced and backward stage as regards the great currents of modern thought and the development of science than even, one might almost say, the rustics of some obscure New England village. Their one unfailing source of information is the Canadian newspaper, and this is almost invariably dull and provincial, and their one invariable source of relaxation is trashy fiction or inane, foolish, so-called serious reading.

But this supine state of affairs happily is being upset by a new factor in Canadian thought, at least—which the church is powerless to control. The new factor is the tremendous economic pressure. Even higher than in the United States is the increased cost of living in most Canadian cities. The professional classes feel the pinch intensely. The shopkeeping and small factory middle class look with vast uneasiness upon the great and arrogant power of the trusts. The skilled laborer not only has to face the increased expense of livelihood, but to his amazement he is suddenly drawing out of his caste shell to find that even his craft is being abolished by automatic machinery. The farmer is becoming disgruntled because of the high taxes, high cost of necessary tools, and the clutch that upon him. Discontent is rife; smug complacency is being discarded. It is a slow transformative process, but a deadly sure one.

The rapid concentration of wealth was shown recently in an article in the Canadian Monetary Times. From the January of 1909 to January, 1913, there were 56 industrial mergers in Canada. The total authorized capitalization, including bonds, of these mergers was \$459,938,266. The 56 amalgamations absorbed 248 individual companies. The aggregate capitalization of 206 of these individual companies was approximately \$167,285,182, which amount was in various ways increased upon amalgamation.

Compared to the United States, these figures may not seem impressive, but it is to be remembered that Canada's population does not exceed 8,500,000.

Against this concentration of capital, the farmers are the first to protest. The periodical Farm and Dairy, a weekly published in Eastern Canada, thus recently commented: "While we farmers have been occupied by our efforts to increase the productivity of our

farms, other people have been devising methods by means of which they would be enabled to so control the production and distribution of staple products, that we, as well as the rest of the community, would be forced to pay them higher prices for all such articles. Success has attended both lines of effort, improved methods of agricultural practice are enabling us to produce more for our farms today for a given amount of labor, than we ever could before. At the same time, we have more combines in Canada than our country, hitherto, has known. In consequence, we are paying higher prices for many necessities, and thus we are losing the benefit of the increased productivity of our farms."

Then followed an exposition of latter-day middle-class economics. "Not all combines are bad," the editorial went on. "Many are positively good. Combines that have for their object the elimination of waste in the processes of manufacture by such means as the installation of expensive modern machinery or the reduction of operating expenses, are commendable and should be encouraged. Especially is this the case when the savings thus effected are shared with the public. When, however, the men behind these combines and managers use questionable methods . . . in order that they may crush out the competition of weaker concerns, control production and advance prices to the customer, they become dangerous and require to receive the attention of the public."

Other extracts might be reproduced from a large number of similar double-headed editorials and articles in the same periodical, thus showing that the farmer is giving evidence that he feels economic pressure and no longer is the capitalist magnate hailed as a sort of demi-god; but worship, at any rate, is beginning at last to be questioned.

In Western Canada there is the same agrarian agitation. The Grain Growers' Guide, published at Winnipeg, has been pointing out what it declares to be the great danger of centralized wealth. In a recent conspicuous article it announced that 42 men controlled \$4,000,000,000, or more than one-third of Canada's total wealth in railways, banks, factories, mines, land, and other resources. "Democracy is in danger," it shrieks in large type.

Its special objective is denunciation of the "great Special Privilege" by which the railways have obtained 56,000,000 acres of land grants and hundreds of millions of dollars in subsidies from the Dominion government. By the same "great Special Privilege," it agitates, the manufacturers of Canada have been enriched by the protective tariff. What is the remedy? It asks. It demands free trade, public ownership of utilities, banking reform and publicity. "We do not wish to see the manufacturing industries destroyed, we wish to see them thrive and multiply," it says. "And for reasons which we have previously set out in these columns we believe that legitimate industries, suited to this country by climatic conditions and natural resources, would benefit rather than suffer by free trade."

These are a few of the many typical expressions of agrarian unrest. It is, as is obvious, wholly middle class, in favor of the continued exploitation of the industrial and agricultural worker, and, of course, has nothing in common with any movement to overthrow capitalism. In the United States such agrarian movements developed in the crude infancy of the trusts; in Canada, the agrarian agitation is just beginning when the power and machinery of the trusts are already superlatively organized to smother the proceeds of the farmer. Where in the United States the Trusts came after the land had all, or nearly all, been settled or at least appropriated, in Canada they are in concentrated, unobstructed operation before much of the land, both in the East and in the Northwest, has been settled. Undoubtedly this means that, once started, agrarian movements in Canada will go through much more rapid stages before their decay, and the same, no doubt, applies to industrial middle-class movements. Meanwhile, although small in numbers, the Socialist movement, is energetic, and if it does not allow itself to temporize with middle class uprisings for the sake of votes, it will stand out as a revolutionary party to face concentrated capitalism after the middle class agitations have come and gone.

A press despatch from Ottawa states that for the coming year the Immigration Department will confine its efforts to bringing over land settlers only. More artisans and general laborers have been coming to Canada than the country could absorb. This is the statement put out. This means that the employing class have imported all the scabs they want, that they have a large reserve army, and they have instructed their political henchmen, Borden and his cabinet, they want no more scabs at present. They would but load down the Scab-keepers established by the masters to provide handouts to the surplus slaves until they are wanted to break a strike. "So land settlers are to be brought in God pity them. They will be thrust out on the prairie to be robbed by the railways, the wheat sharks, the combines. They will produce wheat and see it rot at their doors for the lack of railway facilities which 'private enterprise' of our labor skimmers cannot provide. They will be miserable. Their women will go crazy on the lonely prairie. But Dan and Bill and the plock-me-quick financiers want new victims, and so Borden bends his energies to provide wretches to be pillaged by his financial masters. This is what you voted for, workers of Canada."

A minister of the gospel chasing around the country with a bunch of boy scouts is sure some night. The workers will not attend church to hear the sermons of the capitalist class tell of the beauties and pray for "business"; the churches are deserted. Did you ever hear of the capitalists supporting anybody for nothing? No. The capitalists arrange for their ministers to take charge of a troop of boy scouts and work in their interests. The mother of a boy scout probably thinks the movement is all right as long as her boy is in charge of a minister. This only shows the devilish cunningness of capitalism. The minister 'estills the martial spirit in the boy under the guise of giving him a good time, and making him subject to discipline. Soon he is handed over to the care of somebody who will put the finish on his military education. He will be handed a rifle to drill with instead of a pole, and a bayonet and cartridge pouch will hang at his side. When the workers revolt the red flag will be waved before the erstwhile boy scout's eyes and he will be turned loose on a bunch of workers. This is the objective point of the boy scout movement; this is as far as he will go. He has arrived. He is a full-fledged legalized murderer acting in the capacity of executioner for the gods of Mammon. And the minister? He hath eyes, but he seeth not; he hath ears, but he heareth not.

Two billion dollars a year are spent by the so-called civilized nations of the world in war preparations. These two billions a year spent usually could abolish slums, poverty, prostitution and change the face of the world.

