SOLIDARITY

A FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

of the Relations between different sections of the Working Community of the United States and an Exponent of Anarchist-Socialism.

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SENTENCED!

If ever justice was a ludicrous farce, it was in the case of comrade Berkman, sentenced to twenty-two years imprisonment for his attempted murder of Frick.

In a little room amidst a crowd of lawyers, constables and Frick's men, stood that young anarchist in the prisoners' dock, as haughty in his forced servitude, as proud before the hirelings of Capital, as calm and secure in the expectation of a life-long punishment, as ever man was. He had refused to employ lawyers for his defense. He could be sentenced, not convicted. He was a victim brought to the altar, not a criminal before his judges. His judges were his enemies, the enemies and exploiters of Labor, the sworn enemies of the cause he represented.

And he has been *done*. Six charges were brought against him—all bearing on the same fact. He had entered Frick's room without permission (which, by the way, proves that Frick was not so confident and curageous as the newspapers represented him to be), he carried a revolver, he gave a false name, etc. His deed was analyzed, each movement of it was made out a crime, and each crime bore its separate punishment. This is a new version of the old fable of the lion's share. The lion is Justice, and it has taken six times the life of this man under six different pretexts.

You, workmen, meditate this lesson. Berkman was your friend. He gave his life for you. He threw his person in the midst of the affray between yourselves and your enemies, and he fell. He has asked no help in return from you. He stood alone taking on himself the whole burden of responsibility, as Christ is said to have taken on himself the sins of mankind. He did not even ask for your sympathy. He knows, we all know, that you are so degraded by the system under which you live, so frightened, so terrorized by the awful tyranny called "Law and Order" that you don't even dare to express your gratitude for the martyrs of your cause. You may forsake him in these days of blindness and servitude. You will remember him in the day, not far off, in which you will be free men. To hasten this day, Berkman gave his life. His sacrifice will not be in vain.

You may see from the brutal revenge which has been taken of Berkman, that the Capitalists are frightened, that they feel the blow they have received at the hands of this young man, that their nights are sleepless and their days pass in gloomy visions of danger. In the midst of their revelries a voice raising from the grave of our hanged and from the dungeon of our imprisoned warns them that Justice is approaching, majestic, irresistible and will sweep them from the face of the earth.

THE WORKING OF THE YEAST.

The capitalist class is t[illegible], the labor question can no longer be ignored, [illegible] is making itself felt throughout the civilized world. In England the Cotton Lords find that cheaper production is a necessity—in view of increased competition in other countries and lessened demand—everywhere. Of course they can see no other way of reducing the cost of production than the simple one of cutting down wages. And the mill hands on the other hand are determined not to have their wages cut down. The impending strike is fought with the gravest consequences. The respectable rich fear that the work people may not accept the duty imposed on them by the present "social order" of starving to death in a quiet, lawful and constitutional manner — as soon as a strike has deprived them and their families of food. The evicted Irish tenants, some 4,000 in number, are clamoring for bread and land—and the Irish landlords propose to add some 20 or 30,000 to their number by way of putting Mr. Gladstone "in a hole." These people too may not accept a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry as a satisfactory substitute for shelter and food. And then the army—the soldiers who are to enforce order—that is who are to kill these people whenever they become too troublesome; why, here are the guards in mutiny. What are we coming too—when most favored soldiers cut their own saddles, and instead of acknowledging their terrible sins shut themselves up in their barracks arguing, "Britons never will be slaves." In Germany the cholera has interfered with business in a most ruthless way—and now the radical papers and radical speakers are adding insult to injury by calling attention to the utter incompetence and stupidity of bureaucratic efforts to deal with the crisis—and here, too, the working people who have been thrown out of employment are making themselves prominent. Yet they too are unwilling to starve quietly.

The Socialists have done good work during the epidemic and the bourgeois world is in a fever of apprehension that revolutionary doctrines will be spread at the same time that anti-cholera circulars and disinfectants are distributed by these people.

In Belgium, the ruling class is sorely tempted to give the people the toy of universal suffrage to play with—to keep them out of serious mischief, but there is again the fear, will they long be content with a bauble? Will they not on the contrary demand a larger share of the wealth they create?

In France too the same insoluble problem confronts the ruling clases—the workman "maire" whose employers have discharged him is a forcible object lesson to the workingmen. The strike of his fellow workers to compel his reinstament an equally forcible lesson to the capitalists. Here again the old cry of arbitration is met by the mine owners with the sensible question, are these mines our property? If they are we have a right to manage our own property in our own way. This question goes to the root, and the present society founded on private property must come to the rescue of the mine owners, inconvenient though it be. The next Revolution in France will not be an outbreak of the discontented workers of Paris only. The yeast of discontent is working in the rural communes as well.

In the United States we have a period of quiet. The Homestead strike is dragging its slow length along. Frick has just played his trump card by having the Advisory Committee indicted for treason. Frick is a most admirable school master, and will, I am convinced, bring even the conservative "Amalgamated Association" men to a comprehension of the true nature of "law and order." Berkman's conviction and sentence to 22 years imprisonment for a crime punished in all ordinary cases by a 10 years' sentence at most is another illustration of the bourgeois maxim, "All men are equal before the law."

We are in the midst of a political campaign that is to determine the most momentous public questions, if we are to believe the political orators and editors. As usual the workingman is the fellow whose welfare is to be looked after. One set are bound to protect him from foreign pauper made goods, to secure him high wages by a system of taxation. The other set are determined to reform the tariff in such a way that the workingman shall be freed from trusts, monopolies and other wicked combinations. But somehow the workingman does not enthuse very much, perhaps even his memory is long enough yet. [illegible] Buffalo and Homestead. In the [illegible] party of "high moral ideas," including among its members the pious President Harrison and the saintly Wanamaker have a plan in contemplation that cannot fail to be highly educational. For many years the State of Indianapolis has been the scene of the most open bribery at election. Vote buying had been reduced to an exact science.

Perhaps the American workingman will see the point.

Comrade S. Merlino, who has so far edited SOLIDARITY, is now on a tour throughout the States, with a view to widen the circulation of the paper and to promote the formation of groups for the propaganda of the principles it advocates among the English-speaking workmen. Any communication on the subject of his tour may be made to comrade Merlino at the address of SOLIDARITY.

SOLIDARITY GROUP will meet Monday, October 10, at 8 P. M., at 26 Delancey Street. A very important proposition is pending, so all comrades interested are urged to attend.

NOTE.—All communications must be sent to Post Office Box 2618, New York.

The receipt of a sample copy should be regarded as an invitation to subscribe.

SOLIDARITY PAMPHLET, No. 1. Facts and Figures for Workingmen, 32 pages. S. Merlino.—Five cents per copy. $2.50 per 100 copies. $20.00 per 1,000.

Quarterly subscribers are reminded to send funds for renewals to insure continued receipt of the paper.

Organize SOLIDARITY Groups in your vicinity and help spread its circulation.

Send subscriptions for the defense fund of Henry Bauer and Karl Nold to B. Kupfenberg, 711 Carson street, Pittsburg, Pa.

OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

The burning question of the hour appears to be, What color shall we paint the town? For we are to have a big celebration and a dedication. We are to celebrate the adventures of a fifteenth century Spanish freebooter and fraud named Christopher Columbus by dedicating a group of showy buildings to his name and memory. We are to pay a tribute to this Spanish adventurer's lust for power and gold by exhibiting to the world the choicest goods plundered from the working people. The toilers will be permitted—for a consideration—to gaze upon and admire the best products of their hands and brains which have been stolen from them by the freebooters of the present time.

As the bold buccaneers of the fifteenth century invariably celebrated *their* triumphs by processions, music and gay colors, so it is demeed essential that our nineteenth century robbers should usher in their exhibition of stolen goods in the same manner. In order that the show might be a complete success it was unanimously agreed that the city should be draped in color. But what color? The national conglomeration of red, white and blue was considered too vulgar for such a high-toned show. Artist Millet (who is a *connoisseur* of colors) suggested red. Let the city—said he—the public buildings and palatial mansions of trade be clothed in pure crimson. But buccaneers of every age have had a decided aversion for liberty's emblematic color. The bare suggestion horrified the committeemen; with one voice they shouted, anarchists! But Millet, who like a true artist has a fine eye for color, was only temporarily squelched. Blue, green, purple were each suggested, discussed and rejected when artist Millet recommended terra cotta, and this color was adopted. Brown-red, the color of the working garb of the Greek and Roman proletariat. It is a significant coincidence that an event intended to show the greatness and nobility of labor should be symbolized by the working color of labor.

A New York daily states that over seven hundred workmen have been killed on the World's Fair grounds at Chicago. 342 having met death in the construction of the Fine Arts building. What will the record be when the work is completed?

A fraternal session of a number of aldermanic leaders governors, etc., (Cleveland) lately all this city met and formed what they called "The People's Trade and Labor Party." The well known character of the leaders, the fact that a people's party was already in the field with a full ticket, the endorsement by these dishonest men of the nominees of the Democratic and Republican parties fairly proves that the single object of the prime movers of this political scheme is boodle. The bona fide workingmen have issued a public protest, addressed to the board of election commissioners, against placing on the official ballot the ticket of this fraudulent party.

The great Chicago University opened its doors on October 1st for the first time, with a roll-call of 700 students. This training school of the bourgeois is the richest in the world. The report of its opening contains the interesting information that one of the important matters disposed of during the first day was the selection of the "University yell." The report says:

"That gathering was an appalling thing while the yells were being tested. The shouting of Sioux Indians in a ghost dance could not come near it. The yells were of all kinds and varieties."

Yelling, hazing, cribbing and general hoodlumism play an important part in the education of our gilded youth. It will not be so when knowledge is pursued for its legitimate purposes.

Boodlerism and general official corruption riot in Chicago just now. The squable between our dude Mayor and pious Chief of Police, as to the tender of $50,000 to the administration for corrupt purposes, finds a fitting sequel in the attempted bribery by boss gambler McDonald of a Justice of the Peace. The paltry sum of $300 was offered to purchase the judgment of a justice who has grown rich by lovying official blackmail upon the unfortunate women who crowd his district. It was a ludicrous mistake of the otherwise sagacious "boss." The "judge" was virtuously indignant (the amount was pitifully small) and an attempt to make political capital for the Republican party out of the occurrence was unsuccessful.

The little dude who officiates as mayor of this city has a great dislike for Socialists. It has been well known for some time in radical circles here, that a fellow by the name of Herzberg was a spy in the employ of Mayor Washburn, and he has been ignominiously expelled from several workingmen's organizations on account of his treachery. It seems that the mayor was not satisfied, because his tool was unable to report any bloody conspiracies, and so laid him off. Herzberg waited impatiently for some time for arrearages due him as wages, and finally, out of revenge for the mayor, made public a great deal of matter which shows Washburn up in a true light. The Chicago *Times*, not because it loves the radicals, but out of hatred for the mayor, took the matter up; published sworn affidavits of the detective Herzberg and another man, which allege that Herzberg has for more than a year been in the employ of the mayor; that the mayor had ordered him to join radical societies for the purpose of learning the proceedings at their meetings; that the mayor had further urged him to concoct conspiracies against capitalist, to inveigle Anarchists into manufacturing dynamite bombs, and to "plant" bombs in certain public places; then the police were to be notified, and Mayor Washburn was to have the satisfaction of sending several active Socialists to the penitentiary. Herzberg further swore that the mayor's orders he stole comrade Hildebra trunk the night prior to the Commune anniver festival, which trunk was supposed to contain the names of all good Anarchists; that (also by the mayor's orders) the trunk was to be filled with dynamite bombs and in the event of trouble occuring at the Commune celebration (which the police on that occasion did their best to precipitate) the meetiug was to have been violently suppressed; and the trunk-full of bombs was to have been 'found,' and produced as evidence of a dangerous Anarchist conspiracy.

All these little matters now coming to light show the desperate character of the enemy with whom we have to deal. Honor is to them a word unknown. They use and have used the most despicable means to carry their ends. In order to fight such an enemy we must be armed at all points, but especially defensively. We must be brave, but not to rashness. Our individual sufferings are not of so much moment as the preservation of the cause from rash and incautious methods of propaganda. We must use cunning and diplomacy to preserve ourselves from destruction. Therefore we have relied principally upon denunciation and open attack; henceforth, let us be more circumspect and vary in our methods. Relentless as ever in our determination to wage unceasing warfare against existing abuses; let us cease butting our heads against the stone wall of authority, and take up more effective and more cautious methods.

The disclosures which have been made public through this contemptible tool of officialism will serve the double purpose of gaining us many friends among the people, and putting us on our guard against like methods used by the enemy. We should take every advantage of both.

WM. HOLMES.

POLITICAL LUNACY.

We have no sympathy and but little patience with the weakling sentiment, or imbecility, or cowardice, or whatever it may be, that, *knowing* the error or impotence of a method, is never the less willing to stand by; nay, even to encourage injurious experiments. Imagine a surgeon who would stand by and permit an anapothecary's apprentice, to poultice a limb from which the poison of mortification was rapidly permeating the whole system! Industrial-social revolution must be looked for from *revolutionists* of stauncher kidney.

There is no "land" question, no "money" question, no question of "protection" or "free trade," no mere fiscal question of "wages," nor any other question of serious importance to the workers that political action *could* resolve. There is only the one great basic LABOR QUESTION, the foundation principles of which must be implanted deeply in the hearts and minds of the workers, that they may crystallize in self emancipation.

We object to—we will not concede the right of others to "have an opinion" which we know to be wrong. It may be quite true that there are "two sides" to a question. Invariably, however, but "one side" is right.

PLAIN WORDS.

As the reader must be aware at the present time, we are *Socialists*, because we advocate a society founded on co-operation and on the common possession of the means of production, private property being abolished. We are *Anarchists*, because we wish social relations to be organized by *free agreements* between the co-operators and the associations, not by any law or authority or Congress or Bureaucracy. We are *revolutionists*, because we have no confidence in laws, in gradual reforms, in Third or Fourth Parties, we see no way out of the present accursed system but Revolution.

This, at least, is plain talk.

Some people advise us to be cautious, not to let the people understand our real aim and purpose, to administer the truth in small doses.—Why not speak only of the abolition of big monopolies? Well, because were big monopolies abolished, small monopolies would soon become big. Why not advocate that kind of philosophical Anarchism, which includes the freedom of competition, and therefore leaves room for private property? Because competition implies the exploitation of the weak and the poor by the strong and the rich. Why not admit that Revolution may be avoided: it costs so little to make such a concession and to say that you only wish to educate and to enlighten the masses! Yet education and enlightenment of the masses under the present capitalistic system are pretty near impossible; the masses may and are being educated to slavery and oppression, rather than to liberty and co-operation: and many, who know better, act as fools or scoundrels, out of personal interest or under compulsion.

The policy of lying and concealing the truth may be the policy of the powers that be. We refuse to be hypocrites.

How many people whisper in our ears: "You are right! Your ideal is sublime! But the people are too ignorant, it is only you and I who can see!"

These men evidently believe that they are apart or above the "people." They alone see the truth, yet they do not want to tell it. They are afraid not to be understood and they are too egotistic or weak-hearted to risk anything for Truth and Justice! They would fainly see the people converted to Socialism and Anarchism by some miracle, by a supernatural agency; but to exert themselves, to jeopardize their private affairs, to go to jail or to throw one's life in the affray, they consider to be a very foolish thing. They prefer to shed tears on the ignorance and wickedness of "the people!"

FROM CHICAGO.

A Justice, accusing the chief of police of attempted bribery, and being accused in his turn of having taken money from prostitutes and lied on several occasions,—this is one of many not uninteresting episodes of the present political campaign in this City. How people, in spite of many such object lessons, may still have confidence in Justices and Government officials, we wonder. Let us not forget even the Peck affair.

Peck has prostituted, not indeed justice, but statistics to party interests. We in this city enjoy every day new speeches against the Tariff. Democratic orators show most conclusively how the working classes are robbed by the capitalists, how they pay five times the amount of duties levied on the commodities they consume, how their wages are reduced in the very protected trades, etc. They forget to say that free trade or tariff for revenue would have just the same effects, especially as capitalists have learned how to combine and squeeze the workmen.

A striking exemple of the power of combines is given by recent disclosures on the trust of elevatormen. These people, assisted by Railroad Companies, have succeeded in monopolizing the agricultural products, robbing at the same time the farmers and the consumers. They earn dividends of 30, 50 and more per cent.

We have had good discussions on Anarchism at different Clubs—and a mass-meeting at the Rochester Hall.

Next Sunday we will have a mass-meeting to express sympathy with Berkman. All sections of Anarchists, the Germans, Jews, Americans, etc., will join in the demonstration. The Jewish section of the International Association has decided to devote $3 to the purchase of SOLIDARITY at each issue and distribute them.

S. M.

TO OUR READERS.

We introduce a new feature in this paper—a condensed review of the Labor Movement in Europe. In next issues it will be more detailed and extensive.

We have also secured (besides our Chicago letter) correspondence from San Francisco, Denver and other places in the West. All our readers—especially our agents—are asked to supply us with items of news concerning their respective localities. We wish to place the reader at a point of vantage, whence he can survey the whole field of the Labor Movement.

We have agreed with Mrs. Lucy E. Parsons, the widow of our martyr and editor of the Chicago *Freedom*, to exchange our subscription-lists. In consequence, *Freedom's* subscribers will receive sample copies of SOLIDARITY—a remittal which means an invitation to subscribe to the present paper. In the course of time, we may be able to come to some arrangement in order that there may be at least *one weekly* Anarchist paper in this country. We strive to this end—and it is needless to say that no personal interest of ours is in the way.

Our friends and sympathizers are cordially invited to keep with us a continuous correspondence. The publication of SOLIDARITY is only a means to an end—which is to bring together all those who are interested in the English propaganda. We make no distinction of nationalities; the cause which we serve is far above national rivalries, and far above personal querimonies.

We regret to see people, who profess to advocate the same principles as we, secretly oppose our propaganda or remain indifferent to our efforts to carry those principles into the stronghold of American Conservatism. A silent hostility has manifested itself of late on the part of people who used to advertise SOLIDARITY very much, and who faintly prattle about the value of the written and verbal propaganda in the United States. We regret this hostility, not because we apprehend much harm from it, but because we think those who put their petty personal anger above the sacred interests of the cause to be unworthy of the name of Anarchists.

We hope that the comrades, who are accustomed as Anarchists to do their own thinking, will redouble their efforts to support this paper which we are ready, at every moment, to leave in hands abler than ours—and from which none of us gets the least reward, except the great one of contributing, in the measure of his forces, to that noble work of the wage-slaves, a work in which so many noble thinkers and brave men share, and which is the chosen task of our century.

OPINION OF THE "RÉVOLTE"

ON BERKMAN AND HIS DEEDS.

The Parisian *Révolte* has the following remarks on Berkman's deed in answer to an early article of the *Freiheit* on the same subject.

".....In no case is it right to attack a man who has felt his blood boiling at the news of the Homestead murders and has shown to the workmen that all the evil does not come from the Pinkertons, but that the responsibility is higher and belongs to Carnegy and his associate exploiters!

"*Berkman did act on the impulsion of that spirit of revolt, which arises now in the working classes and which the Anarchist press of all languages has always considered as the best symptom of the awakening of the masses.*

"*Berkman has done more for the propaganda of our principles among the masses which do not read our papers, than all the writings we may publish.*

"*He has shown that there are, among the Anarchists, men capable of being revolted by the crimes of Capitalism, to the point of giving their life to put an end to these crimes, or at least to open a way to such an end.*

"*And he has proved that our Chicago martyrs were not the last Mohicans of the anarchistic movement in the United States.*

"If the Anarchists are so few in America, is it not because the people, who now disavow Berkman, have *spoken* too much about bombs and other abracadabra-explosives of which they did not want to make any use themselves, when most revolting facts happened every day without a good beating being administered to the capitalists who had a thousand times deserved it? The article concludes with the remark: "Personal hatred is a bad counsellor."

HINTS ON POLITICS.

Every politician is corrupt and is a corrupter; and he who says that he wants to reform society through political (*i. e.*, electoral) action is either a fool or a knave.

Many people believe that they are free because they have got a vote on the nomination of certain members of a House, where certain schemes are divised by which greater or lesser burdens are put on the community. Others believe they are free because they will not be burned to death nor put in jail, as a rule, for their outspoken opinions. Other people believe they are free because they have choice between wage-labor and starvation or prison. This is *formal* freedom. *Real* freedom is the right of a man to live, to work, to enjoy the full product of his labor, or an equal share with his cooperators. None of these rights is recognised, even less guaranteed by existing institutions. People, who do not have the political franchise, may be more free than those who have got it, provided they do not depend for their daily bread on the will and whims of the others. Private freedom is more real and valuable than political freedom.

How can the people of this country boast that they are free when they are the slaves of monopolists and politicians? The extent to which robbery, public and p[illegible]e, has been carried on in this country has no p[illegible]l in Europe. The extent to which political institutions have been made subservient to private interests and to the greed of capitalists in this country, has no parallel in all history. This is therefore the country where there is *practically* less freedom and the most despotism. This is the country which comes nearest to the condition of the decaying Roman Empire, where "to corrupt and to be corrupted" was the whole art of government. This is the country, where Social Revolution is most imperative and nearest at hand.

Some people say that Revolution is not needed where the path of reform is open to the people. This path, however, is obstructed by the capitalists and their hangers-on, and to clear it we need a Revolution.

The accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few has made liberty a snare, justice a bloody irony and this land of workers the land of parasites. The poor man and the rich man do not weigh equally in the scale of Government. The rich man throws, like the Barbarian chief, his sword in the scale and has it falling on his own side.

At election time the American citizen sells his vote, and the politician and office-seeker buy it. After the election, the politician and the public official sell their votes and power, and the capitalist buys them. The capitalist then sells his privileges in the market, and gets money out of them. His investment brings him many thousands per cent., and the bill is ultimately paid by the people.

The nations of the world are drawing pretty near to an equality of conditions, the difference between the European and the American workman being that the former is a slave and knows it, the latter is equally a slave but boasts that he is free.

THE BANE OF POLITICS.

Every day we are told:

"Educate the workmen. Revolution must come through education. What is the use of having a violent overthrowing of the present system, if men are as selfish and as corrupted as they are nowadays, and do not know what to put in its place?"

We answer, that education is certainly what we want above all things—but so wicked and helpless is the present system that, while it lasts, men cannot be educated! They may learn to spell: this is not education. There are abroad mighty corrupting influences. There are newspapers, salaried by the ruling class. There are churches, equally salaried by the ruling classes. There are saloons and brothels which impoverish as well as brutalize the workmen. And there is above all the corrupting influence of Politics, and those ever-recurring electoral campaigns, which kindle the worst feelings in the hearts of the people, make them greedy, selfish, inimical to each other and let loose a swarm of plunderers over the nation.

To educate the people to live as free men, respectful of each other, in harmony and solidarity, we must *rise above Politics*—and its lies, and its intrigues, and its compromises, and all its corrupted practices which are not accidental, but essential to it. We must separate our routes from those of our exploiters and enemies and fight our way out of the present system.

LABOR MOVEMENT IN EUROPE.

GERMANY.—The movement of opposition to the Social-Democrats (people who advocate for Germany little more than the political institutions which we have in this country) is spreading all over the country. A new club of "independent (revolutionary) socialists" has been started at Elberfeld.

The locksmiths of Stettin have struck work. The Dresden shoemakers ask for an increase of wages.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.—The workmen employed in the Lobl and Srompf cloth factory near Vienna are on strike since two months.

In this country also the "independent socialists" movement grows at the expense of Social-Democracy.

SPAIN.—The judicial investigation on the Xeres uprising is at an end. Forty-five more comrades will be prosecuted for this affair.

Continuous revolts are announced in almost all districts.

ITALY.—The situation in this country is extremely critical owing to economical difficulties. It seems as if a revolutionary outbreak might be imminent. The socialist-anarchists do their best to keep up the spirit of the people. Many of them have been arrested, in the latter days, at Bologna, Modena, Pavia, Naples and elsewhere.

FRANCE.—The International Socialistic Congress at Marseilles adjourned with cries of "Long live the Revolution!" A newspaper commenting on it, says: "They (the Congress) succeeded in letting loose a flood of revolutionary words such as France has not known since Paris was last bathed in the blood of civil strife. The socialist masses jump quickly to logical conclusions. They have little patience with careful and conservative leaders."

At a meeting in Lyons, the Mayor of Roubaix said the Socialists wanted nothing less than a revolution, and endorsed the words of Mr. Renard, of Fourmies, who said that the people of his town were [illegible] Marx [illegible] slaves that ever existed on the globe. [illegible] he p[illegible]

FREE-TRADE vs. PROTECTION.

"Free-Trade would increase the productivity of labor by allowing it to function at the point of greatest advantage." Thus speaks the Free-Trader, and he is right.

"Grow cotton in the South and wheat in the North, and let the South clothe the North and the North feed the South. Let us have no tariffs that make man fight against nature rather than cooperate with her."

"Protection would force the production of goods at home, and thereby create a demand for labor, which otherwise would be unemployed. If you want a 'job' vote for Protection," says Governor McKinley to the workingman. And he is right.

"How absurd! How can both Free-Trader and Protectionist be right when they hold diametrically opposed views?" exclaims the reader.

"Ah! but do they have different views in reality?" Certainly not. Each sets up a straw man of his own construction and thinks that when he knocks his own dummy down that he is debating on Free-Trade and Protection.

If there is a demand for a thousand tons of bananas in Canada and the labor of fifty men suffices to produce wheat enough to exchange for the bananas, while it would require the labor of one hundred men to raise in a hot-house the same quantity of the fruit in Canada, it not only proves that the Free-Trader is right when he says that Protection diminishes production, but it also proves that the Protectionist is equally correct in claiming that it furnishes employment for twice as many laborers.

Of course, there are very few Protectionists that are frank enough to admit that Protection diminishes production, although it is this feature and this alone that gives it a leg to stand on. But while there are few Protectionists that will look Truth in the eyes, there are still fewer Free-Traders who do not shirk the ultimate analysis of the Tariff issue. It is not enough to prove to the working-

man that his labor is more productive when unfettered by tariff restrictions, without also showing him that the increased productivity gives him employment at increased wages. It is right here that the Free-Trader makes a miserable break-down in his demonstration that Free-Trade benefits the workman.

It is easy enough to conceive of a case where high tariff could cause a reduction in the amount produced by the workman, yet at the same time cause an advance in his wages. For instance, let us suppose Free-Trade exists between Canada and the United States. That as the coal mines of British Columbia are much easier worked than those in the State of Washington, the people in Washington naturally buy their coal from the cheapest source, and so import their supplies from across the boundary line. A tariff is now laid on, and the result is that they find it cheaper to work their own mines than to pay the old price, with the new duty added, of the British coal. It is easy to see that the Washington man as a *consumer* is injured by the coal tariff. But, how is it when we view him as a *workman?* He may have been unable to find employment before the tariff caused the opening of the home mines. It is supposable that in the Free-Trade era, that owing to slack times in Washington he had found employment in the British mines. With the advent of Protection he returns, as he can now find employment in mines at home. Owing to the increased demand for labor caused by the new mines, he is enabled to get higher wages notwithstanding the fact that his labor is not nearly as effective in the new Washington mines as it was in the British Columbian mines, where he had been formerly working.

"But the high wages will soon attract more laborers into Washington, and they will finally force wages down to where they were before, so at best protection only affords a temporary relief for the workman." Thus interjects the Free-Trader.

To this it can be replied that Free-Trade does not even afford a temporary relief. The whole amount of the matter is that under the existing state of society, labor is a commodity, and as such, its price is determined by the inexorable law of demand and supply, just like the price of any other commodity. If there is more sugar on the market than the demand calls for, then down goes the price of sugar; and so it is with labor, if there is a greater supply of labor than there is demand for it, then down goes the price of labor, otherwise called wages.

[While men work for wages they can never benefit by the law of supply and demand.

If wages are advanced so is the price of the article produced.

The capitalist may grant more wages to the worker but the latter returns it when paying the increased cost of the commodity.

Trusts pools, etc., prevent the moneyed men from loss through so-called overproduction. J. R.]

As it so happens that there is usually an oversupply of labor on the market, wages are as the result of this condition in a state of chronic depression. The unemployed man fixes the rate that the one in employment receives. This is about enough to secure such necessities and indulgences that custom makes the workman deem absolutely essential to life. Practically the custom of the country is what finally fixes wages. The Egyptian fellah considers that life is worth living provided he gets rice for food and a cotton breech clout for clothing, and this is all he gets. The American workman insists upon having a full suit of clothes, and a more varied bill of fare than rice affords, and he also gets what he demands. This argument may seem strange to those who have been accustomed to hear that the cause of high wages is a high degree of productivity. However, the fallacy of this view is easily demonstrated by examples of every-day occurrence. If this were true, then the richer the soil, the more the farm laborer would get; the richer the mine, the more the miner would get; the more profitable the railway, the higher the railway worker's wages. Does the laborer ask for an analysis of the soil before he hires himself to the farmer? Does the switchman insist upon his wages being determined by the dividends paid by the railway company? Did the "Homestead" workmen get the benefit of the improved method of manufacture?

Certainly not. Great productivity whether caused by natural advantages or by the use of labor saving machinery does not in the least carry with it, of necessity, high wages. Workmen, considered as a class and including the brain workers as well as the muscle workers, receive, as their share of the product, about what they consider necessary to existence; all the rest goes to the landlord and capitalists, to Carnegie, Vanderbilt, and company. An increase in productivity is a gain by so much to the employing class, it is of no direct advantage to the laborers. The indirect advantage is, however, of immense importance to the working classes. To understand this we have but to consider the destination of that part of the product which goes to the share of the employers, the Vanderbilts, etc. One part of it is used by them as articles for personal use and consumption, such as houses, clothing and food, etc., plain or luxurious as the case may be. The other part, and by far the more important part, is used for the construction of new machinery of production, more railways, more sugar refineries, etc., for instance.

The diversion of products into the first channel is called "spending," while the diversion into the second channel is known as "saving."

Both these channels have a limited carrying capacity.

"Spending" is not only limited by desire becoming satiated, but also is deterred by the need that each capitalist feels of being well "heeled" to gain supremacy in the financial field. For instance, if Gould had "spent" his money in building fleets of pleasure yachts for his own use, instead of "saving" it and acquiring more railways, he would be to-day at Vanderbilt's [illegible]cy in the railway world.

"Saving" is limit[illegible]y the exhaustion of the demand for additional machinery of production. This occurs when the machinery already built is sufficient to supply the wares that are required by the luxuries of the rich and the necessities of the workers. For instance, at present, there are more than enough sugar refineries to furnish all the sugar that can be sold, hence it is that Mr. Havemeyer is unable to invest his "savings" in building more refineries as has been his wont. It is to be remembered that it is not what the hungry wish to eat, but what the hungry are able and willing to pay for that determines the commercial demand for sugar. This "effective" demand, as economists call it, is the only demand that is considered in economics. "If wishes were horses then beggars might ride," Hence when objectors say it is absurd to claim that there are too many sugar refineries when everyone knows that there are thousands of people who want sugar, they simply exhibit their ignorance of the methods of the business world. While those who say that there can never be "overproduction," because, although man's *material* wants may be satisfied, that it will never be possible to "over-supply" his *spiritual* wants, seem to ignore the fact altogether that the unemployed workman is only too glad to have his material wants, let alone the spiritual wants, supplied in exchange for his labor. He would be considered a fool indeed should he refuse employment because the wages offered were insufficient to also gratify his longings for the æsthetic. They seem to assume that society is organized on the co-operative plan, totally ignoring the most palpable results as applied to wages of our competitive system.

At present, the army of labor in the United States is divided into two battalions: one engaged in working the machinery already constructed, the other constructing still more additional machinery. With the undeniable existence already of "overproduction" in the commercial sense, there can be no augmentation of the first division of the labor army. That there will soon be no more additional machinery to be constructed, and so continue in work the second battalion, is becoming more and more evident every day. If there were any doubt on this point it would be removed by the testimony borne by the appearance of monopoly superseding competition in the conduct of the manufacturing businesses in the United States, the immediate cause of this important evolution being the "overproduction" brought about by competition, and for which monopoly is the only specific.

The question then soon to be solved is to determine how the second battalion is to be employed, when the machinery of production that they are now building is finally completed. How are the workmen that have been building the oil refineries, the sugar refineries, the steel rail mills, etc., (all of which are now finished and are in the control of monopolies whose especial function it is to see that no more surplus machinery of this description is constructed in the future), to be employed now that their work is completed? They cannot be turned into the field of agriculture, as already there is a wail from the farmers on account of low prices arising from over-production of farm produce. There is even now a movement on foot to induce farmers in the South to restrict the area devoted to cotton, and those in the North to pursue the same plan in regard to wheat. As a matter of fact, there is no chance for any considerable number of them getting employment. For a certain period the development of new industrial enterprises in the South has afforded employment for a fraction, but that is already over-done. The World's Fair has, and is yet absorbing a certain number more, and another part are squeezing themselves into the ranks of those that are running the machinery to the manifest disadvantage of both. The remainder are either altogether unemployed or are engaged finishing up that little machinery of production that still may remain uncompleted. When this last is finally done and when the period of time necessary for its accomplishment depends upon the effectiveness of labor, then there will be a crisis in the history of the United States. It will then become manifest to all that the only way to solve the unemployed problem is to either shorten the hours of labor sufficiently to afford employment for the unemployed, or to raise wages sufficiently so that consumption will equal production. It is possible that the first named solution may be attained by legislative enactment. One thing is certain, and that is that an eight-hour day is pretty sure to be found to be too long rather than too short, and that the next step will have to be another shortening of hours if production is to be kept even with consumption. As to the second method of solution, viz., increasing the share of the workers, by raising wages, until consumption equals production, there is no possible method of doing this so long as wages are determined competitively by the law of demand and supply. If, however, production and consumption were carried on co-operatively instead of competitively, if the workers themselves owned the machinery of production, instead of Carnegie, Vanderbilt and Co., there is no reason why there should not only be an immense increase in the share of each worker, but at the same time a corresponding diminution of the hours of labor. It seems that this will be the final solution of the labor problem as all other efforts are makeshifts at best. In fact, in these democratic days it is the only solution that could be expected to give satisfaction. It was the encroachments of King George on the political rights of the people a hundred years ago that brought on the first American Revolution. It may be the encroachments of a King Carnegie, from his Scottish castle, on the economic rights of the people to the fruits of their labor, that will bring on the second American Revolution.

A policy of either Free-Trade or Protection has but a very indirect influence on the condition of labor. On the assumption that a high tariff diminishes productivity it is seen that it does to that extent increase the opportunities of employment, but then again it must be considered that anything that tends to diminish productivity also by so much diminishes the part of the product that is applied to the construction of new machinery of production, and as the completion of this machinery is going to be an event that will force the inauguration of the co-operative system of production, there are good grounds for workmen favoring Free-Trade, just as the same argument applies to any other device that increases productivity. Considering, however, the vast capital invested in protected industries that might be rendered valueless in many instances were Free-Trade adopted, there is good room for doubt as to whether the amount of capital destroyed would not be more than the gain arising from any increased productivity. Hence it can be said that generally speaking the tariff, high or low, is of but little importance to the workman. His endeavor should be to have instituted the co-operative system of production and distribution in place of the present competitive system. Let him own and manage his tools now know as Vanderbilt's railroads, Jay Gould's telegraph system, Carnegie's steel mills, Havemeyer's sugar refineries, Rockefeller's oil refineries, Astor's land, etc., etc., in fact all the wealth of the world.

H. G. WILSHIRE.

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