

Washington's hope and purpose until events forced the issue, and he had to choose whether he would take the place of father of a new country. Adam Smith, the English economist, and Benjamin Franklin, the American philosopher, thought they had discovered a solution for the problem of American discontent in the representation of the colonies in the parliament at London. Hardly any one but that chief incendiary, Sam Adams, more than any other man the author of our nationality, comprehended the drift of things. He saw and meant that America should be free. His clear eye saw running through all the tangle of the mutual rights of mother country and colonists that the real colonial right was to cease to be a colony and become a country. The real right of Americans was to cease to be subjects and become citizens.

In our day we are being buffeted about in another baffling complexity of disputes and adjustments. Between those who employ and those who need employment, between those who pay wages and those who receive them, between those who fix the hours of labor and those who work the hours, between those who own the footstool and those who must have footing, between the advocates of this compromise or that panacea, is our irrepressible conflict. By the miners of Michigan, starving at the mouth of the mine while a thousand industries starve for want of iron; by the millions of unemployed from Vienna to London, San Francisco to Melbourne, while machinery and forests and fields that would employ them are kept idle; by the dead chimneys of the shoe factories and the cloth mills, closed for "overproduction," while multitudes go with unshod feet and bodies half clad; by the tenement house standing up against square miles of land held for speculation; by the hundreds of millions piling up in banks, while the people can neither produce nor exchange, because of the lack of money; by the difference between the price of wheat and the price of flour; by all panics, riots, overproduction and underconsumption, our present aristocratic and monarchical government of industry stands self-conscienceless a failure. Such results are below the conscience and common sense of the people. The pioneers who saw a generation ago the thread that would lead us through this labyrinth and into the free air have now become a multitude. That thread is the thread of democracy, whose principles must and will rule wherever men co-exist, in industry not less surely than in politics. It is by the people who do the work that the hours of labor, the condition of employment, the division of the produce is to be determined. It is by them the captains of industry are to be chosen, and chosen to be servants, not masters. It is for the welfare of all that the co-ordinated labor of all must be directed. Industry, like government, exists only by the co-operation of all, and, like government, it must guarantee equal protection to all. This is democracy, and democracy is not true only where men carry letters and build forts, but wherever they meet in common effort.

The Declaration of Independence yesterday meant selfgovernment, to-day it means selfemployment, which is but another kind of selfgovernment. Every dollar, every edifice, every product of human toil is the creation of the co-operation of all the people. But in this co-operation it is the share of the majority to have no voice, to do the hardest work and feed on the crumbs of life. Not as an exception, but universally, labor is doing what it does not want to do, and not getting what it wants or what it

needs. Laborers want to work eight hours a day; they must work ten, fourteen, eighteen. Crying to their employers, to congress, to legislatures to be rescued, they go down under the murderous couplers and wheels of the railroads faster than if they were in active service in war, marching out of one battle into another. They want to send their children to school; they must send them to the factory. They want their wives to keep house for them; but they, too, must throw some shuttle or guide some wheel. They must work when they are sick; they must stop work at another's will; they must work life out to keep life in. The people have to ask for work and then do not get it. They have to take less than a fair share of the product; they have to risk life, limb or health—their own, their wives', their children's—for other's selfishness or whim. They continue, for fear, to lead lives that force them to do to others the cheapening and wrongs of which they complain when done to them. All this is inconsistent with manhood and with citizenship.

This is an impossible situation. No human society ever held together on such terms. This is contrary to the most sacred principles of American society. This is government without consent, and it is the corner stone and root tree of American life that we will have none of it. The men who think it can continue are our idlest dreamers and most impracticable theorists. Open the churches for dormitories for the roofless; feed the hungry in soup kitchens; rake every kind-hearted garret for old shoes and old clothes; find work in kindling wood yards for the unemployed. It is the work of mercy and necessity, a red cross service for the succor of the sick and wounded on the battlefields of business.

But the war goes on. Its cannon balls can fly faster than your ambulances. One new machine can turn out of employment more men than all the churches are feeding. One syndicate shutting down or dismantling to limit the output and keep up prices or to intimidate congress as on the tariff or currency can drown out your charities. Against this flood charity is a mere broom; it cannot sweep away this stream of the unemployed, for that is the rising tide of the Atlantic ocean of dispossessed humanity. But municipalize the street car lines, nationalize the coal mines, the forests, the iron mines, stop the competition of children and the starving in the labor market, set free every gift of nature and every hand of man to soak up labor instead of corking it up, and the tide begins to run the other way. Wheels of labor now chained by private selfishness will turn, never to stop while a human need remains unsatisfied. The overemployed and the unemployed both vanish, and their places will be taken by those who are well employed because self-employed.

The American colonies did not fight for fine phrases. It was not the theoretical wrong of taxation without representation and government without consent that made them act, but the actual wrong that followed. The colonies were not allowed to sell their lumber, their grain, their wool, anywhere but in England; they must buy in England the commodities they needed. Who can say our situation to-day is not exactly similar? The farmer of Minnesota and the northwest can sell his wheat only to members of the elevator combination; he can buy his harvesters only of the harvester trust; his binding twine only of the cordage trust. The brass worker can sell his labor only to members of the

association and metal manufacturers. The iron puddler and steel worker in Chicago, the coal miner in Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, can work only for the members of the steel ring or the coal pools. They can buy their tools, powder, their meat, their fuel, their kerosene, their gas, only of this or that monopoly. In a thousand trades labor is forced by a compulsion stronger than that of British stamp acts to sell his labor to a ruler, and in a thousand necessities of life to buy only of a ruler. What did the stamp act tax or the tea tax amount to in comparison with the taxes we must pay on meat, coal, iron, oil, salt, almost all the necessities of life, to private tax farmers whose greed legislates a new stamp act, stamping out all freedoms—of trade, of politics, of society?

Democracy must be progressive or die. It was by a divine instinct of right, whether they knew it or not, that the hundreds of men who found themselves these winter nights in Chicago without a roof went to the city hall. That is the house of democracy. It stands on the foundation principle that the people live and work for the people. The city hall means nothing if it does not mean that the general welfare, not the advantages or privileges of a few, is the object of society. It means more—the general welfare can be properly planned only if all have a voice, and the plans can be properly carried out only when all join their efforts. The city hall represents an institution ready made for, and purpose of, the common good for which the common people choose to use it—an institution in which they are equal partners, and no thanks to anyone but themselves. The old democracy is the father of this new democracy. The old trade union is to herald this greater union. The people who vote are bound on their own recognizance to get the independence and knowledge to vote right and free. The public schools are a pledge of the public honor that every citizen shall be able to buy books and shall have time to read and digest.

The progressive genius of democracy is at one with its progressive necessities. "A house divided against itself cannot stand," said Lincoln. "This union cannot permanently endure half slave and half free." It is equally true that all cannot remain politically free if all are not economically free. Political freedom is but the first installment of economic freedom. The trade union, even the federation, is but the initial step in the organization of labor. Shall we go on?

In seven years, January 1, 1900, the twentieth century will open. The eighteenth century put an end by the American and French revolutions to the ancient regime of political and social tyranny. The nineteenth century has seen the last chains of chattel slavery break. In seven years the century will open which before its close will see the social crime of enforced poverty and the dependence of any human being upon another for the necessities of life or the means of industry forever abolished throughout Christendom. Let us begin to make ready now for the next emancipation—that new liberty—that enlarged democracy. Let America, the leader of the liberties of mankind, make the first move, and let the federation of the trade unions of its working people lead America. I venture, though not worthy, the honor of sitting as a member of an association of workingmen, to suggest that the American Federation of Labor could do the cause of civilization no greater service. Let it initiate here and now a plan for a series of national and international conferences or congresses of labor. Let these culminate on the

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What Women Pay.

EDITOR ADVOCATE:—Below I give some extracts from a paper read before the Chautauque assembly at Winfield, the statistics are said to be carefully prepared by Miss Helen Kimber, of Parsons. They are surprising and instructive and are submitted without comment: In Kansas women control property whose real value is \$411,500,000, the assessed value is \$88,000,000, hence to county and state they give nearly \$3,000,000, paying to the state \$350,000, which is sufficient to pay the salary of governor, secretary of state, treasurer, auditor, attorney general, state superintendent, secretary of board of agriculture, insurance commissioners, railroad commissioners, librarian, chief and two associate justices, the senators and representatives, district judge, pension agent; to assist in criminal cases in Greeley county, \$4,000; to the university, \$15,000; carrying prisoners to the penitentiary, \$16,000; soldiers' home, \$15,000; to the school at Beloit, \$44,000; to the state normal, \$50,000; to the state university, \$40,000; to state printer, \$75,000; appropriation to world's fair, \$65,000, and there yet remains \$5,568.

S. L. ROGERS.

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