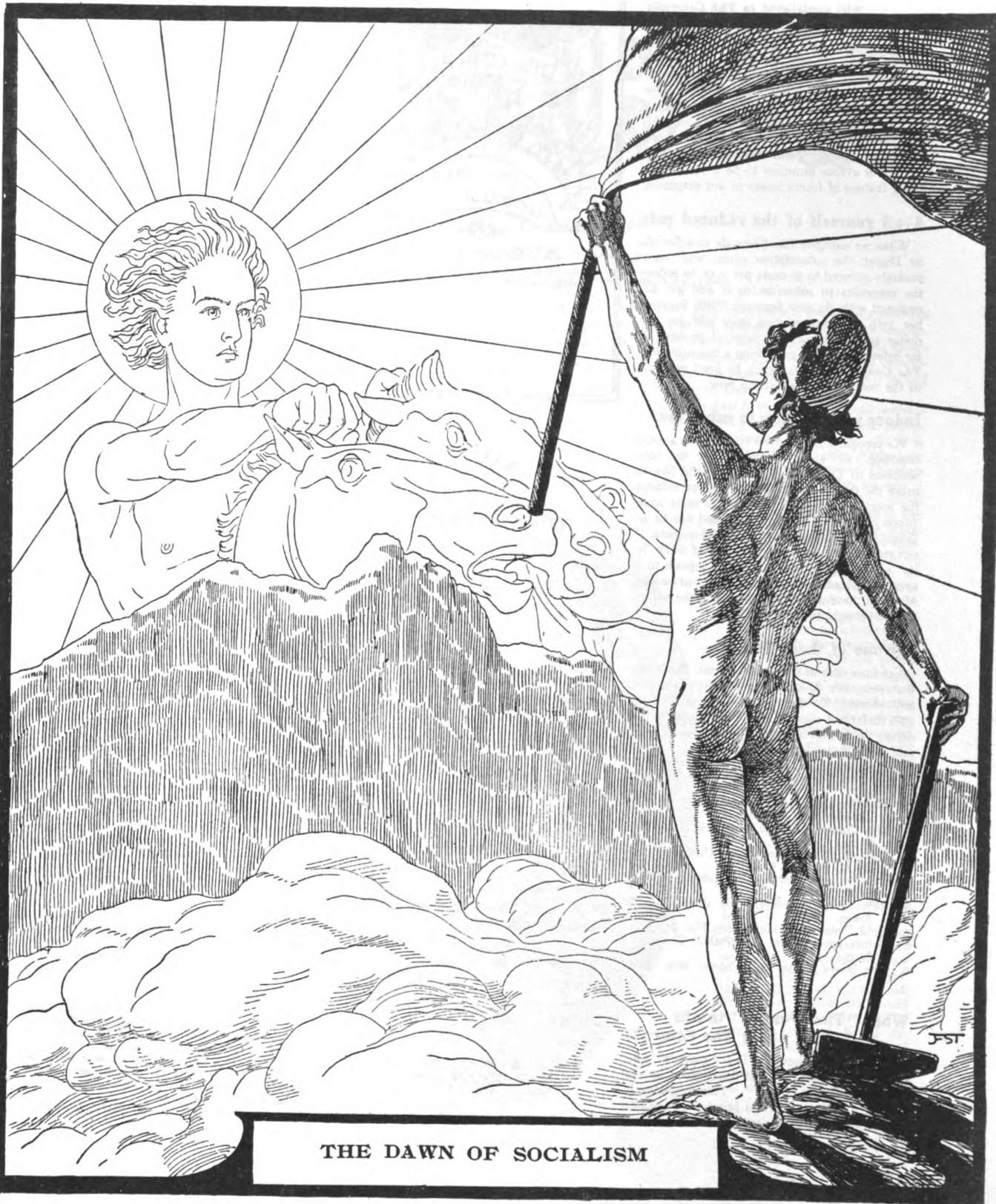




THE DAWN OF SOCIALISM



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Drawing by Franz Slassen

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will contribute to **The Comrade**

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Get one of these Prizes

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AUGUST 1904

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THE COMRADE

Ferdinand Lassalle

An Impression by Peter E. Burrowes

In commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of his death, August 31, 1864



WHEN all human rights are outraged, when even the voice of blood is mute, and the helpless mortal is deserted by his born protectors, then rises up, and rightly, man's first and last relation, man."

In these words of Lassalle the working class become possessed of their great genius, organizer and champion; not because he was one of them, for indeed he was, by taste and association a man of

the salons, but because it was race blood rather than blood of the successful Jewish tradesman, Lassalle and wife, that ran through his veins. Just as there is turned up among the unaccountable things of very close families that occasional one who breaks the silken barriers of his set "and the hearts of his high-toned relations" by a penchant for bohemianism; so there are men whose sympathies you cannot keep at home within the limits of the family and its relatives; men who seem to be born and endowed for all that are anonymous. As if there were some providence in the affairs of the cradle which has secret charge of births, and through that department naturally provides its own guardians of the poor without the aid of mayor or aldermen.

Ferdinand Lassalle was thus born, a relative of all men. Not waiting to be called upon but going forth to find his own, he by his vast vitality and intellect began from very boyhood to live his many lives. He was one of those race pioneers of an epoch who are called upon to illuminate the way along certain necessary paths of history, but who in lighting others must consume themselves, who, though leaving few details for the minute realism of biography, nevertheless leave a quivering sense of their personality and recentness on many generations following.

It is not because of the spectacular incidents of his life, and they were striking enough, that a great biographer will be found for Lassalle, but because he was a subjective artist, if

such a phrase be permitted, who took on to himself the broadly potential things of his generation and let the rest go. Had he been a contemplator of nature he would have been an astronomer before whom nature would have shown herself in her larger moods. As he was a contemplator and a friend of man, human life appeared to him just as it is, and as it must be studied, in great historic areas.

Having learned to find the individual in classes, periods and environments the human student is able to find back and discern social groups

through single cases. So, it is alleged by Lassalle, did he look upon the case of Countess Hatzfeldt in which he saw a microcosm of many social wrongs, and to her wrongs and sorrows as against the brutal tyranny of a half savage millionaire baron he devoted much of the best eight years of his life. Whether they would have been greater years, and the man a greater man, without that devotion, or whether they and he were the greater for it, who can tell! For my part I believe that chivalrous struggle of intellect with money was unavoidable once the case became known to him. The fuel was there, the match was applied, the fire burned. That a long struggle with vested rights and arrogance in the person of that big bull baron, the lady's husband, whetted his appetite and trained him well for the many fights he had later on with the united bulldom and baronism of Prussia is hardly to be doubted, so that whatever we may think of the Hatzfeldt affair we may be sure it gave us Lassalle.

"I saw embodied," he says, "in this affair universal standpoints and principles. I saw well how hard the task of clearing up the wrong, already old, and become historical, would be, and how my entire activity would be required; but I resolved to oppose the power of money with that of intellect; the obstacles, the sacrifices and the dangers did not frighten me."

The keynote of the man's life was struck in that saying, "I resolved to oppose the power of



Ferdinand Lassalle

THE COMRADE

money with that of intellect." For though he knew the truth about society that where the power is there is certainly the rights, he accepted that truth in the fluent way of democracy which should keep the lists always open for combat, so that we may at last come to where the power and right are one. That the power of a nation is right; that the cause of the workmen is always that right, are one truth. If some other than the workers now for a season own and use the powers of government and use them badly, it is because the natural power of the nation has not yet opened its eyes, and Lassalle was one of the intellects devoted to that opening; the true mission of the messianic mind. For eight years, and through six and thirty courts he fought, though not a lawyer, the case of Hatzfeldt versus bull husband, thereby testing his knightly sword and getting him ready for the battle of the people.

While yet engaged in that law suit he became a leader in the German revolutionary Republican army of 1848, a youth of 23. A youth in years who nevertheless was already abundantly trusted by a great following and was the recognized associate of men like Marx and Engels. At Duesseldorf he organized the workers as they never had been organized before, that is, for politics. So that when the Prussian king began to play at the royal old game of dissolving parliaments, a la headless Charley, Lassalle called not upon the savants nor the shopkeepers, but upon the natural defenders of liberty, the workingmen. For this he was removed to that ever open chamber of the king—the prison cell, where for six months, while refusing pardon, he laid in stores of great resentment and fiery eloquence for future use.

There he prepared that immortal defense which lifted him at one bound to a place among the great orators of the world. When on trial Lassalle looked at his jury as he looked at his case of Hatzfeldt. It was a microcosm containing within it the average mind and experience of Germany. He therefore addressed Germany through that jury and through that Germany he addressed the world. That was the time of stress and strain and storm for the man with the vitality, genius and daring of many lives in him. The apostle of communism, the agitator for political freedom, the walking delegate of Germany hastened from place to place delivering lightning addresses, and moving again, pursued by writs of commitment and other deviltries. "The many dogs," he said "were resolved to be the death of the game, but I feel something here which tells men they will not be the death of the game."

After our knight errant had liberated his lady in 1854 he returned to his literary pursuits and ground out his old Heraclitus and some dramatic work in 1858 and '59. Thereafter, returning by favor to Berlin, he painted the town a genteel pink with fine dinners given to the best society which, though it may have done little to develop his manhood, greatly enhanced his reputation for diversity of genius. In whatever things fine gentlemen excelled he pushed to the front. But in the midst of the Berlin whirl he stuck to his books and produced his famous treatise on acquired rights, which in reflection and scholarship would have done no discredit to the opportunities of a cloister.

In 1861, when the new William came to king it over Prussia, he among other good reactionary deeds, drove Lassalle back to his wholesome normal life of an agitator and brought Bismarck from the French

embassy to begin that rule of iron which nursed Germany into Socialism.

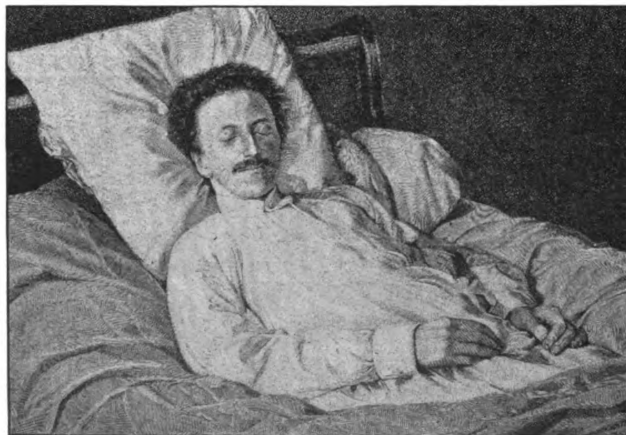
Then was a great time for workingmen debating public matters in all sorts of *Vereine*. Though not the most notable, surely the most fruitful thing of those lively police times was the trial of Lassalle in '63 when he so audaciously bearded the legal lions of Berlin in their velvet cushioned dens and among other officials sparing not the son of Schelling, the great philosopher of idealism, lashing him as if he were descended of common flesh and blood. Bismarck sat upon free speech, but here it burst out in such storms of insolent high-handed reproaches as never were endured by Junkerdom. So the federation of stand-pats, the little Jebusites, Hittites, Moabites, and parasites all, of the various German courts passed suppression laws against liberty of speech, assembly, press and everything else socially human or worth having to keep the workmen's eyes from being opened. Many good communists ran away to America, alas, and died for what they thought was the cause of the colored man's emancipation. Good communist brains, many a thousand, laid down on American battlefields as cotton soldiers of the North fighting against cotton soldiers of the South, making the world poorer by their loss and by the fraud they made victorious.

Starting with a full recognition of the iron law of wages and the terrible logic of it, the Universal German Workingmen's Association had been formed in 1863 to become the political party of the German workingmen.

Here, of course, Lassalle's faith in the politics of his nation was peculiar. He expected the parasites to let their daily loaf go away and eat itself. He even expected that the state would so far recognize the right of the workers to produce for themselves, that state funds would be advanced and machines bought and everything required to set the loaf up in business for itself. The universal German Workingmen's Association, expecting all this, went into politics and Lassalle was elected president of the association for five years. On his own herculean shoulders, through a cyclonic period of agitation and almost superhuman effort, Lassalle carried forward the movement, fighting associates who did not understand him, progressive clubs who could not understand him and other evils, through sickness and health, appealing all the time to Rodbertus and others who ought to have been with him; but alone until Liebknecht joined him.

The legal persecutions still raging around the person of Lassalle, now an exhausted and fearfully overstrained man, began to tell. High treason was added to his numerous offenses, and he was certainly living on the ragged edge of the Prussian border or the prison. Yet his accusers and prosecuting officials never had such experiences as from his withering denunciations. Dauntless and resourceful he was a terror to the courts that tried him. He had kept up the fight of intellect against money, but now prison awaited him, and he was too nervous to stand for that, so he went to Switzerland, where he met a lady and a love affair hastened to a violent climax his eventful days. A duel gave the lady to his rival and a bullet to Lassalle. Thus this many lived man surrendered August 31, 1864, dying as he had lived, a gladiator.

At Breslau
a churchyard,
A dead
in the grave,



Lassalle on his death-bed

There slumbering
he rests,
Who swords
to us gave.

German Workingmen's Song.

Capitalist Conventions and Candidates



THE two old parties have held their conventions, drawn up their platforms and selected their standard bearers. It is interesting to note the comment made by the Socialist papers regarding the St. Louis and Chicago gatherings of capitalist politicians.

The *Chicago Socialist* explains what the two old parties stand for by saying:

"The Republican party, strong, thoroughly organized, entrenched behind the possession of vast resources of wealth exploited from the workers, and in control of all the political powers and machinery of government, looks over the field with a smile of one who feels that he is absolutely in control and is perfect master of the situation. They stand pat on their knowledge of the stupidity of the 'voting kings.' They promise them a full dinner pail and adjourn in full confidence of securing four years more of unmolested power and opportunity to exploit the wealth producers.

"The Democratic party in its convention presents a very different picture. It is floundering and flopping around like a fish out of water, gasping for breath. It is entirely out of harmony with modern political and economic environments. The middle class element upon which its very life depends, fast disappearing as an economic factor, leaves it without any organs capable of performing any function in modern society. No amount of frenzied oratory or screaming yellow journalism can revive a party that has outlived its usefulness by repeating the phrases of a dead past. Let us hope it will soon muster up as much courage as the Populists did and call a convention and deliver its own funeral oration. It would be a fitting occasion for William J. Bryan to make the final effort of his life. When this announcement is finally made, then the mists and fog will clear away and the Socialist and Republican parties will take possession of the field and prepare for the final battle in the long drawn out struggle of the ages.

"That in a very few years this will be the state of affairs on the political field as a result of economic development, there is scarcely a doubt. There will be Socialists and anti-Socialists—those who are interested in perpetuating exploitation and those whose interest it is to abolish exploitation and secure to the worker the product of his toil."

The following is from the Saginaw, Mich., *Exponent*:

"Now that the Republican and Democratic parties have nominated their presidential tickets, the partisan press on each side has commenced to tell the truth about the opposition candidate—and we believe them all under those circumstances.

"We cannot doubt the Democrats when they tell us that Roosevelt is in full sympathy with Governor Peabody; otherwise he would have interfered to protect the miners of that state from the military outrages that have been perpetrated upon them. Rockefeller's ownership of two-thirds of the gold and silver mines of Colorado is a sufficient guarantee of non-interference with the plans of the mine owners and citizens' alliance.

"Nor, on the other hand, can we doubt the Republicans when they tell us that the 'reorganized, safe and sane democracy' is completely in the hands of the trusts. Hill and Cleveland and Belmont and Morgan stand sponsor for its good behavior towards the great industrial combinations.

"So the trusts can contribute impartially to each of the great political parties, and by the smoke of the sham battle to follow, make the mass of the people believe a real contest is in progress."

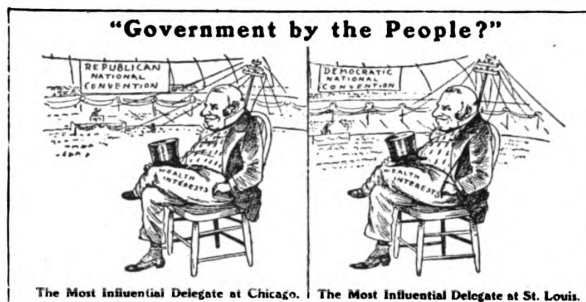
The *Volkszeitung*, New York's German Socialist daily, thinks that the Republican convention marked the lowest level of the representative system in all modern history. "One has to go back to the decline of the Roman empire and its senate to come across representative bodies which obeyed the dictates of their lord and master in such an inexpressibly flunky like manner as did the national convention of the great Republican party of this country during the last few days," it remarks.

And regarding the Democratic convention, this paper says:

"The curtain is down and one of the most incredible farces of the political history of the United States, a history so abundant in burlesque, has come to an end."

St. Louis Labor greets the Republican candidates with this utterance:

"The great circus is over. The Republican national convention adjourned. Roosevelt and Fairbanks are the candidates for President and Vice-President. Hurrah for the flag that floats over Colorado's bull pens! Hurrah for the patriotism of the great Republican Peabody and Bell! Hurrah for their bosom friend, Roosevelt! Hurrah for law and order as taught by Sheriff Martin, of Hazleton, and by the Citizens' Alliance, of Colorado! Hurrah for capitalist prosperity that throws a million men out of work! Hurrah for Roosevelt's Open Shop policy! Hurrah for the Fool Dinner pail! Hurrah for the Rough Rider and Militarism!



"Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah! Ye free wage slaves of America, rejoice! Vote the Fool Dinner Pail ticket next November! Vote for Roosevelt—he is the father of the Open Shop program of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance. Roosevelt taught the American capitalist class how to fight the labor movement by means of the 'open shop' fake.

"Neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties can fool the intelligent workmen any longer. They will defend the interests of the working class by following the banner of the Socialist Party.

"Debs and Hanford are the working class candidates."

Regarding the Republican platform, the *Iowa Socialist* says:

"We cannot understand how any workingman, with brains enough to equip the upper story of an ape, can read this latest declaration of the Republican party and fail to see there revealed not only the class distinction in our society, but also that this party is pledged to support only the interests of one class—and that class is not the working class.

"With the exception of the statements that labor is 'fully employed' and that 'wages have risen'—both of which are lies—and the allusion to the unemployed in the panic of 1893, and the few lines on the 'combinations of labor,' the whole document is concerned with capitalist interests. A visitor from Mars reading the platform would justly conclude that the country was peopled exclusively by 'business' men and that their only business in life was 'business.'"

Speaking about the manner in which Judge Parker, the Democratic nominee, repudiated the platform just adopted by the convention that nominated him, the *Tageblatt*, Philadelphia, another Socialist daily, remarks:

"The Democratic candidate, Parker, spit upon the platform of his party, whereupon his party answered that, nevertheless, he remains their candidate! Nothing of this sort has ever happened before."

In the *Social Democratic Herald*, Victor L. Berger gives his view of the developments in the Democratic party and the situation created thereby:

"What every man foresaw has happened in St. Louis. The South, which rules the Democratic party, declared, although not in so many words, 'Twice we have tried a coalition with the West and have been beaten. Now we will try a coalition with the East.' And so it came to pass. The conservatives are victors all along the line. They have dictated the platform and the candidates. . . . The 'reformation' of the Democratic party would perhaps have been in the region of possibility if the Altgeld faction had been properly organized and represented after his death. The combination of silver barons and backwoodsmen, with Bryan as their leader, had failed.

"There yet remained a possibility of winning the industrial workers, and upon this Altgeld insisted. If he were not exactly a Socialist—although he held the door open to Socialism—yet Altgeld was far from Bryan in his social and political views. He was a city man and a modern man, while Bryan was retrograde and ignorant. The masses of the American wage workers would have been quite ripe for a semi-Socialistic program, such as Altgeld represented, and here was just the danger, that they would have been gained by the Democratic party and then betrayed. For the South would have ruled Congress, and from the South nothing Socialist or progressive is to be hoped. But Altgeld died, and Hearst is indeed too much of a 'fake' to set the workmen in motion. And Clarence Darrow is simply his—attorney.

"The 'Young Democracy' is therefore a thing of the past. The Southern politicians want offices, and from whose hands is indifferent to them. Since Bryan could not give these, they renew the old combination with the East. Therefore the trust gentlemen of New York were in a position to dictate platform and candidates. Thus we now have again two 'conservative parties,' between which no difference can be discerned with the naked eye, and both of which are absolutely dominated by the trusts. . . .

THE COMRADE

"The sooner the workingmen of this country learn 'where they are at' with the Democratic party, the better. And there are many outside of the proletarians who cannot be content with present conditions, and must look around for another party which will take into consideration their troubles and their aspirations. The People's Party has vanished. The 'Young Democracy' has followed after. The Social Democratic Party now remains as their only hope. And in this lies the satisfaction in this latest change. There are plenty of people in this country who earnestly believed in the reformation of the Democratic party, and would have voted for it if they had been given the opportunity. They have now learned better, and must see the hopelessness of going any further on this path. What is now left for them but to join the Social Democratic Party?"

A masterly analysis of the forces active in the Democratic party is contained in an article in *The Worker*, which says:

"This is the day of great capitalism. The Republican party is the representative party of great capitalism. The day of competitive small industry is past and gone. The Democratic party was the representative party of that small capitalism. But just as the trusts have naturally grown out of and killed competition, so Socialism is growing out of and will supersede the trusts; and this coming system has its representative party already in the field, with a revolutionary program and ideal which enable it to rule itself and defy traitors and misleaders. The Democratic party still clings to the fundamental idea of capitalism—private control of industry for private profit. But it complains of some of the results of capitalist progress. It does not know just what to do. The one thing that it ought to do—to go boldly forward—it cannot, because it is pledged to that fundamental idea of private profit. So it hesitates and wavers and is divided. Such consistent Democrats as Mr. Bryan and his followers would like to stop the development of capitalism, put it back forty years, and then make it remain forever stationary. They are as brave and as foolish as Don Quixote tilting at the windmill. Others, such as Mr. Hearst has assumed to speak for, would tinker with resultant evils, juggle with petty reforms, make timid and ineffective experiments at 'curbing' the giant forces of capitalism. Mr. Bryan and Mr. Hearst cannot agree; Tom L. Johnson cannot really agree with either of them; John Sharp Williams cannot agree fundamentally with any of the three; Clarence Darrow cannot even agree with himself. They are united on two negative points: First, that they are opposed to things as they are; second, that they are opposed to going to the root of the matter, as Socialists do. We know what they are against; what they are for, no man knows.

"A negative party is bound to be a divided party. A divided party is bound to be an easy prey to the most corrupt element it contains. That is why, though the majority of the Democrats are undoubtedly vaguely hostile to Belmont's class, it is perfectly proper and in order that Belmont and his friends should triumph over them and force down their throats a meaningless platform and an unwelcome candidate and a despised boss."

The Passing of Populism



POPULISTS have also held their convention these days, and put up candidates. The *Independent*, a Populist weekly paper, is highly indignant over the existence of the Socialist Party, and gives vent to its anger in the following amusing fashion:

"What can be attained by organizing another party whose practical demands are identical with populism is hard to understand. What is practical could well be fought for with some show of success under the populist banner, and the dreams and visions could be indulged in without bringing them into politics."

Despite the holding of a convention by the Populists the *Chicago Socialist* thinks that their party is dead. It says:

"From 1862 to 1904 is a long period for a political party to find out that it is a dead one. Yet it has taken that length of time, or nearly so, for certain men who were active twelve years ago in the Populist party to make the discovery. Of course, Populism was practically dead right after its first national campaign, when J. B. Weaver, now a delegate to the national Democratic convention at St. Louis, was its candidate for President. It has continued in a moribund condition ever since, but at last the dismal truth has dawned upon the few who were once leaders, that they no longer have any following, and that the corpse awaits only the funeral obsequies.

"The true explanation of the final passing of Populism lies in the fact that it was based on fundamentally false principles. Claiming to be a party of the people and against predatory wealth, it ignored the class struggle. Affirming a love of liberty it never attacked at its roots the system which maintains industrial tyranny. Its clamor was largely for a reform in money, while it ignored the inevitable certainty that while the private ownership of the essential means of life remains, it matters nothing what sort of money we have—rent, interest and profit

will consume the people's substance and the predatory rich continue to grow richer.

"There remains one place and one party for those who wish to see established conditions wherein he who produces wealth will enjoy it, and that is within the Socialist Party. Let the politicians follow Weaver into the reactionary Democratic camp—where they belong—but, having decently interred the corpse, let the rest study Socialism and stand with the organized Socialist movement and for the working class."

The Outlook for Socialism



EVER has the Socialist prospect been so bright in this country. We enter the campaign this year with the physical proportions, the mental equipment and the moral stamina of a full-fledged national party. Our comrades everywhere are eager for the battle.

"There is not a moment for bickering or hair-splitting.

"Croakers to the rear! Socialists to the front!

"Down with Wage-Slavery! Up with the Working Class!

"On with the Class Struggle! Hurrah for the Social Revolution!"

It is the Socialist standard-bearer, Eugene V. Debs, who thus sounds the bugle call for the Socialist hosts.

All the Socialist papers are agreed upon that the political outlook is most favorable for the Socialists. Says *The Worker*:

"The stubborn donkey has been yoked with the docile elephant and both set to work for the firm of Rockefeller & Rothschild. Whether Roosevelt or Parker should be elected Wall Street and Standard Oil know they have nothing to fear—and the working class should know that it has nothing to hope from either. As Socialists we are heartily pleased with the result. The lines are drawn sharper than ever before. The two brigades of capitalism are arrayed, still in different uniforms, it is true, but both clearly on the same side of the field and both under the same golden banner. Against them advances the Socialist Party in well disciplined ranks, every soldier a thinker, knowing just who are his friends and who his foes. And the Red Flag goes on to more brilliant victory in this campaign than in any that has yet been fought."

The Arena, a Reform magazine, is of the opinion that with Parker as the Democratic nominee, several hundred thousand progressive Democrats will vote the Socialist ticket. To quote:

"The Socialist national convention assembled the first week in May and nominated Eugene V. Debs and Benjamin Hanford for President and Vice-President. Both candidates are laboring men; both are intelligent and fluent speakers. They will undoubtedly make a vigorous and aggressive campaign; and should the railroad corporations and reactionary interests succeed in nominating Mr. Belmont's protege, Judge Parker, Mr. Cleveland, or any other man satisfactory to predatory wealth and reactionary class interests, it is probable that several hundred thousands of voters who would have supported a progressive Democratic candidate on a truly Democratic platform will cast their ballots for the Socialists, unless, of course, the progressive Democrats should have a ticket in the field."

The *Chicago Socialist* calls upon the comrades everywhere to enter resolutely upon the great work before them. It says in part:

"The history that has been made during the past few weeks has placed a tremendous responsibility upon the Socialist Party, whether we realize it or not.

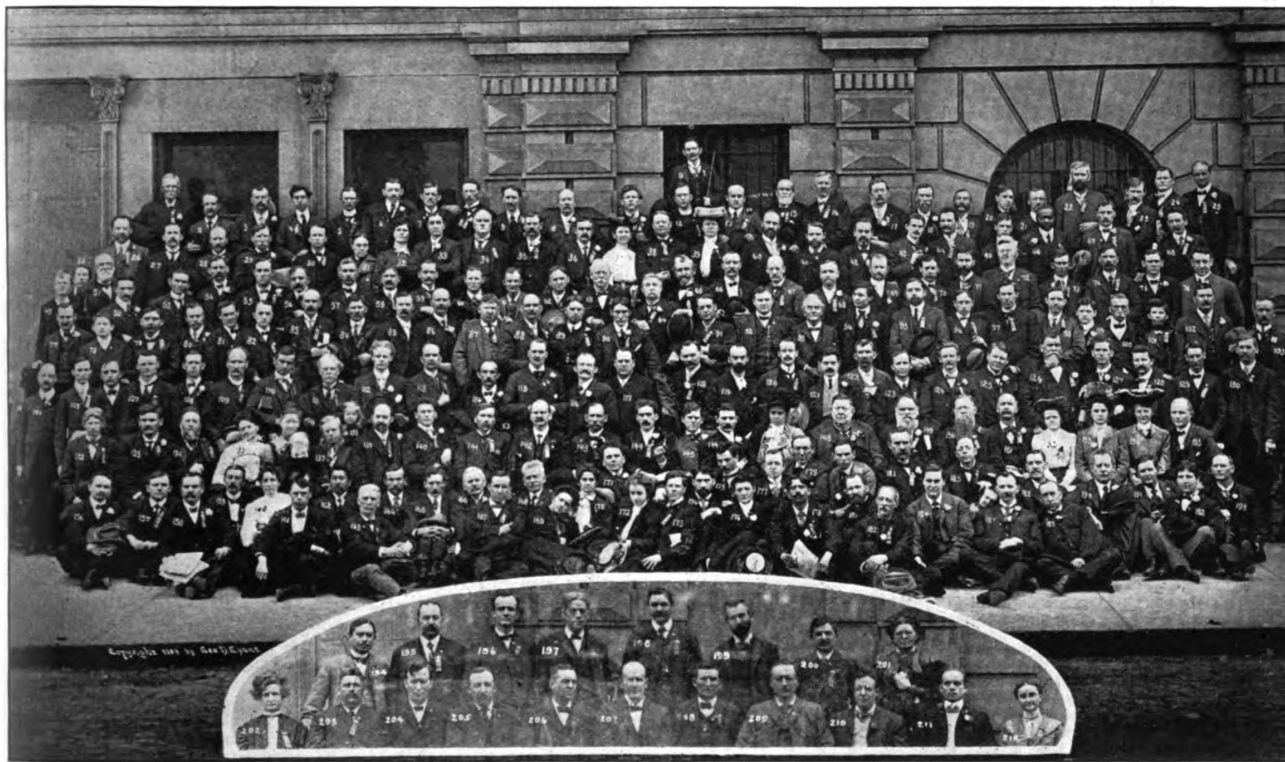
"The complete surrender of the radical element of the Democratic party to the great capitalists of Wall Street completely eliminates the middle class as an important factor in American politics and has opened the eyes of thousands of sincere workingmen who had looked to Bryan and Hearst as 'leaders' for some measure of relief from the present intolerable conditions.

"The work necessary to be done both in perfecting our organization and carrying on the propaganda among the workers is appalling. Will we be equal to the emergency, or will we fail now that the critical moment has arrived? This question must be answered by the rank and file of our party. We cannot look to great leaders to do the work that must be done. No Moses can save us or emancipate the working class. What our future proves to be must depend entirely upon the intelligence, the devotion and efforts of the enlightened class-conscious rank and file of the Socialist Party.

"Comrades, look around you. Cast your eyes in what direction you will. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, the harvest is ripe and the laborers are few. Get to work, don't wait for some one to tell you what to do. Attend every meeting of your branch and do whatever your hands find to do in furthering the all-important work of the Socialist Party at this critical hour of its history. Remember, you are taking part in the most noble cause that it has ever been the privilege of man to devote his effort to."

Delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States of America

Held at Chicago, Ill., May 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th, 1904



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| 12 A. L. Byron-Curtiss, N.Y. | 55 Sylvester L. V. Young. | 98 J. Saunders, Ill. | 141 M. A. Bratland. | 182 Wm. Ehnret, N. Y. |
| 13 Chas. P. Deutzmann, Cal. | 56 W. C. Young, Wis. | 99 E. B. Ault, Idaho. | 142 Jas. H. Murray, N. H. | 183 George W. Bacon, Penn. |
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| 16 G. P. Bush, N. Y. | 59 F. L. Robinson, Ky. | 102 J. J. Patton, Cal. | 145 Morris Hillquit, N. Y. | 186 Louis Gozcion, Penn. |
| 17 A. H. Plouton, Cal. | 60 E. R. Markert, Ky. | 103 Robert S. Harris. | 146 Mrs. George D. Herron. | 187 Dan A. White, Mass. |
| 18 Wm. Glanz, N. J. | 61 E. B. Latham, Tex. | 104 | 147 O. Lund, Wash. | 188 Ed Moore, Penn. |
| 19 Sumner W. Rose, Miss. | 62 John Kerrigan, Tex. | 105 H. B. Weaver, Cal. | 148 Clayton J. Lamb, Mich. | 189 Gustav Dressler, N. Y. |
| 20 Ira Cross, Wis. | 63 Chas. H. Stockell, Tenn. | 106 John J. Lorenz. | 149 R. A. Southworth, Colo. | 190 Jas. F. Carey, Mass. |
| 21 Hugh Ayres, Penn. | 64 Thos. J. Morgan, Ill. | 107 Chas. Miller, S'gt at A. | 150 A. B. Outram, Mass. | 191 J. Mahlon Barnes, Penn. |
| 22 C. C. McHugh, Mont. | 65 P. W. Ott, Wyo. | 108 W. F. Pardeck, Ill. | 151 Mrs. K. Mooney Hayman. | 192 T. F. Keogh, Ohio. |
| 23 W. G. O'Malley, Mont. | 66 Chas. E. Willey, Ohio. | 109 N. A. Richardson, Cal. | 152 Mrs. Vera Hillquit. | 193 George H. Strobel, N. J. |
| 24 J. H. Walsh, Mont. | 67 W. A. Stanton, Ohio. | 110 W. R. Parks, Kansas. | 153 Mrs. Max S. Hayes. | 194 Winfield Gaylord, Wis. |
| 25 John H. Hirt, Mont. | 68 D. P. Farrell, Ohio. | 111 Thos. H. Lucas, Minn. | 154 Max S. Hayes, Ohio. | 195 Stephen Reynolds, Ind. |
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| 27 S. Goldbarth. | 70 John Collins, Ill. | 113 A. Bosky. | 156 J. J. Jackson, Ia. | 197 Gaylord Withshire, N. Y. |
| 28 Wm. Dalton, Ill. | 71 A. M. Simons, Ill. | 114 F. X. Waldhorst, Ala. | 157 Carl Kronenberg, N. J. | 198 George Messner, Ky. |
| 29 B. F. Adams. | 72 Tonnes Thams, N. D. | 115 Fredrick Heath, Wis. | 158 George H. Goebel, N. J. | 199 Anna Perry Smith, Cal. |
| 30 Wm. A. Toole. | 73 Wilbur Putnam, La. | 116 F. A. Steverman, N. Y. | 159 Margaret Moore Goebel. | 200 Jas. O'neal, Ind. |
| 31 Miss Nina E. Wood. | 74 Roy Hays, Okla. | 117 T. Oullette, Mich. | 160 G. A. Hoehn, Mo. | 201 Sen. Joe Katayama. |
| 32 Bertha S. Wilkins, Cal. | 75 | 118 G. A. Hoehn, Mo. | 161 Geo. B. Leonard, Minn. | 202 Mrs. L. R. Kraybill, Kan. |
| 33 Chas. Randall. | 76 Ed. Loewenthal. | 119 George D. Herron, N. Y. | 162 W. M. Ash, Colo. | 203 J. L. Cobb, Cal. |
| 34 M. W. Wilkins, Cal. | 77 Jas. H. Poocek. | 120 Geo. B. Leonard, Minn. | 163 Geo. E. Littlefield, Mass. | 204 Alex Hayman, Mass. |
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| 37 Grace Woodward Smith. | 80 Carl Herman. | 123 Otto Wegener, N. Y. | 166 Wm. Mailly, Neb. | 207 John J. Kelly, Mass. |
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| 39 Mrs. Ida C. Hazlett, Colo. | 82 J. N. A. Spence, Wisc. | 125 E. S. Londermilk, Okla. | 168 Mrs. Hebe Hallen Clark. | 209 Seymour Steadman, Ill. |
| 40 W. L. Webster, Ohio. | 83 H. A. Gibbs, Mass. | 126 W. L. Garver, Mo. | 169 J. V. Kolachny, Okla. | 210 Ernest Untermann, Ill. |
| 41 C. A. Bickett, Ohio. | 84 Herman Brandt, Mass. | 127 J. V. Kolachny, Okla. | 170 Mrs. B. Howell Mailly. | 211 Mrs. Carrie Triller, Iowa. |
| 42 Julius Zorn, Ohio. | 85 Eugene Toomey, Conn. | 128 A. W. Renshal, Okla. | | |
| 43 W. L. Oswald, N. J. | 86 T. E. Palmer, Mo. | | | |

The Open Shop



Who is the father of the open shop? Who gave the Citizens' Industrial Association the open shop programme? Who established the first largest open shop in the country by upholding Scab Foreman Miller in the government printing office?" St. Louis *Labor*, which puts these questions, answers them by pointing at President Roosevelt, who hopes to be re-elected by the votes of the workers.

The "open shop" question is well set forth in an article by William English Walling in the *New York Independent*. We quote:

"The whole employing class of the United States is lining up for a new campaign against the unions. In this fight it is backed by the press, the middle classes, public opinion generally, and the highest labor arbitration tribunal in the country. The struggle is momentous. It will decide not only the industrial but the social and political future of the United States. If the employers' campaign is successful, it means the elimination of the trade unions as a factor in American industry. If it fails, nothing short of direct government control can prevent the unions' steady progress toward industrial domination.

"Employers are almost completely organized for the fight. The public has not realized how much has been accomplished since the coal strike. The organized manufacturers and contractors are no longer alone. They are supported by commercial interests, railroads and banks. Evidence of their co-operation can be seen on every side. In Chicago and St. Louis emergency funds of \$1,000,000 are ready for immediate use. The banks, I was told by an officer of the St. Louis association, are at the bottom of that organization.

"Employers say the open shop means simply even-handed treatment for union and non-union men. Unions say the open shop spells their destruction. Why? What is the open shop?"

"Fortunately an official interpretation of the open shop has been given to us by the highest labor arbitration court which we have ever had—a court appointed by the President of the United States and accepted by the nation. The Anthracite Coal Strike Commission was not only our most important labor arbitration board, but it has left behind it the most important 'trade agreement' in industry. The commission's award was, of course, in general terms, and first of all provided for an umpire to decide disputes arising under it. Col. Carroll D. Wright, head of the Bureau of Labor, has been appointed umpire.

"The Anthracite Commission decided for an open shop. In a recent decision that has alarmed and antagonized the whole labor movement Colonel Wright defines the open shop as follows:

"There can be no doubt that the employer has a perfect right to employ and discharge men in accordance with the conditions of his industry; that he is not obliged to give any cause for discharge. . . . This right to discharge must be maintained. Any other view of the case . . . would compel employers to employ men whether they had work for them or not, and whether the men were competent or not, and would thus stagnate business and work to the injury of all other employers."

"The employer who can 'discharge without cause' can deprive the workman of his means of subsistence and the union of its members. No organization can continue to exist longer than it is able to protect its individual members from outside attack. For a 'labor' organization to protect its members it must first of all keep them at work. To a union man permanently out of a job a union card is a bit of pasteboard and a union agreement for better wages is not worth the paper on which it is written.

"The employer who can 'discharge without cause' has the power to use war measures in times of peace. By locking out union men one at a time he can wage a quiet war of extermination as effective as and much less expensive than a general lockout. Under arbitration and the trade agreement he can do exactly what he does in an open fight—he can wield against the unions the whole reserve army of labor, the great body of the unorganized and the unemployed.

"What is to be the result? One thing is clear. In dealing with labor employers will act as a unit. They have already united on the open shop. The open shop leads to the employment bureau, the employment bureau to the National Labor Bureau. The blacklist will be practiced on a national scale. The unions also will act not locally and by separate trades, but nationally and in concert. The sympathetic lockout they will fight with the sympathetic strike. To the national blacklist they will reply with the national strike. Labor conflicts are to become a community affair. The most vital concern of the nation is to be the labor question."

The Appellate Court of Illinois decided a short time ago that a union shop is unlawful. "The opinion was written by a judge who is popular and respected, and from whom better sense and knowledge of legal principles might have been expected," remarks Samuel Gompers, in

the *Federationist* for July. He argues at length against the decision to make clear that the judge made a mistake. But the *Cleveland Citizen* knows that it is not a question of right, but of might. It says:

"Of course, it is a waste of time to argue the matter. Employers have a right to 'run their business to suit themselves,' provided that they do so on scab lines. A closed shop that means a high standard rate of wages is a wicked institution; an open shop that pays beggarly wages and means poverty and degradation for labor is a very patriotic establishment. But why argue, we repeat? This Illinois court judges the situation from the standpoint of its class interests—to sit on labor's back and absorb the wealth that the workers produce. The only manner that these courts will learn sense is to knock them off their perch with a class-conscious labor ballot, and elect men who will interpret the law from the workers' point of view."

The *Erie People* does not seem to think very much of Gompers' editorial. It remarks:

"Sam Gompers is filling the columns of the *American Federationist* with 'ringing editorials' anent the 'hypocrisy' of the advocates of the 'open shop.' It is safe to assert that there is not a capitalist member of the Civic Federation gang that Gompers train with, that does not only favor it but enforce it also, but Gompers dares not expose their 'hypocrisy' lest he uncover his own at the same time."

A correspondent of the *Weekly Bulletin* thinks that trade unionists are needlessly alarmed about this matter. He explains himself in this manner:

"Although the intent of employers in making an issue of the open shop is evidently to counteract unionism, unionists are needlessly wrought up over it. To intimate that the unions' existence depends upon the employers' voluntary observance of the closed shop is equivalent to an admission that the spirit of unionism among the workmen is so feeble that unless the union is propped up by the employer it will fall. If such be the case, how are we to account for the existence of the union? Surely it is not due to the employers' favor. Their attitude has never been different from what it is now.

"Unions are now obliged, as usual, to meet the normal antagonism of employers by unionizing their shops, notwithstanding their efforts to the contrary. As heretofore, employers will only recognize the union shop where it is made difficult for them to employ non-union men. Appeals or denunciation will never compel recognition. The employer's respect for the union will be always proportioned to the loyalty of the members and the strength of the union.

"While it is well for unions to be alert in meeting this concerted move to convert union shops into open shops, they are liable, through magnifying the danger, to rush pell-mell into futile strikes by accepting the open shop manifesto as a challenge to battle. Such rash strikes, especially those against combined employers keyed up on so sensitive an issue, place the union at a decided disadvantage, and even should the union succeed in forcing the other side to rescind its edict, it would not materially change the employers' attitude. It is only through the union strengthening its position by putting forth greater energy in winning the non-unionists to its side, and rendering it more difficult for the employer to keep the shop open, that his purpose can be checkmated."

The *Los Angeles Socialist* points out the inconsistency of the trade unionists in conceding to the employer the private ownership of the means of production, and at the same time contending for the closed shop, which virtually takes out of the employer's hands the power to operate that which he owns.

The close of its article reads as follows:

"But does the Socialist Party contend for the open shop? Certainly not—not the open shop under capitalism. But is there not an element of inconsistency in this? Yes, but no more than the inevitable inconsistency of every man who is forced to compromise with capitalism to-day in order to live, but who fights to overthrow capitalism tomorrow. There is an element of compromise and inconsistency in all human endeavor. But compromise is only fatal when it is accepted as final.

"The Socialist Party supports organized labor in all its economic battles in spite of its inconsistencies. But its mission is to lead and not to be led.

"Organized labor is at present like a man lost in a forest. It walks in a circle and gets nowhere. The mission of the Socialist Party is not to expect organized labor to find wings and fly to its journey's end, but to lead it in a straight line so that every step will be a step toward freedom.

"The mission of the Socialist Party is not to disorganize labor in the shop, but to organize it at the ballot box."

THE COMRADE



Miner and Millionaire



The Labor War in Colorado



THE Labor War in Colorado has found its historian. Ben Hanford, the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, who went to Colorado to study the conditions at close range, has written a comprehensive account of the atrocities committed by the capitalists of that state. It is one of the best indictments of the capitalist system, destined to play its part in the coming campaign. There is only one

right side, says Hanford.

"In these present Colorado troubles ALL the facts are on the side of the men. The strikers have been peaceable, law-abiding and orderly. Opposed to them have been gentlemen, barbarians, savages and traitors, and the private police, deputy sheriffs, military, thugs, bad men and all the other agencies which can be evoked to accomplish the robbery and bring about the enslavement of free men through the use of all the powers of government by persons and corporations who look upon the forces of the state as their private property and use them for their personal gains.

"There is only one possible criticism which can be made against the strikers. It will remain for posterity to judge whether it be justified. The strikers have constantly pursued a policy of non-resistance by physical force. Some of them have been murdered, their houses have been searched without warrant, their right of free speech and free assemblage have been ruthlessly trampled upon, their families have been insulted, their leaders have been assaulted, jailed, writ of habeas corpus and right of trial by jury has been denied, they have been hounded from their homes and deported from the state without form, semblance or process of law—and for what? What heinous crime had they committed?

"They had refused to work on terms which to them seemed dishonorable. In short, THEY REFUSED TO BECOME SCABS.

"Under all these outrages it has been only short of miraculous that these men have been so absolutely self-restrained that they have not once taken the initiative in an appeal to force, and it has been the universal rule for them to bear with dignity and resignation the burdens and contumely heaped upon them. This has not been through any lack on their part of courage to dare or power to perform. What, then, was the force which kept these men so self-contained through all this fearful stress?

"It was their loyalty to the working class of the nation and the world. They suffered unspeakable wrongs without resistance in order that you workingmen, you union workingmen, of the North, South, East and West might catch up with them. They knew that their fellow workers in other parts of the country were not informed as to the merits of the controversy, they knew that their fellow union men were informed only of such things as their employers through control of the press saw fit for them to know, and they knew that, no matter what victories they might win by force, they would be regarded by their brethren as having taken up arms against their country and its flag. These men of the Rockies understood the Beast Capitalism, and they suffered their awful wrongs without physical resistance in order that their fellow men might catch up with them, might become wise in time, and because of their sufferings might take such steps as to save themselves from like sufferings. . . .

"If you union men would not have bull pens in Boston Common, if you would not have your houses searched without warrant in New York, if you would not be deported from your homes in Philadelphia and Chicago, if you would not live in fear of assassination for no other cause than that you are a member of a labor organization; if the workingmen of Oregon and Texas, of Maine and Wisconsin, and every other state and territory of the Union would not lose the right to organize; if the men whose labor feeds and clothes and warms and shelters the peoples of the earth would not lose the right to live, it would be wise for them to study carefully and well the history of the Labor War in Colorado."

The Miners' Magazine, the organ of the Western Federation of Miners, is doing its share to enlighten the members of that organization. It contains the following:

"But why do we kick and howl now? We elected Peabody and we are getting just what we voted for. How much longer are we going to vote for Peabodys? Have we not had enough yet to have learned the lesson? The next election will tell. We have the power, without the aid of any other old party or set of parties, to elect any man or men that we wish to elect.

"Now, there is a movement on foot in this state to down Peabodyism at the fall election, but we must not be too anxious and let some other ism into office who is just as bad as Peabodyism. Are we going to be divided again, as we always have been heretofore? Our unions have declared in favor of Socialism. There seems to be a movement on foot to get up another independent party or to ratify the Democratic party, which is still worse. I say that we should stand by the party that we have declared for, and if enough workingmen have not yet learned to vote right, why let another Peabody rule for another term and give us workers a few more lessons. Perhaps by the time that the next term has expired—if he does not have us all killed off—we will have learned our lessons well enough to vote for our own interests.

"I say, by all means, stick to your colors, boys! And if we cannot elect a Socialist governor (which we can if we all vote together) this fall, perhaps we can in two years from now. We want the full product of our toil, and the sooner we realize that we can only get this by the Socialist Party, the better it is for us."

The resolution passed by the recent convention of the Western Federation of Miners in Denver, and endorsing the Socialist Party, reads as follows:

"Resolved, that we will not counsel reform, or staying the progress of the 'Juggernaut car' of commercialism, but that the staggering mass must fall, and that we, the Western Federation of Miners, will never stop until the complete overthrow of this infernal system of oppression and greed has been secured for the toiling masses of humanity; and be it further

"Resolved, that in reaffirming the political policy of the tenth and eleventh annual conventions, we urge all members of the Western Federation of Miners to be true to it and to use their peaceful conciliation and social persuasion to induce others to join hands with them at the ballot box in securing the overthrow of the present iniquitous system of government; and be it further

"Resolved, that we recommend the Socialist Party to the toiling masses of humanity as the only source through which they can secure for themselves their complete emancipation from the present system of wage-slavery, which makes the masses of humanity supplicants at the feet of the few, for the jobs which they must have to sustain life.



The Land of the Free

as pictured by the capitalist orator

as it is in reality

—Los Angeles Socialist.

THE COMRADE

Grit Your Teeth and Organize



RIT your teeth and organize!" That is the advice Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor, gives to those of his followers who have, "in view of the bitter antagonism newly manifested by the worst element of the capitalist class against the trade union movement," asked their leader as to the effect of that antagonism upon the growth or development of the trade union movement.

Gompers points out, in the *American Federationist* for July, that the receipts of the Federation for per capita tax during the time from October, 1903, to March, 1904, were \$72,810.02, as against \$51,118.15 for the same months of the previous year. The Federation may therefore be said to have a membership of 1,826,114. Speaking about the steps taken by the enemies of the trade unions against these organizations, Gompers asks:

"What should the workers do under such circumstances? Leave their unions?"

And his answer is:

"No! Workers, Grit Your Teeth and Organize."

He continues:

"Judges issue injunctions, misconstrue and pervert the law, incarcerate men in prison cells, in the hope of crushing the unions of labor.

"Workers, should you do what your enemies wish? No! Grit Your Teeth and Organize.

"At the behest of corporate wealth, rights are invaded, public assemblage interfered with, or free speech enjoined; men marching upon the public highways are met with murderous bullets to silence their ardent wishes and their hopes for justice.

"But shall the workers give up hope and allow the tyrant to hold full sway?"

"No! Grit Your Teeth and Organize.

"The ingenuity of man to produce the world's wealth easier than ever before, is utilized as a means to pauperize the worker, to supplant the man by the woman and the woman by the child; industry and commerce monopolized to the detriment of the masses, and union frowned down upon.

"But, should the toilers submit to this modern yoke?"

"No! Grit Your Teeth and Organize.

"In the great struggle of life the mass of wage-earners of our country are hewing to the line, are forging to the front, and securing as fast as any human agency can, a larger share of the produce of their labor, less hours of toil and more leisure; are wresting from monopoly and power a recognition of their rights and a greater consideration for their demands upon modern society.

"Because the growth is not as fast as some impatient videttes yearn for, should the workers, therefore, be allured from the substance to grasp the shadow; leave the safe path of progress to the speculative and undiscovered region?"

"No! Grit Your Teeth and Organize.

"When engaged in a contest for a better wage, for less hours of labor, for recognition of labor's rights; when struggling to obliterate injustice and to attain the disenfranchisement of man, the establishment of freedom among men, even though repulsed now and again, should opportunity be lost sight of, union dissolved, and dismay take the place of hope and courage? No; a thousand times no!

"In spite of all antagonism; in spite of all flattery; in spite of all cajolery; in spite of setbacks, close up the ranks, gather in the clans of labor, and the day of labor's emancipation will be so much the nearer every time you—

"Grit Your Teeth and Organize."

The Western Clarion, a Canadian Socialist paper, of Vancouver, is not satisfied with the advice given by Gompers. It remarks:

"Just what the purpose of organizing is to be is not made clear. Is it for the purpose of continuing the present goodly stream of per capita, or maybe increasing it?"

"With the new slogan the tread of the clans of labor will no longer be heard from a thousand hills, but their coming will be announced by the gritting of teeth. The weird, uncanny sound of millions gritting their teeth in concert will be sufficient to strike terror to the hearts of bad capitalists. When once they discover this gritting of teeth to be but the prelude to organization they may reasonably expect to drop dead in their tracks.

"Hurrah for the amalgamated association of teeth gritters. Let all working men join it, and standing together jaw to jaw, grit it out on Samuel's line if it takes forty summers. If we keep on winning victories as we have been doing in the past, the time is not far distant when we will have nothing between our teeth to interfere with our trade as 'gritters.'"

Socialism and the Negro



HAT the sound principles of the Socialist Party begin to make an impression upon the more intelligent element of our colored population is evidenced by the fact that two papers, published for and by negroes, have lately alluded to the Socialist Party in a very sympathetic way. *The Broadax*, published in Chicago, and having a circulation among colored people throughout the country, said the other day:

"Eugene V. Debs, who is making the race for President of the United States on the Socialist ticket, should receive the votes of two or three hundred thousand colored men, for he is one of the greatest champions of the civil and political rights of the Afro-American, and by doing so the negro would show to the world of mankind that he is not the abject slave of either one of the great political parties."

And in the following from the *Bee*, Washington, D. C., that paper seems to suggest to its readers that they would do well to pay due attention to the Socialist Party. The *Bee* says:

"The Socialist Party believes in the equality of man. Neither the Democratic nor the Republican party believes in human rights so far as the negro is concerned. The Republican party has admitted its inability to protect the negro in his vote. The Democratic party whenever it obtains power disfranchises the colored man. One admits its weakness, while the other glories in its depravity and political demagoguery. The Socialist Party claims all that the two great political parties repudiate. In the coming contest what position will the colored voter assume? Will it be advisable to go to the party that will advocate human rights or must he divide his vote between the two great political parties? Whiteman can vote with any party and his acts are applauded. His honesty is not questioned if he votes for the party of his choice. He is reasoned with, while the colored man's honesty is questioned. Must the negro in the coming campaign divide his vote? Or must he remain silent and allow himself to be the same political slave and nonentity in the great body politic? The time has come for the colored man to act. The time has come for a new leadership. The time has come for the negro to decide. Act at once and let other struggling nations see that the American negro has manhood and independence. Let the negro no longer be governed by sentiment."

The article in the *Bee* elicits the following comment from *The Worker*, New York:

"What is it in the attitude of the Socialist Party that commends it to the consideration of the *Bee* and justifies him in suggesting that colored men might do well to vote the Socialist ticket? It is just this, that we do not appeal to them as negroes, but as fellow men who are suffering under the same industrial oppression that afflicts the masses of the workers of every race in every civilized land. The Socialist Party does not consider itself as a body apart from the negro workers or from any other body of workers, offering to bestow blessings upon them in exchange for their political support. It is the party of Labor, white labor or black, Jewish Labor or Gentile, native labor or foreign, in the fight against capitalism, of whatever race or creed the capitalists may be."

"The Socialist says to the colored workingman: Cease to think and vote as a black man and begin to think and vote as a workingman. You are denied civil and political rights and are kept in economic subjection under Republican and Democratic administrations alike? Well, so are we. Your troubles in Alabama or Virginia are matched by our troubles in Colorado. We are all oppressed alike, because the capitalist class can make profit out of our oppression.

"The Socialist Party does not trouble itself about the bugbear of 'social equality.' Whether white men and black men shall sit at the same dinner-table is a matter, we say, for individual white men and black men to decide. We would neither command it nor forbid it, if we could. That is not a question for politics. It is a fake issue injected into politics by Republican and Democratic politicians in order to keep working people of both races from voting on the one real and live issue. That issue is: Shall capitalists of any race or color be allowed to go on making profits out of the toil and poverty of workingmen of every race and color? The Socialist Party alone dares to put that question frankly and to answer it. The Socialist Party answers it with a No!—and its answer grows louder and clearer every year."

"We make no 'bid' for the negro vote or any other vote. We say: Here are our Socialist principles; here is our Socialist policy; we believe that it promises real freedom for the whole working class, real peace and progress for all mankind; we ask you all to think of it and, if you agree with us, to vote as you think."

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Uncle Sam shows a prosperous front



But rags and patches in the back —Lustige Blätter

We are prosperous. What have we to fear?



WITH an iron production and consumption increased from 9,000,000 tons in 1897 to 18,000,000 tons in 1903, what have we to fear?

"With a country able to undertake, as a matter of course, the construction of a canal to cost \$200,000,000 or more, what have we to fear?"

"With an internal commerce of \$21,000,000,000, surpassing the external commerce of all the nations of the world what have we to fear?"

"With all our matured debts paid and hundreds of millions of gold dollars in the bank, what have we to fear?"

"With more actual gold in our treasury than was ever before possessed by any one nation at one time since time began, what have we to fear?"

"With 600,000 factories, 7,000,000 factory workers and a home market of 82,000,000 people, free from the competition of cheap foreign labor, what have we to fear?"

"With farms worth \$20,000,000,000, and a yearly product worth nearly \$4,000,000,000, what have we to fear?"

"With our diplomacy successful at every turn, with our dollar good at every market of the world, with no entangling foreign alliances, with our national conscience 'void of offense toward God and man,' with a people strong in purpose and ambition, with the energy born of a short but heroic past, and with our flag honored wherever it waves, what have we to fear?"

It is a correspondent of the *New York Financial News* who thus sings the praises of our abundant times. The above quotation comprises only a few verses of this long rhapsody on our glorious prosperity.

Most of the "business" journals, while not quite as optimistic, nevertheless think that the outlook is satisfactory. Says the *New York Financial Age*:

"The issues of the campaign will not be such as to paralyze the financial community as in 1896 and 1900. They will be purely economic, and as such their influence will be toward slowing down rather than stopping the wheels of commerce. It is our belief that hopes of increased activity in commercial and industrial circles, or in the stock market, will not be realized until after election. We base the opinion not alone on the facts that have been herein set forth, but likewise on

the teachings of precedent. The latter point to a restful summer and a quiet fall, which, when the ballots have been cast, may—yea, should, be followed by a busy winter."

The Socialist papers do not share this beautiful optimism. They call attention to the great number of unemployed workers.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* has made an investigation of the subject of unemployment and comes to the conclusion that within a few months past no less than 655,000 men have been added to the army of the unemployed, distributed as follows:

Railroad employees	120,000
New England mill operatives	80,000
Packing house employees	75,000
Iron and steel workers	140,000
Coal miners	60,000
Workers in other trades and industries, estimated....	180,000

This gives a total of 655,000 idle men. In view of these facts, thinks the *Cleveland Citizen*, the politicians will have a hard job this year to prove that there is prosperity among the working class.



The Workers own the votes. —Appeal to Reason.

The fall campaign is on. Socialists, let no opportunity escape to drive a nail into the coffin of capitalism. —Chicago Socialist.

It is well to remember that before the civil war began, in 1861, the civil war on a small scale existed in Kansas over the question of slavery or no slavery.

For "Bleeding Kansas" we now have "Bleeding Colorado." May the comparison go no further.

—Caroline Pemberton in Philadelphia *North American*.

Australia's Labor Cabinet



John Christian Watson

Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia

The accession to power of a Labor Cabinet in the Australian Commonwealth is hailed as an event of worldwide importance by the *Neue Monats-Blatt*, Edward Bernstein's new weekly paper. "Even though the opportunities of the cabinet, in consequence of the provisions of the constitution, are not so very great, the simple fact of its existence is significant enough. For the first time in history we see the administration of a great and well-to-do commonwealth, of a whole continent, placed under the leadership of workingmen; and that not because of a surprise, but because the warring bourgeois parties have more confidence in the representatives of Labor, than in each other."

London Justice, however, thinks that the Labor representatives of the Australian Commonwealth made a mistake when they undertook to form a cabinet, having no majority in the house. It will be remembered that the rise of the Watson ministry

is due to the fact that the two bourgeois factions, who together constitute a majority, could not come to an agreement on the arbitration bill. *Justice* says:

"Any party taking office under existing circumstances has to administer in the interest of the dominant order—the capitalist class. For a labor party to do this is to stultify itself, and to ignore the revolutionary character of its mission."

Some papers point out that these two bourgeois parties may come together at any moment and overthrow the cabinet of the workers.

So far the efforts at a coalition of the Liberals and Conservatives have failed.

The Labor party has no clear-cut program and will therefore go to pieces, thinks the *Western Clarion*, Vancouver, B. C., It says:

"A political party, though it be dubbed a Labor party, that has no clear-cut line of action leading up to a certain goal may be likened to a derelict floating hopeless upon an angry sea, bound to meet its doom upon hidden reef or rocky shore, or mayhap be run down by other craft who pursue a well-defined course. As the Australian Labor Party appears to be following no well defined course, has evidently no conception of the revolutionary program of the international working class, and therefore no point in the social heavens by which to steer, it will inevitably become water-logged, founder or drift upon the rocks of opportunism."

But the *Vorwaerts*, Berlin, thinks differently. It remarks:

"We have repeatedly called attention to the fact that the Australian Labor Party is not identical with the European Social Democracy. But this article (of the *Brisbane Worker*) shows on the other hand that the Australian Labor Party is not at all one of those nebulous formations that exist in England. . . . It is significant that this Labor ministry is a government of a clear proletarian class-consciousness, bound for a Socialist goal, no matter how careful and slow it may proceed."

Regarding the attitude of the outspoken Socialists toward the new ministry it is interesting to note that Prime Minister Watson received a committee elected at a mass meeting and which presented to him a resolution passed at the meeting. Watson declared that most of the demands contained in the resolution were part of his program. He expressed the hope that the oncoming elections might bring about a majority that would stand behind thorough-going reforms as demanded by the workers.

A Patriotic Socialist



OME of the readers of Robert Blatchford's paper, *The Clarion*, are up in arms against the author of "Merrie England," because Blatchford has seen fit to imitate the imperialists who shriek for a greater navy and better coast defences. He fears a German invasion of England. He has, so far, managed to fill fourteen columns of his paper with a discussion of this subject, and the end is not yet. The articles bear such headlines as: "Can England Be Invaded?" "The German Menace," "England's Foolhardy Neglect in the North Sea."

Blatchford's ideas are in striking contrast to what one is used to encounter as the opinion of the average Socialist. While, for instance, the German Socialists have fought tooth and nail against every increase in the armament of the nation, being called "enemies of the fatherland" in consequence, Blatchford upbraids the English cabinet on account of their not asking for more money for navy and defence purposes. He says in part:

"Can England be invaded? The Germans think so, and say so, and are openly and steadily preparing to make the attempt. This is no wild dread born of panic; it is a fact. . . . Meanwhile we are not preparing. Like the French, before their *debacle*, we are drowsing in a false security born of conceit. If we want to keep our empire, our wealth, our liberty, and our honor, we have got to pay for them and to fight for them. That which is won by the sword must be kept by the sword.

"I am an advocate of peace, and of universal brotherhood. . . . I hate war and I despise empire. But I do not want to live to see a foreign enemy encamped in England."

And then Blatchford goes on to speak at length about general staffs, coast defences, cruisers, torpedoes, transports, and all those other things which militarists claim are necessary to insure peace:

"The whole case may be put boldly and bluntly in a few words. We have a great empire, a great trade, a wealthy country. We cannot keep these things without sacrifice of blood, of labor, of money, or of all three. The question we have to put to ourselves is a simple one to answer.

"Do we value our empire, our trade, our country? If we do what will it cost us to keep them, and do we regard them as worth the price.

"We spent two hundred and fifty millions, or something like it, and 30,000 lives, to hold South Africa. There has been some grumbling since as to the cost. But I think I may say that on the whole the nation did not grudge it.

"Now, England is worth more to us than six South Africas. If we lose England we lose all; India, Africa, Australia; all we have. . . .

"As an Englishman, a soldier, a father and a public man, I protest against such infamous and fatuous meanness. . . ."

In the fourth of his articles Blatchford says:

"I have been attacked by guerilla bands, under the red flag, on the ground that England is not worth fighting for. There are several parties of these guerrillas, but the strongest and fiercest consists of nineteen 'sea-green incorruptible' Robespierres and Charlotte Cordays from the bleak northern fastnesses of Urmston and Flixton, and the dun-browed frowning Lostock.

"These stern and ruthless warriors have issued a manifesto and are now waving their little red flags and shouting for gore. The manifesto is calculated to appal the boldest heart. It is positively wierd, and should be spoken through music; the music of the Carmagnole—played pianissimo."

The protest of the *Clarion* readers runs as follows:

"To the Editor of the *Clarion* :

"Dear Sir.—We, the undersigned readers of the *Clarion*, hereby PROTEST against the series of articles now appearing therein on 'The German Menace,' etc., for the following reasons:

"That they tend to stir up racial hatred and fan the flame of war between this country and one which contains more fellow Socialists than any other.

"That conscription, imperialism, and increase of armaments, as advocated by Mr. Blatchford, are contrary to the spirit of Socialism, and in any case futile so long as we do not grow our own food. Besides which, we are spending over £120 a minute, day and night, on the army and navy, and if our shiftless rulers cannot defend us on that, they cannot at all.

"That it is a mistake to speak of England as 'our' country at all, that we should defend it. It is the country of the Duke of Westminster, Lord Penryhn and a few others such as they. Let them fight for it if they will. Tommy Atkins and the people generally do not own a square inch of English soil.

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"That to the workers of this country a successful (or unopposed) invasion would at the most mean that they would pay rent to, and be exploited by, foreigners instead of Englishmen. They might as well! And seeing that as a consequence of Napoleon's invasion and the enforcement of his "Code Napoleon" upon them, the other nations of Europe pay less in rents, mining royalties, and way-leaves than we do, we fail to see why we should be asked to maintain such a paralyzing burden, and at the cost of our lives. Our grandfathers were gulled into lying down their lives at Waterloo, and we are paying still for the gunpowder they burned. But what did they or how do we benefit by it? Fat pensions and bread acres for the titled generals who keep out of the line of fire—a paltry medal, contumely, and Peterloo for the poor fools who fought, with a heavy handicap on the labor of their descendants to this day. We do not think it good enough!

"That under the present English rule our agriculture has been ruined, one-third of the people have not enough to eat, six millions live in slums, half a million die premature and preventable deaths every year, hundreds of thousands sleep in brick crofts and railway arches, and one proud Englishman out of every four ends his days in workhouse, hospital or lunatic asylum. We think that in view of such circumstances all rant about patriotism and national feeling is fitter for the *Times* than the *Clarion*, and question whether things could be worse under German or any other rule.

"That the crew of landsharks and money-grabbers who alone have anything to lose by invasion are not worth one drop of honest English blood. Let them restore the land to the people, and give every man a stake in the country. Then the difficulty with an invader might be, not the invading, but the getting back again! But until then, the landless, workless, outcast Englishman might as well continue to emigrate as stay to defend it for others."



Persecutions in Hungary

The Socialist Party of Hungary held its eleventh congress on Easter Sunday, in Budapesth. The report of the Executive Board contains a condensed review of the many shameful acts of brutality which the Hungarian government practised on the labor movement. During the last year 181 Socialist meetings have been prohibited. In most cases the police gave as a reason for such action that "it did not deem it necessary to have the peaceable population excited by an agitator."

A similar course is pursued toward the Socialist papers. *Nepszava*, the central organ, had to defend itself against twelve law suits. There are seven more pending. *Adeveral*, the Socialist organ in the Roumanian language, enjoyed eight, and *Narodna Retsch*, the Servian organ, twenty-eight law suits.

Especially against the farm laborers the government has acted with the utmost brutality. Since 1893, when, during the great strike of the peasant laborers, the soil that had been tilled by them, drank their blood, strikes of the farm laborers have been prohibited. Last year, when another strike broke out, hundreds of rural workers were thrown into prison, while many others were forced to continue in their work. But notwithstanding all this oppression, thousands of farm laborers took part in the strike, and about 10,000 of them secured a raise of wages. A great number of party members were fined or imprisoned for "inducing factory workers to go on strike." Altogether the fines amount to about \$12,000, equivalent to 2,583 days' imprisonment. Besides this there were decreed sentences of imprisonment amounting to thirteen years and six months. This does not include the judgments against those who participated in the strike of the rural workers; the victims in this case have to suffer at least 25 years of imprisonment. One hundred and seventeen Socialists were told to leave the country. Despite all this fearful oppression the Socialist movement in Hungary is gaining steadily.—Translated from *Socialistische Monatshefte*.

The *Volksstimme*, the German Socialist organ of Budapesth, has published an article, according to which the Hungarian government contemplates a *coup d'etat* against the Socialists. The paper says, it is the intention of the government to have all the members of the party executive board arrested, the party funds confiscated, and all trade unions disbanded. The cabinet is said to be waiting only for a pretense to take these steps.

"The government has not enough prisons, to hold all the Socialists," remarks the *Volksstimme*. The place of every imprisoned comrade will be taken by ten others.



Filippo Turati

Leader of the Italian Reformists

Enrico Ferri

Editor of "Avanti" and "Il Socialismo"

A Split in the Socialist Party of Italy



THE long impending split in the ranks of the Socialist Party of Italy has come. According to the latest advices the so-called Reformists are seceding from the party to form independent clubs. The executive board of the party had called for a referendum to decide whether the Reformists should be permitted to have their separate party organization in every locality. From a statement in Ferri's paper, *Il Socialismo*, we gather that of the 1,272 sections of the party, 973 participated in the referendum. But it seems that the votes of only 778 sections were counted, the others not being in good standing. Six hundred and twelve votes were cast against and 16 for separate clubs. The vote of the remaining 150 sections was neither clearly one way or the other.

Ever since the last congress held at Bologna the split was in the air. At that congress the four currents of opinion ranged themselves into two at the final vote; on the one side being such as Turati and Cabrini, whose policy is to support any government in the promotion of social legislation, together with the right centre, which urges social reforms, but holds that for the present, that is at any rate till the next Congress, the party should remain in opposition. The latter section is led by Rinaldo Rigola, the workingman deputy, who in spite of his blindness, edits a popular journal, and is one of the most eloquent and active orators of the party. On the other, and more extreme side, were the party of Ferri, who believes in remaining in opposition to any non-Socialist ministry, though admitting the worth of some reform measures over others; and the extreme revolutionaries under Labriola. The victory of the supporters of Ferri by 424 votes against Rigola's 377 was due to the support of Labriola and his more revolutionary followers, and the tendency of the party towards more extreme notions was also apparent in the election of the committee which is to direct the affairs of the party.

Alexander Kosiol, a writer in Bernstein's *Neues Montag's Blatt*, expresses the opinion that the split is caused by the difference in the industrial development in North Italy and South Italy. The south of Italy is one of the most backward countries in Europe, while the northern part has reached a more advanced point of industrial development. The miserable conditions of the South, the writer argues, excite the suffering proletariat to highly revolutionary utterances, while in the North the stream of Socialist ideas runs in the broad channel of the economic struggle. The writer is convinced that the split will benefit the Italian proletariat. He says:

"North and South may now fight for whatever is most important for their respective provinces, without having to fear a division within their ranks and a consequent paralyzation of their activity. Each of the two factions will adopt the tactics that will best further their interests, but both will be a unit in the common opposition to the capitalist state."

The English Immigration Bill



THE Alien Immigration Bill, brought before the present session of the English Parliament, has, according to the reports, been abandoned by the government. It seems that the cabinet has given up all hope of passing the bill this session. In view of the fact that for almost a century England has been regarded as the safe asylum of all who, for political reasons, left their native country, the bill has attracted considerable attention. The Socialists vigorously protested against its passage. The Independent Labor Party has issued a pamphlet from the pen of H. Snell, and entitled "The Foreigner in England," from which we quote the following:

"The Government with which England is at present afflicted is, in addition to being hopelessly reactionary, also financially dishonest and double-faced. It has one countenance for South Africa and the millionaire landlord, and another for the people of the United Kingdom. In South Africa it receives with a radiant smile of welcome the indentured Chinese quarry slave, whom it is importing in tens of thousands in order to cut down the wages hitherto paid to the native laborer; in England it frowns upon the European alien and threatens to expel him as a danger and a nuisance. It pretends that the Transvaal loves and reveres the heathen Chinese, but that the German waiter and the Italian organ grinder in England are intolerable. Justice compels one to state that it does not loathe all the foreigners that are in England. If they chance to live in Park Lane it almost worships them, and humbly does their bidding; but to the penniless fugitive from Russia or German autocracy it cries, "Depart, ye cursed, I never knew ye." Thus, to His Majesty's Government, the alien question is a matter of locality—and money. If you are a Chinaman you are welcome in South Africa, and if you are a millionaire you are equally welcome in Park Lane, but if you are a Jewish tailor flying from injustice and persecution, you are not welcome in England at all.

"England is asked by Mr. Balfour's Government to reverse a tradition that has remained unbroken for hundreds of years; that has given us material prosperity and moral strength, and one that has enriched our race with some of the best blood of the world.

"The English police are to act upon information received from the police of other countries, and this means that every man whose spirit will not brook oppression in Germany or Russia will be denied the right of asylum in England. Such a policy would have deprived us of the stimulus and example of Mazzini, Louis Blanc, Karl Marx, Engels, Stepniak, Kropotkin, Bernstein, Emile Zola, and thousands of less known but equally heroic personalities. Jesus of Nazareth was a person of "notoriously bad character" to the governing powers at Jerusalem; Dante was so "notoriously bad a "character" as to cause a price to be fixed upon his head. Giordano Bruno, hunted like a thief from land to land, ended his "notoriously bad" career amid the martyr's flames at Rome; those who engineered the anti-slave crusade were "notoriously bad characters;" every Socialist leader on the continent of Europe is a "notoriously bad character!" and every man who possesses a straight back and a stiff knee would by this proposal be forbidden access to our shores. It is just the men of "notoriously bad character" who make this old world of ours fit to live in.

"For the rest the alien, together with the native-born worker, must be elevated on to a minimum standard of life. The policy of a living wage and a national minimum below which no worker on these islands should be allowed to fall, work and live, would remove from the problem of alien immigration the few elements of danger it contains. In any case, there is no need for the short-sighted legislation now proposed, and the Englishman may sleep soundly in his bed, confident that the bread of his children is not being devoured by a horde of criminal aliens. There are aliens in every country, and England has far less than her share."

The International Congress of Women



URING the first half of June the International Woman's Congress held its sessions in Berlin, Germany.

There were delegates present from organized National Suffrage Associations from Great Britain, New Zealand, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Norway, Switzerland, Germany, and the United States, which had its full list of delegates and alternates present.

In addition to the delegates from organized nations, there were representatives from Hungary, Austria, and Finland.

The ideas and ideals that found expression at this gathering of Woman Suffragists were those of the bourgeois world. The Socialists were not represented.

The following from the *Vorwärts*, the Berlin Socialist daily, shows how our German comrades regarded the congress, which some delegates threatened to desert on account of their not being among those who were invited to visit the empress.

"It cannot be our intention to question the seriousness and the noble endeavor of the participants. Much strength, intelligence and courageous will are there combined. But the event as a whole is nothing but a vain sensation, and has to be, if in Berlin under the protection of the most noble lords, the struggle for the "progress of humanity" is to be carried on.

" Where no word of defiance on political grounds dare be uttered, where every consideration of the rough class struggle would shock painfully, where they diplomatically bow low in order to obtain by flattery what can only be obtained by fighting for—in such a politically and socially mixed society there are only nice words but no deeds."

The paper then points out that on the very day when the international ladies were received by the German empress, by Chancellor Buelow and Count Posadowsky, the last named gentleman declared in Parliament as wholly unacceptable the motion to bestow upon the female clerks the suffrage privilege for the commercial tribunals.

"The international ladies," continues the *Vorwärts*, "will certainly not hesitate a moment to visit these amiable persons of rank. They will drink good tea and chat interestingly. Count Buelow and Count Posadowsky will, no doubt, warmly assert their sympathies with the aims of the ladies who desire a place in the sun. And not one of the ladies will be so impolite as to ask the amiable hosts whether they do not regard it as a shame to brutally deny the women commercially employed the representation of their most natural and nearest interests. That would show a lack of tact, you know.

"It will be understood why the Social Democracy, for which politics are no play and no circus sensation, lacks the taste for such a gaudy spectacle."

And in a similar strain Lily Braun, speaking about the organization by the congress of an international league for female suffrage remarks:

"Not out of the hands of this league for female suffrage, but out of the hands of the internationally organized proletariat will women receive political equality."

The reasons for the German organizations of Socialist women not participating in the work of the congress are set forth by our lady comrade, Baader, who has lately been appointed paid organizer by the executive board of the German Social Democracy, in which capacity she will devote her time solely to the organization of the woman workers. Comrade Baader explains that the congress could not be anything else but a hodge-podge of bourgeois opinions and bourgeois ideals. She says:

"The German woman Socialists will be represented at the international Socialist Congress at Amsterdam. That is the place to forge weapons for the struggle through which the proletarian woman will gain a world. Not in league with the women of all countries against the men of all countries, but in league with the exploited of all countries, without difference of sex, against the whole bourgeois world, to which also belong the bourgeois suffragists."



RUSSIAN NOBLEMAN: I have just received a donation of a thousand rubles for the Red Cross, dear. You can now have the diamond necklace you wanted. —*Simplicissimus*, Munich

THE COMRADE



Sen Katayama

Japan's best known Socialist, who has been traveling in the United States and will represent the workers of Japan at the international Socialist Congress in Amsterdam.

The Socialists of Japan and the War



HERE are many who look upon the present war between Russia and Japan as upon a play that is being acted before them for their amusement. "As long as fighting is going on the people will not think of those poor fighters as human beings, still less as their own brothers," says Joe Katayama, the Japanese Socialist, in the *Social Democratic Herald*. He continues:

"There is, however, one voice that sounds very forcibly against war. This voice is raised by Japanese Socialists against the present war with Russia. It is now very little cared of by the people, but we know that the voice we hear now rising will soon awake the Japanese working people and they will realize the very awfulness of the war, and they are the real and sole victims to the war, gaining nothing but loss of lives, sacrificing everything.

"It is a hard struggle for Japanese Socialists just now. People are crazy after the war news, they will not turn their ears to the voice of Socialists nor read much of their Socialist literature. But we are fighting against militarism as well as against capitalism. We have a full confidence in the victory for Socialism. Workers will, with the disappointing results of the war to them, realize the necessity of Socialism. As a result of the present war we shall have a strong Socialist party in Japan. This I can say with a greater certainty than anything else in regard to the present war."

The *Heimin Shimbum*, a Socialist paper published at Tokio, Japan, thinks the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam should take a stand against the war. It says:

"In order to make an appeal to the International Socialist Congress that is to be held in Amsterdam in August, Japanese Socialists have passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, The Russo-Japanese war is carried on by the capitalist governments of both nations and in consequence brings a great deal of suffering upon the working classes in Japan and Russia, therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Japanese Socialist Association ask the members of the International Socialist Congress that will be held in Amsterdam the coming August to pass a resolution to the effect that they will do their best to urge their respective governments to take proper steps to put an end to the Russo-Japanese war as soon as possible."

"By passing this resolution, we do not mean to ask our comrades in Europe and America to use some direct means to urge their respective governments to interfere with the war, but we believe our comrades can use their pens and tongues so as to make their influence felt indirectly. If the Congress in Amsterdam will pass a resolution condemning the war as a great crime against progress and humanity, it will not only make the attitude of Socialists plain before the world, but it will be a great help toward the settlement of the war.

"Let us hope that our comrades who will assemble in Amsterdam will pass a suitable resolution with reference to the Russo-Japanese war."

That it is no easy matter for our comrades in Japan to declare against the war, is shown by the following from the same paper:

"If any one thinks that there are not more than two hundred professed Socialists in Japan, he must think it strange that the government is rather nervous over our propaganda. Our paper was threatened with suppression and one of the editors is now in prison as our readers know. Persecution does not stop here; it was only about two weeks ago that the newspaper reporters were called to the Metropolitan Police Headquarters and informed of the attitude which the government has decided to take toward Socialists in this country. According to the reporters, the government will keep a strict watch over our anti-war movement and also over any statement that we make about our Imperial Household. We cannot foresee how stringent the governmental inquisition will be, but it can be easily seen that our government will soon learn as severe a lesson as the German or Austrian governments have learned."



Are we not fools to fight each other?

—L. Asino, Kom

The Army A Socialistic Institution?



THE change from our present wasteful, destructive system of industrial competition to a rational, kindly co-operation is not, I feel assured, many years distant; for all signs point to a closer community of interest, a wider brotherhood, than the world has ever known; and, although evolution is slow and gradual in its processes, the final transition from the lower to the higher form is always cataclysmic or revolutionary, though not, necessarily, violent."

The passage here quoted is taken from an article in the *Arcna*, for July. The article bears the title "A Socialism in Our Midst," and its author, W. E. P. French, is a captain of the United States army. This makes the article especially interesting. While it contains some utterances that will appear somewhat incongruous, Socialists will, no doubt, receive a good deal of satisfaction out of the fact that the co-operative commonwealth has such a sympathetic and able defender in the army.

Socialist agitators have sometimes referred to our public schools, our post office, and other public institutions as socialistic institutions. This has met with a great deal of criticism on the part of other Socialists. The arguments set forth against regarding these institutions in that light, may very properly be advanced against Captain French's contention that in our army we have "a practical, working model of a socialism on a small, but by no means minute, scale". However, the similarity which the army organization bears to a socialistic institution is brought out in a striking manner. Mr. French gives the following as his reasons for thinking that our industrial system is soon to undergo a change:

"That, as a nation, we are drifting rapidly into a plutocracy, if, indeed, the ship of state is not already at anchor in that foul harbor, hardly admits of a doubt. That there is a steadily augmenting current setting toward socialism in Australasia (most markedly in New Zealand), in Switzerland, in Germany, in England, in France and in the United States may hardly be denied. This current (on the surface at least) is not, as yet, so strong or so swift with us as it is with our neighbors over-sea; for, as a people, we are the most hide-bound conservatives on earth; but it has strength and swiftness enough to make us drag that anchor and, eventually, carry us into fairer waters. For, after all is said, we are Americans and not tolerant of oppression or injustice when once we have apprehended that it exists; and, though we have wandered somewhat far afield to bow down before the little gold disk called a dollar, in our hearts, I think, I hope, I believe, we still worship the goddess whose home is said to be at the bottom of a well; her of the scales, the sword and the blindfolded eyes, and her of liberty. And the people whose household gods are Truth, Justice and Liberty, will never, in the long run, be defrauded of their birthright."

"The whole world is full of object lessons of the comfort and common sense of co-operation as opposed to competition, and some day we will understand and apply them.

"There is enough for all, for, even under our present iniquitous mismanagement which gives far too much to the few and far too little to the many, nearly every man, woman and child of our seventy-odd millions manage to exist (to say nothing of the vast hoards of wealth uselessly withdrawn from the public purse by a handful of multi-million misers who can neither spend it nor take it with them to the other world of the rich man); and there would be plenty and to spare if our motto were: "From each according to ability, to each according to need"; for in a socialist community many of the factors that make for poverty in our present unjust economic conditions would disappear. Some of these factors are ruinous competition, over-production, the strike, the boycott and the lockout; the expenses of labor organizations, of boards of arbitration and of courts for the issuance of restraining injunctions; the unproductive class (idle capitalists, politicians, corporation counsel, bankers, brokers, insurance agents, landlords, franchise holders, middlemen, speculators, promoters, employes of the land and pension offices, the hangers on of the equity courts, patent medicine proprietors, advertisers, the vast clerical force whose sole duty, to-day, is the counting of and accounting for money, and the professional soldier and the huge army of tramps, dudes and idle spendthrifts."

Here is Mr. French's definition of Socialism:

"A socialism is a trust 'of the people, for the people and by the people'; a trust whose unwatered stock will be the brains and brawn of the whole people; a trust which will produce enough for ourselves and for a neighbor in trouble; a trust whose policy will be honesty, whose wages will be the normal earnings of the co-partnership of intelligence and industry, whose hours of toil will be the shortest compatible with doing the needful work for the community; a trust that will seek to rob neither employes nor consumers; a trust of open books and open

doors; a trust amenable to the laws of the land; a trust managed by men and women of the highest integrity, not by gamblers, promoters and wreckers; a trust not at the mercy of a clique of bankers and underwriters; a trust not affected by inflation, depreciation and liquidation; a trust unimpeded by 'undigested securities'; a trust backed by the credit of the nation; a trust without lobbies, bribery, corporate counsel or the corrupting influence of the stock market, and without oily saints, an-thracite angels, kings of high finance or million dollar presidents; a trust managed for the benefit of the public, not for either capital or labor; a trust 'with malice toward none, with charity for all'; a trust to ensure the greatest good to the greatest number; a trust that shall require 'from each according to ability,' and give "to each according to need"; a trust that will make for 'liberty, equality, fraternity'; a trust that will put wrong on the scaffold and right on the throne; a trust that will ensure to every child, woman and man, peace, plenty and play-time; and a trust that will make of this weary, toil-wrung, poverty-stricken old world a fit habitation for human beings too long cheated of their rightful heritage of hope, happiness and brotherhood."

"An alleged fear has been expressed that a socialism would have a deterrent effect upon 'initiative' and 'individual enterprise.'

"Well, what of it? They have had their turn, and they have surely paid themselves most generously for what they have done. Besides, these two expressions have come to have rather an unsavory meaning to thinking people, inasmuch as, in the final analysis, they stand for franchise grabbing, railroad wrecking, land grants, over-capitalized plants, syndicates, mergers, 'gentlemanly agreements,' get-rich-quickly schemes and (in two words) legalized theft. Real invention, discovery, reform, improvement, original ideas or anything in the nature of betterment would be encouraged and rewarded. The individual that gave most in splendid effort of heart and brain, and hand, would receive the plaudits and the prizes, not the greedy animal that took most—the sordid, selfish, soulless money-grubber and miser to whose 'success' we now bow our mammon-worshipping heads.

"By-the-by, the predatory ones among us, whether they be the booters of millions and respectable, or the lifters of 'unconsidered trifles' and disreputable, are not altogether blameworthy; they err through ignorance or vicious training; they are natural products of our blind and brutal system; and you or I, or indeed any of us except bishops, would look at a million very lovingly, and, if no one was looking, might take it home—and, if the matter did not escape our minds, advertise for the owner. We need protection against our impulses sometimes, and nobody is quite good enough to decide what constitutes a just and reasonable share or to be master of another's destiny. If for no other reasons than these two, a collectivist system analogous to the army-socialism would be a far better and more humanizing governing medium for society than our present method of 'catch as catch can,' 'every man for himself' and 'the devil take the hindmost,' for we should be led into but little temptation and delivered from much evil, were there well-defined limits to the amount of wealth we might roll in and to our power over the weak, helpless and needy."

Mr. French believes in evolution, "without prefixing an 'R' to it." His article closes with these words:

"It seems to me that the hour is at hand when all men and women that are not knaves, cowards, fools or sloths, should have the courage of their convictions and face the issues of our day and generation fairly, honestly, humanly, leaving policy, self-interest and fear of social or other consequences to take care of their pitiful selves."



Unionism and Socialism

Eugene V. Debs, our standard-bearer, is one of the busiest of comrades these days. Not only is he contributing to the columns of the Socialist press a great number of splendid articles, articles full of inspiration, but he has also found time to enrich our propaganda literature by writing a most serviceable little pamphlet, entitled "Unionism and Socialism." He calls it a plea for both, and a very eloquent and convincing plea it is. The pamphlet contains a short history of the labor movement. While the writer fully recognizes the achievements of the trade union, he does not fail to clearly set forth its limitations and defects. Debs is in favor of the "industrial" form of organization, as against the "autonomy" of each trade. He put the principle of "industrialism" in practice years ago, when he organized the American Railway Union. The lucid exposition of Socialism will, we hope, help make many Socialists, and the brilliant epigrams will, no doubt, please every reader of the pamphlet. The booklet deserves a wide circulation. It is published by the Standard Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Ind. The price is ten cents per copy.

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Spanish Farm Laborers Organize

According to *Socialista*, a Spanish Socialist paper, the number of political and trade organizations formed during the last year by the rural workers of Spain has been exceptionally large. In several provinces the growth of these organizations of farm laborers has been phenomenal. More and more it becomes clear to these proletarians of the soil that they have to regard their master simply as a bourgeois and exploiter, no matter whether he be a Monarchist or a Republican, a Carlist or a Conservative, a Liberal, a Democrat or a Radical. More and more they become conscious of the fact that their place is in the Socialist Party since all the other parties are defenders of the capitalist system. It seems that it is easier to educate the farm laborers, who so far have hardly been touched by any political movement, to Socialist thinking, than the industrial workers of the cities, who to a great extent are still possessed by anarchist ideas.

A Danish Socialist Manifesto

The Executive Board of the Socialist Party of Denmark convened on May 15 for its spring session. All those that took part in the discussions agreed that the situation as it now exists is very favorable for agitation. The manifesto issued by the Board devotes quite some space to the bill intended to revive corporal punishment. To protest against this bill the Socialists held on one day a large number of meetings throughout the country. All of them were well attended, the audience of the Copenhagen meeting numbering at least 4,000 persons. The bill did not pass. The manifesto sharply criticises the liberal cabinet and expresses the hope that the majority of voters will soon affiliate with the Socialist Party. It closes by saying:

"The hand to the plow! The time has arrived to draw the furrows over the field and heaths of Denmark. Let the people of the huts join the proletariat of the city tenements to form the last great levy *en masse* in the class struggle for freedom and equality for all."



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