

THE COMRADE

The Class War in Colorado

The importance of the events in progress in Colorado may for a time be concealed by the silence or falsehood of the capitalistic press, but those who understand the evolution of society through class conflict are responsible to keep all men informed of their paramourcy. The American people should know that it is neither to Chicago, St. Louis nor Washington they must look for the birth throes of the nation, but to Colorado. The political conventions and caucuses of tweedledum and tweedledee and the ensuing elections which shall be our newspaper stuff for 1904 are but fugitive and secondary happenings; but these events of Colorado are the roots of our future society.

The struggle between capital and labor is, of course, not localized to any state. To say that would be to say that progress is dead in all the other states of the Union. But here the putrid fever of commercialism is developing amidst congenial conditions. Here the student of sociology is presented with a perfect "case" in contemporary history, and from this bedside therefore the Socialist teacher should issue his bulletins hot and numerous until the struggle between life and death becomes more alarming or more significant in other parts of the country.

In the following resume of the case the reader will not fail to note how skillfully the old American fetish of state rights can be played off to maintain class despotism. The doctrine indeed remains as one of the ideals of the democrats; while the practice has proved one of the richest of the assets inherited by our political tricksters from the revolution. The "gentlemen" at Washington now play the game of federal and state rights with the gentlemen of the other capitols; both of them gallantly maintaining two things which the people love; and during this sham fight all the blows are most surely delivered on the organizations of labor to diminish the price of labor to increase profit. While reading this brutal and bloody page we should, however, take care to clear our minds of unnecessary bitterness and cant. The capitalist is not a particularly deep, dark or designing man; he is merely a profit monger. And if he is willing to shed blood in order to down the unions, it is only in the same way that he would shed the blood of a whole senate or assembly if either stood in the way of his profit. He must have profit and whatsoever stands in the way of that profit must be destroyed. It is not done in hot blood nor in cold blood. There is simply no blood in it. It is commercialism.

Hence the frank simplicity with which the lords of the situation there cry "To hell with the constitution," and declare themselves amenable to no authority but God and Governor Peabody—to God because they know his mouth is locked by the churchman's salary and to Peabody because his mouth is opened for profit only. It is therefore not a passion, this Colorado episode, but a process.

The class struggle is here in all its true preliminary stages. There is nothing lacking to

its healthful and evolutionary completeness but the political intelligence of to-day's victims; which, when it is awakened, will make them the victors of to-morrow.

If Socialist agitators would now forget for a season that they are men of a book and brace themselves to a propaganda for the coming campaign with this Colorado struggle for a living text, we would have the most fruitful campaign of our history. Here is a thread of current events upon which every doctrine of critical Socialism appears verified and crystallized. Here is a history of days as full of stimulation and direction to the right sort of revolutionary activity as any whole decade of history that has gone before. Let us be Colorado men in everything but their lack of class consciousness for the rest of the campaign.



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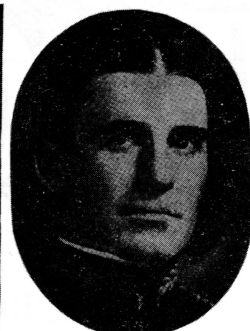
Charles H. Moyer
President Western Federation
of Miners



W. D. Haywood
Secretary Western Federation
of Miners



Theron Stevens
The District Judge who closed
his court



Sherman M. Bell
Commander of Colorado's Militia



James H. Peabody
Governor of Colorado

The History of the Strike

St. Louis *Labor* gives a short history of the events that lead to the present climax:

"For over seven years the Western Federation had been trying to secure the enactment of an eight-hour law for miners. Successive Legislatures, Democrat and Republican, were appealed to, and at length, after many rebuffs, the law was passed, only to be vetoed by the Governor. Again, by another Legislature, it was passed, and signed by the Governor; but on appeal to the Supreme Court by the mine owners, it was declared unconstitutional.

"Again the Legislature was appealed to, a constitutional amendment passes both houses, and on being voted on by the people of the State, was carried by more than 40,000 majority. But the hopes of the miners were dashed to the ground when the next session of the Legislature failed to pass the law, in response to the demand voiced by the popular vote.

"As a final resort, on the 3d of July, 1903, a strike was ordered to secure the eight-hour workday, which all their prayers to lawmakers had failed to achieve. Then began a campaign of persecution and outrage never before equalled in a civilized country. In spite of the protests of the Sheriff and other civil authorities, and without there having been the slightest violence, the State troops were sent into the strike district and martial law was declared.

"Hundreds of men have been arrested, forced to work in the chain gang, and finally deported from their homes without warrant of law, accused of no crime, and in defiance of the orders of the courts.

"The president of the Western Federation, Charles Moyer, has been imprisoned in a "bull pen" at Telluride since the 25th of March, under a plea of military necessity, although only sixteen soldiers remained in the camp.

"No outrages or crimes were committed by the miners.

"Governor Peabody, the tool of the mine owners and smelter millionaires, could not help withdrawing the militia from the mining camps, because everything was quiet. The capitalist anarchists, organized as Citizens' Alliance under David M. Parry's banner of lawlessness, were not pleased with the prospects. Public sympathy was with the miners. The Citizens' Alliance wanted some kind of a crime in order to create prejudice, incite the people against the union miners, and, above all, get the State militia back into the mining regions and have martial law declared all over the district.

"The crime of Independence came. Thirteen miners were killed by a dynamite explosion at the little railroad station. The Citizens' Alliance anarchists had gained their point. Within a few hours after the explosion the militia was again at work, arresting union men, throwing them into the bull pens, shooting at innocent men, killing union miners and their sympathizers. Once more the capitalist rowdies of the Citizens' Alliance proclaimed their mob law, plundered and destroyed the union labor halls, the co-operative stores of the Western Federation of Miners, compelled all the public officials in sympathy with the unions to resign, and appointed capitalist corporation tools in place of the duly and lawfully elected officials."

That this statement is not an exaggeration is shown by the account of "The Reign of Lawlessness, Anarchy and Despotism in Colorado," as given by Ray Stannard Baker in the May issue of *McClure's Magazine*. The article of Mr. Baker, who is not at all a Socialist, establishes beyond doubt the fact that all kinds of atrocities have been committed by the ruling class of Colorado and by their tools, the Governor and its underlings. Additional evidence is to be found in William English Walling's article on "The Great Cripple Creek Strike," which appeared in the March issue of *The Independent*.

The Capitalist Press



THE capitalist press may be said to be divided into two camps in their opinion about the stirring events that have taken place in Colorado. In the one camp are to be found those papers who favor the course pursued by Governor Peabody and his Rough Rider Bell. These so-called organs of public opinion make no secret of their hatred of the organized workers. They desire to make the world believe that the workers alone are to blame for the treatment they have received at the hands of the Colorado government and its auxiliary, the Citizens' Alliance. And they furthermore claim that the miners have received what they deserved. The Boston *Transcript*, for instance, thinks that Governor Peabody's course was the wisest under the circumstances. The *Evening Sun*, New York, tries to show that the infamous deeds of the Colorado militia and of the Citizens' Alliance were necessary to uphold the constitution—that same constitution regarding which General Bell uttered the pious wish: "To hell with it." And the *Brooklyn Eagle* calls upon Labor to throw off what it deigns to call "the tyranny of the labor union." It appeals to Labor in this fashion:

"Fellow Americans, what do you think of the situation in Colorado? If any one had told you twenty years ago that an American citizen could pursue his honest employ only at the hourly risk of his life, how would you have regarded the proposition? One hundred and thirty years have passed since the home government (we being then a colony) laid a tax on tea. It was not an exhaustive or prohibitive tax, but the land rose against it and swept the forces of that government. Yet it was an honest and not very oppressive government; it was merely mistaken. Now we have a heavier tyranny to confront than was ever laid upon any nation in the history of the civilized world, and we feel it here, in our homes; we see the tokens of it on our streets; we read it between the lines of legislative measures, and—what is worse—we find it influencing conduct in the White House. This is the tyranny of the labor union, so-called—not a labor union in fact, but a union only of those wage-earners as have been willing to sink their own identity, their own liberties for what they conceived to be the benefit of the mass, but which has proved thus far to be for the benefit of the professional agitator, the walking delegate, the grafter, and the revolutionist.

"To the manhood of labor it is time to appeal. Shelter and advance these parasites and oppressors no longer. Wake, and see the truth. You are betrayed; you are led into a fool's paradise; you are made party to outrage and crime. Can you afford this? Have you forgotten that, although you are miners, bricklayers, street pavers, you are citizens and men? Do you conceive that an industrial system based on the rule of the irresponsible and directed against thrift, intelligence, enterprise, and honesty can survive? Do you imagine that political conditions which arise from the rule of the worst can belong to your gain in safety, liberty, or even peace? Do you not see that you are falling into a state more abject than labor has ever known in this land; that you are estranging friendship; that violence and the boycott are reactionary; that the law you seek for the class—your limited class of the unionized—will be overthrown by the mass? You promise heaven in your Socialistic platforms. With your hands you are paving the road to hell. Twenty-two victims to union tyranny lie dead in Colorado. Only eight were killed at Lexington. From the killing in that Massachusetts village we date the rise of a nation founded upon human liberty. We shall cement no meaner structure with the blood of the martyrs in Colorado."

But the majority of capitalist papers do not speak out as plain as do these ultras. While at heart they are as much in favor of a subdued working class, and while they use every opportunity to slander

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Miners who were thrown into the Bull Pen and afterwards deported.—Photos taken at Military Headquarters

them, yet they don't wish to have the mask pulled off the hideous face of capitalism. They counsel moderation. They try to keep up an appearance of impartiality and fairness, so as to deceive those of their readers who belong to the working class. They are all perfectly convinced that the dynamite explosion at Independence was the work of the union miners. They never tire of saying that the miners have committed all kinds of horrible outrages, when long ago it has been proven that all such outrages have been instigated and committed by the Citizens' Alliance and the Mine Owners' Association. But they also say something in criticism of these organizations. Those papers which simply want to appear impartial are very mild in their criticism. Others, for good reasons, are very radical and severe in their utterances of condemnation. They feel and fear that the occurrences in Colorado will make a bad impression upon the public, and for that reason alone, and for no other, they regard the action of the capitalist powers of Colorado as unwise, and call them lawless. What is especially to the dislike of these papers is the glaring fact, not that the government of Colorado has defended the interests of the propertied class, but that it has done this so openly and brutally as to destroy in the minds of many the cherished idea of a government that stands above all classes. This may be seen from the last passage of the following quotation from the *Washington Post*:

"The unprejudiced students of the situation can not evade the conviction that both the miners and the State authorities have been woefully in the wrong. While direct evidence has not been obtained, it is the general conviction that members of the miners' union have been directly responsible for the blowing up of certain mining properties, the assassination of mine managers who were opposed to the union, and the brutal maltreatment of non-union workmen who have accepted employment in the mines.

"On the other hand, the action of Governor Peabody and the officers of the Colorado militia has been outrageous. Miners have been thrown into military 'bull pens,' denied the right of trial, chained to telegraph poles, and ordered out of the State without due legal process. . . . If the miners used bludgeons and dynamite, the militia, under the direction of the mine owners, have defied the law and overridden the institutions of free government until all branches of the State's government have been brought into contempt and disgrace. No effort can be made to entertain sympathy for the striking miners, if it be shown that they are in any measure responsible for the dynamite outrage at Victor, yet a share of the blood must necessarily stain the hands of the State officials whose lawless excesses have provoked the resort to violence.

"Colorado has furnished the most disgraceful chapter in the history of government. She can only redeem herself by civic assertion that will cast out the officials responsible for such conditions, and the election of men to official positions, executive and judicial, who will punish violators of the law, be they millionaire owners of mines or the humble workers therein."

Similarly the *Milwaukee Daily News* remarks:

"A state of anarchy exists. Outrage invites outrage. For the conditions that exist in Colorado, the responsibility cannot be charged entirely to the mine owners or to the union miners. Both have sought to gain their ends by coercion, intimidation and outrage, but the existing condition of affairs may be traced as much as to any one source to the course that has been pursued by Gov. Peabody and the State authorities. Instead of using the power of the State to preserve order and maintain justice, the Governor and his associates have been partisans of the mine owners. What Colorado needs is a return to reason and republican government, with justice administered impartially."

Some of the Democratic papers strike a very radical attitude. Since the Governor of Colorado is a Republican, they see some advantage in denouncing him and the Legislature. The Durango, Colo., *Democrat*, for instance, says:

"This entire industrial trouble in Colorado is due to a wanton disregard of the Constitution by the State's Executive and the Legislature. Obedience to the expressed will of the people as to the eight-hour day, in mill and smelter, would have prevented all discord with the possible exception of some friction in the adjustment of the wage-scale for the period of employment. It seems revolutionary that an executive would lend his authority and exercise it in favoring the wealthy as against the wage-earners, farmers, and all the wealth-creators in this State, yet such is the course Peabody pursues, and the course that those who claim to be fairminded indorse."

An exceptional position is occupied by the *Detroit Times*, an independent paper, that takes this view of the situation:

"If the conditions in all or half of the states of the American union were the same as those in Colorado, there would be a revolution in progress in this country to-day.

"Yet it will be a matter of only a little while—possibly twenty years, perhaps less, if existing forces be permitted to work out their ultimate end—until the conditions in all of the states will be the same as those that exist in Colorado now.

"The development of economic forces has simply been a little more rapid in Colorado than it has elsewhere.

"Colorado has stepped out of the ranks as it were, and being a step or two ahead of her sister states, those who are following her are given an excellent opportunity to see what is in store for them, provided they continue to march in the same direction.

"For there can be no doubt whatever that if we continue to go on as we are going, soldiers will soon be ranged before the working class everywhere, and there will be armed revolution—just as there would probably be armed revolution in Colorado to-day if all of the workingmen in the State were being oppressed by their masters as the miners are being oppressed.

"This is true for several reasons, some of which follow:

"Like forces, operating under like conditions, always produce like results.

"The conditions that exist in Colorado in an advanced state of development, are the conditions that exist everywhere else in a less advanced state of development.

"The capitalists of Colorado are not different from the capitalists of any other States.

"In a business way, their hopes, ideals and aspirations may be rolled into the one word—profits.

"To get these profits, other men must be induced to labor, and the great art of business management in Colorado is the same as it is everywhere else—to get the greatest amount of labor for the smallest expenditure of money.

"On the other hand, the laborers of Colorado are not different from the laborers of any other state.

"Labor is organized in Colorado—as it is in every other state—for this one, great, all-pervading purpose—to get the greatest amount of money for the least expenditure of labor.

"And out of these conflicting purposes—the purpose of the capitalists to get the most labor for the least money, and the purpose of the laborers to get the most money for the least labor—has come the bitterness, the hatred and the instinct of murder that found expression on one side in the blowing up of a train by one or more unknown individuals in no sense the agents of organized labor, and on the other side in the forcing of duly elected public officials to resign on pain of death.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS



THE Socialist papers, without exception, are of the opinion that the explosion at Independence, far from being the work of the union miners, is to be laid at the door of the Citizens' Alliance. Says *The Worker*:

"When, by the peaceful but indomitable resistance of the organized miners, the proprietors have been brought to the point of agreeing to a settlement of the strike, when it was the obvious and admitted interest of the miners to welcome such a settlement, a horrible dynamite murder has been committed, under circumstances which point the finger of suspicion directly at the same Citizens' Alliance of property holders and profit-grinders that had avowedly committed a thousand other lawless acts."

And the *Los Angeles Socialist* remarks:

"Of course the enemies of labor everywhere lay it at once at the door of the Western Federation of Miners, and even charge it up to organized labor as a whole. In their anxiety to discredit organized labor, and especially one of the most progressive unions, the Western Federation of Miners, they overreach themselves. Their haste gives them away. Wait till the actual criminals are found and legally convicted? Not much! It is too good a club in their hands against the Miners' Union. So vengeance is at once to be wrecked on the whole body of miners."

"Who did this thing? Or, better, who instigated it? What could have been the motive? The Miners' Union had everything to lose and nothing to gain by such a deed. But the Citizens' Alliance had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the act. First the presumption would be against the union, and the Citizens' Alliance is desperate in its efforts to destroy a Socialist union, and its past record proves that it is capable of desperate deeds."

"The capitalists of Colorado are besides themselves in their effort to destroy the W. F. of M., and it is more than probable that this deed was instigated by the 'upholders of law and order.' This is probably their last card of the game, and their hope is to drive the miners to resistance and then massacre them by the wholesale."

"The deliberate work of capitalism," says *The Eric People* regarding the explosion. It expresses its opinion in the following forceful manner:

"In the censored reports of the Associated Press from Colorado, may be read the last desperate effort of that criminal organization, the Citizens' Alliance, to rid the State completely of organized labor. The Cripple Creek district, which has been absolutely peaceful for months, or rather which has never been the scene of any disturbance during the present troubles, suddenly becomes the scene of a convenient 'explosion,' in which capitalism sacrifices a score of its dupes, instantly proclaims the guilt of the union men, and engages in a furious raid upon them with deportation as its object."

"Preservers of 'law and order,' with rope halters, pistols and other lynching apparatus, appear on the scene. The city officials, under pain of immediate death, are forced to resign, and being suspected of sympathy with union labor, are instantly thrown into the ever ready 'bull pen,' which has now seemingly become one of 'our institutions' in Colorado. Bell, the erstwhile denouncer of those whom he recognized, were using him as a dirty political tool, hurries his militia, armed to the teeth, to the scene. Martial law is proclaimed. Union men are systematically chased like wild beasts, rounded up and thrown into the prison stockade to await deportation. Train loads of them are sent to Denver under heavily armed guard, and the open boast is made that not a live union man will be left in the region. The discovery of a photograph of a 'scab' on the person of a union sympathizer is heralded as proof of the existence of half a dozen plots to murder. The last act in the reign of terror is being played. The Citizens' Alliance has shot its bolt. And the capitalist stage manager, Peabody, from St. Louis, wires his approval of the scoundrelly and murderous finale, so deliberately arranged."

"The Colorado exploiters reduced to desperation by the stubborn and judicious resistance of the miners, have shown that there is no crime on the calendar that will halt capitalism when its profits are menaced. The destruction of its own miserable dupes and tools as a pretext for a war of extermination on its opponents, gives it no concern. The end justifies the means."

"In spite of the apparently tremendous odds against them, the union men of Colorado still hold the winning cards, and know it. Only those whose hatred of unionism has worked them into a state of insane murder lust, or the most credulous simpletons, will for a moment entertain the idea sought to be promulgated, that this murder by dynamite is the work of the union men. Whoever holds this opinion does so in the face of all logic, reason or argument, and is rather fitted for a place in the home for the feeble-minded or the criminal insane. If the course of events in Colorado proves anything, the conclusion that this 'outrage' is the deliberate work of capitalism driven desperate, is unavoidable."

"Who is guilty of the mine explosion?" asks the *Seattle, Wash., Socialist*. And it answers: "Who but the Citizens' Alliance, alias the Mine Owners' Association, alias the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., alias John D. Rockefeller, alias the Standard Oil Co., alias CAPITAL?"

"Men do not do these things until hatred of each other has become chronic and bereft them of their reason."

"Yet class hatred exists all over the United States, and is becoming more intense with each passing year."

"The insistent demands of labor for a greater share of its product is maddening to men like Parry, and the fact that Parry was recently re-elected president of the National Association of Manufacturers, and given an expensive silver service, shows that whatever other capitalists may say of him in public, that deep down in their hearts, they share his hatred of labor and approve his methods of fighting the working class."

"So, year by year, the situation is developing, and if existing forces be permitted to continue to operate, there is no escape from the conclusion that the time will soon come when capital and labor everywhere in this country will be as bitter toward each other as they now are in the most troubled districts of Colorado."

"What will happen then? Turn your eyes toward the Rockies. The capitalists of Colorado have the State militia at their beck and call—they are even paying the wages of the militiamen, who, therefore, become the private soldiers of private interests, though they are clad in the uniform of the State, and have the authority of the State behind them."

"The capitalists of Colorado are throwing nooses over the necks of regularly elected public officers in whom the people still have confidence, compelling them to resign under pain of death, and filling their places with capitalists in whom the people have no confidence."

"The capitalists of Colorado are hunting down union miners with their hired soldiers, loading them on trains with orders never to come back, for no other reason in the world than that they belong to a labor union that has tried to enforce the eight-hour law for which the people of the State voted by an overwhelming majority."

"The capitalists of Colorado are declaring that no union miner shall be permitted to live in the State; and the union miners are arming themselves—some of them are, at any rate—and declaring that they will resist to the death any effort to deport them."

"And the union miners are doing one other very important thing—important because it may teach them something they need to know—they are appealing to President Roosevelt to enforce that provision of the constitution of the United States which 'guarantees to every State a republican form of government'—a government in which free speech is allowed, and the people are permitted to elect such officers as the law says they may elect, and to have such officers remain in office for their allotted times, even if there be capitalists who would hang them if necessary to substitute their own tools."

"Two days ago, a message was sent to President Roosevelt asking him to take such steps as might be necessary to restore to hundreds of miners certain constitutional rights of which they have been deprived, and it is worth while to note, in passing, that President Roosevelt, neither by word nor deed, has given any indication that he even received the telegram."

"The rumblings of the revolution of 1776 were heard long before the first gun was fired."

"Years before Sumter fell, those who read the signs of the times knew that a rebellion was coming."

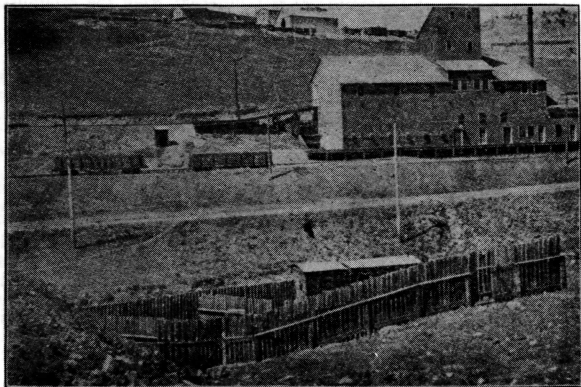
"Colorado is one of the many danger signals that should warn us of trouble that will surely come, if we continue to maintain the conditions that cannot fail to produce trouble."

"But no prospective trouble that is the logical and inevitable result of an existing cause can be averted unless the CAUSE be removed."

"In these days, it is the part of patriotic wisdom to look for the great cause that makes of our industrial field two armed camps; and having found the cause to cast a ballot that will tend to remove it."

"For this cause must be removed either by the ballot or by the bullet; not that the bullet will ever be deliberately chosen by either side, but for the reason that if the ballot be unused, the time will come when heated tempers will furnish the spark to speed the bullet."

"The ballot is the better way. By its intelligent use, try to save yourself, or those who are to come after you, the horrors of a frightful war."



Bull Pen

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Continuing, it says:

"What do a few killed workmen matter? They took good care not a single capitalist was blown up. They blow workmen up every month or two in some ill-ventilated mine. There are plenty more! They kill them by thousands in the wars for markets.

"Turn on the light! Let it be seen who is really guilty of these unspeakable crimes!"

The preponderance of evidence, thinks the *Utah Crisis*, is against the Citizens' Alliance and the Mine Owners' Association:

"The Mine Owners' Association, finding themselves confronted with an organized resistance on the part of the miners, have followed up their first unlawful action by bribing and corrupting the State government and going so far as to put up the money to hire the State militia to be employed in coercing and intimidating the striking miners, and all who sympathized with them. It is well known that the most inhuman and atrocious acts have been committed by these military thugs, all, however, to no avail, as the miners are as strong in their resistance to-day as ever.

"Failing to break the spirit of the strikers and force them back to work, baser and more dastardly measures still have been resorted to by the opposition. Attempts from time to time to commit crime of various sorts have been made by unknown individuals, and, of course, suspicion has been directed toward the strikers, who have been immediately arrested and placed on trial. In every instance, however, they have been acquitted. On the other hand, one Charles H. McKinney has sworn on the witness-stand that for \$250 he had endeavored to wreck a train and kill more than 100 people, against whom he did not have the slightest grievance. Yet this man has been allowed to go free, District Attorney Trowbridge having entered a nolle prosequi in his case."

This man McKinney also made a confession, according to which he was to receive \$1,000 for signing a statement which implicated two union miners as having made an attempt at train wrecking.

The *People's Paper*, St. Barbara, Cal., is not to be hoodwinked. It says:

"For months outrages have been perpetrated upon the union miners, but the outside world has known little about them, the newspapers preserving the same silence concerning the struggle they are wont to do whenever silence best serves the masters of bread. Now, however, after the diabolical murder of non-unionists has occurred, and the attempt is being made to fasten the guilt upon unionists, these same papers are filled with scare head reports. This dodge is an old one with the capitalists. In every prolonged strike something of this nature, though never before with such loss of life, occurs, and it is generally traceable to the capitalists themselves and their desire to gain the sympathy of the public.

"Regularly elected city and county officials who refuse to be parties to the inhuman treatment of unionists, are being threatened into resigning, and Alliance members appointed in their places. Every means, fair and foul, is being taken to fasten the guilt of the murder of non-unionists upon the unions, and for fear that evidence to the contrary may appear every union man is to be deported.

"It is not the lives that were lost that is hurting the feelings of the mine owners and the Alliance. The lives of workmen, union and non-union alike, are to them nothing. Hundreds of lives are uselessly sacrificed every year in the poorly ventilated mines, and these deaths cause less worry on the part of the mine owners than the loss of their mules; and everybody who knows anything of the heartless methods of soulless corporations knows this to be true."

The *Cleveland Citizen* is no less outspoken, as will be seen from the following:

"The brazen disregard for laws, constitutions and the overwhelming opinion of the people expressed at the ballot-box, on the part of the Mine Owners' Association and the so-called Citizens' Alliance, is responsible for the dynamiting, rioting and bloodshed in Colorado; and every attempt of these organized rebels to foist their crimes upon the miners' union will prove abortive despite the subtle assistance of the Associated Press, and the voluntary aid of Peabody and his underlings.

"Before the daily newspapers attempt to throw the blame for the Independence dynamiting upon union men let them print the facts, which they suppressed, that the explosions at the Sun and Moon mine, the Vindicator mine and the attempted wrecking of the F. & C. C. train—which crimes were also laid at the doors of the miners, who were bullied by the militia, thrown into 'bull pens' or deported from their homes—were proven in the courts as being the work of the imported thugs of the mine owners!

"What right have the agents of a merciless plutocracy to make serious charges against a vast body of organized men, when the mine owners of Victor and Cripple Creek deliberately suspend from office men who were elected by the votes of the people in those places, as is brazenly admitted in the dispatches, and thus strike a blow at the very foundation and life of our republican form of government!

"Again: In the wild orgie of crime the Colorado Supreme Court, maliciously or through fear, rules that the Governor has the right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus—a right that has never been surrendered since it was wrested from kingcraft at a terrible sacrifice of human life and treasure. And now comes Peabody, who has been crowned

Tzar in fact as well as theory, by that decision, and jubilates and gloats in mocking tones:

"This is the first time the Supreme Court ever sustained this idea, although it has been advanced any number of times. Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, all tried to suspend writs of habeas corpus on occasions during their administration, but their action never was sustained."

"So this miserable, pliant, debauched tool of drunken plutocracy, at one stroke, becomes a greater man than Lincoln, Jefferson or Jackson! At one stroke he becomes a monarch with absolute power and responsible to nobody. The Dred Scott decision and secession of Southern States were crises that fade from view before the ominous sounds that come from the West, and thinking men may well tremble for the safety of the country and republican principles.

"The daily press, which is always opposed to strikes, even where men and women and children are bravely battling for life and liberty, is welcome to the Colorado decision and its hero or Nero. They should be defended, and we wish them joy in their task!

"Meanwhile the organized workers of this country will stand together all the more solidly and use every honorable means to support their struggling Western brothers. If a great catastrophe does threaten it will be the organized forces of labor that will finally save the Republic from ruin and chaos."

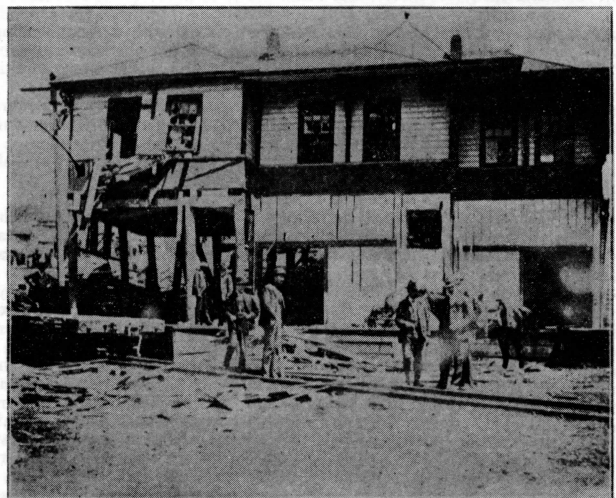
A few lives, more or less, mean nothing to the capitalists, thinks the *Saginaw, Mich., Exponent*. This trade union organ remarks:

"Taken in connection with the known acts of violence and conspiracy on the part of the Mine Owners' Association, it is the most likely thing in the world that they, and not the miners, are responsible for the explosion that killed their own employes. A few lives more or less will not deter them, if by such a fiendish crime they could accomplish their purpose of so incensing the public against the union that the total destruction of the organization would result."

A Pen Picture of W. D. Haywood

Ray Stannard Baker, in the article mentioned before, has given us a picture of Haywood, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners. Baker has this to say about Haywood:

"I place Haywood's name first; he is the man of force in the Federation. And a man who can rise to supremacy over such an organization must be endowed with not a few high qualities of leadership. Haywood is a powerfully built man, built with the physical strength of an ox. He has a big head and a square jaw. A leader is here judged by the very force of his impact. Risen from the mines himself, from the 'bowels of the earth,' as he describes it, this man has become a sort of religious zealot; and Socialism is his religion. He is a type of the man, not unfamiliar now in America, equipped with a good brain, who has come up struggling and fighting, giving blows and taking them, who, knowing deeply the wrongs of his own class, sees nothing beyond; whose mind, groping hopelessly for remedies, seizes eagerly upon a scheme like Socialism, which so smoothly and perfectly solves all difficulties. Take a character like this, hard, tough, warped, immensely resistant, and give him a final touch of idealism, a Jesuitic zeal that carries the man beyond himself, and you have a leader, who, like Haywood, will bend his people to his own belief."



Independence Depot, where the dynamite explosion took place



—Chicago Socialist

Anti-Liberty Bell

General Sherman Bell, the commander of the Colorado militia, was visited by a representative of *The Star*, Indianapolis, Ind., who describes this military despot in the following manner:

"One has only to talk with the leaders of the anti-union movement in Colorado mining camps to be struck with the lack of conservatism that prompts the movement. These men—and women—for "Polly Pry," in her magazine of this name, is just as bitter and tactless and sweeping in her denunciation of everything that pertains to organized labor as the most rabid Citizens' Alliance member—like to refer to the labor leaders in the old terms of agitators, Socialists, anarchists, and the like. "Yet there are few of the labor leaders that are as bold and loose in their statements as these other men.

"Take Adjutant General Bell, for instance. The *Star* correspondent interviewed him to-day. He is a young man with a face, bearing and speech that are so bold and daring as to give one the impression of tyranny. Utterly fearless and heartless, he seems yet a man who is following his honest convictions.

"The only thing General Bell had for the Telluride miners were oaths and condemnation. He sat at his desk in his rough soldier suit and cursed the miners for a good half hour.

"Have you any idea how long martial law will be enforced at Telluride?" he was asked.

"Leaving out the oaths the gist of his reply was this:

"The soldiers never will be taken out of here until we have rid the county of the cut-throats, murderers, Socialists, thieves, loafers, agitators, and the like who make up the membership of the Western Federation of Miners.

"We don't care what the Supreme Court, the newspapers or anybody or anything else does. The soldiers are going to stay there, regardless of court decisions, and if there is any more monkey business there is going to be some much-needed shooting.

"If we were to withdraw the trouble-brewers would cross the ridge and return as soon as the snow is gone. The mines are going to run, and any willing man, union or not, will be protected in his employment. There is not room in Colorado mining camps for these loafers. Either we are going to rule or they are. We can't go on as we have been doing. If they can kill us off, they will rule, but if necessary we will try our best to kill them off to maintain our authority."

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a question. 'It's here for a purpose, and I can use it, too. I don't know what might happen, and so I have it handy.'

The Citizens' Alliance

The purpose of the Citizens' Alliance is to resist the political encroachments of the Socialists, according to James C. Craig, President of the Citizens' Alliance of Denver. In *American Industries*, New York, he writes:

"Possibly more than 50 per cent. of the men who belong to the unions do so unwillingly, and are not in sympathy with the turbulent leaders who control the unions. The actual management of many of the unions is in the hands of agitators whose greatest purpose is to draw salaries or work some graft. Within the union they ride rough shod over the conservative members. The harvest time of an agitator is during a strike, and it is, therefore, his object always to have a fight on hand.

"A large percentage of the unions of Colorado are controlled by methods which are socialistic and anarchistic, although a majority of union men are neither Socialists nor anarchists. The Socialists and anarchists of the United States have selected Colorado as the best field in which to exploit their peculiar ideas politically, and funds have been gathered from all over the United States to promote the passage of eight-hour bills, employers' liability bills, the initiative and referendum, the single tax and other labor measures, and to capture the political machine generally. It has, therefore, been necessary that citizens' alliances should be formed in every considerable town throughout the State, and that these bodies act together in harmony to resist the political encroachments of the Socialists and anarchists. Otherwise the political offices will soon be filled by the dangerous element."

The *Durango Democrat*, Colorado, has this to say about the Citizens' Alliance:

"What are termed the level-headed in this or that community, have, through bunco or betrayal of confidence, been enlisted in the Citizens' Alliance, and seemingly under a leadership as rank, rotten, law-violating, and erratic as was ever credited to a labor leader."

Roosevelt will not interfere

One union miner sent the following letter to President Roosevelt:

"The United States is sending soldiers and navy to try and relieve a millionaire that has been kidnapped in Morocco, but here in the midst of the United States we are being kidnapped from our homes, and are you going to ignore us altogether?

"Will you stay mum in the matter and let us suffer until we are driven by persecution, and perhaps later on, if this continues, by starvation, to strike back in order to maintain our very existence?"

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President Roosevelt has not answered this letter. Others have appealed to him for intervention, but without avail. *The Worker* remarks in this connection:

"The *Evening Post* has stated approvingly that the administration at Washington will take no notice of the appeal, and has explained that Secretary Haywood of the Western Federation is 'persona non grata.'

"'Persona non grata'—not a pleasing person. Haywood is a Socialist. He has openly expressed his political opposition to the President and his policy. And that personal motive, in the judgment of one of the least contemptible of capitalist papers, is a just and sufficient reason for the President of the United States to refuse to act."

The Trade Unions and Colorado

While the majority of trade union papers are evidently not aware of the full meaning of the struggle which is carried on by the Colorado miners, there are some papers which understand its far-reaching importance. *The Bakers' Journal* is one of the knowing ones. It has this to say:

"Because the Western Federation of Miners has grasped the high ideals which form the basis of the grand historic mission of the international labor movement, because it has extended its field of action over the narrow margins adhered to by the greater number of trades union organizations and has undertaken to enlighten its members on the social conditions of the present day, this body of heroic fighters is destined by the capitalists and their armed forces, the militia, to bleed to death or die in want. If we do not wish to accuse ourselves of criminal guilt, by not giving the struggling miners all the help possible, there is naught for us to do but to participate in a grand demonstration in their favor and giving them such practical assistance in order to assist them in obtaining their rights.

"Let us not deceive ourselves as to the present situation. The storm, which is arising in the West over an organization of workers who are so valiantly and ably fighting for their rights, can at any moment spread itself over the labor movement of the land and explode with elementary force, if the capitalist class sees that we allow them to strike their first blow and stand by inactive.

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THE COMRADE



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THE COMRADE

ing storms of the reaction. Let us not stand idly by on the shore, looking while the solid rock of our brethren is torn to pieces by the combined enemy of progress. Let us join hands with our threatened brethren, let the hour come, when the organized workers of the land will have comprehended their common principle and are no longer idly looking on, when a number of their comrades become victims of the autocratic rule of capitalism, be it in the north, south, east or west."

The *Brewers' Journal* also asks that help be given to the workers of Colorado, saying:

"All the nefarious doings of the Citizens' Alliance are emanating from their hatred, their fear of the Socialistic tendencies permeating the membership of the W. F. M. and the A. L. U.; General Bell is willing to exempt the members of the A. F. of L. from persecution, yes only for the time being; but the working class must take warning; capitalism will not care for the particular banner under which organized labor will sail as soon as the owners of all wealth are being jeopardized in their master-superiority, they will rage, slaughter and hang by their hangmen and tools what may stand for the progressive militant tendencies in the labor movement. Workers, arise from your sleep; the Western Federation of Miners is fighting the vanguard battle of all organized labor; they should not run short of the sinews of war; they are going to win in the long run upon the strength of the principles they stand upon, for which they wage this combat, they will triumph ultimately in spite of all foes and adversaries. But all workers throughout this land are bound to help them."

St. Louis Labor addresses itself to the trade unionists in this way:

"What are you going to do about it? Answer, ye union men who have been looked upon and treated as mere voting cattle for years by the political parties of capitalism?

"You are responsible for the crimes in Colorado, because you have failed to do your duty politically. Instead of listening to the advice of the Socialists, instead of organizing your own Socialist party based on strictly working class interests and working class issues, you have done mercenary work for capitalism.

"Neither in the legislature of Colorado, nor in the legislature of any other state, nor in the United States Congress is the working class represented by a single man.

"Shall this forever remain so? Wake up, ye slaves!"

That the lessons of Colorado will surely open the eyes of some conservative trade unionists, may be seen from this quotation from the *Amalgamated Journal*, the organ of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers:

"It is becoming every day more apparent to the thinking workingman that the place to strike is at the ballot box. The trades union must take one more step before it establishes itself in a position that will enable it to cope with unscrupulous and unprincipled employers, who, in the name of vested rights, can use the strong arm of the government to aid and browbeat their employes into subjection. The workmen must become possessed of a political solidarity before they can command any consideration from those holding positions of political power. The Colorado outrage will surely hasten the day when the working people will come together and unite politically."

The attitude of the conservative labor leaders is criticised by the *N. Y. Volkzeitung* in these words:

"A great part of the moral responsibility for the infamous deeds in Colorado falls upon the so-called conservative labor leaders who, on account of weakness, ignorance and jealousy, or for motives still more base, have neglected to come to the rescue of those fighting toilers out there. . . . The brave fighters of a severe skirmish have been left without support. This is a crime, a treachery to the cause of the struggling proletariat."

The Worker draws attention to the fact that Mitchell goes to Europe, while Moyer is held in prison:

"While this great crime against the two organizations is being perpetrated, John Mitchell, the paid and responsible head of the United Mine Workers, is going to Europe 'for a much needed rest,' as we are told—AND HIS LAST WORDS IN PUBLIC BEFORE SAILING ARE WORDS OF APPROVAL FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WHICH IS THUS OUTRAGING HIS CLASS. As Mitchell goes off on his junket, Charles Moyer, the head of the Western Federation, lies in a prison cell, sick in body, but with unbroken spirit, still defiant toward the oppressors of his class and ready at the first opportunity to take up again the fight for the emancipation of Labor.

"Now it is not our duty, it is not our intention, to take sides in any controversy between the American Federation of Labor and the Western Federation of Miners or the American Labor Union. It is our duty and our wish, however, to point out the difference between their policies and the conduct of their officers, as illustrated in this contrast between Mitchell and Moyer.

"Is it any wonder that the despot of our American Siberia has paused long enough from his infamous work to take breath and announce to the world that he is at peace with the American Federation of Labor, that he has no fault to find with such unionism as Gompers and Mitchell represent, that it is only against the militant—the SOCIALISTIC—labor organizations of the West that he is waging his unholy war? And you workingmen of the East, do you think it is any credit to you that your organizations should deserve the praise of a Peabody



Henry Maki a striking miner of Telluride, Colorado, arrested because he was not working, though he had money in his pocket, condemned to the chain gang as a vagrant, and finally, because he refused to work in a sewer when ordered to do so, chained to the telegraph pole.

and a Bell? ARE YOU PROUD OF IT? Is it your wish, you of the rank and file, to have such men as these for friends and to become tacitly their allies against the workingmen of the Western mines?

"Or do you think that such a policy is safe for you, even though dishonorable? If they succeed in destroying the Western Federation, the most aggressive of American labor organizations, if they succeed in wiping out its local unions and hounding its active fighters to despair, do you not realize that YOUR TURN WILL COME NEXT? Do you think that the capitalists really love you or your organizations or even the most timid of your leaders? Do you not know that they approve you only for the moment and by contrast with the most progressive organizations of the Rockies? If Bell and his bosses succeed in Cripple Creek and Telluride and Trinidad, do you not see that their success will encourage the capitalists and their Republican and Democratic lackeys to venture on similar outrages in Massachusetts or New York or Pennsylvania or Illinois or wherever they may see their interest in attacking you?

"No, you are not proud of Peabody's praises. You do not mean to help in crushing the Colorado miners. But you are doing it, nevertheless. YOU ARE DOING IT BY YOUR SILENCE AND INACTION. You do not think. You do not take the trouble to think. Because the scene of this crime is two thousand miles away, and because the victims belong to another organization than yours, you lazily shrug your shoulders and say, 'It's too bad—but it's not our fight.'

The Lesson

Summing up the lessons taught by the Colorado class war, Victor L. Berger says, in the *Social Democratic Herald*, Milwaukee, Wis:

"There is only one salvation. The workingmen must soon seize the powers of government by political action and establish a safer social order in every state of the Union, including Colorado, or they will have to fight a mortal combat not only for their industrial freedom, but also their political liberty and their civic rights."

The Chicago Socialist is confident that the workers will understand the eloquent teaching of the outrageous rule of the Colorado capitalists:

"The working class in America must in the near future make up their minds to be the 'people' of this country or sink back into a slavery and serfdom worse than the feudal serfs. The one gleam of hope which appears on the dark horizon is the clear class conscious note that is being sounded by the Socialist Party. We are confident the workers will hear, will see and act in accord with the teachings of Socialism in the near future. The logic of industrial development and capitalist outrageous rule will speak so eloquently and so forcibly that even the dull-est cannot help but understand.

"In the meantime let every class conscious Socialist do his full duty in placing the Socialist message before the workers."

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The Worker, New York, points out that the occurrences in Colorado would have been thought impossible a few years ago. It says:

"If any one had ventured to predict, five years ago, that such outrages would be committed by the self-styled 'elements of law and order and respectability' anywhere in the United States as have been perpetrated of late in Colorado, he would have found none to listen to him. If he had added that, throughout the country at large, no voice but that of the Socialist Party would have been raised in protest, that Republicans and Democrats and Reformers alike, would acquiesce, that even the trade unions, with few exceptions, would look on for month after month in passive silence while every principle of constitutional liberty was being violated, every law of humanity and decency and fair-play trampled under foot, the very existence of the labor movement imperilled, and everything done to render a peaceful settlement of social problems impossible—if he had hinted at this, he would have been laughed at or hissed for his lack of faith in mankind.

"Yet all this has come to pass."

"Rally to the Red Standard" says Eugene V. Debs



THE crimes of the capitalists and their henchmen under the law and order administration of their executive utensil multiply so rapidly that it requires a swift pen to keep the record.

And the record must be kept to the minutest detail, for when the day of final accounting comes, as come it will as surely as the green earth rolls sunward, the capitalist class will settle by the books to the last cry of agony and the last groan of despair wrung from the misery of their crucified and exiled victims.

The midnight assault of the brutal soldiery upon Comrade Floaten—than whom a truer comrade does not live—the beastly insult to his pleading wife; the violent deportation of Guy Miller, President of the Telluride Union, and his comrades; the lashing of a union man to a telephone pole solely because of his being a union man; the jailing of inoffensive citizens, and the outrages upon defenceless females are all charged up in red letters in the book of remembrance.

Governor Peabody and his accessories will answer to the last line of the last indictment drawn by an awakening justice at the bar of an aroused working class.

The coming day of Judgment is slow, but it is sure.

And the memory of the working class is long—they do not forget.

At times the blood boils with indignation, but we must keep cool, keep calm—cool and calm and resolute.

The talk about armed attack by the unarmed worker is criminal folly—worse still, it is suicide.

The time may come for that, but it is not now.

That is the program of Peabody and his mercenary hirelings to incite attack that the blood of union men may flow like mountain streams.

Have you forgotten how the working class in Colorado voted but a few months ago?

Well, that is the way they will shoot to-day.

Should armed collision now ensue in consequence of excited councils, the brave and brainy union men would pay the forfeit with their lives, and the movement in the State would be crushed and paralyzed.

These are the days to preach the class struggle in Colorado.

Every day makes it clearer; every outrage confirms and emphasizes its commanding truth.

A solemn note of warning is sounded by *The Worker*. It recalls the Chicago Anarchist trial and its outcome:

"The next act of the tragedy, to all appearances, is to be a repetition, on a larger scale, and in even more shameful form, of the murderous travesty on justice presented at Chicago seventeen years ago. Packed juries and suborned judges will do their work of judicial murder in Colorado—if you, workmen of the East, will permit it."

In conclusion *The Worker* says:

"The working class would fain achieve its own emancipation without shedding one drop of blood. It is willing to wait and work, to suffer much, to forgive much, to forget much. But the masters will not have it so. If they have their way, nothing but violence can ensue, crime and reprisal, outrage and revenge.

"There is still time. BUT THERE IS NO TIME TO SPARE. A united and energetic movement of the workers of the whole country, now, without delay, is the only thing that can give us peaceful progress in the future, instead of progress or reaction through civil war."

The real danger comes with the cry to "bury Peabody beneath an avalanche of votes."

The unthinking will rush from the frying pan into the fire.

In their eagerness to bury Peabody they will forget Peabodyism.

To bury Peabody will be time wasted if capitalism, of which he is but the spawn, is overlooked.

The Democratic party will freely proffer its services in the burying of Peabody, and passionately proclaim its sympathy and friendship.

Trust it no more than you would the Republican party.

The only difference from the workingman's point of view is that one is run in the interest of a small number of large exploiters and the other in the interest of a large number of small exploiters.

They are both against the working class.

The Republican Peabody will be duplicated, if the workers so will it at the polls, by a Democratic Nobody. The capitalist class will rule as before, and bull pens will do business at the old stands.

The Socialist party is the party to support, the working class party, the deadly and uncompromising foe of capitalism and wage slavery.

Arouse, ye workmen!

Open your eyes and see the class struggle!

Join and support the only party that stands squarely upon the class struggle as the basis of its revolutionary character.

The Republican, Democratic and Populist parties are all capitalist parties, all for wage slavery, all against the working class.

Mother Jones in exile, Charles Moyer, your brave leader, in jail!

Have you a drop of red blood in your veins?

Has your manhood rotted into cowardice?

Wake up and take your place in the class struggle!

For the desecration of the flag your leader is in jail.

What flag? The flag of the capitalist class—the flag that floats above the bull pens of Colorado.

The wholesome truths he stamped upon its stripes are your shame and your masters' crime.

Rally to the red standard of International Socialism, the symbol of proletarian revolt and the workers of Colorado, and all the world shall yet be free.

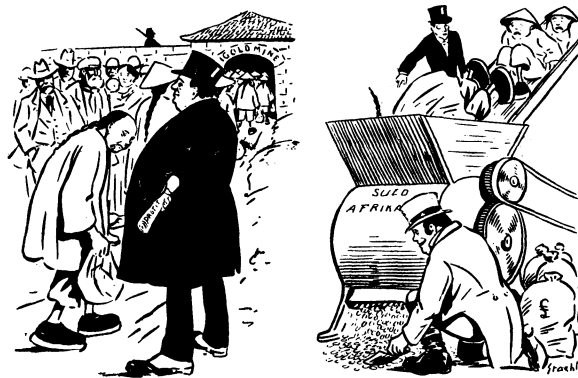
Coolie Labor in South Africa

A correspondent of London *Justice* writes that numerous meetings have been held up and down Cape Colony, to protest against the introduction of Chinese labor in the colony. The Socialists claim that the conditions under which these Chinese coolies are to be worked, are worse than those of chattel slavery. Says the London *Labor Leader*:

"The Rand mine owners will be able to virtually own the laborers for three years, without the corresponding necessity which fell upon the slave-owners, of properly feeding, housing, and educating their slaves in order that their 'property' might not depreciate in case of their wanting at any time to sell it; while they get the advantage of competition in fixing the price of wages among the great coolie population of certain crowded parts of China without the corresponding obligations forced upon them in countries like England, where 'free' labor obtains, of providing for the maintenance of those who would otherwise be in danger of dying by disease or starvation. In the mines of South Africa, so soon as the 'animated implement' falls too ill to be able to work again, or for any other cause ceases to be physically or mentally efficient, the 'importer' has only to return him at a cost of a few pounds to his own country, to be forever free of any obligation in respect to him.

It is perhaps the greatest condemnation of capitalism in South Africa or elsewhere, that the introduction of laborers under the conditions of the Labor Ordinance is loudly asserted to be necessary to its very existence. It is not for Socialists to deny the truth of a statement so damaging to the character of the interests concerned, but to draw promi-

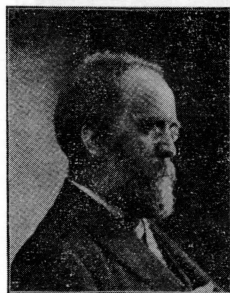
nent attention to the nature of the conditions and their bearing upon the far more essential claims of humanity."



Coolie Labor means good profits.—Der Wahre Jacob

The Walt Whitman Fellowship

By Peter E. Burrowes



The Walt Whitman Fellowship blossoms, as most fellowships do nowadays, in an annual dinner. And I suppose while the world remains so that feelings of gratitude and good will are in order over the landing of a dinner, it is well to eat a triumphant dinner over dear old Whitman, so that in that hour of success we may, without anxiety, turn the human end of us good naturedly to the poet of the other man, whom we have so long and so persistently mis- admired as the poet of himself.

On the 31st of May, a day sweetly fit—the maturity day of the month of promise—the birthday of the poet and prophet of promise, was celebrated at the Brevoort House, New York. And the assembly itself was an assembly full of promise for that philosophy of the inclusive life which Whitman stands for. In experience, attainment, perception and culture, it was an assembly of many octaves which had found their common key in Whitman the young, and Whitman the old. The strenuous ones exulting in him as the poet of the salient and vigorous; the gentler loving him as the poet of the extended hand, and encircling arm; the matter of facters, may their numbers multiply, admiring him for the firm strokes of his great verses, by which he struck into things as they are, leaving pictures more like stone carvings than written memories. The mystics also were there, those honey bees, who know within what petals lies the immortal nectar, and who therefore love Whitman young and Whitman old.

Every year come new faces from new places, and from more diverse points of view, seeking for fellowship in Whitman: The genial Boston physician, the Cambridge professor, the New York jeweller-nurse-father of the poet's failing years; the old slave catcher, the venerable lady abolitionist, the New York dentist, most facetious of story tellers; the poetess of love, unrest and socialism; the oratoress of contradiction and anarchy. The eloquent apostle of the will to love; the millionaire editor of poverty's magazine, and all the delightful remainder of them. But for a time it was too sober for that dear, gentle giant, Ernest Crosby, and so he, when his talk came, began to chop jokes with a very blunt hatchet and a choppy voice, which expressed rather the physical than the mental Crosby, and therefore failed to do him justice. "Was it a prayer meeting?" queried he, "or a wake? I had thought it was the first until the piano trundled in, then thought I it must be a wake, and this must be the coffin."

But if it were a coffin, what a sweet and thrilling resurrection arose from it, when touched by Mrs. Herron, whose playing was one of the memorable things of this year's fellowship meeting.

Can you tell me why it is that in the searching moments of our lives we do not laugh together? Can you tell why in those moments we do not cry together? Are not our smiles and tears expended on the things we know? And as yet how little we know together. It is I who laugh, and it is I who weep, and when I am touching that holy of holies where the mystery of the transfusion is taking place between me and the common life, between the common life and me, I cannot laugh, for I am not yet found, I cannot cry for I am not yet lost.

G. D. Herron, vibrant and most inspiring, placed his laureling of high words on the memory of our poet. Elsa Barker, winsome and wise, unfolded the Oriental philosophy and showed from thence the kinship of Whitman with Eastern seers, even to that which she felicitously called the copyright mark of the Oriental, the egotism of Whitman. The naive and peerless way in which they declared their own poems to be the most superb and peerless, together with something more. Closing with an eloquent paper of Mrs. Von Ende, comparing the formless lines of Whitman with the authoritative and defined formlessness of the German poet Arno Holz, an afternoon not to be forgotten, led the way to dinner.

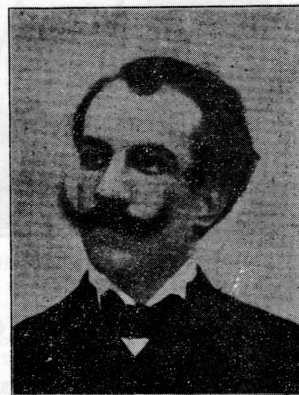
Perhaps I ought not to omit mention of that walking stick of Whitman's which was such a disappointment to me when handed around. I think you should have given us a walking stick that Whitman would walk on gentlemen! A thick stick with knobs, and a crook to it. This pretty, polished silver ringed thing, away with it. No man of his dimensions and febleness would dare to lean on that.

But the dinner! There we had more oratory. One man with a voice that must have been cultivated among the stone crushers of Maine or the coal elevators of Pennsylvania, pleaded for gentleness and the harmonious life. Another, in accents soft as distilled flutes, pleaded with

us for more tenderness and commiseration toward the roaring, rampant millionaires. Wentworth compared our age with the poor little dog which, traveling by freight, had inadvertently swallowed its tag, and no railway porter therefore knew its whence, its why or its whither. Weiss wisely and well pleaded for the scientific personal physical life. Noyes, in his scholarly and sequent way, made for order and purpose, and John Spargo, pleading for the greater law, almost lawlessly eloquent, glorified the reign of right law. In a word, we were well fed in body and mind. It was a great concert of spirits. Long may the fellowship live to build this annual ark and call us all together.

The Socialist Movement in Argentine Republic

The first Socialist Legislator of South America has been elected in Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic. The name of the successful candidate is Alfredo Palacios. He represents the densely populated quarter La Boca, of the Argentine capital. It was especially the vote of the dockers and langshoremen that helped to elect him. Altogether the Socialists had put up ten candidates, all of whom received a good vote, a result of the new election law, which the Socialists had forced the government to pass. The first Socialist branch at Buenos Ayres was founded January 1, 1882, by German Socialists, and baptized as "Centre Vorwaerts," with a membership of thirteen pledged to the principles of Socialism as represented by the German Social Democracy.



Alfredo Palacios

The "Centre" developed, and in 1885 it owned its organ *Vorwaerts*, a co-operative bakery, and had launched its manifesto to the workmen in the Spanish language, at its first meeting held on the first day of May, 1890, to an audience of 3,000 citizens.

In June, 1890, all the groups then in existence, were federated. In the following December a Spanish paper, *El Obrero*, was started. In August, 1891, the first national congress was held, at which the trades of the carpenters, cabinet makers, typographers and bakers were represented.

In 1894 appeared *La Vanguardia*, national organ of the Socialist party in Argentine. The same year a French and Italian Socialist paper were established. Since then Socialism has made good progress in the Argentine Republic. At the congress held in 1903, thirty branches were represented.

Conscription for England

The Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers has rendered a report in which it favors conscription. As is to be expected, the Socialists of England do not feel like endorsing such a move. *The Clarion*, for instance, says:

"This is not a time of panic. The army problem is supposed to have been comfortably solved; we have just concluded a friendly agreement with France; yet this Commission goes out of its way to enforce the necessity of conscription—a year's compulsory service for all men twenty years of age. It is a splendid method of feeling the pulse of the country. Seven years ago, no one dare openly propose conscription; and even to-day, as the *Times* says, 'We are not yet, as a people, so familiarized with the idea of compulsory service as to be ready to accept it offhand in the extreme form of a one year's conscription.' We are not yet familiarized—no, but this discussion will familiarize us. The plan has been carefully prepared. The Volunteers have been discouraged, and the militia have been neglected. There is a shortage in both arms. Something must be done. Our experience of John Smith's apathy under the slings and arrows of this outrageous Tory-Imperialistic, Dividend-Hunting, Vested-Interest-Protecting Government does not lead us to hope that he will be roused to stubborn resistance against this new and worst danger to his freedom."

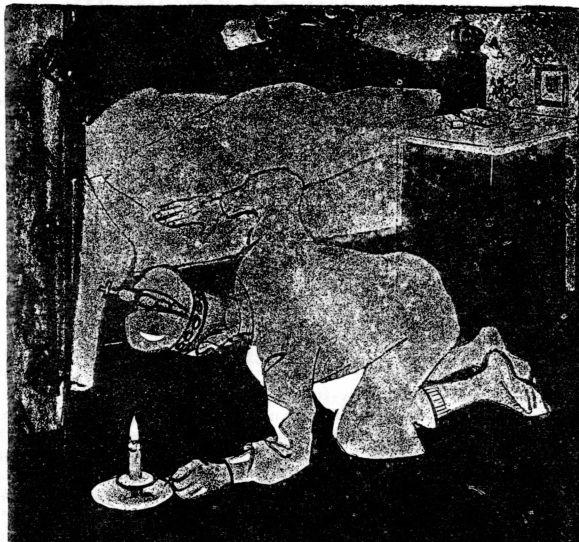
And the *Labour Leader* expresses its opinion in these words:

"Were conscription necessary for the safety of home defence there would be no objection to its adoption. But, as Socialists, we do object to conscription for the defence of a country owned by others, and for imperial brigandage for the enrichment of capitalists."

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The Colossus with feet of clay
—Simplicissimus



Ja-Panic at the Czar's Palace
—Simplicissimus

In the Land of the Czar.—The War, the Crisis and the Revolution

By William Edlin



"HALL we meet again?"

"Ah, yes! We shall meet in Petersburg, at the triumph of the Russian Revolution."

Thus once spoke a woman revolutionist, Natalia Armfeld, to a fellow comrade, Leo Deutsch, whom she met on the icy plains of far-away Siberia, and from whom she was at the moment taking leave. While the prophecy as to the coming revolution seems now nearing realization, the lips

which uttered it are now sealed forever. Natalia Armfeld, sentenced in 1879 to fourteen years and ten months' penal servitude, died at Kara in 1887.

The above incident is narrated in the recently published "experiences" of Leo Deutsch, under the title, "Sixteen Years in Siberia," and it gives only a glimpse of the ardour with which the revolutionary Russian, regardless of sex and race, are animated in their struggle for political freedom.

One must be thoroughly blind to fail to see that the prophesied Russian revolution is nearer the gates of Peterhoff than the Tzar would perhaps be willing to admit. Those who love to read that part of French history which reveals to them the great social and political drama of 1789-1793, now have the opportunity of witnessing a repetition of that drama in the land of the bloody Tsars. The revolution in Russia has already begun. It is progressing. Together with their French brothers and sisters of 1789, the Russian people can sing "*Ca Ira*."

All the friends of the Russian Revolution must needs be thankful to Japan for the thorough manner in which it showed the Russian people the uselessness of their autocratic rulers. This is perhaps the only useful thing that will be accomplished by the present war. It is the only thing which, in the estimation of Socialists, justifies the wholesale butcheries on Manchurian soil. The Russo-Japanese war brings out most strikingly before the Russian people the folly of maintaining an impotent autocrat as head of one of the greatest nations on earth. It drives into the heads of the common people facts which are bound to open their eyes and inflame them with the spirit of the Revolution. And that a thorough shaking up of the government in that semi-feudal and semi-capitalistic land would be of benefit, not only to the Russians, but also to the rest of the world, no sane person will deny.

Russia—sometimes called, and justly so, the "Empire of the Knout"—is at the present moment in the throes of an industrial crisis, partly brought on by the war directly, and partly the direct outcome of the economic conditions prevailing there. We in America know what an industrial crisis means. The year 1893 is still fresh in our memory. We think of it with a shudder. But the results of an industrial crisis in a free country can hardly be compared to the results of a similar condition in a country panting under the lash of cruel tyrants. Dispatches speak of hundreds of thousands of workmen thrown out of work. There is no reason to think that the contrary is true. Corroborations pour in from all sources. One dispatch speaks of the dread manifested by the rich men of Russia for the constantly swelling armies of the discontented unemployed. This fear has reached such an acute stage that

the Morozoffs, of Moskow, who are the most powerful capitalists in the empire, openly declared that rather than support the government in its war policy, they favor the spending of 10,000 rubles a day for the support of the unemployed of Moskow, and "thereby preventing them from joining the Socialist agitators." What a confession of fear for the spectre of the Revolution which the predecessors of Von Plehve thought to be dead and buried?

That the Revolution in Russia is very much alive is evident from the following passage of a letter to von Plehve, Minister of the Interior, written by one of his friends: "During the past twenty years the revolutionary movement, which seemed to be entirely crushed, has assumed enormous dimensions. Instead of a handful of fanatical and heroic young men, the stage is occupied by a hundred-headed hydra—by the masses of the people. *And every day the movement grows, surpassing all the dreams of the revolutionists.*" Yes, indeed, the movement grows and cannot even be retarded by any means the Russian government might choose to adopt against the revolutionists. Von Plehve cannot build prisons fast enough to hold all who gladly sacrifice themselves for the cause. It is too late! The Revolution has already crossed the threshold, and has reached the heart of the Russian empire.

No one who is acquainted with what has been taking place in Russia during the past five years will for a moment think that what we say about the advance of the Revolution is in the least exaggerated. Isolated and more or less "peaceful" until now, the Revolution in Russia is becoming more and more organized every day, and will soon inevitably become violent in form and bloody in result, unless the government will no longer continue to keep its eyes shut, and content itself with announcing now and then that "peace reigns in Warsaw." If ever a Revolution deserved to be heralded with joy by all the civilized nations of the earth, it is the Revolution of Russia. The people of that country crave for political freedom. Groaning for many generations under the yoke of a tyrannical nobility, plundered for many centuries by a race of degenerate aristocrats called Tsars, oppressed all the time by unprincipled governors, and burdened by heavy taxes, the Russian people never as much as tasted the freedom which most European peoples enjoy. No freedom of speech is allowed in the country which produced such minds as Turgenieff, Dostoyevsky, Chierinschewsky, Tolstoi and Gorky. The censorship existing there has sent many a noble soul to the gallows or to far-away Siberia, and is even now partly responsible for the crushing of the lives of thousands of intelligent young men and young women who dare to make the least attempt at free expression of thought and feeling. The most cruel form of despotism, the most despicable kind of tyranny, is stamped on everything in every part of that great and fertile country. No wonder the Revolution took a long time in coming. *But it's there now*, and the present weakling of a Tzar will be a fortunate man if he will succeed in saving himself from undergoing at least part of the punishments meted out by the French people to Louis the Sixteenth for the sins of his predecessors.

Time was—and not so very long ago—when the revolutionists of Russia drew their strength chiefly from the ranks of the cultured people, the students. Then the very best blood and very best minds of that

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country enlisted enthusiastically in a cause to overthrow the rule of the Tzar, not stopping even to choose the very best means. What feverish days there were then! Men and women, young and old, some coming from the most noble and educated families, left their homes, their parents, those they loved most dearly, and threw themselves heart and soul into what seemed a glorious and most hopeful movement. Disguised as laborers, some of them went among the Russian peasantry, among the lowest classes, teaching the illiterate how to read and write, doing their very utmost to uplift a people sunk in darkness and misery. But this did not last long. The wholesale arrests, the numerous executions, and the banishment of the great majority to Siberia, made very large gaps in the ranks of what may be called the "student movement." A reaction set in in the eighties, and for a time it seemed as if the revolutionary forces had received a fatal blow. But what power is there to hinder the course of a Revolution which has its roots deep in the economic forces at work! The reaction did not last more than half a score of years. Then the "hundred-headed hydra"—as Von Plehve's friend would have it—appeared on the stage. The class of wage-workers made its appearance and, with it, the revolutionary movement assumed a different character.

Exploited in the shops and factories, these wage-workers soon enough learned the lesson of modern civilization, namely, that in union there is strength; and faster than most radicals dreamed the workers of Russia founded unions—secretly, mark you—and began to show their organized power. Their program, from the very beginning, seemed to be of a twofold nature—economic and political. Economically they declared themselves to be fighting for higher wages, shorter hours of labor

and a more humane treatment in the shops and factories. Politically they announced themselves in favor of universal suffrage, through which they hoped to finally conquer the state for the purpose of establishing the co-operative commonwealth. In other words, the revolutionary movement of Russia became a clear cut Social Democratic movement, and this is precisely what it is at the present moment.

Leo Deutsch, at the close of his remarkable book already mentioned, thus succinctly describes the present condition of the revolutionary movement in Russia: "The publications issued by our secret press and distributed throughout the length and breadth of the Russian Empire, calling on the people to rise against the existing despotism, number above one hundred thousand, and they meet with energetic response among the population of large towns and factory districts. Workmen collect in great crowds in the street along with the students, and by means of monster demonstrations they voice their demand for political freedom and the abolition of autocratic government. The Tzar and his ministers endeavor by the most cruel and severe measures to quench the torch that has been kindled in the land; the greater part of Russia has been placed under martial law; the prisons can hardly contain the number of their captives; those who protest against such a regime are sent to Siberia by the trainload. But nothing can stem the tide of the movement; it will rise higher and higher, embracing ever wider circles of the people, and the hour is not far off when autocracy will be laid low, as it was in Western Europe so many generations ago."

The hour has arrived. The war and the industrial crisis hastened it and it seems as if the Tzar will soon enough have great need of the sympathy of his very best friends.

Socialist Agitation among the Farmers



AMONG the questions, not discussed by the Chicago Convention, is that regarding the Socialist attitude toward the farmer. As will be remembered, the subject had been mentioned as one deserving the attention of the convention, by some of those, who had ventured to say beforehand what that congress of American Socialists would and should do.

But while the matter has not come up for consideration at the Chicago gathering of the Socialist representatives, it continues to furnish material for a lively discussion in the Socialist press.

Ida Crouch-Hazlett, the eloquent Socialist propagandist of the West, is one of those who favor the starting of an energetic campaign of education among the farmers. In the *Social Democratic Herald* she gives the reasons for this attitude:

"The extending of the propaganda of Socialism among the farmers is practically an untried field in America. There are masses and masses of country where the word has never been heard, and where the guileless provincial asks you wonderingly whether it is a 'religion' or a political party."

"If the farmer vote of the country is 40 per cent, as estimated by Comrade A. M. Simons, and that of the industrial workers 25 per cent, we practically have to have the entire mass of the farmers with us before we can expect to enter the co-operative commonwealth. The enlightened propagandists of pure class-conscious proletarianism have hitherto seemed to look with contempt upon any efforts among the agricultural class of producers. They have contended that the farmer was still possessed of the capitalist mind, that his ownership of the land endowed him with a feeling of proprietorship and independence that made it impossible to approach him, even in his poverty, from a working class standpoint.

"Personally, I have never shared this feeling in regard to the farmer. I behold him tired to death, working continually, bending and breaking his body to make the food that others eat, too tired and stupid when his day's work is over to read anything of value or think of what he reads, living with the utmost self-denial, retaining primitive ideas that the world long since consigned to the rubbish pile of the used-to-be's.

"If then Socialism must have the farmer, his initiation into the militant forces of the revolution must not be deferred.

"Never was task more difficult, and it is this difficulty from which the agitator has shrunk and not the necessity having the alliance of the farmers.

"The farmer is completely isolated from the progressing life of the world. He grows up in a solitude unbroken by the whirl of machinery or the clamor for bread. He never leaves his surrounding locality except for an occasional visit to some city where the shriek and satanic confusion soon drive him back to his peaceful haunts with an emphasized idea of the superiority of his own life, and the Babylon-like wickedness of the city dwellers. The solitary exceptions are no more to be taken as the criterion of the farmer's state than those of the city wage earners who own their homes in comfort and security. The farmers have not the slightest opportunity for any rational interpretation of the revolutionary trend of modern life. This is forced on the city worker through his senses. Moreover the mass of the farmers own their homes,

and have plenty to eat, and the clothes their surroundings call for, and think their hard work is the natural lot of man. The ministers that visit them are as much a stupid reflection of this system as they are themselves. Their politics are handed down to them ready made by the politicians. They seldom extend further than the party name and the personality of the candidates.

"This is the forty per cent. mass that the revolutionist has got to hit on to the revolution."

The writer intimates how the farmer can be reached:

"Though he does not read radical literature, he can read it when his attention is called to it. And he can be reached very readily by word of mouth. He likes to go to lectures or meetings whenever he has a chance; he enjoys talking to people. It breaks the monotony of his existence, and a new idea is a treasure to be pondered over for months.

"The Socialist message must be borne to the country. It must be told and explained in every voting precinct. Literature must be distributed and sold, and subscriptions for papers taken.

"It is my belief that money expended this way at present would bring greater results than in the cities. For one reason a small sum will cover a large territory. Expenses are light, travelling low, and often the farmers will make the drives.

"Halls are ordinarily free, and when the people once have the idea it is there to stay.

"There is no way to reach this widespread mass of producers except by sending workers among them. It takes one to go ahead, discover the routes and the help that can be obtained, and after that the rest is comparatively easy and expenseless.

"It is the 'call of the wild' to developing civilization lest it sink back into the horrors of barbaric and brutal silence."

In a similar strain *The Crisis*, the Salt Lake City (Utah) Socialist paper, concludes an article headed, "Why Farmers Take Strikers' Places." After showing that the conditions of the farming population are such as to drive part of it into the cities, where the young man from the rural districts becomes a formidable competitor of the less contented city wage-worker, *The Crisis* continues:

"The only hope of preventing this class of our citizens from lending their efforts to still further degrade labor, lies in educating them to a consciousness of the solidarity of the interest of the working class, whether of the mine, factory, shop or farm. This work the Socialist party is actively engaged in doing, and when the farmer once understands his true position in present industrial society, he will be as staunch and true a defender of the liberty and freedom of his class as any trades unionist. In fact he is even more liberty-loving than the average wage worker, and it only requires a knowledge of the true difficulties that exist, to make of the farmer a militant Socialist, ready to do and dare all to gain his independence.

"The American farmer is by nature revolutionary. He takes pride in having descended from a revolutionary ancestry, and when the light of truth once dawns upon him, that in helping to break strikes, he is furthering his own enslavement, he will not only cease to allow himself to be so used, but will endeavor, with all the power at his command, to abolish an industrial system that makes for the oppression and degradation of labor. There is not, and should not be any antagonism between the city and country. Workmen of the world unite!"

Socialism and the Church



SOCIALISM is growing. If nothing else, the utterances emanating from the representatives of the church offer conclusive proof of its increasing power.

An address on Socialism, by Father William Stevens Kress, of Cleveland, formed the principal feature of the proceedings before a recent conference of missionaries at the Catholic University, of Washington, D. C. Father Kress has spent considerable time in the big towns of New England, where the Socialists have been most active, and he admits that he has taken part in politics against the Socialist party.

According to the *Washington Post*, he made the following remarks: "The Socialists publish more than two hundred weekly papers, and their organizers are working all the time. Their propaganda is dangerous to both the State and the church, but as the late Senator Hanna said, the Catholic Church will prove the salvation of the nation in checking the Socialist evil. Socialism creates unrest, arrays class against class, derides patriotism, and aims at the complete overthrow of our present political system. When shown their real colors, good Catholics invariably sever their connection with the Socialist party. It is not a mere passing fad, and its enormous growth in Germany may very likely be duplicated in the United States. What may we expect of it in a season of distress, if its growth has been as phenomenal during the past period of industrial plenty?"

Father Kress is not the first priest to rush into the field against the Socialists. Some time ago, it will be remembered, another Catholic priest, Dr. Heiter, of Buffalo, N. Y., started a campaign of misrepresentation and slander against the Socialists of Buffalo.

The energetic propaganda of the Socialists of Milwaukee has aroused several dignitaries of the Catholic Church. Archbishop Messmer, of Wisconsin, has declared that anyone voting the Social Democratic ticket would be violating every prompting of his Catholic conscience. Social Democracy, he said, was merely a trick to make people believe that American Socialism was different from European Socialism. Some of its doctrines were not only contrary to Catholicism, but positively unchristian.

He was followed by Father Dorzynski, of Milwaukee, who states that in his sermon he had admonished his parishioners to vote as it was their plain duty, but it was immaterial to him whether they voted the Republican or Democratic ticket, so long as they did not vote the Socialist ticket:

"I am radically opposed," he said, "to Socialism and had no hesitation in telling my congregation that any one who voted the Socialist ticket and indorsed its platform by so doing, placed himself outside the pale of the church. He practically excommunicates himself, since Socialism stands for a reversal of all things of to-day, including the church. I am not enlisted in the ranks of the Democratic or Republican party, but am fighting the common enemy of both."

And now the question of Socialism has also, according to the Milwaukee *Social Democratic Herald*, invaded the Milwaukee County Federation of Catholic Societies, which held their annual convention on June 5. Alderman Stiglbauer, who has run up against the Socialists in the City Council, read the report on changes in the constitution, which closed as follows: "The Legislative Committee shall devise ways and means to protect non-union workmen." In explanation of this proposition Stiglbauer said:

"The last year has been spent largely in organization. The time has now arrived when we must act, and the first thing that we will take up at the suggestion of Most Rev. Archbishop Messmer will be to counteract Socialism, which is fast spreading in Milwaukee."

A few union men present at that convention objected to the clause as read. They declared that the unions were all right, and that there was no danger of seeing them captured by the Socialists. They thought that the time had come for the Catholic Church to take action against Socialism, but the unions should not be antagonized.

"It is a matter of fact," answered Mr. Stiglbauer, "that the unions to-day, or most of them, are a hotbed of Socialism. At times non-union men are persecuted by this radical element, and it was thought wise by the archbishop to incorporate this clause simply to protect non-union men against such persecution."

Despite the protests of the unionists, the clause was finally referred back to the Executive Committee to discuss it with the Archbishop.

The *Chicago Socialist* dismisses the matter with the following remarks:

"That the Socialists and aggressive unions will encounter the opposition of all institutions, both secular and religious, whose interest it is to perpetuate the present system of exploitation, is to be expected. This is the history of the movement the world over. The Socialists

welcome this attitude on the part of all the defenders of capitalism; the more they oppose the clearer will the class lines be drawn.

"The Catholic workman is subject to the same inexorable economic laws as his Protestant and non-religious fellow worker, and the same identity of interests which has caused workingmen of all creeds and no creed to unite in the unions, will inevitably draw them into the working class political movement, the Socialist party.

"The opposition of the bishops and the priests may retard a few individual Catholics from seeing their class interests for a while, but the Catholic Church, powerful and well organized as it is, has no power to retard economic development to which the destinies of the Catholic workmen are bound in common with the whole working class. The Socialist party has nothing to do with any man's religion. It concerns itself with the material questions of fuel, food, clothes, shelter, education, entertainment for the working class. To point out to the working class how to get possession of these things which their labor produces in such abundance, and how to get leisure time to enjoy them is the mission of the Socialist party.

"If the church persists in opposing this movement it will be the church, and not the Socialist movement which will be the loser in the long race."

The Rev. Dr. Coyle, the retiring moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly, in a recent address, also touched upon the subject of Socialism. He said:

"Few things are more in evidence at the present time than the unrest of the masses. Their discontent increases. Their complaints grow louder and louder. Strikes multiply. The gulf between capital and labor widens, and, unless some solution is found, it is not pleasant to think what the outcome is likely to be. Nothing on the horizon at this hour is more significant than the rising power of the people. The era of the common man has come. Democracy is shaking thrones and compelling attention everywhere. The age-long mutterings of the masses have found a voice. They are speaking, and both Church and State are deaf if they do not hear. This is not something to lament, but something to thank God for, serious as it is. The disquietude of the laboring millions comes from what our mothers used to call 'growing pains'; but growth, while full of promise, is full of peril. The French Revolution was a growth. It came from the swelling of life—a life that shattered feudalism, and overturned the throne, and broke in pieces old tyrannies and old institutionalisms, and brought clouds and darkness and revolution with it as well as light. Our masses to-day are pushing to the front, and in the push they are not stopping to concern themselves about who is elbowed aside, or what industries suffer, or what establishments go down. Of all the sovereigns on earth, I know of none more to be feared than King Demos.

"It has been truly said by one of the most gifted men of this generation, that Demos was on the box seat, and the master has to be taken where the driver pleases. Unless this newly-risen king is restrained and mollified, and made reasonable by some holy and divine influence; there is danger that he will become the most tyrannical, the most cruel of all oppressors. Already he scruples not to use the torch and knife and dynamite, to burn, to assassinate to carry out his purposes, and, having got a taste of power, it is dreadful to think of the lengths to which he may yet go.

"Nothing in Europe in the last decade has been more noteworthy than the growth of Socialism. It has come to be a tremendous force, and as it grows religion declines. In this country, also, the growth of Socialism is rapid enough to awaken apprehension in the minds of all thoughtful people.

"Now, the distressing thing about it all is, that the drift of the masses is steadily away from organized Christianity. No longer content to let the Church alone, they are attacking it, and reviling it, and stirring up hatred against it. They regard it, not as their friend, but as their enemy. They complain that it takes sides with the strong against the weak, with the rich against the poor, with those who are up against those who are down. They complain that in all their struggle for a larger, fuller, and more tolerable life, they have received no help from the Church; and hence their attitude has become one of bitterness and hostility. How to conciliate these masses, how to take away their soreness and bring about a better understanding is one of the hardest and most important problems confronting the Church."

Dr. Coyle then draws a vivid picture of the shortcomings of modern society. Socialism, he claims, is no remedy.

"The only remedy is the gospel. Take the cross to the men of shop and mill, and mine and factory." "Note," say the *Erie People*, "the general admission that runs through the entire dismal wail that the churches are to be regarded as the sheet anchor of capitalist exploitation and the perpetuating of present economic conditions; and the curious blindness that prevents the perception that it is a social system that is going to pieces, as no longer compatible with human progress, which accounts for the drifting from creeds and beliefs inextricably bound up with capitalism."

There are not missing theologians who regard Socialism and Socialists in a more favorable light than the clericals whose utterances

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have been quoted. Dr. Thomas C. Hall, Professor of Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, has an article entitled, "Socialism as a Rival of Organized Christianity," in the June number of the "North American Review." He says that Socialism is not simply a theory of political economy, nor a philosophy of society, nor a scheme of reform. He regards it as a religious faith which is being embodied in a religious organization. The following extract gives an idea as to how Socialism appears to him:

"The real strength of Socialism is not its dogmas, but its faith in a supersensuous reality, a profound faith in a coming reign of its ideals of righteousness. These ideals are class ideals, often as bare and unattractive to a power-possessing class as was the Christian dream to a hypercritical and sensuous Paganism. But just because Socialism has formulated those proletarian ideals, it has faith in itself and succeeds in arousing unbounded enthusiasm among its adherents. The paternalistic and essentially feudal and aristocratic communion of Rome is rapidly losing touch with the producing classes, so far as she has ever controlled them. Individualistic Protestantism is linking its life and its fortunes more and more with the present power-possessing and privilege-possessing class. The producing class has begun to find in militant Socialism its religious expression—a little materialistic, though not much more so than some Jewish dreams of a land flowing with milk and honey, or some Christian hopes bound up with a new Jerusalem with streets of gold."

Which elicits the following remarks from St. Louis Labor:

"Dr. Hall tries to be fair towards the Socialists. He deserves credit for it. In classing Socialism as a rival of organized Christianity he makes a serious mistake. Organized Christianity of to-day is a capitalist class institution, and its work in upholding the present capitalist system is in line with the work of the legislative, judiciary and military powers of the capitalist state. Organized Christianity works hand in hand with organized capitalism of the world.

"Socialism need not compete with such an institution. Socialism stands on higher ground. Socialism establishes the basis for economic equality. Socialism will prevent the exploitation and enslavement of man by man. Socialism stands for a higher education of all members of society. A society of educated and free people will be intelligent enough to settle the religious problem, to decide whether mankind shall continue to err hopelessly in the darkness of superstition, or promenade, like a free people, in a beautiful world illuminated by the glorious rays of the sun of science and common sense."

One of the most eloquent defenders of Socialism among the clergy has arisen in the person of Pastor Hermann Kutter, of Zurich, Switzerland. His book, "Sie Mussen" (They Must), has just been brought out in a second edition. It has created a great stir in Germany. The *Vorwaerts*, the Berlin Socialist daily, gives a whole page to a review of the book. Kutter is a devout Christian, who thinks that the church no longer follows the teachings of Christ. The Social Democracy is, according to him, the true representative of the Nazarene. We quote a few passages from the book:

IN MEMORY OF F. O. MACCARTNEY

There is nothing which bears within itself the seed of greater promise for the race than the fact that we sometimes pause to lay a flower upon the graves of the noblest and purest that have gone from us into the Great Beyond. Our lives are busy lives. We are drawn this way and that by forces that seem beyond our control, but deep down in our hearts we all cherish an ideal of a better, nobler sort of life; an unfeared, beautiful life; a life that shall not be expressed by the sign of the dollar; a life which shall lift the soul to the heights of purest manhood.

It was such a life as this that blessed the world from the body of Frederick O. MacCartney. Out of his eyes there shone a light the like of which



Grave of F. O. MacCartney, Memorial Day, 1904

"Wherever the eye rests, there we behold the oppression of the weak by the powerful. A shocking system of exploitation without end. Pressure and fetters everywhere. The world has wealth enough for everybody, enough woods for weak lungs, enough streams for tired bodies, sunshine, air, and warmth enough for the millions all, that want to live. But the rustle of the forest and the ripple of the brook is lost to men, and in vain does the sun spread his rays over the green fields. They don't see it, they dare not see it. They are chained to the machine and the soil."

And again:

"Society has no right to complain of revolution. This reproach is in her mouth an unbearable hypocrisy. Society abuses the working class and then speaks of revolution if they try to break the yoke. . . . The servants of Mammon fear a revolution because they are afraid of their money."

Finally, it may not be out of place to hear what Professor Walter Rauschenbusch, of the Rochester Theological Seminary, has to say regarding the domination of the church by the rich. He says:

"The church has passed under the spiritual domination of the commercial and professional classes. I do not mean that they alone compose its membership; but they furnish its chief support, do its work, and their ethics and views of life determine the thought of the church more than we realize. This is not due to any wrongful attempt to make the church subservient, but rather to the fact that they are the dominant classes in all industrial nations, in literature and politics, as well as in the church. Now the stratification of society is becoming more definite in our country and the people are growing more conscious of it. The industrial conflicts make them realize how their interests diverge from those of the commercial class. As that consciousness increases, it becomes harder for the two classes to meet in the expression of Christian faith and love—in prayer-meetings, for instance. When the Christian business man is presented as a model Christian, working people are coming to look with suspicion on these samples of our Christianity. I am not justifying that, but simply stating the fact. The working people are now developing the principle and practice of solidarity, which promises to be one of the most potent ethical forces of the future, and which is essentially more Christian than the covetousness and selfishness which we regard as the indispensable basis of commerce. If this is a correct diagnosis of our condition, is it strange that the church is unable to evangelize a class alienated from it by divergent class interests and class morality?"

The monarchical system, so intimately connected with ancient religion has crumbled, and democracy has taken its place; but the church has not broadened its ethical teaching to any great extent to meet the new duties of the citizen-kings. It still confines its ethics to the *personal* and *family* life. In industry and commerce there has been a vast increase in the production of wealth and a shifting in its distribution, but the church has furnished no adequate principles either for the distribution or the consumption of wealth. We are emerging from the era of individualism. The principle of co-ordination, co-operation and solidarity is being applied in ever widening areas, and is gaining remarkable hold on the spirits of men. The church is applying that principle in its organization, but its message is still chiefly on the basis of individualism."

is not on sea or land. Who that ever clasped the hand of this man can forget the beauty of his countenance, the radiance of his smile, a smile so merry, so tender, so loving; a smile which purified the soul it shone upon like elemental fire. No man ever stood in MacCartney's presence without being the better for it. Amid the bickerings and bargainings of smaller men he walked like the sage of old with his eyes on the unchangeable stars. But in his breast, lying close beneath his sunny smile, throbbed the great heartache of the common people.

MacCartney is not dead. Souls can never die. He is calling to you and to me to take up the cross of his great crusade; to do nobly and manfully what his mortal life went out in the doing.—Franklin H. Wentworth.

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GUSTAVE DEFNET

The Belgian Socialists mourn the loss of one of their most active and devoted workers. Gustave Defnet, Socialist Deputy for Namur in the Belgian Parliament, secretary of the Workers' League of Brussels, and of the Typographers' Federation, secretary of the General Council of the Labor Party of Belgium and sub-editor of the party organ, *Le Peuple*, has been torn from the ranks of the fighting proletariat, for whom he has struggled during the last twenty years. He was only 45 years of age when he died.

Louis Bertrand, his colleague, says, in a pathetic obituary article: "Decidedly the Parti Ouvrier is a great slayer of men. Those who enter into its service with faith, conviction and courage, those who devote themselves to the holy cause it embodies, the complete emancipation of the workers, use themselves up quickly; they do not make old bones."

The New Socialist Platform



THE platform adopted by the Chicago Convention of the Socialist Party has become the centre of polemical discussion in the Socialist press, and the *Erie People* recognizes "that there exists a widespread dissatisfaction with the platform." It also confesses to its sharing in this dissatisfaction, but it believes "that the only method of removing it is through sober, dispassionate discussion and argument." Of course, the views of Victor L. Berger are interesting. He says:

"There are few of us who were not Utopians when we first entered the movement. Marx and Engels were Utopians, as many passages in the Communist Manifesto show. Lassalle was a Utopian with his project of state help, and so was Liebknecht, when he would not hear of parliamentarism. But thinking men learn from facts, and go forward, acknowledging their mistakes. The question of 'immediate demands' to-day can only be a question as to what demands shall be agreed upon as the most important. The platform states what is necessary on this point. In the convention all the active elements expressed themselves most positively in favor of a working programme as absolutely necessary: a programme the accomplishment of which would clear the way for Socialism.

"Indeed the platform adopted at Chicago is virtually the same as that of former years, with the difference only that Prof. Herron, who

undertook to rewrite it, has given it a rather lengthy form. It is almost too verbose. Yet the above-mentioned impossibilists were apparently so taken by surprise at the richness of the diction and the fine sentences of the platform that they actually forgot to oppose it, although it contains all the demands of the old platform and some new ones besides."

Great emphasis is laid upon the style in which the platform is written. Even the *Seattle Socialist*, which paper was looked upon by some as the mouthpiece of the dissatisfied impossibilists, speaks enthusiastically of the Document, as can be seen from the following:

"Here was a document which was the first real American expression of the class struggle as the platform of an American Socialist Party. It omits nothing that the German platforms contained, after which all our previous platforms have been modelled. It rings in every line with the idea of historic development and of the present class struggle. But its style is fresh and literary rather than didactic and dull. It marks a new era in American Socialism, the era of original self-expression. It is the first word of a self-conscious proletarian party in the United States. It does not depart a single jot from the scientific basis of Marx, but it expresses itself in American language and appeals to the workingmen of America according to American traditions and conditions. It will be submitted to referendum undoubtedly, and will awaken the party for an intelligent campaign of education."

But very little attention is paid to the style by those who are strongly opposed to the platform as adopted at the Chicago Convention. These critics, and they are very numerous, attack the philosophy of the platform. They claim that it by no means expresses the teachings of scientific Socialism. The very first sentence of the platform reads that the "Socialist Party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born;" and it is against this that the heaviest batteries are directed. Says Dr. S. A. Knopfnagel, in the *Chicago Socialist*:

"If our party stands for 'the idea of liberty and self-government in which our nation was born,' if our party stands for 'Our American institutions,' which 'came into the world in the name of freedom'—it cannot stand for the interests of the working class, it can only stand for the interests which are protected by our American institutions—for the enslavement and degradation of the working class.

"Ours is a movement which has no parallel in the history of mankind. Every other movement, which culminated in the change of one system into another, has simply changed the form of government and the mode of exploitation, leaving the economic relations between class and class intact. The masters have been changed, but slavery was not removed. We propose to abolish economic slavery. We propose to elevate a class who, from times immemorial, has occupied the lowest position in the social structure of human society."

So far this important objection has hardly received the reply it deserves, although attempts have been made to do so. Albert Eisemann, also through the *Chicago Socialist*, endeavors to meet the argument of Dr. Knopfnagel by saying that:

"Unconsciously the moving factor of the revolutionary movement was an economic one, but the fight was made in the name of liberty, fraternity and equality, and the American institutions were born in the name of liberty.

"This 'Declaration of Independence' was a document of liberty for our forefathers, the merchant, the artisan and the farmer, but that liberty has become a farce on account of the economic development which we have undergone, and the platform tells about it."

From Omaha, Neb., comes what is perhaps the ablest analysis of the platform, in the shape of a document bearing the signature of B. McCaffrey, P. J. Hyland, C. W. Adair, Mary Pierce Roe, G. W. Ray, J. W. Hawkins and J. A. La Bille, and the indorsement of Local Omaha. This "Omaha declaration is well worth reading," says the *New York Worker*, which paper staunchly supports the platform as written by Dr. George D. Herron, and adopted by the Chicago Convention of the Socialist Party. And, indeed, the "Omaha declaration" is filled with historic facts, taken from the most authoritative sources of American history. After satisfying themselves that they did their very best to corroborate every statement with a proper quotation from history, the wise and learned Comrades from Omaha write as follows:

"Backed by these historic facts, we again affirm that the platform which appeals to the American people as the preservers and the defenders of the idea of liberty repudiates the Socialist philosophy, which teaches that the history of America has been a history of class struggles between the rising manufacturing class of the colonies and the British capitalists, which culminated in the Revolution. Between the commercial and agricultural classes for supremacy in the government, resulting in victory for the former in the constitutional convention and before the legislatures in the several states. Between the same interests in 1800, which laid low the capitalist class for sixty years, and the conflicts waged between them during the period leading up to the fall of the agricultural class in 1860, and, finally, the struggles going on to-day

THE COMRADE

between the victorious capitalist class and the awakening proletariat. But possibly we have misunderstood your term 'American people.' Do you mean the manufacturing class of the colonies who freed their trade from the shackles of British legislation? Do you mean the agricultural class whose interest gave birth to the Democratic party? Do you mean the capitalist class, in politics, the Republican party? Do you mean the wage-workers, who have given us the Socialist Party? or do you mean the entire aggregation? If all, what means our class division? Why not forego our separate existence and unite our fortunes in the welfare of the whole? If, on the other hand, the American people signifies the working class, why not be candid enough to declare it? Why lose us in a mass of phraseology? There is but one deduction to be drawn from your term 'American people,' namely: it means the entire population, and therefore attacks the scientific groundwork of the movement. Further, you affirm that to this idea of liberty, both the Republican and Democratic parties have been equally false, because they struggle to maintain the present industrial system. Do you not know that the Republican and Democratic parties, as stated above, but politically reflect the idea of liberty portrayed in the interests of the capitalist and agricultural classes? That they are the offspring of these interests, and will die with them? Are they false to their trust for striving to maintain their existence and the classes which called them into being? 'Our American institutions,' you declare, 'came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as a means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests.' 'American People.' It means all classes outside of the great propertied interests. This is why in the third clause of the platform you define 'working class,' under the broad appellation 'producing class,' which practically takes in the entire agricultural and middle classes. The proletarian hide has indeed been stretched to the bursting point. At last the mask has fallen and divulged your middle-class visage. No wonder you cry out against the 'passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny.' No wonder you cry out that your political institutions are being used as the destroyer of that individual property upon which your liberty and opportunity depends, and no wonder that from the labyrinths of your own middle class philosophy you cry out in one breath that the private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in economic slavery, and in the next gasp declare that Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. This medley of phrases reduced to their final analysis signifies that the liberty of being, thought and action of the individual depends, not upon the social ownership of the means of employment, but upon the private ownership of the means of life. Therefore, Socialism comes to rescue the people from the successful assault of capitalism upon this so-called basis of their individuality. Was ever the same quantity of error and contradiction marshalled together in like space before. Aye! not even the Kansas City platform could have as little meaning to the wage class as this pyrotechnical display of words. So this creature, with its Democratic and single tax tail thrown in, is called the first American expression of the class struggle. 'Sane Marxian Socialism! Oh, what a fall was there, my countrymen! 'Then I and you and all of us fell down whilst bloody treason flourished over us.'

But the adopted platform has an able defender in the person of James Oneal, who thinks that "there is practically nothing of importance omitted in the platform, while it not only contains several statements of importance omitted in the old one, but states them in better and more comprehensive language. It is certainly a departure from the rigid formula of the past, but nothing of scientific accuracy or of a working class character has been lost in translating our principles into American forms of speech. On the contrary we have gained in making them more possible of being understood."

Of about the same opinion is the *New York Worker*, which says:

"The words 'revolution' and 'class struggle' are not much in evidence in this new platform. But if it is possible for old Socialists, accustomed to the ring of those familiar terms, to forget all else in regretting this absence, it is not, we think, possible for any thoughtful man who comes fresh to the study of Socialism to read the declaration adopted at Chicago without feeling in it the revolutionary spirit, without seeing things through it from the revolutionary point of view, without comprehending that the movement for which it speaks is the conscious and terribly earnest revolt of the working class. It will do us Socialists no harm to read it thoughtfully—to read it, as Bacon advises of all reading, with a mind neither resolved to admire nor eager to pick flaws, but alert to understand and calm to judge—and by so reading, to find how much more is meant by those phrases 'social revolution' and 'proletarian class-consciousness' than we may, in our habitual use of them, have realized."

There are many, however, that believe the discussion of the platform should be postponed until after election day. This is probably the sentiment of the rank and file. This sentiment is voiced by the *Montana News*, and chiefly by the *Erie People*, which says that it is "nothing short of criminal folly, under present circumstances, to attempt to spoil the Socialist ship for this 'harp'orth of tar."



"When it comes to putting down Socialism, we have to join hands!"

PUBLIC EDUCATION



COMMENTING on the paragraph of the Socialist State and Municipal Program, that deals with the public school question, Corinne S. Brown, in the *Chicago Socialist*, says:

"It is time that the Socialists took an active, aggressive and intelligent hand in this matter of public education. There is no phase of human activity into which the schools cannot enter with profit. Ability in the arts, dexterity in handicraft, alertness in thought, independence in reasoning, insistence upon the rights, resistance to oppression and constructiveness in organization can all be fostered in all children if only the people who are most interested have intelligence to participate in the work of extending and enlarging the public school system.

"Therefore I would urge that the Socialists pay especial attention to the suggestions outlined in the programme presented to the National Convention relating to public education. Through the present enlightenment of the children can the future be assured to us."

That only a small percentage of all the children can take full advantage of the facilities for education, such as they are to-day, is well known. *The Detroit Times*, which now and then delights in a radical utterance, although being a capitalist newspaper, says:

"The boast of our land is that we have 'free' schools.

"So we have. But unfortunately we have not 'free' children—children who are free to complete our free schools course because their parents are able to give them an opportunity to do so.

"The trouble is that while the schools are theoretically 'free' to all, they are barred to 97 children of each hundred, because their parents are too poor to permit them to remain in school long enough to finish the high school system.

"If you want to find most of these missing children between the third and eighth grades, look in the factories and the big department stores.

"And remember that the little girl that trudges around a store all day responding to the call of 'Cash,' is not there because she prefers the stuffy store to the school room and the school yard, but because her mother needs the \$2 a week that the little girl can earn.

"Some day we shall have REALLY free schools—schools that every child will be able to attend, because his parents will not be compelled to make a wage-earner out of him as soon as he is old enough to carry a bundle."

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—Chicago Socialist.

A Political Catechism

The London (Ont.) *Echo*, undertakes the following bit of sarcasm:

What was the United States government founded by?

Mark Hanna, John D. Rockefeller and Tom Platt.

What is it called?

A republic by some—by others, a political syndicate.

Who is at its head?

The President.

What are the duties of the President.

To send messages to Congress, ride horseback and hunt bears.

Are there any other branches of the government? If so, name them.

The Senate, the House of Representatives, the Standard Oil Company and the New York Stock Exchange.

What are the duties of the Senate?

To buy and sell stocks, bring on wars when the President hesitates, play poker and conduct a general brokerage business.

What are the duties of Congress?

To double the pension list, fill up the "Congressional Record" and draw salaries.

What are the duties of the Standard Oil Company?

Elect the President and declare dividends.

What are the duties of the Stock Exchange?

To keep the country stirred up in time of peace, unsettle the business interests all the time, and set an example to every young man.

Where is the seat of the United States government?

In Oyster Bay, Wall street and Washington.

In the discharge of his onerous duties, has the President any one to help him?

Oh, yes. Several good guides and the cabinet.

What is the cabinet?

A picked body of the best pokerplayers in the land.

What are the duties of the cabinet?

Never to resign from their posts except when they are really needed.

In reality, is the United States a monarchy or a republic?

Both. It's a republic on Sundays, and a monarchy on every other day in the week.

Why is it called the land of the free and the home of the brave?

Because it always has a keen appreciation of a good joke.



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COMRADE CO-OPERATIVE CO. 11 Cooper Square, New York

THE COMRADE

Marseillaise



Men sons of Freedom, wake to glory!
 Hark! hark! what myriads bid
 you rise!
 Your children, wives, and grand-
 sires hoary,
 Behold their tears and hear their
 cries!
 Shall hateful tyrants mischief
 breeding,
 With hireling hosts a ruffian band,
 Affright and desolate the land,
 While peace and liberty lie bleeding?
 To arms! to arms! ye brave!
 The avenging sword unsheathe!
 March on! march on! all hearts resolved
 On liberty or death.

See, now the dangerous storm is rolling,
 Which tyrant kings confederate raise;
 The dogs of war, let loose, are howling
 And lo! our fields and cities blaze;



Hymn...

And shall we basely view the ruin,
 While lawless force with guilty stride,
 Spreads desolation far and wide,
 With crime and blood his hands embruing?
 With luxury and pride surrounded,
 The vile, insatiate despots dare,
 Their thirst for power and pride unbounded,
 To meet and vend the light and air;
 Like beasts of burden would they load us,
 Like gods would bid their slaves adore:
 But man is man, and who is more?
 Then, shall they longer lash and goad us?
 O, Liberty! can man resign thee,
 Once having felt thy generous flame:
 Can dungeons, bolts, and bars confine thee!
 Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
 Too long the world has wept, bewailing
 That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield,
 And all their arts are unavailing.

THE WORKINGMAN IN COLORADO

THE LADY OR THE
 TIGER,—WHICH?

THE KEY WILL OPEN EITHER DOOR

