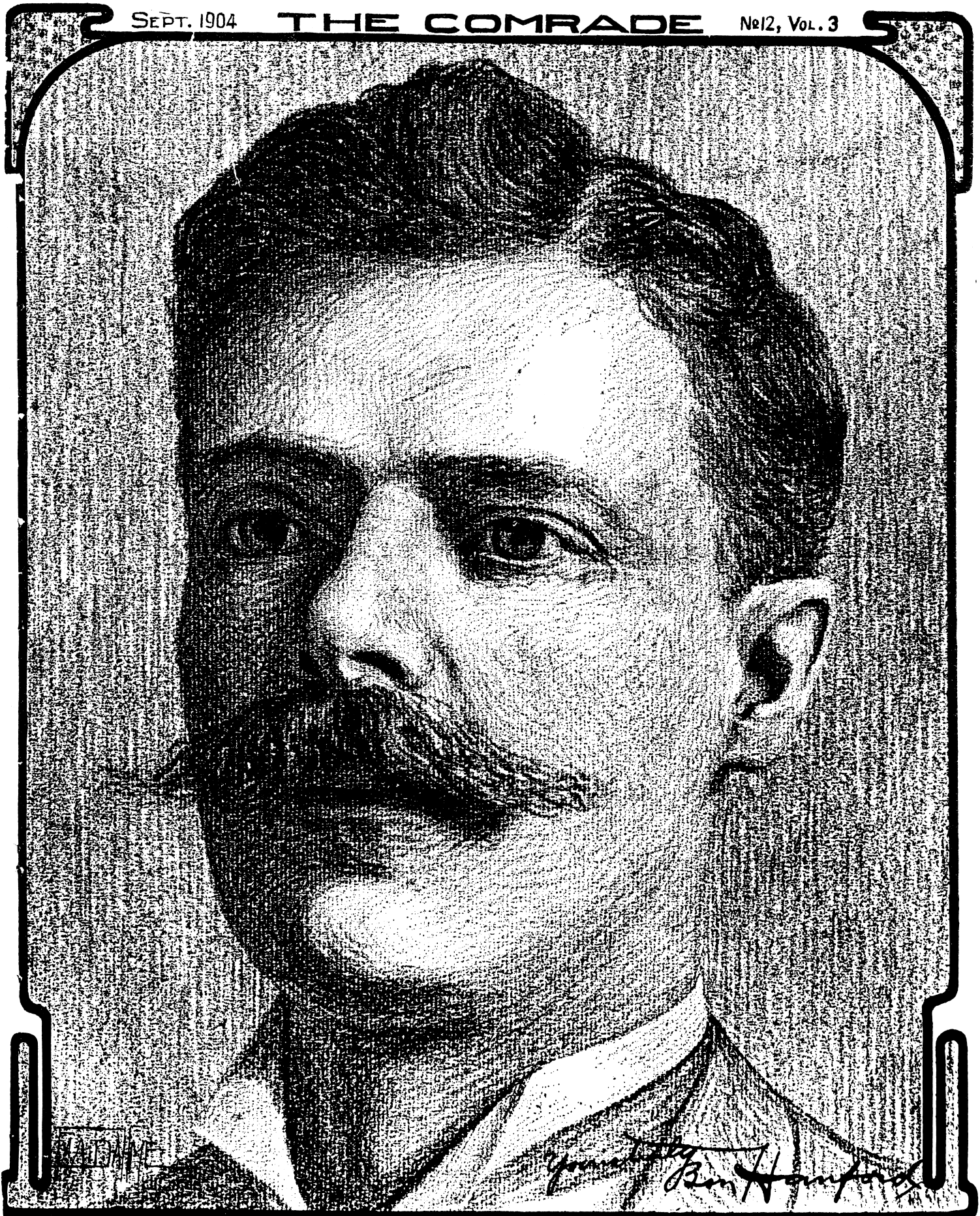


BEN HANFORD

Vice-Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Party.

Drawn for "The Comrade" by F. A. A. DAHM.



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Vice-Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Party.

Drawn for "The Comrade" by F. A. A. DAHM.

Dear Sir: Enclosed find P. O.-order for \$6.76. In regards to THE COMRADE permit me to say, I think it the best magazine that I can find. No one, who is interested in History and Economics can afford to be without it. Hoping for your success, I am
Yours for Socialism
L. A. HALL.

Newport, Va.
Dear Comrades: I'm hard up. But it is so good — THE COMRADE I mean — that I must have it. And I must have that History of Socialism also. Find enclosed check for \$2.15.
Fraternally
H. A. BOYCE.

Carmen. O. T.
Dear Comrade: You ought to be congratulated on the excellent magazine you are now bringing out. The August number certainly fulfills the promise of a Socialist Review of Reviews.
Fraternally
I. ISADORE BERNSTEIN.
ORGANIZER LOCAL.

Washington, D. C.
Dear Comrades: — Enclosed please find money order for \$6.25 for ten yearly subscriptions, hundred Hanford pamphlets, 20 copies "From Revolution to Revolution" and payment on my share of stock. I am glad to learn that we are to hear Wentworth through THE COMRADE. I have missed him since the "So-



THE COMRADE
LIFE LABOR.
LITERATURE ART.

79 THE COMRADE

SEPTEMBER 1904.

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cialist Spirit" stopped. The COMRADE in its new form is an excellent magazine but for myself I like the artistic features as it was.
Fraternally yours
J. F. MABIE.

Chico, Mont.
Comrade J. J. Heleker, Peekskill, N. Y., writes: "I cannot refrain from again writing a few lines of appreciation about THE COMRADE in its present form. While I read a number of the Party papers, I must say you give some valuable news from a great many I do not read. The change is a pronounced success as a Socialist Review of Reviews. Having been a reader of the "Socialist Spirit" I congratulate you on securing the services of Comrade Wentworth."

Girard, Kan., Aug. 10, 1904.
Dear Comrades: I have just read the August number of THE COMRADE. It is good, better and best. That was a happy idea — making it a sort of Socialist digest, and cannot fail to win.

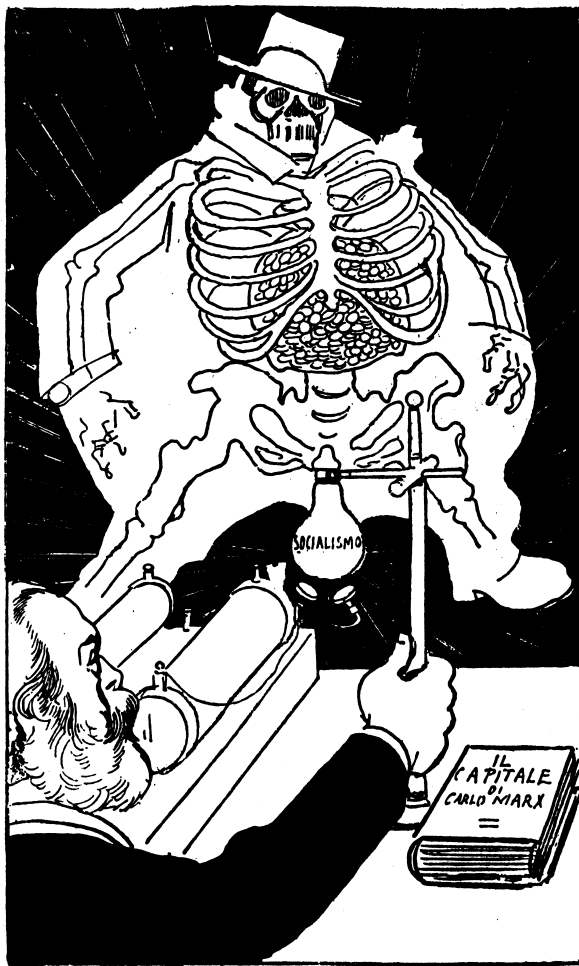
Comrade Wentworth's monthly review of current events will be a valuable and interesting addition, as all old readers of THE Socialist Spirit well know.
I believe THE COMRADE has hit the bull's eye at last and the bell rings SUCCESS.
Fraternally,
E. N. Richardson
of Appeal to Reason

Published Monthly

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SOCIALIST X-RAYS.

L'Asino, Rome.

With this issue THE COMRADE rounds out the third year of its existence. We intend however, to include the next three issues in the running volume, so that the fourth volume will begin with the January issue.

On the back cover page of this issue we reproduce a striking cartoon drawn for THE COMRADE by Rata Langa, Italy's foremost Socialist cartoonist

Our Hanford portrait is the work of F. A. A. Dahme, who also contributed the Debs picture in the June issue.

With the 15th of September the Subscription price of THE COMRADE will be again \$1.00 per year. Those whose subscriptions expire with the September issue and who desire to avail themselves of the reduced rate, will have to mail their renewal on or before the 15th September. During September and October we will mail to every one sending in his subscription, the pictures of Debs and Hanford, which appeared on the cover of THE COMRADE. These portraits will be printed separately on good paper and will be a splendid decoration for every Socialist home and club house.

If this Paragraph is marked with blue pencil, your subscription expires with this issue.

THE COMRADE

The Times and Their Tendencies.

By Franklin H. Wentworth.

The Dying State.

There is a singular kind of fatalism that has always distinguished the state-craft of the ruling class, which marks its most critical moments with a fine carelessness. Just before the moment of dissolution a decaying state has invariably been written all over with admissions of the contentions of the revolutionaries. This is because successful continuance in power breeds a disregard of the precautions always considered primarily necessary at the beginning.

The American oligarchy has reached a point of development where it is too indifferent longer to keep the Democratic party in an attitude of healthy opposition. It has allowed the office-hungry politicians of Democracy to push two candidates into the arena whose antecedents and character destroy every surviving pretense that the Democratic party is the party of the people. Just at the moment when the growth of socialism throughout the world, and particularly in the United States, should have incited them to the craftiest kind of political deception, they allow the cover to slip off their stalking-horse and exhibit his entire internal frame-work propped by plutocratic boodle. The newspapers, under the inspiration of the counting-room, have relaxed all vigilance and are openly admitting and congratulating the people on having no choice between the two political parties. The contention that socialists have been trying to make stick; that the old parties are both tarred with the same brush; the plutocratic organs of public education now cheerfully admit, even to discussing the quality of the tar.

It is true Mr. Root has seen fit to make a speech about the age of Mr. Candidate Davis of West Virginia, and it is quite conceivable that what he said in it is correct; that in case Mr. Candidate Davis after his election should succeed to the presidency, he would soon become physically and mentally incapacitated for performing the duties of the presidential office. In view of his great age a breakdown under so heavy a burden would be altogether probable.

But the Democratic party did not nominate Mr. Candidate Davis; it nominated Mr. Candidate Davis's money; and if Mr. Candidate Davis is too old to run, his money has the quality of perennial youth, and can.

Mr. Parker and Mr. Davis's money make a combination very acceptable to plutocracy. It is like meeting an old Massachusetts friend in Chicago; he can take a drink with you without looking under the bed. No more occasion for hypocritical make-believe. Mr. Parker is quite respectable, and Mr. Davis's money-bag will make an acceptably silent and eminently desirable kind of vice-president; it will only open its mouth when the right person pulls the string. Mr. Candidate Roosevelt, running for the same undesirable office in 1900 was admitted not to have this saving grace. It was difficult for him to keep quiet.

It Is To Laugh

Of all the Punch and Judy performances in American public life, the official notification of the presidential candidates of their nominations comes nearest to being amusing. Could any other single thing so aptly illustrate the whole hypocrisy and hocus-pocus of a system that hopes to retain public respect than the going of Mr. Roosevelt to his country home to await the coming of somebody to tell him he had been renominated. Here he has been humping himself over abstract fences ever since his succession to the presidency, laying pipes for a second term, and when, thanks to the passing of Mr. Hanna, he succeeds in capturing the nomination, he has to be chased out in the country to be told about it. He was nominated on June 23rd and his retiring disposition enabled them to keep the secret from him until July 27th. For over a month this thoughtless committee, in the hope to pleasantly surprise him, kept Mr. Roosevelt in cruel suspense. The tremendous

strain of keeping himself ignorant of what goes on in the nation is greatly telling upon the president. When he succeeded he weighed 185; now he weighs but 208. You can't take on much flesh when you're dying to know things and no one will tell you.

Now however that he has been finally told of his renomination he may be able to withstand the telling of other serious matters. He has not yet learned of the capitalist crime that is blackening his administration in Colorado; he does not know of the twenty thousand little children who are tramping twelve or fifteen miles a day on the floors of Southern cotton mills. In fact, familiarity with his public utterances convinces one that of all the men in the country the president knows the least about the things the chief servant of the people should know about.

And it is because no one will tell him. Now we know.

If a committee were to wait upon him every day with some new bit of information not too drastic for the presidential brain, who knows but that by the beginning of his new administration this diet of verbally communicated ideas might prepare Mr. Roosevelt's nervous system for the shock of a daily paper?

The Guileless Press.

It is a touching and moving thing when such a very lemon of plutocracy as Harper's Weekly, one of Mr. Morgan's properties, gives itself a little ecstatic squeeze and declares that "nobody seems to have decided definitely whom he will vote for." Of course the nobodies of Harper's Weekly are all inside the plutocratic enclosure. There may be a few impossible persons outside the fence wearing last years clothes who have decided whom they'll vote for. Harper's Weekly ignores these with the fine composure of ignorance. It says editorially:

"If you meet anyone in the street and ask him how he is going to vote, he says he guesses one is about as good as the other. This is good. It means that a revival in business may not only be expected, but has already begun. Exports are increasing, crops are flourishing, steel mills are working overtime, railroads are getting ready for the greatest traffic next fall they have ever handled, idle money is seeking investment, prices are hardening, in all ways are evidenced the beneficial effects of the return of sense to a great political party."

This reads well; very well indeed; but it's like the statistics Mr. Wright is just getting out; it isn't so. There is every promise of an industrial break-down before the end of the year. That "the railroads are getting ready for the greatest traffic next fall they have ever handled" is a silly and transparent falsehood. They are, and have been, discharging men by the thousand, and everybody who reads knows it. The "revival of business" is indicated one might suppose by the Fall River strike, the meat-handler's strike, and numerous smaller disturbances of like character. The Pullman company has laid off 1200 workmen and will soon shut down. This promises 6000 idle men for an indefinite period. The vice-president of the company, T. H. Wickes, says that the step is forced upon them. He says:

"The business of car building has been remarkably dull for many months. The railroad companies have been placing few orders for coaches with our company, or any other. In the last few years the railroads have been laying in a big supply of cars, and have a large stock now on hand. Then, railroad business has been falling off. It seems an odd year for travel by rail. Why this is I don't know, but the receipts of the railroad companies show that it is a fact."

Compare what Mr. Wickes says with the Harpers' Weekly editorial and you may have your choice of enthusiasm or discouragement. The Pullman working class, living in Pullman company houses, will probably soon believe that Mr. Wickes is right.

Wall Street Preferences. Even if the newspapers did not frankly admit that the two old parties are a unit in the service of plutocracy, there are unmistakable evidences that this is true in the attitude of Standard Oil and other interests having a similar love for the people.

The Union League club of New York always has a campaign committee in presidential years to do political work for the republican party with which the club officially affiliates. In both the McKinley campaigns William Rockefeller served on this committee. This year he was appointed and refused to serve. Whatever the reason for his action there are not lacking those who say that it means the defection of the house of Rockefeller from the Roosevelt ticket. In fact, Mr. Roosevelt's Wall street organ the Wall Street Journal admits as much, and says that more money will be raised in Wall street for Judge Parker than for the republican candidate. This is a little scheme of Teddy's however for republican consumption in the West; this make-believe that Wall street is violently opposed to him. The simple and guileless republicans of the West love to think of their hero riding a-tilt down Wall street with the enemies of the people dodging, like hens from a water-bucket, under their door steps. But the New York Herald made a poll of the stock exchange the other day with the result that 372 were for Roosevelt and only 132 for Parker. It is evident that Wall Street knows well enough that Teddy is only foolin'.

A Picture In Oil. But what has the kerosene contingent against the Roosevelt administration? Teddy hasn't even blustered in their direction, nor in the direction of their other pocket, the copper trust. Hasn't he given them always a free hand to force from the people everything they want? They have put up prices where competition has been driven out, and "conspired in restraint of trade" until the statute laws against this practice have turned red in the copy-book. They have looted the public to the tune of a dividend of 44 per cent last year, 45 per cent the year before, and 48 per cent each in 1901 and 1900, and Teddy has made never a roar.

But even if being let thus alone to plunder the people has not won the support of the Rockefeller interests, when one considers what he is allowing to go on in the case of the City Bank of New York without protest, one wonders at the ingratitude of this monopoly.

The City Bank of New York is a Standard Oil institution. The Standard Oil company has its stool pigeons in the directories of all the principal banks of the country, but this City Bank of New York is its own private property. Some of the New York papers have recently published leading items from the city tax assessors' list's of property exempt from taxation. In this list appears the old custom-house in Wall street, which is put down at a valuation of \$4,500,000. It is not taxed because the United States government used to be the owner and the title to the property continues to reside in the government. But the real owner is the national City Bank of New York.

It will be recalled that bids for the purchase of the old custom-house were opened about the middle of the year 1899, and that the City Bank secured it on a bid of \$3,265,000. Lyman J. Gage was then Secretary of the Treasury, and he permitted the City bank officials to conclude this highly interesting arrangement with the United States government. The bank to pay all except \$40,000 of the purchase price in cash, and the government to retain the title until the small remainder was paid; the government to deposit all, or most, of the money paid, without interest, in the bank as a part of the government's deposits of surplus in such institutions; the government to use the old custom-house at a rental of \$130,000 a year until the new custom house had been finished.

By this admirable and foxy arrangement the bank has the free use of the purchase money, which at, say, 4 per cent yields a yearly return of about \$130,000. It obtains \$130,000 additional for the rent of the property. It profits further from the steady increase in land value, which, in the view of the New York assessors amounts to fully \$1,000,000 since the transaction. And it escapes all taxation on the property by the simple and crafty device of having the government remain in nominal possession through the holding back of \$40,000 of the purchase money. If the property were taxed on the basis of present valuation the City bank would have to pay about \$70,000 annually to the city of New York. It dodges this and all taxes on the property, and the Roosevelt administration today is in collusion with this Standard Oil bank to enable it to evade its public obligations. Meanwhile the new custom-house work drags along as such things always do in government, building under Capitalism which may give the City bank many more years in which to "work" both the government of the United States and the city government of New York.

Of course it is possible that Judge Parker might allow them to work up a more stupendous graft and fraud than this, which is allowed to flourish in aid of monopoly interests by the rough - rider "enemy of Wall street"; but such a bird-in-hand ought, it would seem to, insure the loving support of the hero candidate by the coal-oil gentlemen.

Railroading Of Mr. Knox. Now that the president has lost his fearless and energetic attorney-general, it is likely that he will discover less and less of law-breaking on the part of the big corporations. The corporations were in such a state of perpetual panic regarding Mr. Knox that they have now made him their special representative in the Senate. The men who picked out Mr. Knox, and by their predominating influence were able to translate him from the cabinet to the Senate, were Mr. Frick of Pittsburg, a prominent director of the steel trust, and president Cassatt of the Pennsylvania railroad. These men, or the special concerns behind them, rule Pennsylvania. The Quay regime, and the Cameron regime back of it, was founded on the alliance that it was possible to make with these huge transportation and industrial monopolies, whose highly-wrought concentration of management renders them a tremendous power in the politics of the state. It suits such corporations as the Pennsylvania railroad company to have a man like Quay supreme in the government of the commonwealth; they can hold him responsible for an unceasing protection of their interests by always sustaining him in his schemes for plunder or power. The real rulers of Pennsylvania now appear in the rearrangement of affairs rendered necessary by the death of Quay.

These interests wanted attorney-general Knox transferred to the Senate very badly — so badly, in fact, that the requirements of the Pennsylvania state constitution were set aside in order to make sure of the job. That constitution contains the following provision: —

In case of a vacancy in the office of United States senator from this commonwealth in a recess between sessions, the governor shall convene the two houses by proclamation, on notice not exceeding 60 days, to fill the same.

There is no ambiguity about this. But Governor Pennypacker, who is sworn to uphold this constitution, did nothing of the kind in the case of the vacancy left by the death of Senator Quay. He proceeded to make the appointment himself after a conference with these officials of the Pennsylvania railroad and the United States Steel corporation.

"What", said Mr. Tim Campbell of New York, "is the constitution between friends?" Those dear respectable friends of "law and order", whom we hear so much about whenever a miner on a strike in Pennsylvania breaks a window, now have the chance of their lives. They are slapped and kicked in the face by their principal public servant and their constitution, devised for their protection, is thrown into the waste basket in the full light of public intelligence, — or lack of it. As for "Senator" Knox he has made a good beginning — good for monopoly. He owes his position to private interests and ought to serve them well in that national body which now presents almost an impassable barrier of corporation attorneys, legal and extra-legal, against all legislative initiative for relief of the people.

Who Is Morton? But if Mr. Roosevelt has lost one corporation attorney from his cabinet, he has picked up another almost as good. Mr. Paul Morton, Secretary of the Navy, is not a lawyer, but his corporate affiliations are unmistakable. The whole family — a family of bourbon Democrats — were bred by the Burlington and Missouri railroad in Nebraska, whence came Paul Morton to the C. B. & Q. of which the former railroad is now an integral part. Mr. Morton's attitude toward those who work for a living during the great Burlington strike won him the plaudits of plutocracy throughout the world.

The administration papers make much of Mr. Roosevelt's "friendship" for Mr. Morton, to cover up the fact that he is a life-long Democrat; but those who know are prone to smile. No first rate man in the Republican party would take the job. It is a parallel case of the treasury portfolio, which had to go begging until it found an Iowa banker who was small enough to be flattered by it. Mr. Morton may be of heavier calibre than Mr. Shaw, but what he knows about naval tactics may not be of superior quality to Mr. Shaw's knowledge of finance; which is the ability to undo one month what he does the month before.

It must puzzle the Republicans and army and naval officials whose thinking is all done for them, when they collide with a cabinet change in which the new secretary either is unknown or lifted bodily out of the "opposition" party. When Rear-admiral Yates Stirling of the Asiatic squadron got an order by cable the other day signed "Morton" he grabbed the Naval register and found that the only Morton in the service was a young lieutenant on the battle-ship Wyoming. He couldn't believe that the fence-jumping president would actually go so far as to have this slip of a boy sending instructions to the senior rear-admiral of the Asiatic squadron, so he cabled back:

"Instructions received will be carried out. Who is Morton? — Stirling."

Exactly. That's it. Who is Morton? What are his qualifications? What business has he to be running the navy? The only answer to this question is that the president is hard driven to find any kind of a man who will risk being publicly embarrassed by his plunging tactics. There was never a time in the nation's history when the official life of Washington was reduced to so low a level of mediocrity.

THE COMRADE

Mr. Morton's Ideas.

As is natural to anticipate in a naval secretary born and brought up a thousand miles from salt water, Mr. Morton butts into the game like a calf on a long rope. His first attack should throw even the young Mr. Hobson off his feet. It is, in effect, that we should have the all-firedest biggest navy in the world. This marks the small man; this desire to magnify his accidents out of all proportion. Mr. Morton wants his job to be a big one, so his first yank is at a string wrapped closely about the heart of of the president. These two; the rough-rider and his new naval jingo, ought to be able to blow England over into the center of Russia by six o'clock Sunday night. Not that they have anything against England. It's only another case of the Irish policeman who was new and found a tramp asleep on the dock. "It aint because I hates you that I bates you. It's to show me authority."

We have bullied all the South American republics that have given us any pretext, and we are getting tired of sending ultimata to the Sultan. He has taken to wrapping cigarettes with them, and smoking is bad for him. We've got to burn some powder pretty soon to divert the people. Nothing shuts up the discontent at home like a foreign complication. It enables the "patriot" to call his critic a "traitor".

It is a fine sight to see a nation like Japan burning up its people's money. A national debt that the working class is weak enough to pay is the prime enslaver. And Japan is going to have one. Take the warship Kasuga. She carries four guns which cost \$30,000 each. One of these guns can fire two shots a minute and every shot costs \$400. Thus, in five minutes these four cannon can discharge 40 bombs at a cost of \$16,000. The smaller cannon cost each \$18,000, and every shot they fire means an expenditure of \$70. They are very rapid, and it is estimated that in five minutes the twelve little fellows on the Kasuga could discharge shot to the value of \$35,000.

How is that for waste, Mr. Workingman, who cannot pay for your week's coffee and sugar?

And this is only one ship!

Our navy now costs us \$100,000,000 a year. Think what a hundred millions would do in America in a year, in just building roads or decent bridges; or in sending children to school well fed and well clothed. That such a stupendous sum is spent by this nation in sheer waste, every year, when there are thousands here in America who never really are free from the sensation of hunger, testifies to the colossal idiocy of the Capitalist system. And now here comes Young Lochinvar out of the West whose first bleat is that the navy must be bigger.

It's a pity while we are buying guns we cannot get a few men thrown in. At the last examination of young fellows for the naval academy, out of 199 applicants 114 were rejected as physically unfit. We need a new breed of men; men able to walk in the sun. And when we get this new breed of men we may be able to boast of a naval secretary who has a sense of humor. Humor is a sense of proportion, the distinguishing characteristic of a balanced brain. Mr. Morton has not got it. His naval lunacy hangs him high and dry as a conspicuous product of disease which should have remained in obscurity.

Figures Do Not Lie.

It is not yet known just how much of a figure the new secretary will cut in the campaign. As a fair offset to his own silence the president evidently considers an active participation by at least eight members of his cabinet nothing too much. Mr. Hay will be excused, and it is rumored that the new secretary of the Navy would like to be, probably not liking to publicly explain anything to his old Democratic cronies. But the other ministers of state will be frequently heard on the stump, and Morton is under presidential pressure to act similarly. The most difficult task for the president must be to carry out his own part of the program. They have promised to try and elect him if he will keep still, and only Mr. Roosevelt himself knows the dark agonies of obeying this injunction.

Secretary Shaw may always be depended upon to say anything that is put into his mouth to say. He is a sort of funnel opening out into political space. There has prevailed and still prevails a popular impression that the average cost of living has increased of late years more than the average individual income. Some weeks ago the secretary of the treasury was inspired to express the opinion that this was a mistake, and then announced that the proper bureau of government would soon have some statistics to present which would prove the impression wrong.

Carroll D. Write, the government cook, after receiving instructions what kind of a cake to bake, has dutifully gone ahead and done it, even at the cost of disproving most of his former statistics. The new stuff is now being furnished from Washington in blocks to suit. It embodies

the result of an inquiry as to wages in 519 occupations, representing 67 industries and 3429 establishments variously located throughout the country. It indicates that wages have increased 18.8 per cent since 1894. At the height of the business depression, while the cost of living has increased only 10.6 per cent. Choosing as the basis of reckoning 1896, instead of 1894, wages appear to have increased 16.6 per cent and cost of living 15.5 per cent. No account is made in the wages calculation of the larger employment prevailing now as compared with 1894 or 1896; and in the cost of living such important items as rent and clothing are not considered.

Such statistics are like some kind of sausages; if you eat them at all it is not with any confidence.

First, the statistics are manifestly not up to date, and within a few weeks or months wages have been declining under such cuts as the 12½ per cent in cotton manufacturing at the center of that industry, while there is no corresponding reduction in prices. Indeed the cost of meats and wheat, for example, is higher now than ever. So is that of sugar. What might have been true of several months back cannot in anything like an equal degree be true of today.

This stuff is so clearly put out for campaign purposes that it is manifestly a mere prostitution of a department of government to purposes of political deception.

This whole hocus-pocus statistical matter may be dismissed with a single question. Is unearned wealth in this country increasing faster than it was last year or the year before? If it is; and everybody knows it is; then the workers are either actually or relatively poorer. A certain B. Disraeli, clever at turning phrases, once gave his opinion of statistics in a substantive comparison. "There are," said he, "three degrees of falsehood; lies, damned lies, and statistics."

Birth-Pangs In France.

The death of Waldeck-Rousseau in France recalls the fact that he was the man who dissipated the tradition that a French premier could not stay in office more than six months. It was he also, who opened up the attack upon the religious orders in France, which his successor has carried to such a point that the Concordat is now threatened.

The concordat was a bargain made by Napoleon with Pope Pius VII whereby the Pope was to appoint the French bishops and the French government was to ratify the appointments and pay them. The French people are awakening to the fact that under this felicitous arrangement too much ignorance and superstition is surviving in the country in the face of the general progress of the world. They first shut up the schools of the religious orders. An uproar followed from the whole ecclesiastical interest of France and Rome, as was expected. A couple of bishops who stood for progress and therefore did not join in the uproar were ordered by the Pope to resign. The government told them to stand pat; so they did. Then the pope ordered them to come home to papa. The government told them not to do it, but one of them went. So the government stopped his pay.

Here is the conflict: the pope says he is IT, and the government says he may be in some nations but not in France. The dual nature of the French bishops is the cause of the trouble. For they are both civil and spiritual officials under the concordat; owing allegiance, on the one hand, to the government that pays them their wages, and also allegiance to the outfit at Rome which invests them with their religious functions.

When France stops taxing her people to pay priests she will take a great stride toward a higher civilization, leaving the English as the most conspicuous example of a whole people who are made to support a church machine which many of them don't believe in. If the Italian government has shaken off the grip of the Roman Catholic church it seems time for her to take her hands out of the pockets of the French working class also, except those who still wish to hold their pockets open to her, as in Italy.

The visit of President Loubet to the King of Italy was the last drop in the bucket of the Pope's wrath. The pope hasn't spoken French since. All diplomatic intercourse is broken off, so that the two cannot evenly politely tell one another how mad they are.

It is serious business, to anyone who can keep his face straight.

Franklin H. White



THE COMRADE



The Clerical School.

L'ASINO, Rome.

The satirical weekly L'Asino, published by the Socialists of Italy, carries on a bitter fight against the Catholic Church. The above is one of the many cartoons on the subject.

L'ASINO claims that the religious school teaches Falsehood, Corruption, Hate and Deceit.

Can a Man be a Catholic and a Socialist?



THE Wisconsin Federation of Labor, at its convention held a few weeks ago, adopted a resolution, in which it reviewed the attempt of the Wisconsin Catholic Societies to disrupt the labor movement by an attack upon many union members, because of their political affiliation, and by the organization of dual Catholic Unions. "The working class cannot permit itself to be divided because of creed. We have one common enemy to fight, and all of us have one common interest as workingmen." This resolution has aroused the ire of Archbishop Messmer, who read it from the pulpit and declared: "The church has received a distinct challenge and must act." He continued: "In all times there have been fables and false teachings and periods when such were especially numerous. Such an age is the present one and Socialism is one of the greatest of its evils. It is creeping and reaching out toward the labor unions with its representations and apparent attitude on numerous public issues. But I want to distinguish clearly between the labor union and the Socialistic movement."

The archbishop takes issue with the Socialist maxim which declares religion to be a private matter. The American Socialist appears to him more dangerous than his European comrade. He says:

"The American agitator seeks to convey the impression that there is a distinct difference between himself and the rabid European advocate, with his radical ideas on property and law. The difference is only in method. The American is craftier and, accordingly, more dangerous. He has masked himself with a number of advocated measures which all must admit are sound and for the good of the country and labor, but under it all is evil. There is great danger in it to the church, the state, morality, the family, the marriage relation and the property owners.

"The private ownership of property is supported by the gospel, apostolic teaching and the rules of the church, and is a divine ordination not to be changed by the hand of man."

In closing his speech the archbishop said:

"A man can't be a Catholic and a Socialist. . . . The hour has come when the step against Socialism must begin, the challenge has

been made and the church must consider the means for throwing its resources into the struggle against an evil which threatens all the institutions which it supports."

The New World, a Chicago Catholic paper, thinks that "the strong Archbishop's declaration must have fallen like a bombshell in the camps of the International."

The paper furthermore remarks:

"In this conflict His Grace of Milwaukee will be supported by every practical Catholic in the country and by the Church wherever it exists upon the face of the earth. It is difficult to realize that the Wisconsin Federation of Labor has been so misled, and the only explanation is that its declaration was inspired by influences that are always at work to put labor in opposition to Christianity."

And in another issue it says:

"The genial gentlemen who affect to believe that Socialism really is not opposed to Christianity, may now look to the great state of Wisconsin. There they have distinctly thrown down a challenge to Christianity as, over in Buffalo three years ago, they threw down a gage to the Catholic church. In Buffalo the church accepted it and as a result of her fight Socialism was practically wiped out. Over in Wisconsin Archbishop Messmer has declared that a state of war exists, and we predict the result will be similar. Socialism, it is true, polled a rather alarming vote in Milwaukee last year, yet there is such a thing as people taking sober second-thought. The war in Wisconsin will be watched with interest."

The Catholic Citizen of Milwaukee, however, is far from sharing the opinion of the Chicago organ, as will be seen from the following:

"We ourselves have at times been deemed too liberal and philosophic and charitable in our attitude towards Socialism. It is true that we are not as much alarmed over the specter as are some people even more religious than we are. It is also true that we believe that the task of meeting Socialism devolves more directly upon the American people, as a civic community, than upon Catholics as a religious element. It is further true that we see some compensations in the situation—some prospective good resulting from the issues raised, nay, even some excellent planks in the Socialistic platforms (such as the opposition to child-labor). We are even that liberal that we are willing to concede that a Socialist alderman may be better, at times than a grafting alderman elected by the old parties."

An Anglican organ, *The Lamp*, speaking of Messmer's challenge, remarks:

"Is then Socialism of sufficient importance and strength as to constitute a real menace to the common weal of Christendom? To answer this question in the negative would be indeed to betray great ignorance of the giant strides Socialism has made in Europe very recently and the amount of anarchy and lawless rioting it has already produced in the United States of America.

"Here in America Socialism is making a record for itself which certainly entitles it to a foremost place among the enemies of both Church and State. It is poor memory that cannot recall the outburst of Anarchism in Chicago during the Cleveland Administration and Socialistic doctrine is to blame for the assassination of President McKinley two Summers ago."

Having thus done its very best to make Socialism appear as a monster of singular hideousness, *The Lamp* calls for a crusade against it:

"The consolidation of the anti-Christian elements of society in an international alliance to overthrow the Kingdom of God among men demands a counter demonstration of Unity under a strong centralized government of the Christian hosts throughout the world."

The Washington Post, after paying its respect to the Catholic church for the remarkable influence it has over the minds of its members, makes these remarks:

"Americans generally will feel that the church is skating on very thin ice when it arrays itself against any organization which claims to be sailing under the colors of a political organization. The sentiment for a complete separation of church and state is one of the cardinal virtues of Americans, and the socialists will undoubtedly raise this cry against the Catholics, who are leading this crusade against them. The church, however, will present the answer that its chief duty is the protection of the homes and morals of its members, and that these are threatened by the teachings of the socialists, who are conducting their propaganda under a political cloak. The socialists are carrying on their work among the labor unions and seeking the control of these organizations. Leaders of the political parties recognize this plan of the socialists as the chief danger that threatens our form of government today. It is a social heresy, fraught with fearful possibilities to the commercial, industrial, and social life of the nation, and there will doubtless be general approval of the action of the Catholic Church in fighting against its encroachment. Members of the Catholic Church are liberally represented in the labor organizations—more so than those of any other denomination—and their influence, under the encouragement and teachings of the church, should go far toward preventing trades unionism from being prostituted to the advancement of a theory that would prove ruinous to unionism and to the people generally."

THE COMRADE

The Socialist papers are not at all disturbed by the declaration. Says the *Wisconsin Toiler* in regard to the Wisconsin Federation of Labor:

"They persist in asserting that religion is a private affair, and that every man has a perfect right to follow the church of his choice, and that his church has no right to dictate his politics. They contend that the workman is not a boy to be whipped into line and told how he must vote and what he must not think. They would advise him, when he enters the booth on election day and stands behind the drawn curtain, to pull whichever lever he chooses, irrespective of the commands of any other man, be he employer, capitalist, millionaire or archbishop.

"However, there will be many who will commend Archbishop Messmer for coming to the rescue of capitalism. Parry, no doubt, will be filled with admiration and delight, and heartily endorse all the archbishop has said. Gov. Peabody of Colorado and his tool, Gen. Bell, will be greatly edified by the archbishop's severe condemnation of the Western Federation of Labor. And plutocracy everywhere will be much pleased with their clerical ally, and will eagerly hope that he may tame the rebellious spirit of the working class which is beginning to rise against the oppression of their masters. They hope that Archbishop Messmer will drive back the force of Social Democracy and secure their reign of exploitation for a little longer.

"But can he succeed in this? The citizens of Wisconsin next November will answer, No!"

The *Chicago Socialist*, in a long article, says:

"Socialism stands for all that is just, pure, simple and decent; it stands for the full development and enjoyment of human life; it aims to give to all who are willing to do their share of the work opportunity to develop all their nature is capable of. On the other hand, capitalism stands for the robbery and exploitation of the toiler; it stands for and aims to perpetuate all that is unjust, cruel, shameful and indecent in society to-day. And yet the Bishop, who claims to represent the crucified carpenter of Judea, says the church must fight Socialism and protect capitalism. Well, let it be so; the Bishop, his church and a few of his more ignorant and blind, unreasoning followers will be the only losers.

"Economic development comes on with Niagara rapidity. The Bishop, his church and the capitalists whom he represents will have about as much effect in stopping it as the proverbial old lady endeavoring to sweep back the ocean tide with her house broom.

"Archbishop Messmer might learn a few lessons from history if he would read carefully. But he says the fight is on; so say the Socialists, but not against the private opinion of men about religion, but against the system that keeps men slaves physically and intellectually. Economic liberty will secure to all real life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

In a similar strain the *Iowa Socialist* remarks:

"Our fight with capitalism is on and will be continued till it is driven from its last stronghold.

"If the church foolishly steps in and arrays itself against the workers of the world in this class struggle, it must not cry if it gets hurt, for the final triumph will rest with the oppressed workers, and nothing that stands in the way will be spared, till the great army of the dispossessed has come to its own."

St. Louis *Labor* takes up the challenge by saying:

"Heretofore there has been a disposition on the part of Socialists to deal gently with the church out of respect for the sentiments of the Catholic workingmen, but the time seems to have come when such an attitude is nothing short of treason to the cause of the workers. Already the Roman Catholic Church has its plans laid to swing the workmen under its control into an organized political party to prevent their economic emancipation and hold them in subjection to the 'powers that be.' For Socialism to longer ignore or trifle with such a foe would be the height of folly."

The *Social Democratic Herald* of Milwaukee has had occasion before this to give its opinion on the attitude of the church toward Socialism. We quote from a recent article:

"The fact is that the present system bears every bit as cruelly on the workman who is a Catholic as on the workman who is not. It is just as cannibalistic toward him as toward anybody else. It dispossesses him just as relentlessly, it drives his children into the factory Hells just as mercilessly, it puts over his head and over the heads of the members of his little household that dread and lowering uncertainty of existence, that constant and wearing anxiety that is inseparable from a capitalistic system of labor exploitation—it does this just as readily in his case as in the case of any other worker. Modern society prepares his intelligence to perceive this and he comes to see pretty clearly in time whether his Church is sympathetic toward his miseries or not. In his brooding over his ill-starred situation he may even see that his insecurity makes him a poorer church member than he would be if he had leisure enough to reflect upon matters of faith and the ability to contribute to all worthy efforts at extending good and moral influences among the people. He begins to ask why, if his Church stands for moral purposes, it is not always found helping on movements for the advancement of the people's interests. This is the road he is very apt to travel, and in the light of the Church's present attitude, it leads away from the Church. If anyone is to blame for this, it certainly is the Church itself."

In the same paper, a few weeks ago, Comrade Victor L. Berger called attention to the plan of the Catholic church, to establish in this country a Catholic political party like the one existing in Germany.

That the subject of Socialism seems a very important one to the leading elements of the Catholic church, is evinced by the attention they pay to it. In the August issue of the *New York Messenger*, a Roman Catholic Magazine, we find a long article by T. J. Campbell, S. J. There it is stated that "the spectre of Socialism, which looms over modern civilization with a menace of ruin, may well cause serious alarm." The article is amusing, in parts. As when the writer says: "The most serious feature of Socialism is that it has or is a religion. Like all aggregations of men, it cannot get along without it," and then mentions the German philosopher Hegel as its prophet and high priest. Mr. Campbell seems to favor the establishment of all kinds of catholic societies and enterprises to counteract the growth of socialism. He says:

"Socialism with us is not yet a formidable political power, but there is all the more reason, before it becomes an aggressive and organized force, to build up an army of federated associations, actuated by principles which are antagonistic to or corrective of those dangerous doctrines we have been considering."

In the *Worker* Jos. Wanhope gives his view of the Catholic church. He says, it looks as if the church is trying to sell a sort of gold brick to the exploiters, since Socialism is also growing in catholic countries. What has been said so far, comes from individuals only.

"The capitalists know well that the views expressed by the Doyles, Messmers, Heiters, and others of that ilk, is not the voice of the Church, nor is the Church as yet committed to those views. When the Vatican speaks of its purpose to war on Socialism, it will be time enough to make bargains. That word has not yet been spoken, and there may be a doubt that it ever will be. Those who direct the policies of the Catholic church are too experienced to commit themselves to a position from which there is no retreat. If the capitalist system has to go, they have no intention of going with it. The Church antedated capitalism and intends to survive it.

"Short of this official declaration, we may expect the unofficial hostility of the Catholic church. When the time comes, as it must come, the heads of the church can easily disavow the views of the Doyles, Messmers, *et al.*, and represent them as nothing more than the opinions of individuals.

"In the meantime, the policy is to persuade the capitalists, as far as may be possible, that the only barrier that stands to protect them against Socialism is the Church, and getting whatever concessions that will tend to extend its power and influence that they can. When it becomes plain to both that no amount of religious propping can avail to keep capitalism intact, the dicker will be off, and the Church will either stand from under or help assist in its downfall, by making the claim, as some Socialist Catholic priests now do, that the Church, in the days of its pristine purity, always supported Socialism."

The Leader of Revisionism in France.

The most brilliant speaker of the French Chamber of Deputies is Jean Jaures of the Parti socialiste Francais, and Editor of the Socialist Daily, *L'Humanite*. During the present conflict with the Vatican, the French Socialists have supported the policy of the Combes Cabinet. At the International Socialist Congress, just held at Amsterdam, Jaures voiced the views of the so-called Revisionists, while BEBEL led the left wing of the Socialist Army.



JEAN JAURES.

THE COMRADE

HERMANN GREULICH: a Pionier of Socialism.

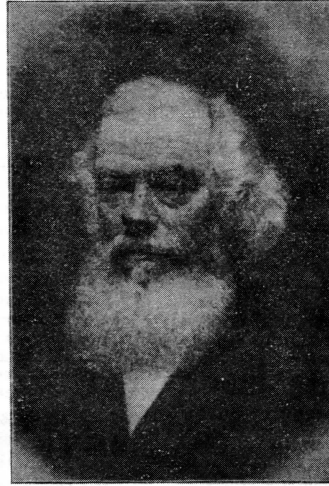


HERMANN GREULICH, a member of the City Council of Zurich, and of the national legislature of Switzerland, is at present traveling and lecturing in this country. He has seen forty years of uninterrupted service in the Socialist movement. Comrade Greulich, who also holds the position of secretary of the Swiss National Bureau of Labor Statistics, was born in Breslau, Germany, April 9, 1842. His parents were proletarians. He learnt the trade of book-binding. He says of himself:

"In 1862 I started on my first journey as a 'traveling mechanic.' I traveled and worked in Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, Lower-Austria, Bavaria, Tyrol and Wuerttemberg. In those days there were no labor organizations. General ignorance and carelessness prevailed in the ranks of the toiling masses.

"The first labor society I found in Reutlingen, Wuerttemberg, and I joined immediately. In 1864 Lassalle's movement came up for discussion, but met with little success in Southern Germany. In 1865 I was elected delegate to a labor congress in Stuttgart, where I met August Bebel, the present great leader of the Socialist movement of Germany. Soon after the Stuttgart congress I went to Switzerland. This was the time when the International Workingmen's Association, organized by Karl Marx and F. Engels, was creating considerable enthusiasm among the working people of Europe.

"In 1869 the labor movement made good progress in Zurich, and many clubs and labor unions were organized. We had a movement, but no press. We started a paper—without money. I was selected as editor. After four years of hard struggle we managed to pay the editor and manager about \$20 per month, for which salary I was envied by many.



HERMANN GREULICH.

"For eleven years we were fighting for a national factory law, and finally succeeded. For several years the anarchist movement did considerable harm to the labor movement. Our organization grew weaker, our labor paper went out of business, and its editor was placed way back in the corner to sit down for the time being.

"The year of 1881 was a hard one for me and my family. In 1884 I was appointed chief of the statistical Labor Bureau of the Canton of Zurich. Soon the labor movement recovered. New unions and Socialist clubs were organized. In 1886 the national Bureau of Labor Statistics of Switzerland was organized, under the management of the labor organizations, while the government appropriated a certain amount for the maintenance of the

institution. June 1, 1887, I was elected secretary of the bureau by the united labor organizations, and I have held this position ever since, being re-elected at every succeeding convention.

"In 1890 I was elected a member of the County Council of Zurich by the Socialists, and in 1892 the Socialists also elected me to the City Council. In 1902 I entered the national legislature of Switzerland on the Socialist Party ticket.

"Thanks to the strong Socialist representation in the municipal county and state legislatures, we have secured many a good labor law, and what is equally important, we have made it impossible for the capitalist lawmakers to pass any laws against the working class."

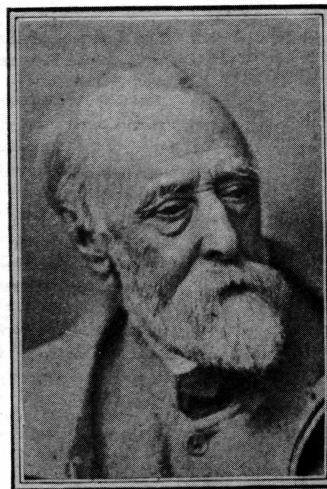
"A strong trade union and political Socialist movement is, in my opinion, the strongest weapon of the working class."

George Plechanoff.

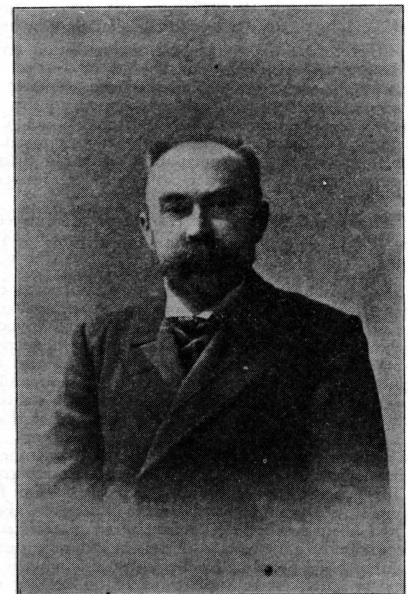
It was a memorable moment when, at the International Socialist Congress just held at Amsterdam, the two vice-chairmen of the first session, George Plechanoff, representing the proletariat of Russia, and Sen. Katayama, the delegate of the Japanese Socialists, shook hands with each other. THE COMRADE for August contained Katayama's portrait, below we bring a portrait of Plechanoff.



A. H. FLOATEN,
Socialist Candidate for Governor of Colorado.



THE LATE GEORGE FREDERIC WATTS.



GEORGE PLECHANOFF.

THE COMRADE

A Great Painter.

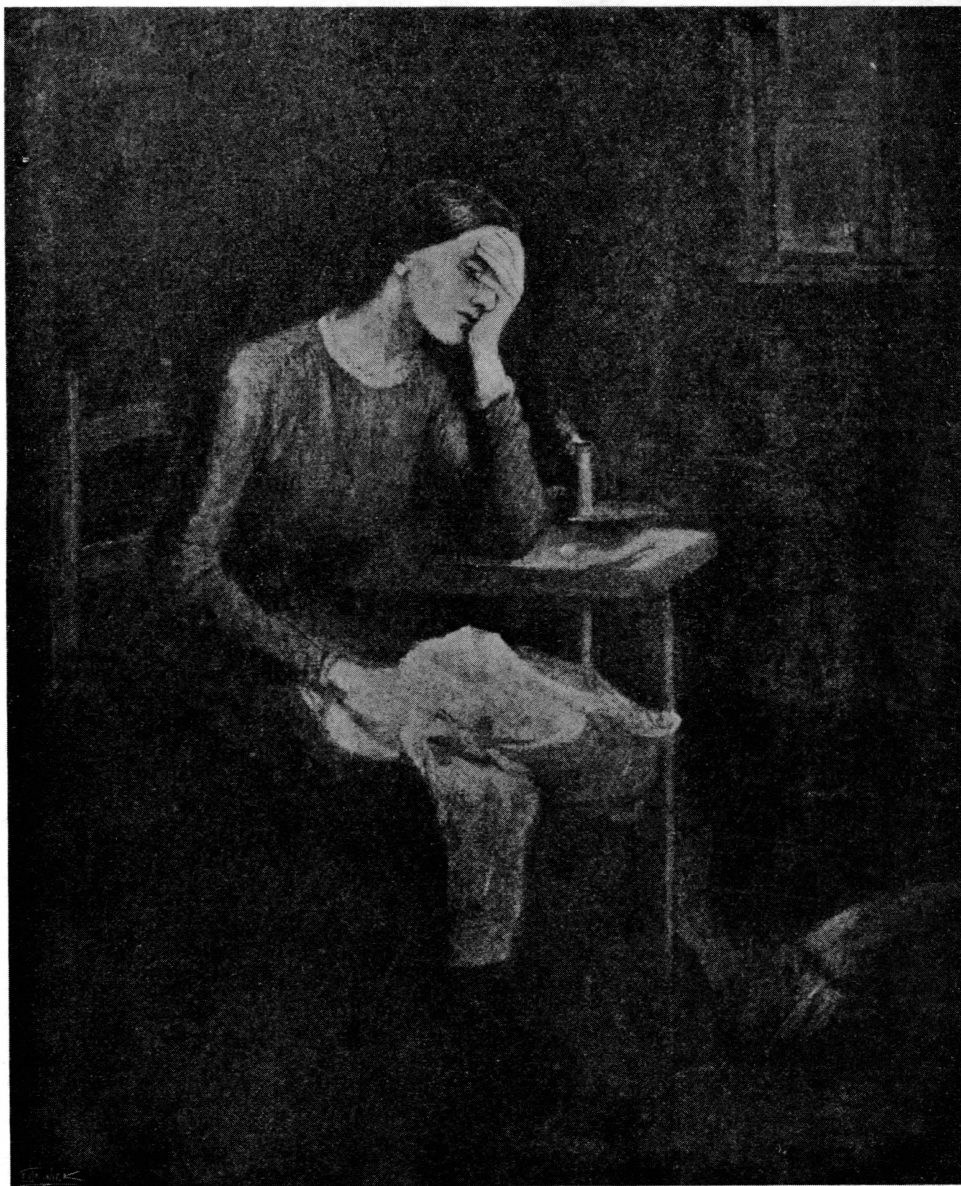


THE *Labour Leader*, London, England, contains an appreciation of the late Mr. G. F. Watts, the great painter, who died a few weeks ago at the age of 88. It is from the pen of Walter Crane, the famous Socialist artist. We quote the following as being especially interesting to Socialists:

"He would not call himself a Socialist but his general conduct and spirit were Socialistic, combined curiously with a certain aristocratic aloofness and dignity. Socialists, however, may usefully see in Watts an instance of a remarkable personality with unique powers as an artist who (apart from delicate

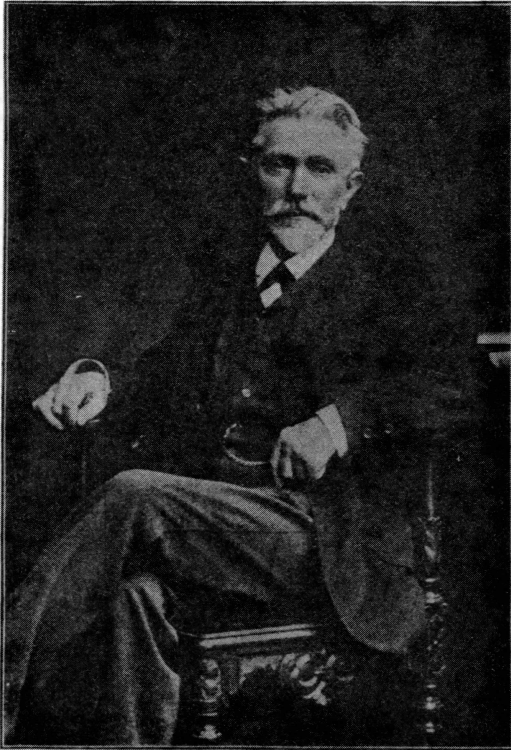
health) was fortunate in suffering under no artificial cramping influence from lack of means or opportunity to develop his genius, and may fairly point the moral of the necessity to all human beings of this freedom from anxiety and care on the score of livelihood in order to develop their best faculties and dedicate them to the service of mankind.

"I believe that the highest ambition of the great artist we have lost was to devote his powers to great public work, to noble mural decoration, where all could see it, and his principal disappointment, if he had any, was the too limited opportunity, in times like ours, afforded him for what he considered the loftiest exercise of an artist's imagination and skill."



The Seamstress.

By G. F. WATTS.



AUGUST BEBEL

The most forceful orator in the German Parliament, where he has represented the Socialist cause for the last 37 years.

10

An Incensed Whitmanite.

HIS DIATRIBE AND PHILOSOPHY.

(J. Bruce Glasier in the "Labor Leader.")



ATELY I spent an evening with an old acquaintance, with whom I have often disputed on social and literary topics far into the morning. Like many men of philosophical temperament, he has always shown a deep distaste of politics — and, I should add, a great misunderstanding of political affairs. Carlyle, Ruskin, Browning, and Whitman have been his literary heroes. Strongly Socialist in feeling, he would never allow that mankind could be improved by means of Acts of Parliament. It was only, he alleged, by the development of the conscience within, not by the development of the darkness of the State control from without, that men and nations could rise to higher things.

On this occasion my friend, who is usually a rather volcanic person, was in a quiet and gloomy mood, and it was not until the household had gone to bed and the mysteries of the side-board had been placed on the table, that he began to liven up and assume his old aggressive habit of speech.

"Do you know," he remarked, "I have come most reluctantly to the conclusion that a man may become wiser as he grows older. Perhaps that is because I am becoming older myself."

"I have not the least doubt of it," I said.

"Don't be flippant," he snapped. "I wish to speak seriously to you to-night. I have something to tell you that may be of some slight advantage to your party — financially, if not morally. I am going to join the Independent Labor Party."

I eyed him meditatively, and remarked: "You want to become an M. P., I suppose? It is alleged by some people that the Independent Labor Party is the only way for men of genius to get into Parliament."

He did not heed my remark, but smoked awhile, and then observed: "Morality and progress, I now see, are co-operative processes; and the wider and more authoritative the co-operation — as in State regulation — the more effective the result. A man cannot save himself alone: he must save society of which he is a part. A mere aggregation of good men will not necessarily constitute a good community—that you have often urged upon me — whereas inferior men, well organized and bound by good laws, may make a highly free and civilized State. The attachment of men towards high ideals is often in reverse ratio to their capacity to act for the realization of those ideals. Often men of the most selfish character approve the most unselfish precepts; just as the most infamous rakes are attracted by the most virtuous women."

After a pause, he resumed: "I was, as you know, for several years a member of a Ruskin Society, but gave it up when I found that, in addition to some excellent men and women, its membership was fast becoming flooded with a throng of unregenerate usurers, sweaters, slum-owners, and Imperialists."

"Robert Burns Clubs are afflicted in a similar way," I mentioned.

"I'm not a Scotchman, and don't know about Burns Clubs. I can stand Scotch whiskey, but not Scotch patriotism," he replied irritably. Then he proceeded:

"Walt Whitman is, however, the last man upon whose name and fame I would have imagined hypocrites and respectables would have dared to fasten their foolish devotion. Yet they crowd round his shrine like flies. Whitman was a much greater portent in modern literature than we probably realise. It is easy, I know, for people to extravagantly praise and extravagantly condemn him. I am more impressed by the bitterness of the condemnation than ardour of the praise. Any foolish thing may be loudly praised: only great things evoke intense reprobation. Whitman was an astounding personality. However we may estimate the merit of his poetical formulae, or even the final substance of his poetry, he ranks as one of the most startling, and, I think, immensely human giants that have dared to stand up in full view of mankind. Without wealth or rank, without the fine raiment of education, and with no dramatic circumstance to elevate him into public view, he rose up, one amongst sixty millions, with his book in his hand, and became recognized as one of the immortal Titans of literature. And now his great, rugged, generous figure is crowded from our sight by a mob of pothatted, frock-coated weaklings and humbugs."

"His admirers," I ventured to remark, "are not all of that deplorable sort. Many of the sincerest and best men and women in this country and America owe their lives as society reformers to him. I include not a few among my friends — one, in particular, a man of rare and, indeed, wonderful radiance of life."

"Yes," he replied, "and please include myself: I do not abate my Whitmanism one jot. But the more I appreciate the greatness I cannot define in Whitman, the more I am enraged with those who honour him with their lips and deny him with their lives. Listen to what a young Socialist friend of mine from America has to say on the subject. He himself is in a fair way of business and I can tell you that to Whitman he owes his Socialism and the fact that as a capitalist he has sought to make a generous and right use of his wealth. This is what he writes: 'I am amazed at what passes in the name of Whitmanism in this country and America. Whitman speaks the pass-word of Democracy. 'By God,' he declares, 'I will accept nothing of which all cannot have their counterpart on the same terms.' That is absolute enough. Then he says: 'You shall not heap up riches — you shall scatter with a lavish hand all you can earn and achieve.' That also is absolute. Yet I know men who affect to be devout disciples of Whitman, who hoard money as greedily as misers, who never give a penny to a public cause, and whose whole aim in life seems to be to make themselves comfortable — let the poor and the brave struggle as they may.' That also is my present experience."

He spoke with great bitterness, and I saw that his resentment was aroused by special circumstances or persons which he did not wish to mention. I remarked: —

"Neither Burns, nor Ruskin, nor Whitman, nor any among us, great or small, can be held accountable for what others may do or fail to do in our name."

"Just so. Neither is Christianity responsible for the anti-Christian conduct of Christian nations, nor Socialism for the vulgarity or egotism of many Socialists. My point is that I now see that mere appreciation of great men or great ideals is of little avail in changing the character of selfish men. We must set about eliminating the means by which selfishness thrives. A quarter of a century of drastic legislation—hanging thieves, rogues, and sweaters, or, better still, making their game impossible, by taking the control of wealth into the community's hands, will do vastly more to improve human character than all the tons of religious injunction, poetry and philosophy that we pile upon the nation."

"Only," I observed, "religion, ethics, poetry, art, and all that develops our social imagination and ideals are part of the means by which the nation becomes civilised to the point of accomplishing such legislation."

"But don't let us forget what Richard Whiting says," he added as he rose, "The great mark of all progressive nations is the struggle of each man to make some other do his dirty work for him, which is commonly called the higher life."

"Socialism is, therefore, the only gospel for progressive nations," I said.

The Decline in the Birthrate.



F all the people in the world the Australians, thinks the *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, could best afford to raise large families, since conditions in their country make it easier for them to get a living than is the case anywhere else. Yet notwithstanding these favorable conditions the birth rate is steadily declining. In the Brisbane Worker we find a very interesting article on the subject. The writer, who signs himself "Touchstone," speaks of New South Wales when he says:

"The 'Mother' State fears she isn't as frequent a mother as she should be, and so agitated has she become thereat that in August last a Royal Commission was appointed to diagnose her case and prescribe a remedy.

"Forty meetings this august body sat in consultation, of witnesses it examined; and now, behold, big with wisdom, it is delivered, with much obstetrical ceremony, of a fine, fat, healthy Report.

"And both, one is happy to say, doing well.

"We have been reluctantly but inevitably driven to the conclusion," says the Commission, "that people, led astray by a false and pernicious doctrine into the belief that personal interests and ambitions, and a high standard of ease, comfort, and luxury, are the essential aims of life, and that these aims are best attained by refusing to accept the consequences which Nature has ordained shall follow from marriage, have neglected, and are neglecting, their true duty to themselves, to their fellow countrymen, and to posterity."

"Note first that it is a false and pernicious doctrine that personal interests and ambitions are the essential aim of life."

"How does that accord with the argument hurled always at us Socialists as a knock-out brickbat, that communal prosperity rests upon individual selfishness, and that the one reliable motive power for social progress is the incentive to personal advantage?"

"The unrestricted reproduction of the species is represented as one of the highest forms of patriotism, as unselfishness in excelsis!

"Does any sensible person off a Royal Commission believe for one moment that it is a sense of 'duty to their fellow countrymen and to posterity' that animates the begetters of big families?"

"A high birthrate does not imply a high national character, as the commissioners declare it does. The human race is not improved by grafting the instincts of the rabbit upon it.

"Where the birthrate is highest, character oftentimes is lowest. The maggot millions of China breed faster than aught else on earth. The famished ryot of India propagates with a fecundity that smites the land like a curse. In the slums of Europe, baby is a disease that spreads quicker than the plague.

"Here in Australia there is nothing wrong with our birthrate. It is sane and sober. It represents the conscious effort of a more enlightened people to regulate and improve the breed. It stamps a higher value upon life. Rapid multiplication cheapens the species. And cheapness means waste.

"LET US LEARN TO CONSERVE THE LIFE THAT COMES TO US BEFORE WE CRY FOR MORE.

The writer then gives some figures to show the great mortality among children in the Australian commonwealth. He continues.

"If that be not social murder, what is it?"

"And who is to blame? Who are the criminals. Why didn't the members of the commission express an opinion on the moral status of the classes who thrive on the conditions that make this homicidal waste of life inevitable?"

"Why have they no word of condemnation for the social system that imbrues with the blood of innocence the hands of all who uphold it?"

"Hundreds of lives, even in our small community, are lost every year by preventible accidents, due to the negligences of greedy employers who count humanity as dust in the scales against profits.

"And thousands perish miserably of diseases contracted in mine, mill and shed — the poison germs of unhealthy conditions of labor.

"It is not difficult to understand that the shark classes are anxious to have human beings spawned like fish in the sea. Where the shoals of life are dense the sharks wax fat.

"It is good for the landlord that many should be born. Every new arrival enhances the value of his land, and provides him with another landless serf to tax.

"It is good for the capitalist that men should breed in myriad masses. He loves to see them rush in crowds when he lifts a beckoning finger, trampling one another under foot in their eagerness to secure his favour,—many labourers for few jobs.

"It is good for the aristocrat that the canaille should swarm like flies in summer. Big populations are most easily oppressed.

"But the day of the people draws nigh and the ethics of reproduction are changing their base.

"We do not hesitate to declare," say the ganders in council, "that the doctrines which advocate and justify a deliberate restriction of child-bearing in marriage are vicious."

"Nay, good friends, it is not the economy of life that is vicious, but its waste. And for that your class is responsible."

"Let them gabble as they will, these birthrate gobblers! The people are growing tired of sacrificing what poor comfort life holds for them in order to multiply slaves for the pleasure of an idle master caste.

"The decline in the birthrate means that we've gone on strike! It means, sirs, that 'it ain't good enough!' It means that we have made up our minds to squeeze a little more enjoyment out of the grey earth than we've been getting in the past.

"Let somebody else bear the burden of 'patriotism' for a bit, and take a turn providing the raw material wherewith to replenish the ranks of the sweated and the unemployed. You, for instance, of the well-to-do-classes! you who can afford to take the world at its best, to travel, to see the wonders of nature and art, to make of Life a scented garden of ease, or a hunting field for the stalking of Ambition, with the game beaten carefully into the range of your guns. What are you doing for posterity, for patriotism, for religion and morality? Good Sirs, and gentle dames, what of your birthrate? It will no longer do to preach that it is the poor man's duty to breed, and breed, and keep on breeding.

"Nature has ordained that these consequences shall follow from marriage."

"Nature has also ordained that lightning when it strikes shall destroy; but we teach her better manners with our lightning conductors.

"What is that which we call Civilization but Man controlling Nature, bending her to his will, bettering her work. Nature spawns millions that one may live. A declining birthrate is the sign of Civilization. It means we have discovered that the ideal is to breed not quickly, but wisely.

"Low as the birthrate is, it more than doubles the deathrate. TWO ARE BORN FOR EVERY ONE THAT DIES. The population will increase fast enough; faster than Society, as it is, deserves. Reduce the death rate still further, stop the murderous waste of Life, and there will be room for another drop in the birthrate without jeopardy to the race.

"The birthrate is too high! Our women are called upon to bear more children than is necessary or healthy. Give Woman a chance to be more human and less cow-like. Abolish the conditions that make her children a chain round the limbs instead of a garland for the brow. Justify marriage to prudent young men and women.

"Take care of the People and the Birthrate will take care of itself."

An Answer to Women Suffragists.

A resolution passed by the International Woman Congress, held at Berlin, demands, not the political freedom of all, but only the political equality of the sexes.



CHANCELLOR BUELOW: The Government shares your opinion. Men and Women should be equals politically. We shall therefore disfranchise the men. Der Wahre Jacob, Stuttgart.

THE COMRADE



PROMISE.

PERFORMANCE.

—Bradley in the Chicago News.

Campaign Fund Sources.



FROM the Wall street point of view it makes little difference whether the next president is a Republican or a Democrat, thinks the *Wall Street Journal*. The Socialists have said so long ago. The paper just mentioned confesses that Wallstreet will contribute to both campaign funds, although the larger share will go to the Parker election fund. A great affection seems to have sprung up

between the New York Judge and Standard Oil.

"Very confident assertions are made by local Democratic politicians that there will be any amount of 'Standard Oil'-money for Judge Parker. The hatred of 'high finance' for President Roosevelt is undiminished, and, indeed, rather refreshed by the hope of defeating him. He is unforgiven because he is unrepentant. It is still in Wall street as it was in February, 1903, 'Anything to beat Roosevelt.'"

A cynical frankness marks the utterances of most of the capitalist papers when they speak about the sources from which the "sinews of war" are to come. But the Philadelphia *Ledger* scents danger in such a state of affairs. It says:

"Do those responsible citizens — manufacturers, merchants, bankers, and men of affairs — who are called upon or who call upon others to contribute to the party campaign funds, consider the use to which their contributions are to be applied? Do they consider what is likely to be the future of a republic in which the election of the president and congress is controlled by the party that can command the most money? Personally, no doubt, they would all decry the purchase and sale of votes. What is their measure of responsibility who supply the means by which votes are bought?"

And the question: "Where is this to lead", is answered by the *Ledger* in this way:

"It leads, in the first place, directly to the corruption of the electorate. As more and more money is spent to purchase votes, an increasing number of voters expose themselves for sale and make the suffrage a means of revenue, bartering their votes to the highest bidder. This is known to be the case, not merely among the dissolute blacks or the 'floaters' of the border states, but actually among the 'sturdy yeomanry' of New England. That responsible American citizens should deliberately contribute to such debauchery is appalling. The use of money becomes so common, is so generally recognized, that the public conscience is deadened, and men who would not themselves accept bribes think it no crime to bribe others. The end of party success is held to justify any and every means. But suppose the public conscience should revolt — what then? Are we not, in tolerating this crime, laying up a dangerous store of opposition to a 'plutocracy' that is real and not imagined, and that can not shield itself by any appeal to conservative justice? The danger far transcends any possible interest of party, any theory of government. There can be no free government at all that is no based upon

the honest convictions, the unpurchased integrity of free men, and the seeds of dissolution are already in a republic where office is purchasable and elections are determined by the largest campaign fund."

As in all other respects, so in regard to the sources of its campaign fund the Socialist Party stands out in bold contrast to the capitalist parties. The *New York World*, a few days ago, called attention to the fact that in many industrial centres there manifests itself a strong trend toward Socialism. The paper insinuated that, to defeat the Democrats, the Republicans support the Socialists, whereupon the *New York Volkszeitung*, the German Socialist Daily, replies that the Socialists, unlike the old parties, always publish an account of their financial transactions. It continues:

"Our campaign fund is composed of small donations, contributed by those who are actuated by a principle, and not by reasons of personal profit. Could the Democrats and Republicans say the same about themselves? Could they tell from whom they received their donations and how much? Are they in a position to give an itemized account of how they spend the enormous sums at their disposal? Do they not at every election accuse each other of having bought voters *en masse*? And does not all the world know that these accusations rest upon a very real basis? The Socialist Party stands before the world clean, and free from any suspicion of using such tricks.

"Its aims cannot be advanced and realized by falsifying the will of the people. It uses other weapons. It does not lure the voter by a bribe, but by pointing out his interests."

The capitalists care but little which one of the twins get the office; it's all in the family anyhow. — Long Island, Ka., *Leader*.

There are two kinds of tramps — one rides in box cars, the other rides on the backs of the working class. Socialism will abolish both.— *Appeal to Reason*, Girard, Kansas.

The economic revolution is gradually incubating. The chicken of collective ownership of all jobs relating to public necessities will certainly be hatched one of these strenuous years. — *Workers' Gazette*, Omaha, Nebraska.

If all workmen worried as much about what would become of their interests under Socialism as some of them do about what is to become of the capitalists under Socialism we would soon have a bald headed race. — *Iowa Socialist*.



There may be a slight difference in the ears, but that's all.

Ryan Walker in *Appeal to Reason*.

Patriotism: Its Growth and Outcome.

E. Belfort Bax in the London Social Democrat.



THE word patriotism, or its equivalents and derivations, is upon everyone's lips at the present time. It is a magic word which is thought by most people to cover any multitude of sins. To be patriotic in whatever cause is tantamount to being virtuous, while no worse charge can be brought against a man in popular estimation, than to say he is unpatriotic.

The earliest known form of human society is that which is based on kinship or blood relationship, real or supposed.

Now the first form of the sentiment which we now call "patriotism," first appears in connection with the notion of kinship or blood relationship. The tribe in its origin, and that important and often practically autonomous organ of the tribe—the clan, were simply groups of kinsmen. I must here premise that modern anthropologists divide the history of human society into (1) Early *tribal* or *group society*, which represents the first organised conditions under which men lived together at all, and (2) the later political society in which these early groups tended to become broken up and merged into centralised States. Now the crucial distinction between these two systems of society is this: tribal society is based on the principle of association, the individual by himself being nothing. The individual tribesman or clansman lives only as a part of the tribe or clan to which he belongs. All his morality consists in devotion to the tribal honour and glory; all his religion (this applies to tribes who have not been interfered with by missionaries)—all his religion, I say, consists in the worship of the tribal ancestors with the due ceremonies prescribed by tradition, or of certain idols or fetiches supposed to represent powers of nature capable of benefiting or injuring the tribe. Tribal society throughout all its phases is essentially communistic. The most important forms of property are held in common by the whole tribe or clan. Personal property is a casual and unimportant phenomenon applying only to objects of constant personal use. In tribal society, therefore, we have the first and most intensely real form of patriotism — a patriotism not based on territory, but on blood. To the primitive Arab tribesman that land is his country on which his tribe for the time being has pitched its tents.

Now, modern or political society is the precise reverse of all this. It is based essentially, not on the principle of associations, but on that of individual autonomy. It is composed, not of groups of kinsmen, all supposed to be united by ties of blood-relationship to each other, but of huge agglomerations of isolated individuals living on a given area of territory. There is no essential bond of social union between these individuals, which constitute the members of the modern State. Their religion is personal, their morality is personal, and their property is personal — in short, if ancient or group society may be described as *communistic*, modern or political society, with its vast centralised national systems, must be described as *individualistic*.

The foregoing is intended to convey in a few words the crucial or salient points respectively of primitive or group society and of modern civilised or political society, considered in their most perfect and logical form. But in the real world of historic evolution these two forms overlap each other; there is a gradual transition, sometimes lasting for several centuries, from early communism to latter-day individualism, from the primitive tribe or clan to the modern State or nation.

Out of the mass of barbaric mankind organised in tribes and clans, in various stages, some tribes of nomadic herdsmen, others already settled in villages as agricultural communities, inhabiting Western Asia, Eastern Europe, and North-Eastern Africa, what we call civilisation arose in the form of the ancient city. The first beginnings of the city-state many historians would place in Egypt more than 3000 years B. C. But when and where the first beginnings of civilization took place, remains at present a matter of speculation. Suffice it to say that the earlier forms of political society existed in Western Asia and in Northern Africa long before they did in Europe, but that before 1000 B. C. we find the beginnings of political or civilized society already established in the peninsulas of Greece and Italy. And if we examine these beginnings as represented by Sparta, Athens, Thebes, Rome, &c. (by those civic communities, *i. e.*, of which we have the most information), we find the political, the individualistic form of society as embodied in the State — as yet confined to the precincts of the city—only very slowly making headway against the old life of the tribal societies which it contained. To give illustrations of this would take us too far. But we may quote what a great scholar has said of the Greek and Roman gens or clan: "Nothing is more closely united than the members of a gens (clan) — united in the celebration of the same sacred ceremonies, they mutually aid each other in all the needs of life. The entire gens (clan) is responsible for the debt of one of its members; it redeems the prisoner and pays the fine of one condemned. Thus the ancient city-state, the first form of civilisation which was

originally nothing but the coalescence of some three or four tribes with their clans and their settlement within a walled area with a fortification in their midst — continued for long to retain the group organisations within it, with their independence largely intact. But little by little the city-state became consolidated, and in proportion as this happened, the powers and independence of the tribes and clans passed over to the central power of the city, as embodied in the united council or senate composed of the heads of the clans, who usually elected the chief magistrate or king from out of their number. Now, as the rights and powers of the smaller communities within the city became restricted and those of the city increased, the old religious patriotism — the zeal or love for tribe and clan — also gradually transferred itself to the city as such. The great temple or temples of the city-gods became the centre of city life and worship and glory, and devotion to the city, and even the ground where it stood was regarded as sacred, became the highest ideal of the citizen."

We now have to notice a further development of political society. Owing to conquest, or sometimes policy, for purposes of offence and defence, arose, the federation of cities under the domination of one city and its ruler, in other words, the empire of the ancient world, such as Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Phoenicia. Here a similar process went on to that within the city itself. The empire absorbed some of the city patriotism, just as the city had absorbed the old patriotism of the several tribes and their clans of which it was composed. But it did not so do to anything like the same extent. The city remained the main essential political unity of the ancient world, and hence the patriotism of the ancient world remained almost wholly a city patriotism. What broke down the city patriotism, was that great political organisation founded on conquest (of a somewhat different character to the oriental empires just referred to), *viz.*, the Roman Empire. Rome in many cases removed the gods of the conquered cities to the seat of empire, and the Roman Empire it was that killed off the patriotism of the ancient world. But the political society of the ancient world, including Roman civilisation, owing to its economic constitution, was impotent to advance to the stage of modern capitalistic society — discovery, invention and improvement having early dried up—in short, ancient civilisation founded as it was economically on slave labour, got into a blind lane, and further progress was barred. In these circumstances it fell a prey to the Northern Barbarians with their tribal organisation and tribal patriotism mainly intact. But at this time the old city-patriotism had long been dead, and superseded by the Christian cosmopolitanism — *i. e.*, by the idea of membership, not of a city, but of a universal church or commonwealth of the faithful. The barbarian nations, however, still retaining their tribal organisation, were also still possessed by the early patriotism of the tribe and the clan. Weakened as this was in proportion as they came in contact with Christianity and Roman civilisation, it was never quite destroyed, but lingered on till it was absorbed by the feudal notion of personal allegiance to a lord, who was, however, originally doubtless regarded in the same light as the old patriarchal head or representative of the tribe or clan. But as mediæval civilisation progressed we see the counterpart of the ancient city-patriotism asserting itself. The mediæval township also, like the city of the ancient world, had a patriotism of its own, and throughout the Middle Ages it waged war with the feudal principle which endeavoured to crush it. In the Middle Ages thus we have local and personal or feudal patriotism (if we may call them so) and at the same time the international notion of the unity of Christendom or the patriotism of the Catholic Church. But as yet there is no national or State-patriotism such as we find to-day in Britain, France, or Germany. This latter first arose as modern capitalism arose, and as the old world societies of the manor or village and of the township became broken up. It is perhaps difficult for some of you to realize how great was the independence of the village and of the township in the Middle Ages, and how they resented interference from any centralised power. One of the most cherished privileges was the right to have a gallows and hang anybody on it who displeased the burghers or their local authorities, the symbol of independence.

On the Continent, especially in Germany and Italy, the independence of the manors and townships was virtually complete. Even in England, where it was much less so, owing to circumstances we cannot now enter into, towns such as London, Norwich, Halifax, &c., had such large measures of autonomy as would stagger the modern municipal reformer. Mediæval civilisation, although not communistic like tribal society, was very imperfectly individualistic. Considerable fragments of primitive institutions clung to it. It was, as already said, through and through local, and based on the group rather than the individual — on the manor, the guild and the township. But towards the close of the mediæval period, with the new inventions that arose, the discovery of America and the Cape route, the old order began to change; capitalism and new commercial syndicates, production of wealth on a great scale, for profit, and not as before mainly for use,

THE COMRADE

drove a wedge into the old society. At the same time that production began to centralise, government began to centralise—in short, the modern national State or political society based on individualism was born. As it progressed, absorbing and destroying the old institutions, or making them subordinated to its own interests, the modern national patriotic sentiment developed also. At first, however, it was confined to the pride of national maintenance and defence against any form of aggression. Patriotism, in fact, to be a "patriot," meant formerly, notably during the French Revolution, to be on the side of the people of the country, not so much against a foreign enemy as against the governing classes of the country itself who were oppressing the people—in other words to be, as we should say to-day, a good democrat. But the rise and progress of modern capitalism—the capitalism of the great machine in society, of chartered commercial companies, and of modern high financial potentates and syndicates, has changed all this. The need of fresh markets, of cheap labour, of new territories to exploit for mineral and agricultural products, has altered the conditions of modern external policy, just as capitalism itself had already altered the conditions of English economic social and domestic life. The term patriotism has hence to-day acquired a changed meaning; patriotic sentiment is now an asset of capitalism. This is aided by the patriotic symbol—the national flag. Now this emblem, the flag, has become the trade mark of a certain State system. But if we look back at its evolution, we find it has passed through stages precisely corresponding to those of the sentiment of patriotism itself. At first it was represented by the totem, as it was called—that is, a symbol representing an animal or plant from which, according to the ideas of patriotism then prevalent, the tribe or clan believed itself to be descended, or at least whose preternatural protection it claimed. In the city stage the standard under which the citizen fought bore emblazoned on it the patron god of the city. During the Middle Ages we find a corresponding symbol in the patron saint of the township, or some sign supposed to represent him also inscribed on the town flag. The lord of every manor—i. e., the head of every rural community of the Middle Ages—also had the emblem representing his house, under which he fought, and which constituted his coat of arms. Now the modern nation, so soon as it became welded together as a centralised State—i. e., as the organised political whole which had destroyed the autonomy of the smaller social groups, and absorbed them—the modern nation also assumed a banner with devices taken from the arms of its royal house, or emblematic of something connected with national myth or history. The "Union Jack" of Great Britain (the two crosses), as you may know, was adopted in the reign of James I., in 1606, and in its present form (the three crosses), in that of George III., in 1801. The flag, in short, in all ages and countries has been always, in its chief aspect, a symbol of a particular form of the patriotic sentiment.

Patriotism, or the sentiment corresponding to it, out of which it sprang, has, as we have seen, its source and origin in a sentiment of solidarity with an organised group of persons supposed to have been descended from common ancestors. It had its meaning in an intimate sense of blood-kinship and the duties and privileges from it. It was therefore necessarily limited in scope. Subsequently, as the social body got enlarged so as to include three or four or more tribes with their clans (a small "people," in fact), often a settled community residing within walled or enclosed area round some natural stronghold, the sentiment of patriotism got enlarged too to that extent, and also became associated with a definite locality. Throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages—i. e., throughout the imperfect period, as we may call it, of State centralisation on an individualistic basis—the further extensions of the sentiment to vast aggregations of population and great extents of territory, as in modern times, were alike weak and more or less transient. Only under the influence of modern capitalism and modern State-centralisation, by which all the old group societies of whatever nature, the tribe, the clan, the village community, the trade guild or the township (as an independent political entity) have been broken up and their functions taken over by the central official organization of the national State—in short, only since the autonomous individual has replaced the group as the unit of society can patriotism, in the modern sense, be said to have established itself.

And now the question arises in its transference and metamorphosis from the more or less limited social group, based originally on the idea of kinship, real or supposed, and later depending on local proximity, and to some extent on the possibility of mutual acquaintance, Has the sentiment of patriotism, I say, not lost all real meaning in this transference, and become a bogus and a sham sentiment no longer of any service to mankind, but on the other hand capable of being exploited by interested persons in a manner which renders it one of the most dangerous frauds at present existing?

Now let us ask ourselves what is the object which inspires modern national patriotic sentiment? It is, in the most important cases, a vast bureaucratic State-system, a huge official organisation. But, no, it will be said there is the question of race and language. In the British Islands the population consists in England of an amalgamation of various Teutonic races, the predominant being the Anglo-Saxon speaking various dialects of the English language; in Wales we find a pure Celtic race speaking a pure Celtic language. In parts of Ireland and the north of Scotland we have another branch of the Celtic family, speaking another Celtic language. And yet Wales and even Ireland are called upon to be loyal, i. e., patriotic in the interests of the British

Empire, i. e., of the domination of the Anglo-Saxon race over alien races.

Again, Switzerland, a country in which you find the strongest patriotic feeling, is mainly composed of fragments of three distinct modern nationalities with their several languages, each of which possesses outside the Swiss Confederation its own state system on a large scale. I might point out the same as regards France, Austria or Russia. It is plain therefore that neither identity of race nor language, nor, witness Germany and Austria, even a common history constitutes the essential basis of the patriotic feeling. The patriotic French Canadians have neither a common race, nor language, nor history with the Englishman. No, the only thing left then is an identity of State system, i. e., a common subjection to the same governing classes and the same official organisation.

Now this fact, we Socialists claim, is not good enough for a bond of union. We find nothing calculated to inspire a reasonable working-class in the thought that they are slaves of one governmental system run by their masters rather than another and a rival one. Hence the motto of Social-Democracy, "Proletarians of all countries unite." To-day we too often see the spectacle of the working classes uniting to applaud the crimes of their exploiters. And how is this? Because their exploiters are able to make use of the hereditary interest of slavish patriotism for their own purpose.

If I can only persuade one among you to see how the working classes are being hoodwinked and duped in this country and elsewhere by patriotic cries, and to hasten the day, be it never so little, when the working classes of the civilised world will, with one consent, finally abandon the national flags of their masters, and range themselves under the banner of international Socialism and human brotherhood, I shall not have spoken in vain.



TOLSTOY and TSCHETCHOW.

This picture shows the great Russian writer, whose denunciation of war makes just now the rounds of the press, in company with Anton Tschetchow, the famous story writer, who died a few weeks ago.



FAMINE, REVOLUTION AND WAR:

The Tsar's gruesome visitors.

Der Wahre Jacob.

The Execution of Russia's Arch-Criminal.



ZARISM has lost one of its most precious tools, a tool animated by the most fiendish desire for blood and crime, by the sudden removal of the Russian Minister of the Interior, von Plehve. The Socialists do not preach assassination, but on the other hand they have no reason to shed tears when fate overtakes a brute like Plehve. Says the *Worker*:

"If ever humane people had reason, sincerely to rejoice over the death of any man, that man was the late Russian Minister of the Interior, Von Plehve. In a singular degree he combined the vices of a Judas and Nero. His whole career was stained with the tears and blood of thousands of victims, from the benefactor and fosterfather whom he betrayed many years ago down to the Jews of Kishineff, the workmen of Baku, and the politicals of Kalisch. The killing of Von Plehve was not a murder; it was the execution of a monstrous criminal.

"It was no accident that a man of so thoroughly infamous character had come to occupy so high a position in the Russian government. That, of all governments, being the most autocratic and reactionary, most needs criminals as its administrators. It was not Von Plehve that made the Tsar's government atrocious, it was the atrocity of Tsarism itself that gave Von Plehve his opportunity. And it follows from this that it is not to be expected that his removal will essentially change the character of Tsarism, any more than the hanging of a common murderer puts an end to murder. The assassination will probably serve somewhat to restrain the government through fear, for a time, and it will certainly have the good effect of inspiring the forces of revolt — as was immediately demonstrated by the stoning of Muravieff's carriage.

"But our Russian friends do not expect to regenerate Russia by assassination. They reserve that method for the punishment of exceptional scoundrels, but their policy of educating and organizing the masses will be carried on just the same."

From the *Western Clarion* we quote the following:

"M. Von Plehve, Russian minister of the interior, has been retired from office, by the explosion of a bomb thrown for the purpose, as he was passing along a crowded thoroughfare. As his predecessor was retired in a similar public, speedy and effective manner, it seems to be the regular routine. Having presumably enjoyed the usual emoluments of the office, and been accorded the usual spectacular exit therefrom M. Von Plehve should have no serious complaint to make. So far as we know, he rests perfectly satisfied.

"To those who shudder at such acts, we request that they calm their shudders by reading, 'In the Prisons of the Czar,' found in another column of this issue. However ineffective these so-called 'assassinations' may be in the way of abolishing the brutalities of despotism, the wonder is that more such do not occur. It should be remembered that accounts of these horrors perpetrated upon its unfortunate victims by Russian despotism only leak out in an occasional way. They can only reach the outside world by running the gauntlet of a most rigid censorship. It is safe to say that but an insignificant per cent of these horrible brutalities are ever told to the outside world. The snuffing out of the life of one brutal and loathsome M. Von is not of itself a pleasing spectacle. Yet he was snuffed out in the twinkling of an eye. Compare this with the excruciating tortures inflicted upon political prisoners as recorded in the article mentioned, which is but an epitome of what has been for years practised upon such offenders, and it must be acknowledged that the instincts of at least common decency are stronger in the breast of the bomb thrower, than in the breast of the ruler of the Russias and his brutal tools."

The *Montana News* says:

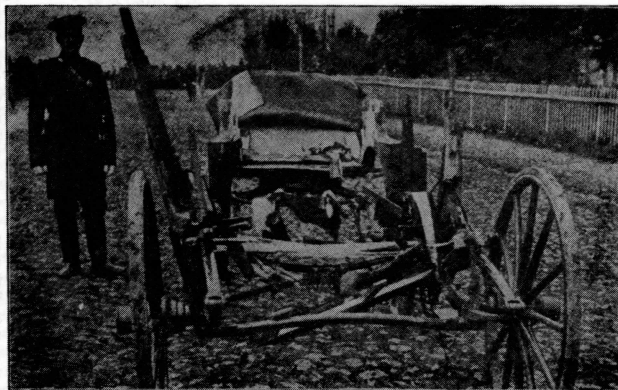
"There are two or three points of interest to be noted and thoroughly impressed upon the mind of the thinking people in regard to the assassination of M. von Plehve, late minister of Russia. His killing was no more than an outgrowth of a government that he supported. Like begets like. He was the prime murderer of the Jews. He favored the anarchistic rule of the Russian government over its people. He fostered and encouraged a system that breeds anarchy. He got burned with the fire of nihilism that he had kindled during his life. The condition of the populace of Russia is such that they have no other way of being heard at the throne of the czar than through the bomb."

London *Justice*, the organ of the Social Democratic Federation, remarks:

"From our point of view as Social-Democrats, an assassination of this sort, though not part of our tactics, is quite excusable if not laudable. We are glad the ruffian has been executed, that is to say, though we disapprove generally of these methods and know that capital punishment thus inflicted will not diminish the crimes of which he and his like are guilty, or, for that matter, greatly hasten on the desired change in any way. For the revenge is quite justifiable and we only wonder he lived so long."

The following is from the *Labour Leader*, London, England:

"Autocracy and despotism, with their handmaid repression, inevitably lead to the secret society, the dagger, and the bomb. All history bears witness to this fact. The great principle of justice cannot be trampled under foot with impunity. Men have uprising all through the ages, and will continue to uprising, who are willing to sacrifice themselves when tyranny and oppression have overstepped a certain point. The tragic death of M. Plehve, the Russian Minister of the Interior, accentuates these elementary truths, now recognized all over the civilized world — except in Russia."



Plehve's Carriage after the Explosion.

Gompers' Scheme does'nt work.



AMUEL GOMPERS has issued an extra number of the *American Federationist* for the purpose of influencing legislation. As he states, "the objects of the American Federation of Labor include the securing of legislation in the interest of the working people. This is stated in two of the four sections setting forth the objects of the organization. The method of securing legislation is the trade union system as distinguished from party politics. This is stated in the preamble of our constitution. Measures, not men, is our motto." The President of the American Federation of Labor is unable to show anything else but failure for this method of securing labor legislation, which is, as the Socialists claim, the surest method of not securing it. But Gompers thinks that the wisdom of this position "is evidenced by the phenomenal growth and influence of the American Federation of Labor and the general trade union movement."

He furthermore says:

"This system of non-partisan politics has had a gradual development, and during the past two years has occurred an epoch-making advance. It has been found that a systematic questioning of candidates of all the parties and publication of replies prevents the sidetracking of live issues by party managers."

The fallacy of this "trade union method of securing legislation" is set forth by the *New Time*, Spokane, Wash., which says:

"Mr. Gompers has advised unions all over the country to propound the following questions to the different candidates for congress and to vote for those who answer favorably:

'Will you vote against government by injunction by voting for our bill on that subject?

'Will you vote for our eight-hour bill?

'Will you vote for the people's sovereignty by voting to establish in the people a right to a direct vote on public question?'

"Of course Mr. Gompers knows that all Socialists are in favor of these and much more but he does not advise his followers to vote the Socialist ticket.

"Mr. Gompers betrays his ignorance of the class character of our government when he hopes that candidates of parties whose campaign expenses are paid by corporations, who owe their whole power to the fact that they are backed by corporate wealth, are going to vote for any bills which will interfere with their benefactors, the corporations. Mr. Gompers don't use the most ordinary common sense when he attempts such a thing.

"On the other hand the candidates on the Socialist ticket owe allegiance to no one but those who not only vote for them but pay the expenses of their campaign and are ready to instruct and counsel them all the time.

"Mr. Gompers you may fight Socialism awhile longer but if you persist too long and remain a stumbling block in the path of progress we'll brush you aside and you will go down in history branded with infamy."

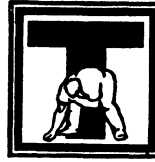
The *Iowa Socialist* remarks in this connection:

"Gompers' latest is a scheme for the exaction of pledges from political candidates as to the position they would take on the eight-hour and anti-injunction bills in the event of their election. Most men learn by experience, but Sammy is not one of that kind. Poor Sam. Poor dupes."

Report of the Socialist National Convention.

The Report of Proceedings of the National Convention is now ready in print. In addition to a stenographic report of everything that was said, as well as a complete report of everything that was done, on the convention floor, there is an appendix containing the list of delegates, the platform and constitution, report of committee on state and municipal program, rules of convention, national committee, state secretaries, resolutions, list of Socialist papers, Socialist vote of the world, and a comprehensive index of the report proper. Altogether the report is a credit to its compiler, and every Socialist should secure a copy. The price in paper covers is 50 cents. In cloth, \$1, postage paid. Send orders direct to Wm. Mailly, National Secretary, 269 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.

Labor Leaders on Old Party Tickets.



THE CAPITALIST parties have always thought it a wise move to throw a few minor offices to some labor leaders, in order to make them lead the workers into the shambles of capitalist politics. The following from *The Crisis* shows how Socialists regard such labor leaders:

"How any self-respecting workingman, and more particularly a labor union man can take his stand upon the same platform with men who have used all the powers at their command to crush union labor, seems, to say the least, incomprehensible. Can any workingman be so simple-minded as to imagine that a few labor men elected to office can be greater than the party to which they belong? Any political party in order to be effective must be united, and it is absurd to imagine that two opposing interests can be served by the same party. Should a legislator, who is a labor union man, propose any legislation on behalf of his union brothers, he would be at once opposed by other members of the legislature within his own party, who are the paid attorneys of corporate interests. Is any man so simple minded as to doubt the outcome in a case like this. Does he think that the eloquence of a few labor men in the legislature halls can in the least influence these paid attorneys to be false to the interests that give them their living? And if these champions of labor are so numerous and persistent in their demands, is it reasonable to suppose that the great capitalist interests that furnish the campaign funds, are going to allow them to be renominated?

"The gentlemen in this and other cities who furnish Republican and Democratic headquarters, and give large sums of money to run a campaign, who hire speakers, publish literature, rent halls, buy booze and votes and do all the various things incidental to achieving party victory, are not going to all this expense and trouble in order that men shall be placed in position of power that will enable them to injure their interests. Neither do they desire to expend their money and then have to come and beg for friendly legislation at the hands of those whom their money helped elect.

"It is not saying too much to state that any member of organized labor who allows himself to be used by the wily managers of both old parties, is either a fool or a knave. If he conscientiously imagines that he can be of service to members of his class, and at the same time find favor with the capitalist class to the extent of receiving their endorsement and assistance, then his reasoning faculties are undeveloped.

"The truth of the matter is, that the average working man possesses a low estimate of himself, and feels flattered and honored when notice is taken of him by those occupying a more favorable social position. His vanity is aroused and his reasoning powers flee. He imagines that he has been sought out, and honor conferred upon him, because of an inherent greatness in himself that attracts the notice of those whom he is in the habit of looking up to. His vanity blinds him to the fact that he is simply being used as a decoy duck to lure his brothers into the snare. If he is honest, he is satisfied with this empty honor and rendered harmless. If he is bright and inclined to be troublesome, he is either bought off, or if too honest for this, he is effectually squelched and his political career comes to a sudden end. How long are workers going to be fooled by decoy ducks?"

Socialism Made Plain

Allan L. Benson has made a very valuable contribution to the American Socialist propaganda literature by publishing "Socialism Made Plain," which has been issued by the Milwaukee Social Democratic Publishing Co. The pamphlet contains 135 pages, and since it appears in a decent dress, the price of 10 cents is certainly a very low one. The author, fitted for his task by many years of newspaper work, has a lucid style and his manner of setting forth the merits of Socialism may be said to be logical and convincing. He treats of the wrongs that demand a remedy, the causes that make the wrongs, defines Socialism, and shows how it will come. There are chapters on the Farmer question, on Womanhood and Childhood, and on Wars. The pamphlet will doubtless have a wide circulation.

The American Movement.

A little tract like "The American Movement" by Eugene V. Debs has long been needed. It is the very thing to be handed to the man who has just embraced the principles of Socialism and needs instruction regarding the history of the movement. This pamphlet will show the new convert that there were others before him and that the movement does not start with his conversion to Socialism. Such historical teaching tends to make a man see more clearly his proper place and duty in the great revolutionary army. The pamphlet contains in a few pages a great array of historical facts and makes very interesting reading. Its price is 5 Cents. It is published by the Standard Publishing Co. in Terre Haute, Ind.

The Strike Breaker.



HERE is no doubt but that the Socialists are far from showing any great affection for the individual who belongs to that class of men known as strike-breakers. News items in the Socialist press usually speak of the "scab" in a rather reproachful manner. But a deliberate and careful consideration of the subject by a well grounded Socialist is likely to lead to conclusions quite different from those expressed by pure and simple unionists. This will be seen by comparing the opinions expressed by Frank K. Foster, in the *Buffalo Express*, with those voiced by the editor of the *Western Clarion*, Vancouver, B. C. Mr. Foster, who is an ardent advocate of trade unionism and at the same time an even more ardent enemy of Socialism, regards the question of the strike breaker from the moral standpoint. He says:

"The question is not a legal but a moral one, a question not of legal rights, but of moral duties."

"To say that the non-unionist has the moral right to work how, when or where he pleases is, of course, the same thing as saying that he has the moral right, if he pleases, entirely apart from extenuating circumstances, to become a strike breaker, an active agent working against his fellow craftsmen, a traitor to his class and kind."

"How does the act of the strike breaker square with the sublime injunction, 'Do unto others as ye would have them do unto you'? By what tortuous logic can it be asserted that the man who from selfish personal interest seeks to profit by the industrial difficulties of his fellow men is acting in accordance with the Golden Rule?"

"There are sometimes, but rarely, extenuating circumstances under which the strike breaker acts. He may be driven by want, but that seldom happens, for at least when labor is organized those who are in real need are provided with the necessities of life from the union funds. He may sometimes be actuated by a feeling of friendship for an employer. But the strike breaker, pure and simple, the non-union man, who embraces the opportunity of taking jobs which his fellow craftsmen have forsaken on principle, is actuated by no such motive, but by unadulterated selfishness."

The matter looks different to the *Western Clarion*, which says:

"It has become quite the fashion, more especially in trade union circles, to denominate those who, from the great mass of surplus labor in the market, step into the places made vacant by men on strike, as 'strike breakers.' It is a less harsh sounding term than 'scab.' The inference is in either case the same. The strike breaker or scab is considered by the strikers as the very incarnation of all that is vile. When he makes his appearance all else is forgotten in a frenzied desire to wreak vengeance upon the offender. On August 3rd an assault was made upon a dozen or so 'strike breakers' by a mob of fully a thousand striking meat workers at Chicago. In protecting the 'strike breakers' the police found it necessary to club about 30 of the mob into submission. It is particularly noticeable that these assaults are, as a rule, made by overwhelming numbers. Laying the merits of the case one side, the most lenient view to be taken of them is that they furnish no creditable display of manhood and courage. A lot of maudlin sympathy has been poured out upon men on strike, and infamy untold heaped upon the 'strike breakers' or 'scab.' In neither case could any justification be found were the matter reasoned out without prejudice."

"What is the status of the worker in employment? Precisely the same as that of any other seller of a commodity. In the case of the meat worker at Chicago for instance he was, while in employment, engaged in delivering to the packers, the commodity labor power which he was at that time selling at the rate of 18½ cents per hour. Barring any special agreements to the contrary, either party was at liberty, to end the bargain or contract whenever the conditions of purchase or sale were no longer satisfactory. The men not satisfied with the packers' proposal to cut the price to 17½ cents, refused to longer deliver the labor power. The former understanding came to an end. The men walked out. Having refused to deliver labor at the offered price, they no longer have any claim upon the packers or vice versa. The former relation of buyer and seller of labor power no longer exists between them. Each is clearly within his province and rights in making arrangements with other parties. The workers are within their rights in selling labor power to, the packers are within their legal rights in purchasing from others."

Outside the factory gates, here and there throughout the length and breadth of the labor market, stands a great mass of surplus workers forced by necessity to sell their labor at the first opportunity. This opportunity is afforded by the refusal of the meat workers to longer deliver the goods. The packers knew this hungry multitude was waiting, and hoping just outside the gates. That is the reason they proposed the reduction in price. The presence of such a surplus of any commodity in the market is all the warrant any sensible purchaser

would need to cut the price. The condition not only warrants, but forces a reduction under such circumstances."

"The packers call upon the surplus labor in the market, and it begins to flow in to fill the vacancy caused by the withdrawal from sale of the volume of labor power formerly consumed. The labor thus flowing into the shops is clearly within its legal rights, and the packers are within theirs in purchasing it."

"It is useless to try to frighten it away by the bandying of opprobrious epithets, and the hurling of bricks. It has legality upon its side and therefore, all the powers of the state at its back. It is folly to expect to conjure it away by frantic appeals for justice, human rights, and such clap-trap. The cry often goes up from the striker that these men are 'taking our jobs.' This is truly a pitiful squeal, inasmuch as the accusation is false in every particular. A seller of any commodity who may find a purchaser with whom he can make satisfactory terms, is within his legal rights in closing a sale. This of necessity applies to sellers of labor power as well as any other, and it can not be truthfully said of them that they 'are taking other men's jobs,' when they are merely filling places already made vacant. It is equally silly to assert 'they are taking the bread out of our mouths,' because it is equally untrue. The so-called 'strike-breaker' or 'scab' is no more taking the bread out of the striker's mouth at the time of the strike, than the latter was taking the bread out of the former's mouth prior thereto. With a surplus of labor in the market some will of course be unemployed at least a portion of the time. Wages, especially in the more common lines of employment will be low. To expect the victims of such circumstances to stand aloof when anything like steady work is offered is to expect that which is most unreasonable. To ask them to stand idly by and patiently bear their miseries in order that others may be protected in their employment and wages is downright impudence. No man would ever expect it. No man would ask it. The miserable conditions confronting the workers and at times driving them to acts of frenzied brutality amongst themselves arise from the fact that labor power is held in the category of commodities where of course it must be controlled by the same merciless rules which apply to other commodities. Labor power is so held because the means of labor (mines, factories, railways, resources of the earth, etc.,) are capitalist property. The enormous benefits arising by virtue of the productive power of labor, made possible through modern tools and methods, go entirely to the owners of the resources, and tools of production. Those outside of such ownership must needs peddle labor power for a living and are of necessity forced to accept such price therefor as the condition of the market may determine. A large number of peddlers, and a limited number of purchasers inevitably means a low price."

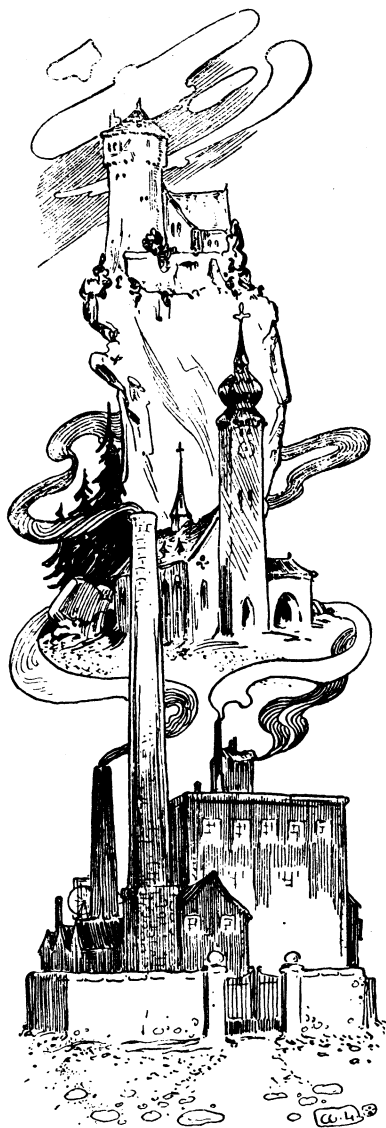
"Labor cannot escape, or be lifted from the category of commodities by organized and unorganized pelting each other with bricks and otherwise making asses of themselves. It requires action entirely outside of those miserable squabbles which spring up inside the camp of labor in consequence of the chronically overstocked conditions of the market."

"Workingmen must learn to view the situation from other than the narrow job standpoint. Once they see it from the standpoint of the working class, they will bring to an end the present futile struggles by the ending of the wage system."

Books Received.

- TOLSTOY'S LETTER ON THE WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND JAPAN. 59 pages. Paper; Price 10c. Chicago: Hammersmark Publishing Co.
- WHAT IS ART? By Leo Tolstoy. With Introduction by Aylmer Maude. 237 pages. Cloth; Price 80c. net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co.
- AMERICAN PAUPERISM AND THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY. By Isador Ladoff. 230 pages. Cloth; Price 50c. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.
- FREE AMERICA. By Bolton Hall. 220 pages. Paper; Price 25c. Chicago: L. S. Dickey & Co.
- ESSAI SUR LA PROPRIETE. By Ernest Farbouriech. 356 pages. Paper; Price 3 fr. 50. Paris: V. Giard and E. Briere.
- SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN. By Allan L. Benson. 135 pages. Paper. Price 10c. Milwaukee Social Democratic Publishing Co.
- THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE. By Walter Thomas Mills. 640 pages. Cloth; Price \$2.50. Chicago, Ill.: International School of Social Economy.
- PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 1st TO 6th, 1904. 337 pages. Paper, Price 50c.; Cloth, \$1.00. Chicago: National Headquarters.
- THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT. By Eugene V. Debs. 28 pages. Paper; Price 5c. Terre Haute, Ind.: Standard Publishing Co.
- THE CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE. By Emma F. Langdon. Cloth; illustrated; 250 pages; Price \$1.25. Victor, Colo.: Emma F. Langdon.

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