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This is *an invaluable work*, and I shall appreciate it more and more as I have occasion to consult and quote from its pages. The service you have rendered the American people, and especially to the workers of the nation, can scarcely be overestimated.—*Eugene V. Debs.*

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*The*  
INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIII

JULY, 1912

No. 1

Newspaper  
War  
Chicago

By

WILLIPS RUSSELL

RECAP 1/6 13 1912 13  
AFTER two months to think it over, the Chicago newspaper publishers now probably realize that they have bitten off more than they can chew. The trades which they forced to strike the first of May have proven just

a little bit stronger than even the much-vaunted "power of the press." They are now in the same fix that the little boy who took hold of an electric battery found himself in—they wish somebody would come along and help them let go.

The printers having decided to stay at work and scab, the capitalists of the black headline could probably have beaten the single craft of pressmen, and the stereotypers too, but they failed to take account of another factor in the battle—the newsboys. The publishers safeguarded the production but failed to make secure the distributing end. They thought they had the newsboys tamed after years of oppression. But they were mistaken. Two days after the pressmen were thrown into the street, the newsies hit the organized publishers of Chicago a blow that rattled their teeth. They refused any longer to sell the capitalist newspapers. They were soon followed by the drivers, who refused to handle the reins on scab delivery wagons, and by the circulators, the boys who deliver papers to residences.

From that time on these young fellows had to bear the brunt of the fight. Their position was right on the firing line where they were called upon to withstand the incessant assaults of the enemy.

The publishers were not long in hitting back. Andy Lawrence, W. R. Hearst's chief hired man in Chicago, rushed to Mayor Carter Harrison's office and de-

manded that the city streets and the police department be turned over to the newspaper publishers. The mayor complied with alacrity and all the powers of the municipal government were immediately placed at the disposal of Hearst and his fellow plutocrats of the printed page. The spectacle that followed was of the most brazen description, but so accustomed are our "free-born American citizens" to this sort of thing that it was accepted as a matter of course.

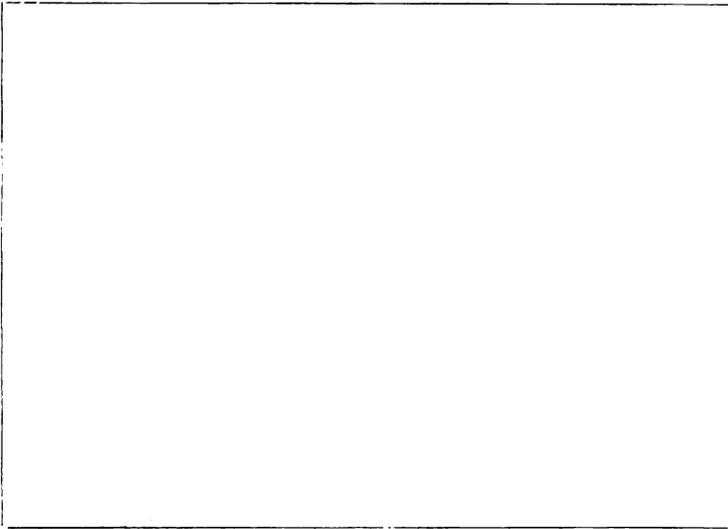
Chicago took on the appearance of a city in a state of siege. Blue-coats were thick upon every corner and a powerful cordon of police and detectives was thrown about that gorgeous structure, the Hearst building at Madison and Market streets. This and surrounding cities were scoured for scabs, but the response at first was slow and for several days almost no capitalist papers could be had on Chicago streets. The loss to the publishers must have been enormous. Consequent upon the shrinkage in circulation, the pulling power of the advertisements of big stores began to weaken and the merchants began to put up a howl. This spurred the publishers to renewed efforts and negroes, old women, and small girls were put out to fill the places of the newsboys.

Collisions resulted and the negroes were soon withdrawn, but the women and children were kept at the stands. This was a cunning trick on the part of the publishers, since the women and girls were used both to excite sympathy and to act as shields.

Not only did the city administration throw a protecting arm about the poor, worried publishers but opened an aggressive campaign against the newsboys. Wholesale arrests of the striking boys were made on a charge of "disorderly conduct" and many of them were brutally beaten and slugged. An old city ordinance against street cries by peddlers was dug up, dusted off, and made to apply to the newsboys and thereafter any union boy who called his extras was immediately arrested and jailed.

The news-stands which the boys had used for years were taken away from them and squads of policemen were sent over the city to see that this order was

THIS SCAB BOY WAS SO SMALL HE HAD TO  
STAND ON TIPTOE TO PICK UP PENNIES.



OLD WOMAN USED AS STRIKEBREAKER AND PROTECTED BY BOTH MOUNTED AND FOOT POLICEMEN.

enforced. Newsies who had long occupied certain corners suddenly found themselves without even a shelf on which to place their heavy bundles and were forced to lay their papers on the curbing where they were quickly soiled by the dirt and mud of the streets. They were prodded and harried incessantly by the police and by the army of city detectives and privately hired spies and strong-arm men.

Nothing was left undone to make life miserable for the boys and to prevent them from making a living. For example, the boys had long handled the Saturday Evening Post on their stands. Suddenly the boys were informed that no more copies of the Post would be supplied them and thus another source of revenue was cut off. It was found that the publishers had brought pressure to bear on the Saturday Evening Post people and had stopped the delivery contractor in Chicago from supplying the boys with any more copies.

But despite the almost ceaseless persecution, the newsboys held their ground. Through all the threats, arrests and beatings to which they were constantly subjected they stood steadfast. Finding that brutality would not win for them, the publishers adopted oily smiles and sent emissaries to make overtures to the boys, who replied that they would return to work when the other trades did and not before.

Most of them managed to make a living by selling the *Daily Socialist* which changed its name to *The World*, with morning and evening editions. But the demand for union papers was far greater than the *World* was able to supply and there were many boys who found their means of livelihood almost gone. Then they found they could do well with the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and sales of the Socialist monthly helped out earnings considerably. A brisk demand soon sprang up and the REVIEW was put on sale in parts of the city where it had never been seen before. Even in the heart of the financial district the REVIEW sold surprisingly well.

## STRIKE COMMITTEE OF FEDERATED NEWSPAPER TRADES IN SESSION.

There was a comic aspect to the efforts made to protect the "finks" who sold the capitalist papers. It was a common sight to see one foot policeman and one mounted cop guarding a single scab stand and in the early days of the fight it was not unusual to see three or four cops both in uniform and plain clothes guarding one trembling little fink.

But business for the publishers remained poor and to stimulate sales the cops themselves began selling the scab papers. Prodded on by orders from above, the scabbing coppers made every effort to induce the public to buy the wretched sheets that purported to be newspapers, even interfering with sidewalk traffic in their attempts to make sales. The day's work done many cops forced the "finks" to hand over half of their receipts.

But despite all these numerous devices, great dents and holes were made in the circulation of the capitalist papers. In some parts of town it was impossible to buy a scab sheet and in the working class districts, where the Hearst papers had always been strong, no one would touch a copy. Severe fines were im-

posed by many unions on all members caught reading a scab paper.

For purposes of defense, the newsboys joined the other locked-out unions in forming the Federated Newspaper Trades. A committee was organized to conduct the strike, composed of L. P. Straube of the Stereotypers, William O. Kennedy of the Drivers, W. C. Cotton of the Pressmen, and Dave Pacelli of the Newsboys as officers, together with three representatives of each trade involved, and one representative each of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Franklin Pressmen's Union No. 4 and Printing Pressmen's Union No. 3.

An able general was Tony Ross, President of the Newsboys' Protective Union, who started selling papers when he was eight years old. He was assisted by Secretary Maurice Racine, and Business Agent David Pacelli. Regular meetings were held and the publishers were notified that the newsboys would not settle until prices had been made satisfactory and papers made fully returnable under a five-year contract.

The newsboys have had abundant cause for bitterness against the publish-

ers of Chicago's "great" newspapers. Previous to their organizing four years ago they were kicked about and abused at the pleasure of the circulation managers and were in daily fear of their lives during Chicago's notorious "circulation war" when each newspaper, from the respectable *Tribune* to the saffron *Examiner*, hired sluggers who made almost nightly raids on rival newsstands and made brutal assaults right and left.

This was finally stopped, the newspapers forming a sort of trust agreement not to fight each other any more, but with their combined power they began to put the screws on the newsboys, who were compelled to take not the number of newspapers that they wanted but that the hired man of the publishers decided they should be forced to take.

It was a common thing for a boy to ask for 100 papers, for instance, and be forced to take 150 or 200, for which he would later be called upon to settle. Division men, such as Hearst's man Bill Hellard, "pride of the stockyards," and Bob Holbrook, of the *Journal*, would call around and inform the boys that "you gotta take twice as many papers tomorrow night or we'll put somebody else on dis stand." Boys who failed to take heed were refused further papers or forced to sell their corners to men favored by the combined publishers. Assaults were common. A typical case was that of Mike Marino, who had a stand at Wells and Kinzie streets, only a short distance from

TONY ROSS,  
President of Newsboys' Union.

the REVIEW office. The *Journal* forced extra copies upon him till Mike revolted. He and a *Journal* driver got in an argument about it. The driver was the larger man and Mike, in fear for his life, got a gun and shot him. Such things explain why the newsboys are determined to hold out to the bitter end.

COP TEARING DOWN ANTI-HEARST SIGN.

Members of the Union Band riding in this wagon were arrested for "parading without a permit."

## THE STRIKE ON CHICAGO PAPERS

BY

### A UNION MAN

**A**BOUT two years ago—shortly after the explosion in the Los Angeles Times—General Harrison G. Otis, proprietor of the paper visited New York City. A reporter for the New York *Call* visited General Otis and asked him what he was doing in town. The veteran of two wars and one explosion was piqued at the bluntness of the question. He scolded a little, but gave no answer. That question was important then and it is important now. Here is the answer: The old gray wolf of the labor hunting pack went to New York at that time to organize a nation-wide body of publishers, to fight the printing trades throughout the country as he himself had fought them in

the workshop of the Los Angeles *Times*. That he has been fairly successful, the following clippings from the New York *Times*, of the issue of April 27 of this year, testifies.

"A proposal to raise an educational fund of \$1,000,000 was discussed at yesterday's meeting here of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. It was suggested that this fund be utilized to collect statistics on the wages of members of the typographical and allied unions throughout the country, their rules and regulations, and that the data be printed and distributed among the publishers. A committee including W. W. Chapin, of Seattle, James Keeley, of Chicago, and Elbert H. Baker, of Cleveland, was appointed to take the proposal under consideration.

Elbert H. Baker of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* was unanimously elected president, and the other

officers are: Vice-President, Herbert L. Bridgman, Brooklyn *Standard-Union*; secretary, Stewart Bryan, Richmond, Va., *Times-Dispatch*; treasurer, W. J. Pattison, New York *Evening Post*. Directors, Hilton U. Brown, *Indianapolis News*; H. L. Rogers, *Chicago Daily News*; Conde Hamline, *New York Tribune*, and F. P. Glass, Montgomery, Ala., *Advertiser*.

Gen. Harrison G. Otis of the *Los Angeles Times* spoke on "Labor," and John Norris on "The Ideal Newspaper Workshop."

The reader will observe what these gentlemen desire is "The Ideal Newspaper Workshop." They are willing to spend an educational fund of \$1,000,000 to get it. In fact they have begun to spend the million. The connection between the spending of this educational fund and the Chicago strike is too obvious to need emphasis.

The publishers have two good aids and allies in this fight; the officials of the union and the newspaper writers. Union officials do not accept bribes. They love the law and contracts. They will not permit the contracts of the different trades to be broken. The pressmen and stereotypers in Chicago "broke their contract" with the publishers. These two groups are outlawed. The result of this action on the part of the union officials is good for the publishers. It is better than bribery.

Newspaper writers are not liars. Crass lying does not come within the vital circle of journalism. The faculty is too common and its possessor could not command a salary, nor earn it. Capable newspaper men are mathematico-litterati, technicians in the elastic art of putting the two they have to the two they haven't to make the four they want. The result is lies. Chicago has many such men. They had an opportunity to exceed themselves in the strike.

The strike began in the press room of the Chicago *Examiner*, at midnight, on April 30th. It was arranged by the Chicago local of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, when they posted a notice announcing they would exercise their right to determine the number of men to be employed on each press and ordered the presses to be manned with fewer men than had been employed to man them up till that time. The members of the union refused to work under the order. The management then offered to

submit the question to arbitration, as they had a right to do under a sacred contract entered into by the workers' union officials and the bosses' union officials. The men refused to put themselves between these two sets of grinders. This refusal to "arbitrate" the question of whether about half their number should be permanently rejected, constituted the much talked of breach of contract.

The Publishers' local wanted to fire about half the men on each press. To do so they "elected to come under the arbitration clause" in their contract—an easy, sacred sort of way, in which they counted on the assistance of the officials of the workers' union. They got the assistance of these officials. But the men didn't "elect" to be fired that way. They could see no sacredness in it. They walked out—into labor's hollow square. On one corner of this square is the Capitalist owners—the Publishers' Association. Across from them stand the police, the city government and such other powers of legal and physical thuggery as are deemed necessary. On another corner are the mathematico-litterati, the newspaper writers, the result of whose labor is lies. Opposite these stand the labor union officials, armed with their heavy ordnance—the contract. The stereotype men elected to quit with the pressmen and entered the hollow square. The center of that square is a dangerous place for a labor group and the particular labor groups in it would have lasted about twenty-four hours, had it not been for the fact that they had a flying brigade outside; a brigade that refuses to know about contracts and won't elect to come under arbitration clauses—the newsboys and the drivers. These latter lent the situation what little saving grace it has. Persons who are fond of contrasting extremes will be interested in the position of President Lynch, of the Typographical Union, sitting in Hotel La Salle, making contracts with the Publishers' Association, on the one hand, and Jimmy Higgins, aged 14, standing on the street corner selling Socialist papers in the falling rain, and the weathered faced driver refusing to deliver scab papers, on the other hand. And it is a long way that stretches between the music room of Hotel La Salle, where

President Lynch sits signing contracts with the masters of lying, and the corner outside, where Jimmy Higgins stands selling Socialist papers in the hard-falling rain—a long way upward, and that's a sure thing.

The newsboys and the drivers knocked out a fine division of the capitalist army, the writers, when they refused to touch their papers and sold instead the *Daily Socialist* and its morning edition, *The World*. But those capitalist papers that were printed, for office circulation, were fair wonders. They were not imitations, but creations. The geniuses in the editorial rooms went God Almighty one better. They put the Book of Genesis on the bum. They created, fecundated, conceived, and were in at the birth of "labor sluggers" in the image and likeness of nothing that ever was on land or sea. They put a name to them to send them through the streets to pillage and slay. The newsboys destroyed their usefulness by keeping them confined to the place of their birth, where they died of inaction.

A good part of the education fund of the publishers for creating "The Ideal Newspaper Workshop," was used in feeding police and plain clothes men. From Hearst's shop these men were sent in squads of twenty or more to a rather expensive restaurant near by, where they ate and drank divinely, three or four times a day or night. A waitress, enthusiastic for the strikers, who waited on the police told me, while she picked revolutionary opinions off her left wrist and distributed them carefully to her other hearers with her right hand, that a cop's breakfast cost three dollars.

"I wonder where all the money is coming from?" she said, "Each of the cops had a letter signed by the manager of Hearst's *Examiner*. He showed it to the boss and gets all he wants, and my, how some of them do eat; porterhouse steaks that cost a dollar and a half and all the fine things in the kitchen. It must all cost a mint."

She hadn't heard of the \$1,000,000 educational fund. The educational fund was spent in many other ways. A part of it went to buy cots to put in Hearst's building and the workrooms of the other buildings. A part of it went to pay a

detective to accompany the head of each department. A part of it went to advertise for scabs in other cities and to bring them to Chicago. A part of it was spent in trying vainly to induce owners of newspaper stands to handle the scab papers. Jail keepers and thugs and lawyers are dividing a part of it among themselves and a part of it goes to wisdom-wise magistrates. Oh! Education's the thing, as Shakespeare says, or was it Mr. Dooley?

James J. Freel, president of the stereotypers and electrotypers, was horribly shocked when the group he represents in official circles, walked out to aid their brother pressmen. He ordered them back, of course. Here is his telegram that is the order:

Chicago, May 6, 1912.

To the Members of Chicago Stereotypers' Union No. 4:

On May 4 at 3:30 a. m. (2:30 Chicago time), I sent the following telegram to President L. P. Straube of your union:

"Brooklyn, N. Y., May 4, 1912.—L. P. Straube, President Chicago Stereotypers' Union No. 4, 2478 Osgood street, Chicago, Ill.:

"Informed No. 4 have struck Chicago newspaper offices. As this action is in violation of existing contracts underwritten by this union, I hereby order the members of Chicago Stereotypers' Union No. 4 to immediately return to work."

(Signed) "JAMES J. FREEL,  
"President International Stereotypers' and  
Electrotypers' Union."

They are outlawed now, God help them, for they wouldn't go back and scab on the pressmen.

On Sunday, May 12, the printers held a meeting to consider the question of striking in sympathy with the pressmen, stereotypers, newsboys and drivers. At that meeting, International President James M. Lynch told the printers if they went out on strike HE WOULD FILL THEIR PLACES WITH STRIKE-BREAKERS IN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS. You can't strike, said he. It's illegitimate and besides you have only \$200,000 in your treasury, and you need a million.

Lynch pulled through a very cunningly worded resolution making it necessary for those who wished to vote in favor of striking to indorse, at the same time, repudiation of contracts as principle.

Here is the resolution:

"Resolved, That the Chicago Typographical Union, No. 16, again reiterates its declaration, as often made in trying situations, that it will maintain inviolate contracts entered into and underwritten by the I. T. U., and that as regards the issues in controversy between Pressmen's Union No. 7, and Stereotypers' Union, No. 4, it refer the matter to its executive officers with instructions to be guided in their actions by the I. T. U. executive council."

The vote was 1,099 for, and 655 against.

Fear that Lynch would revoke their charter, thereby preventing them from voting at the international election, taking place in the same week, prevented many of the members from voting against the resolution. Later the pressmen's strike spread to other cities. The Hearst string of papers suffered most. On Hearst's new paper in Atlanta, Ga., the pressmen walked out. The other publishers in Atlanta suspended publication to aid Hearst until the strike is broken. The pressmen also walked out on the Hearst papers in Los Angeles, Boston and New York, men from other papers following. In Los Angeles Otis helped Hearst out, by sending him scabs from his scab-making factory, on the *Times*.

In the middle of the second week of the strike the election of international president of the Typographical Union

took place. James M. Lynch ran for the office and was elected. "The Famous Lynch," as the Hearst papers called him, in heads and in the news columns, all during the strike, polled a great number of votes. The voting is done in the chapels in the workshops and, the insurgent printers say, the foremen by threats of discharge and other less direct methods, are able to influence the result; in fact, that a number of the foremen's jobs depend on the ability of those who hold them to influence the result. This is all the more true, they declare, since the Publishers' Association favor Lynch for official head of the organization they have prepared to destroy. These two factors, the power of preference in the union and the power of preference in the shop, both practically controlled by the Publishers' Association, are relied on to make certain the election of any man the bosses want. And the bosses want "The Famous Lynch." They have said so time and again. Lynch is "Educated" in all the word implies to them.

The newspaper strike is not over yet. It is probably just beginning. If the printers come out they will end the strike in a few days, but even if they should not come out the "educational fund" will get a hard rap and will need replenishing in a short time.

The Socialist party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor unions in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations who have not already done so to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions. In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union the workers of this country can win their battles only by a strong class-consciousness and closely united organizations on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field and by joint attack of both on the common enemy. From the report on the Committee on Labor Organizations, unanimously adopted, National Convention of the Socialist party, Indianapolis, 1912.

# THIS IS OUR YEAR

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

**I**T is now thirty-seven years since I became active in the labor movement. These years have all been crowded with struggle, with defeat and disappointment, but there has never been an hour when there was any thought of surrender. Now at last the labors of all these years are coming to fruition. We have a real labor movement and its power was never so great, nor its promise so bright as it is today.

When we first began to organize the workers the employing class stamped out the unions with an iron heel. Later they began to realize that the unions were bound to come, and they then began to patronize them. They could not crush them and so they resolved to control them in their interests. We have passed through these stages of union progress and have now reached a point where the workers are organized and control their organization in their own interests.

It is true that this work of organization is far from complete, but it is also true that it is in a healthier and more prom-

ising state than ever before since it was first begun.

The workers now realize that they have got to **build their organization themselves**, that it has got to be built from the bottom up, and that it must include them all. This knowledge had to come to them through painful and costly experience, but they have it and it is of priceless value to them. In proportion as they have lost faith in their former "leaders" they have acquired faith in themselves. And faith is what the workers now need most of all, faith in each other, faith in the working class, and faith in the coming triumph that is to rid the world of wage slavery and usher in the full-orbed day of freedom and social justice.

The late national convention of the Socialist Party did more to renew and vitalize the faith of the organized workers in themselves and in the future than any similar gathering ever held in this country. The delegates met under difficulties which threatened to divide if not disrupt

the party. There were those who freely predicted another split. But the convention proved that it had the capacity to deal wisely with the gravest questions which confronted it, and that however great the differences might be, or how acutely factional feeling might become, the genius of revolutionary solidarity was triumphant and henceforth the workers were united for the great struggle and no power on earth could ever tear them asunder.

The Indianapolis convention proved that the Socialists are now united on a solid basis and there will never be another split in the Socialist Party in the United States.

On the whole the work of the convention was all that could be expected. All things considered there is reason for mutual congratulation among us all. Some things, doubtless, many of us would have had different. But they are of a minor nature. The spirit of the convention was perfectly revolutionary. There was never any danger of getting off the main track or of following after any of the many gods of opportunism. A very great majority of the delegates were red-blooded, clear-eyed, straight-out and uncompromising. The last thing they thought of, if they thought of it at all, was trimming or trading, or setting traps to catch votes.

There were some things, of course, I could wish had turned out otherwise. But I shall not point them out now further than to say that I would limit as few matters as possible to constitutional prohibition and reduce to the minimum the offenses punishable by expulsion from the party. I am opposed to anarchistic tactics and would have the party so declare itself on moral ground rather than oppose such tactics by prohibition and expulsion. I believe in the fullest freedom of speech and action consistent with the fundamental principles of our movement.

Following the Indianapolis convention and taking inspiration from its splendid example, the workers all over the country are going to get into closer touch, clearer understanding, and more harmonious cooperation, industrially and politically, than ever before. Let us do all in our power to encourage this tendency and to really unite the workers in the bonds of

class solidarity for the revolutionary struggle and the overthrow of industrial slavery.

Let us make this our year! Let us make the numerals 1912 appear in flaming red in the calendar of this century!

We have had enough of controversial engagement to satisfy us all. Let differences of all kinds be subordinated to the demand for unity and concord, solidarity and victory. And let us make our acts conform to our words.

We all believe in industrial unity, and in political unity. Now let us join in a supreme endeavor to unite the workers in one great economic organization and one great political party. We need not be agreed over non-essentials. We are one fundamentally, our goal is the same, and while we may as individuals, or as groups, work at varying angles and according to our light and the means at our command, we need not clash, nor come in conflict with each other, nor resort to epithets and personal detraction, but on the contrary we can work to far better advantage and accomplish vastly more by preserving a unity of spirit and temper and keeping uppermost in mind the one great thing we are all working for and subordinating to this the ten thousand little things over which we are bound to be more or less divided.

We shall accomplish more in bending our energies getting together than we shall in columns of discussion as to how it is to be done. Let us get rid of our differences by engaging in the actual fight of the workers. At San Diego there are now no differences among Socialists or unionists, from the most revolutionary to the most reactionary of them. In the heat of actual conflict these differences we are so prone to magnify melt away and disappear.

Let us get into the fight as completely as we can and we shall solve the problem of industrial and political unity without any more vain and rancorous discussion about the precise lines along which it is to be done.

It does not matter whose fight it is, whether it be that of the I. W. W. or the A. F. of L., the S. P. or the S. L. P., if it is a working class fight it is our fight, and if we all get into it we shall be

united in it and emerge from it cemented together and triumphant.

Let us back up the workers who are waging such a splendid fight in San Diego, in Aberdeen and Gray's Harbor; let us rally solidly to the support of Et-tor and Giovannitti, the staunch industrial leaders, whose persecution by the mill owners is an outrage and whose imprisonment is a reproach to us all; let us resent the infamous sentence of Rudolph Katz and give united aid and encouragement to the strikers at Paterson; let us stand behind the striking pressmen at Chicago, against the scabs, union and otherwise, which have been pitted against them; let us give our support to the rail-

road workers who are on strike on the Harriman lines, to the striking motormen and conductors in Boston and to strikers everywhere, and before this year closes we will accomplish more in the way of building up a revolutionary industrial organization and a conquering working class political party than the most sanguine and optimistic of us now imagine to be possible.

Let us all join in one supreme effort to get together this year; let bickering and strife be put aside and let the "dear love of comrades" prevail among us and bind our hearts together into one great heart that shall throb for the emancipation of all the workers of the world!

"All parties without exception recognize us as a political power, and exactly in proportion to our power. Even the craziest reactionary that denies us the right of existence courts our favor and by his acts gives the lie to his words. From the fact that our assistance is sought by other parties some of our comrades draw the strange conclusion that we should reverse the party tactics and, in place of the old policy of the class struggle against all other parties, substitute the commercial politics of log rolling, wire pulling and compromise. Such persons forget that the power which makes our alliance sought for, even by our bitterest enemies, would have had absolutely no existence were it not for the old class struggle tactics. \* \* \*

"Just in this fact lies our strength, that we are not like the others, and that we are not only not like the others, and that we are not simply different from the others, but that we are their deadly enemy, who have sworn to storm and demolish the Bastille of Capitalism, whose defenders all those others are. Therefore we are only strong when we are alone."—Wilhelm Liebknecht.

# ETTOR AND GIOVANNITTI MUST BE SAVED

## WORKERS OF AMERICA:

Joseph J. Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti are in jail in Lawrence, Mass., charged with the murder of Anna La Pizza, a working girl who took part in the recent strike of the textile workers in Lawrence, Mass. The arrest and imprisonment of these two workingmen is one of the most lawless and infamous acts ever committed by the ruling class of this country. At the time of the brutal murder of Anna La Pizza, Ettor and Giovannitti were leading the Lawrence strike. They were straining every nerve to preserve and not to destroy the lives of the strikers. It is a notorious fact that Anna La Pizza was wantonly shot to death by one of the police officers, and that Ettor and Giovannitti were miles away from the scene of murder. They were arrested and prisoned for the sole purpose of weakening the position of the strikers and forcing their surrender to the brutal mill owners of Lawrence. It is not charged that Ettor and Giovannitti were directly concerned with the killing of Anna La Pizza or that they instigated or aided in the dastardly deed. The theory upon which the indictment is based is that the strike leaders made inflammatory speeches which led to a violent conflict resulting in the death of the unfortunate mill girl. If this theory is allowed to stand and to acquire the force of legal precedent it will be the heaviest blow dealt by the courts of this country to the rights and liberties of the citizens.

Every labor union official leading a strike and every Socialist arraigning capitalist misrule in a public speech, may be held guilty of a capital offense, if the police or other hired thugs of the employers should deliberately incite riot and cause murder in connection with any labor struggle.

The attempted outrage must be frustrated by the Socialists and organized workers of America. Public sentiment must be thoroughly aroused. The case of Ettor and Giovannitti must be fought to a finish.

The Socialist Party hereby calls upon all locals of the country to arrange demonstrations and public protest meetings, against this latest and most sinister judicial attack upon freedom of speech and labor's rights, and to raise funds for the defense of Ettor and Giovannitti.

Fraternally yours,

VICTOR L. BERGER,  
JOB HARRIMAN,  
WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD,  
MORRIS HILLQUIT,  
ALEXANDER IRVINE,  
KATE R. O'HARE,  
JOHN SPARGO,

National Executive Committee Socialist Party.  
JOHN M. WORK,  
National Secretary.

## A MESSAGE FROM ETTOR

Essex County Jail, Lawrence, Mass., June 7, 1912.

International Socialist Review, 118 W. Kinzie street, Chicago, Ill.

Comrades: Attorney Roewer has told me of your request for an article from me to use in the July number of the Review.

I am sorry to have to disappoint you and the friends and readers of the Review, but am not permitted to write an article that would contain my full feelings and expressed in my own style, so will have to be excused.

But then, after all, Comrades, what can I write? The fact that Arturo and I are here under conditions peculiar and understood by all, is all eloquent in itself.

You know me personally and know my views and feelings to judge of my accusation.

I assure you and all of my absolute innocence on all counts except loyalty to the textile and other workers and if necessary will pay the bill willingly.

Cheers and salutations.

Your comrade,

JOS. J. ETTOR.

Not hers the wisdom which decrees  
That time alone can wrongs allay,  
Not hers the craven heart to pray  
And barter Liberty for peace.

Not hers the fear to hesitate  
When shame and misery cry out:  
"Love has no patience, Truth no doubt  
And Right and Justice cannot wait."

So, loud into the midnight air  
She rang the tocsin's weird alarm,  
She called, and as by potent charm,  
From its mysterious haunt and lair,

The Mob, the mightiest judge of all,  
To hear the Rights of Man came out,  
And every word became a shout,  
And every shout a cannon ball.

Against the castle wall the picks  
She raised and planted there her flags,  
Against the ermine hurled the rags,  
The torch against the crucifix.

The ax against the gibbet rope,  
And ere the eastern sky grew red  
Behold! she flung the king's proud head  
Upon the altar of the pope.

And when upon the great sunrise  
Flew her disheveled victories  
To all the land and all the seas,  
Like angry eagles in the skies,

To ring the call of Brotherhood  
And hail Mankind from shore to shore,  
Wrapt in her splendid tricolor,  
The People's virgin pride she stood.

This was the dawn. But when the day  
Wore out with all its festive songs  
And all the hearts and all the tongues  
In silent praise and wonder lay;

When night with velvet sandaled feet  
Stole in her chamber's solitude,  
Behold! she lay there naked, lewd,  
A drunken harlot of the street,

With withered breasts and shaggy hair  
Soiled by each wanton, frothy kiss,  
Between a sergeant of police  
And an old dribbling millionaire.

## THE REPUBLIC

(In Memory of July 4, 1776, and  
July 14, 1789.)

BY ARTURO M. GIOVANNITTI.

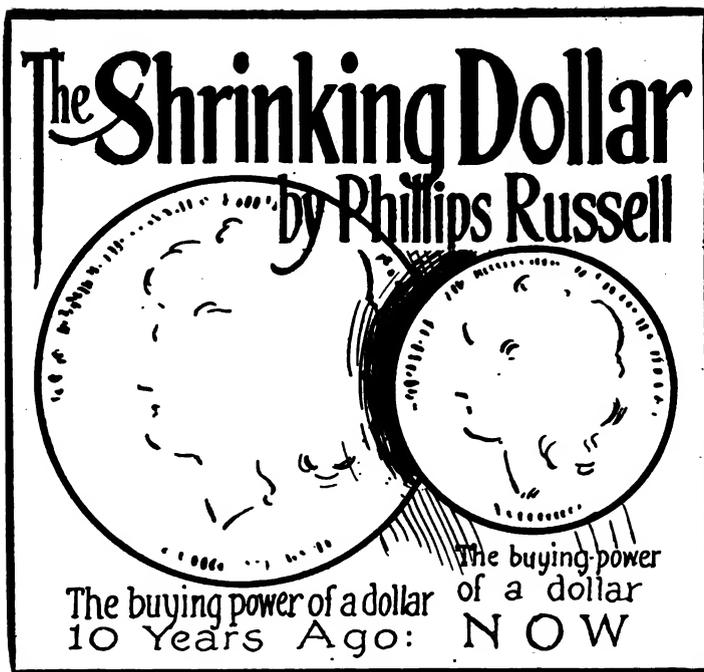
(Written for the Review.)

The king had said: "By right divine,  
As old as God's own laws are old,  
All that you have, all that you hold,  
All that you think and do is mine.

I own forever, and control,  
Your house, your field, your ox, your wife,  
So I shall rule your mortal life  
And my good lord, the pope, your soul.

Obey then both and don't rebel,  
For should you rise against our will,  
You'll get in this, my own Bastille,  
And in the other world his Hell."

So said the king. And then there came,  
Aglow with anger and with steel,  
A Goddess of the common weal,  
With eyes of fire and hair of flame.



One dollar should never earn another dollar, for the dollar is nothing more than the badge of servitude of one class to another.—*Wm. D. Haywood.*

**Y**OU—the man who reads this article; and I—the man who writes it; if we met casually somewhere and fell into conversation we should probably talk about a number of things. But if it turned out that you were a bricklayer and I confessed that I was a book agent, we should probably have difficulty in understanding each other until we struck one topic; the damnably high cost of living.

Right there we would meet on common ground.

It is likely that we would find ourselves so loaded with opinions that one could hardly wait until the other left off.

I think I can see you knock the ashes out of your pipe, and, while I was framing my own remarks, I would probably catch these scattered words in your discourse:

“Meat! — Potatoes! — Butter! — Eggs! — Clothes! — Shoes! — the tariff—the trusts — the packers — Wall Street — where’s it all going to end? I ask of you,

What is the country coming to, anyhow?”

Then suppose, after you had finished your passionate outburst, that I were to state that the end is by no means in sight; that it is true, according to figures, that the cost of living has gone up 50 per cent and more in the last ten years; but so far from any relief being likely, it is entirely possible that **PRICES WILL CONTINUE TO MOUNT UNTIL AT THE END OF THE NEXT TEN YEARS WE SHALL FIND THAT THE COST OF LIVING IS DOUBLE WHAT IT IS TODAY.**

That would give you pause, wouldn’t it? You would probably demand what reasons, what authority, I had for making such an alarming statement. I might answer somewhat after this fashion:

Do you remember the first Bryan campaign of 1896? Do you remember how all we little fellows were wild for Bryan because we believed, with him, that the best way to get more money to meet our

constantly rising expenses was simply to have the government make more? Do you remember how the Republican bosses warned us against the example of Mexico and her cheap coinage and called on us to save the country by voting for McKinley?

Perhaps you also recall a certain cartoon which the Republican campaign managers made into a poster and plastered far and wide over the country. It represented Bryan smiling blandly down upon a stooping working man and brandishing a huge sword high in air. The workingman bore on his low-bent neck a silver dollar. Bryan was depicted as saying to him:

"Now, my good man, I propose to **CUT THIS DOLLAR IN TWO** without hurting you in the least."

The cartoon was striking. It was effective, too. It is quite probable that many workmen were so impressed with that poster that they decided to save their dollars and their necks by voting against Bryan. Anyhow, McKinley was elected — elected by the aid of the most colossal campaign fund ever raised in behalf of a candidate. The figures were \$16,500,000 spent for McKinley and \$675,000 for Bryan.

So the Republicans got the offices and have remained in power ever since.

But have you noticed this: **THAT THE VERY THING THE REPUBLICANS TOLD US WOULD HAPPEN IF THE DEMOCRATS WERE ELECTED IN 1896 HAS COME TO PASS UNDER THEIR OWN RULE SINCE THAT TIME?**

Our sacred American dollar has been cut in half. There has been an unfair division, and you and I have been handed the short end of the deal.

And there, my friend, is the whole meat of the problem. The pinch hasn't come because cabbages and shoes are scarcer than they used to be, but simply and solely because our dollars have mysteriously melted in our pockets.

So it looks as if you and I have been played for suckers, doesn't it? But don't blame the poor old Republican party. The same thing would have happened if the Democrats had got into power, or the Populists, or the reformers, or anybody else.

The fact is, you and I have not been made victims by any one person, or by any combination of persons, but by economic laws which we cannot escape as long as the present system endures.

I suppose you want to know exactly what I mean. I am going to explain now.

### Where the Workingman Gets It



"Now, my good man I propose to cut your dollar in two without hurting you a particle."

And here let me remark, my friend, that if it hurts you to think, now is the time to catch your car. If it irks you to do a little pondering, even though it be on your own behalf, pass on; because we are going to leave the shallow waters now and go in a little deeper, and it may be necessary for you to follow me closely.

Suppose you and I were prospectors and out in the middle of a Western desert we came across a great lump of solid gold.

Suppose I were to say: "Yes, it's gold all right, but let's go on. It's of no value."

That would shock you. You would put me down as a lunatic. You would exclaim: "Why, that lump of gold is worth a hundred thousand dollars just as it is."

I would repeat: "No, you are wrong. Just as it is, it is worth nothing. It has no value."

That would perhaps infuriate you. You would shout: "We can dig up this nugget, haul it into town, ship it to a mint, and get a fortune for it."

Ah, but that would be different! It is true that if you dug that gold up and carried it back into civilization, it would have a tremendous value, BUT NOT UNTIL THEN.

As it lies it is worth nothing to anybody. But the moment you lift it up—apply labor power to it—it begins to assume value, and that value increases as it is placed on a wagon, hauled into town, put into a car and carried to Denver, New York or Washington, until by the time you have got an assayer at work on it, it can be sold for a fortune as you say.

But, mind you, digging that gold out, lifting it up, transporting it to a city where it can be coined into money or worked up into jewelry, means an expenditure of muscle and thought, of human energy, of human Labor Power.

Do you see what I am driving at? The gold became of great value because, and ONLY because, it represented the labor power of the men who dug it up, of the men who made the machinery and tools that lifted it, of the men who built the trains that carried it, of the men who

stamped and engraved it into coin and jewelry.

So with all gold. It is of value because it is the embodiment of labor power. Keep that in mind.

Now it happens that gold is the universal medium of exchange. It has been made so because it is compact and durable, can be easily recognized, is difficult to counterfeit, wears down very little even after years of rough usage, is tough yet malleable, and because a great many dollars' worth of it can be packed into a comparatively small space. So the principal nations of the world have made it the standard measure of value.

You can go into almost any part of the world and the inhabitants may regard your silver coin with suspicion, but they will accept your gold instantly.

So gold is not merely a metal, but a commodity. A commodity, roughly speaking, is anything that can be bought or sold. It has value because it embodies the labor power of men.

An ounce of gold, then, can be exchanged for 20 sacks of flour, say, because it takes about the same average amount of labor power to produce the ounce of gold as it takes to produce the 20 sacks of flour. But if it takes only HALF the expenditure of labor power to produce one ounce of gold as 20 sacks of flour, then TWO ounces of gold will be required to buy the 20 sacks of flour; or if a man has but one ounce of gold he will find that it will purchase only ten sacks of flour instead of twenty.

Now, prices are merely the expressions of the value of commodities in money. Labor is the real measure of value. The less labor wrapped up in gold, or money, then, THE LESS IT WILL BUY. Is that clear?

Now, your silver dollar, or your greenback, are worth what they are because they are equivalent to so much gold, since the defeat of Bryan in 1896 decided that we should continue to have the gold standard in the United States, as have nearly all the other important countries of the world except Mexico.

Our next problem, then, is to look into the present cost of producing gold. We find by consulting statistics that from the year 1881 to the year 1885 the average

world production of gold amounted to a trifle over \$99,000,000. By 1910 the figures had climbed up to \$454,000,000, and still a-going. Experts put the figures for the increase in the world's stock of gold in the last ten years at 40 per cent. They agree further that there has been an enormous rise in the production of gold in the last six years, "consequent upon the LOWERING of the cost of mining due to the amalgam, cyanide and chlorination processes and to the improvement of mining machinery and shipping facilities."

Furthermore, we find Mr. John Hays Hammond, the Guggenheim mining expert, quoted as predicting that "the world's supply of gold will increase rapidly during the next decade." Moreover, we discover a statement from Mr. Byron W. Holt quoted in a Wall Street letter as follows:

"Possibly and even probably, the rise in prices during the next five years, will fully KEEP PACE WITH THE RISE IN THE QUANTITY OF GOLD. If then, as now seems probable, the world's visible supply of gold increases 25 per cent by 1913, it is more than likely that the price level will then be fully 25 per cent HIGHER than it is now. BY 1918 WE MAY CONFIDENTLY EXPECT TO SEE PRICES 50 PER CENT HIGHER THAN THEY NOW ARE."

Pleasant prediction for a man with his back already against the wall, isn't it?

**Gold then, in terms of which the value of all commodities is expressed, costs about half as much to produce as was the case not many years ago. Consequently, the value of your dollar has shrunk half, since it will buy only half what it would a few years ago.**

That explains what I mean when I say that your dollar has been cut in two. You may be receiving more money for your toil than a few years ago, but remember that your wages are worth only what they will buy. You may be getting \$5.00 a day now where you got only \$4.00 a few years ago, but when you shove your \$5.00 across the store counter you get back only \$2.50 worth of goods where you got the full \$5.00 worth only a few

years back. So, though you may be earning more money, **your wages have actually been reduced**, and are likely to be reduced some more. That being the case, isn't it about time for you to wake up?

Just now I heard you say something about the tariff. Hence, I judge that you are a Democrat and are disposed to blame the Republican party because it has been the serving wench of the plutocrats and big business interests. But if the tariff has anything to do with the matter, how about England and free trade? England has had no tariff restrictions for many years, and yet they are kicking about the high cost of living over there as hard as they are over here. A recent statement in a leading British financial organ says that the cost of provisions has risen 35 per cent over there in the last six years. So it is of no use to curse the tariff.

Then it's the trusts, you say. But if the trusts have anything to do with the case, why is it that countries that never heard of a trust are being hit by high prices as hard as we are? Turkey has no John D. Rockefellers, and yet a recent magazine article states that the harem is being abolished there because the cost of living is too high to enable a man to support more than one wife. China has no trusts and yet here is a newspaper dispatch telling of a religious conference at which a minister demands more pay for missionaries in China in order that they may meet the increased cost of living. The Standard Oil Company is supposed to be one of the most wicked of monopolies, and yet the price of oil is much lower than before the Standard Oil Company came into existence.

Recently it has been the fashion to roast the Beef Trust. It is true that a good steak now costs 22 cents or more a pound against 15 cents a few years ago; pork has gone up to 18 cents instead of 12½, and mutton is 19 cents instead of 14; but Mr. M. J. Sulzberger, vice-president of the packing firm of Swartzchild & Sulzberger comes back with the statement that, "When my father first went into the business, he could buy a steer for the price that we now pay for a hog," and nobody can deny that this is true. And in a few years he will probably say, "We now pay for a chicken what we used

to pay for a hog," and nobody will be able to deny that.

We might as well tell the truth about the trusts, much as we dislike them. When we study their methods of doing business, we find that they build up their fortunes not so much out of the arbitrary raising of prices as out of their increased rate of profit. For example, a small manufacturer sells for ten cents an article that costs him six cents to produce. But a trust, by stopping waste and concentrating its forces, can produce the same article for perhaps three cents. The trust's rate of profit, therefore, is seven cents against the little man's four. That explains how the trust magnates get rich so quickly.

We must not try to figure out the problem on the theory that the United States is the only country suffering from high prices. The cost of living is on a decided increase in every nook and corner of the globe. The complaint is worldwide. Only last summer the newspapers were full of dispatches which told of uprising and outbreaks in half a dozen different countries at once, all due to bitterness at the steadily mounting cost of staying alive.

The high cost of living is bringing about changes here and convulsions there, the end and result of which no man can predict. The next five or ten years is going to be a troubled era in the world's history. The very existence of governments is threatened and there promises to be an entirely new alignment in human society, extending even to morals, manners and customs.

We have already seen that polygamy is disappearing in Turkey, not so much because of the teachings of foreign missionaries or of uplift movements, as simply because it costs too much to support it any longer.

If the present level of prices is maintained, within a few years our manner of dress may be entirely changed. For example, have you noticed the growing use of the sweater jacket within the past year or two? There was a time when practically every workingman wore at least some kind of an overcoat during bitter weather and paid from five to ten dollars for it, but nowadays he is happy if he can

afford a sweater coat made of cotton and shoddy at \$1.25.

Take the wearing of caps, for another example. A few years ago caps were worn almost entirely by young boys and by men whose work kept them out in the wind a good deal. Every good workingman made it a point to have at least one good hat, for wearing on Sunday if at no other time. But within the past two or three years caps have come into great popularity, and for one reason only—workingmen can no longer afford to wear good hats. If you have ever visited England or seen pictures of British workingmen, you doubtless were struck with the fact that practically every one of them wears a cap. The cap has come to be the badge of toil in England and the same sign of the times is becoming increasingly noticeable on our own side of the water.

And it's queer how you and I sit around and stand for this sort of thing. If you and I were receiving \$20 a week apiece in wages and within a few years' time we were compelled to accept a reduction down to \$10 a week, we would let out a roar that could be heard in the adjoining state; but because that reduction has come about gradually and a little bit at a time we do nothing but groan to ourselves every now and then, say "such is life," and wait for "better times," which the newspapers tell us are now almost within reach. We do not seem to remember that the newspapers have been handing us the same kind of dope during all the years that our dollars have been cut down to the quick.

Most of us don't seem to realize what we are up against. Prof. Scott Nearing, of the University of Pennsylvania, has recently written a book called "Wages in the United States," in which he makes this statement: "It appears that **half the adult males of the United States are earning less than \$500 a year**; that three-quarters of them are earning less than \$600 annually; that nine-tenths are receiving less than \$800 a year; while less than 10 per cent receive more than that figure. A corresponding computation of the wages of women shows that a fifth earn less than \$200 annually; that three-fifths are receiving less than \$325; that

nine-tenths are earning less than \$500 a year, while only one-twentieth are paid more than \$600 a year."

Now, if it is true, as financial experts say, that the production of gold is going to increase rapidly in the next few years, with a corresponding rise in prices, amounting perhaps to a 50 per cent higher level than prevails today, that means that the \$500 a year which half the men in the United States are now earning, is going to be reduced to \$250 a year in actual buying power, and that the women at present earning \$325 a year, who number more than three-fifths of our female wage earners, are going to see the buying power of their wages cut down to \$162.50 a year unless, of course, a big rise in wages or a big fall in the price of commodities takes place.

And there we come to the heart of the difficulty: wages have not kept pace with prices. We have only to examine a few statistics to discover that while food prices have advanced 40, 50 and 60 per cent, wages and salaries have increased only from 15 to 20 per cent, and these advances have taken place almost exclusively in the more highly skilled trades. The unskilled workers are simply being forced, slowly but surely, backward across the border line of starvation. The Lawrence, Mass., strike showed us that. And unless something is done pretty soon the United States will find herself in a plight similar to England's—her heart rotting out because of the starvation and decay of her working class.

I have just said that the trouble lies in the fact that wages have not kept pace with prices. Now why is that? Simply because those who control the means of life, the land, the mills and the mines and all the machinery of production and distribution, refuse to pay higher wages, and your boss and my boss are among them. They form a class separate and distinct from yours and mine because it is to their interest to pay us the least possible wages for the longest possible hours of work.

It is to our interest to work as few hours as possible for the highest possible pay; hence the interest of the two classes are entirely and exactly opposed.

Society, then, is composed of two clas-

ses; one the capitalist class, comprising those who live on profit, interest and rent; and the other the working class which lives on the sale of its labor power.

Now why does this former class refuse to pay higher wages? Because that would injure or destroy the profits which enable it to exist.

This, then, is the situation: To meet the steadily-rising cost of living, we must either have higher wages or lower prices.

There is only one way to obtain either and that is to ORGANIZE. But how organize? We might organize to secure lower prices by boycotting the Beef Trust, but that has already been tried and proven a failure. We might organize to secure lower prices by buying co-operatively in wholesale lots, but experience has shown that this scheme furnishes relief only for a time—because wages have a habit of falling to correspond with prices.

What we want to do, then, is not to organize to obtain lower prices but to gain higher wages, and that can be done only in one way, by uniting and combining our economic power.

In other words, we have got to organize so as to control our labor power for the benefit of ourselves, not for the benefit of a class whose Rockefellers, Morgans and Carnegies are already gorged with profits. Today we find ourselves face to face with the great trusts whose power does not end with a single locality, with a single factory, with a single trade, with a single state, but extends to entire industries reaching over the whole of the United States. To fight these great aggregations of organized capital we must organize ON THE SAME SCALE. Against our solidly united masters we must have a solidly united working class, so as to put the pressure on them right where they put it on us—in the workshop, in the mill, in the mine; in the store, office, field and factory.

Right where we work is right where we are robbed. To illustrate: Let us say you and I are shoe workers in a factory whose pay roll is \$500 a day. Because of high-speed machinery let us say that we and our shopmates are able to turn out \$500 worth of shoes in two hours. We have therefore earned our wages in

the first two hours, but then we go right on and work six hours more. The product of this extra six hours the boss gets FOR NOTHING.

We therefore need to get busy and cut down those surplus working hours as soon as possible. That will force the boss to employ more men. More men at work means less competition among ourselves for jobs, with the result that the boss is forced to pay us higher wages.

But it will not do to stop merely with higher wages. What we want to do eventually is to own our own jobs, and to do that we must gain control of the means of life. We must be the rulers of society.

We must utilize every force at our command. We cannot wait until our masters take pity upon our hard lot in life and give us a few more cents a day. We are not going to beg them for what we want. We are going to MAKE them give it to us.

When I say "make," I do not mean that we are to arm ourselves and go out to hold up millionaires. Millionaires are merely creatures of a system—they happen to be at the winning end while

you and I are at the losing—and no sooner would we kill one batch off than we would find a fresh crop to take their places.

What we need to arm ourselves with is not rifles but KNOWLEDGE. We need to know exactly what we are going to do, why we are going to do it, and how we are going to do it.

A while ago I said that you and I are the victims not of any man or of any set of men, but of economic laws which govern the system we live under. Therefore we need to study that system to find out what the trouble is and what those laws are, and having discovered that much we will then be in a position to find the way out.

There already exists an organization which exists for the express purpose of giving you that information. It is the party of the working class. Join the SOCIALIST PARTY then and study Socialism and Socialist economics. Join the union of your class and combine with your fellows to better your lot in life, to destroy the present system of robbery and exploitation, and to gain the full product of your toil.

# Uncle Sam's Wage Slaves At Work

IN

The Washington Bureau of Printing and Engraving

BY

ELLEN WETHERELL

**O**N the dank, unwashed floors of the great press room of the Government Department of "Bureau of Printing and Engraving" at Washington, there are deep depressions made by the toiling footsteps of the women wage-slaves as they move forward and backward in a steady, monotonous tread about the presses at their work as "Printer's Assistants."

The men and women in this room are employed by the United States Government to make its paper money. There are windows on one side of the room, but the light is insufficient, therefore over each printing press there are electric burners whose heat adds to the close, depressing air in which oil, ink, and foul dust, mingle with the breath and sweat from the bodies of seven hundred men and women at work.

The clothes worn by the printers are caked with ink, while the dresses of the women drip with grease which flies from the presses in their revolutions. A girl's dress is ruined by a day's wear. Said one union woman worker to me, "We went to Superintendent Ralph and asked if shields of zinc or some other substance, could not be placed around the presses to protect the clothes of the women." With a satirical smile he replied, 'Oh yes, a bow of pink ribbon on every press if you say so.'

Two years ago Alice Roosevelt with other society women declared they wished to "do some good." They said they wanted to help improve the sanitary condition at the "Bureau" and to "make the girls happy in their work." One day they drove down. Mr. Ralph knew of their intended visit and

was ready for them. In the new wing of the building a dressing room was made—clean and fine, that these idle dames of society might see for themselves how well the government at Washington treats its workers. These ladies were not shown any of the work-rooms; nor did they see the dressing rooms in actual use.

Last week, following a guide, I went through the Bureau; I stood upon an elevated platform in the press room where, as the guide said, "You can get a better view of the place." What I saw was a long, low room having a dozen windows or less. An open iron grating higher than the head of the tallest man there, encircled all sides. Within this grating I saw a mass of men, and women, and machines so closely huddled together that it would have been dangerous for a visitor to have attempted to move around among them. The noise of the presses drowned our speech, but a woman from the open spaces of the far west who stood beside me, shouted in my ear, "How awful." Then, probably apologetic for her government, she added, "But these men and women work only four hours a day." "You are mistaken, madam," I called back, "government workers here go on duty at eight o'clock in the morning; they have half an hour at noon for lunch, and quit work at half past four at night, and for these hours of laborious toil the women receive \$1.50 a day."

There is a night force at work in the "Bureau" and on this force over 200 women are employed. Said one pale faced worker to me, "I prefer to work at night. Of course I get no evenings for recreation of any kind, but at night the Bureau is less crowded; the air is better, and I am not so tired; I get home at midnight.

Alice Roosevelt said that the Bureau of Printing and Engraving was no place for a woman to work, but she did not say by what means the dependent Bureau girls were to make a living. We have all heard of the ingenious remark of that famous French queen, when told at the time of the Revolution that the people were starving for bread. "But why do they not eat cake?" This is the logic of the idle rich.

Most of the workers in the Bureau eat their lunches in the building. They bring them and put them in the lockers provided for their clothes. Every man and woman in

the press room is compelled to make a complete change of clothing before they go home. Said one girl, "The lockers are but eighteen inches long and into this go my dirty clothes, my dirty shoes, and my lunch, when we shake our clothes at night, red ants and mice run from them in all directions."

The dressing rooms of the Bureau workers are taken care of by charwomen, but they are never clean. If a girl wants her locker to be decent she must scrub it herself. Six towels are allowed for 200 women.

The superintendent of the Bureau claims that the women workers receive sufficient wages, but strange to say, the women think differently. Three years ago a handful of Bureau women came together to talk union. The printers were willing to assist them in organizing. Mr. Ralph said he had no objection, but the idea seemed to worry him. Later some 300 women rallied to the organization under the A. F. of L. The union held meetings every two weeks. Frank Morrison spoke for the women and urged them to petition for a fifty-cent increase in wage, but his talk seemed half-hearted. Scant was the help the union got from the national body, and although the headquarters of the National A. F. of L. is located in Washington, and Mr. Gompers and Morrison are well aware of the work conditions at the Bureau, and the low wages of the women, nothing has been done to substantially aid these government exploited wage-slaves in their dire distress.

United States government workers in Washington cannot strike, they cannot vote, neither can they petition congress save through the man next higher in power.

It was by the help of a young Socialist, some three years ago, and the determination of the union Bureau girls themselves, that twenty-five cents increase in wages per day for the women beginning their apprenticeship in the department, was wrung from Ralph.

Superintendent Ralph boasts of his power to cut down expenses on behalf of the government. In 1910 he claimed that from the appropriation made that year, he turned back into the treasury, \$500,000. Today the union of "Bureau girls" is at low ebb. I am told that those girls who have a married life in view are not friendly to the union.

But there are good union women, and good stuff to make class union women, among the 2,000 workers in the Bureau.

Boys over sixteen are employed as printer's assistants, but they are clumsy compared with the girls. To the well drilled girl, the work has become an art, and the printer who has become accustomed to his assistant's method of work likes to retain her in his employ. Printer's assistants receive \$1.25 per day from the printer, and twenty-five cents from the government—the printers claimed that the raise in wages for the girls must come from the government.

There are printer's assistants who can handle 1,000 sheets of bills a day, while 500 is a big day's work for a boy.

The printed sheets of money usually contain eight bills ranging in denomination from \$1.00 to \$10,000; the presses register the number of sheets printed.

A printer's assistant takes a blank sheet of paper which has been wet with water to make it pliable, and lays it on the press made ready with chemicals by the printer, then by a most laborious effort of his body and arms the printer turns the revolving press once. The assistant is alert to take the stamped sheet from the engraved plates

and to lay on another wet one; to do this she is compelled to step backward to a table for the wet sheet, then forward to the press, and so on for eight hours.

There are no seats for these women to drop into even for a moment. They are always moving forward and backward, first with the wet paper, then with the printed bill, amid a confusing noise of machinery, dirt and grease.

I have been through the notorious cotton mills of South Carolina. I have stood with the workers at the machines in the great shoe factories of Massachusetts, I know what it is to work, and breathe the phosphorous laden air in the Corporation match factories of the north, but I have yet to find a more congested, or foul work shop than that of the great press room at the Government Bureau of Printing & Engraving at Washington. An expert shoe stitcher can command \$12 to \$20 a week, the Government Bureau women are obliged to live, and pay for food, housing, and clothes, on a \$9 wage a week. Let those Socialists who are clamoring for "Government Ownership" study the work conditions of those industries in Washington over which the stars and stripes wave so proudly; let them talk

with these government wage-slaves and hear from their own lips, if they can, how fine a thing it is to work for the United States Government.

A bank note is not finished in the press room, but it has to pass through the hands of 54 persons and 20 machines before it becomes United States money. A printer is allowed to spoil one sheet in every one hundred, but if the sheet is lost the printer is obliged to pay the face value of the note.

The printing of bills is done by hand presses. The printers claim that the work done by the hand press is of a superior finish over that done by the power press. Superintendent Ralph favors power presses. It is said that he is to receive a bonus on each press introduced into the Bureau; we know that he was urgent at the late hearing before the Congressional Committee to prove that the power press is an improvement in every way over the hand press, "And there is the economy to the government," he pleaded. But Ralph said nothing about the money he may put into his pocket by the introduction of power presses into the Bureau and the discharge of a large number of printers and their assistants. Of course the printers are against the power press; the printer's union took action on this matter at the hearing, but as the Evolution of Industry takes no account of the individual, neither does the capitalist, nor the capitalist government. There was a compromise, and a small number of power presses are to be placed in the Bureau.

The Glass Blowers claimed that never a machine could be invented to displace their high grade hand labor. They were kings of their craft, but, Evolution, "so careful of the type is she, so careless of the single man," produced a glass blowing machine which enabled six men to do the work of six hundred. No man or woman wishes to see the bread taken from their mouths—none is willing to starve for the sake of scientific development of machinery, and the plate-printers and their assistants in the Bureau of Printing & Engraving are no royal exception.

I was taken into the room where postage stamps are made, and into the revenue stamp room. The latter room contains a new power press invented by Superintendent Ralph; this press does the work of

five men at the old hand press. Two girls run one press; the machine numbers, trims, places the seal, and separates the stamps. One million sheets of stamps were spoiled in testing this machine. There are revolving presses for printing postage stamps, 24 stamps on a sheet; the engraved plates are polished by the bare hand of the printer, each plate must be polished as it comes around after the sheet has been removed by the assistant. This is dangerous work, the bare hand of the printer in constant contact with the chemically prepared metal. Only one sheet at a time can be laid on a postage stamp press. A sheet slides under a roller, this is removed by an assistant, and the engraved plate again rubbed and polished by the bare palm of the printer. One press can print 4,000 sheets of stamps a day. There are 30,000,000 postage stamps sent out of the Bureau each day. The noise made by the presses is deafening. I passed on into the room where the stamps are examined and counted. A girl expert can count 15,000 stamps a day.

About to leave the building, I said to the guide: "There is one room we have not seen," the "Sizing Room." The woman's answer came quick, "I cannot take you into that room."

Capitalism is stronger than the craft unions. We need class unionism for government wage-slaves as well as for corporation wage-slaves. The evolution of the machine is driving the craft union to bay. "One Big Union," demanding for each worker the full equivalent of his or her product, this must be the program of the government employee at Washington; this is Socialism, and it is Socialism that the plate-printers will turn to ere long. Today the leaders of the craft unions are of the "Pure and Simple" kind. Said one to me, "I am a Democrat, the Democratic party first, last and always."

Washington's avenues are beautiful and spacious. Its trees and parks and sparkling fountains are a source of delight. Its marble buildings command the admiration of the world, but, over and above these stately piles of marble, against the pale blue of the heavens, floats the stars and stripes, beneath which Liberty lies low and bleeding, and Justice is but a thing of scorn.



The  
Chorus  
Lady



As a  
Working  
Girl



BY

PHYLLIS MELTZER

**H**AVE you ever longed to go "upon the stage"? Have you ever felt that it would be the summit of your ambition to occupy the spot-light with a handsome leading man kneeling adoringly at your feet while the "house" got up on its hind legs and beat blisters onto its hands giving you curtain calls? Have you pictured to yourself a life "on the road" where you traveled in luxury from one end of the country to another enjoying the sights you had heard about? If you have longed for and imagined these things I hope you will read the experiences of one who looked upon stageland just as you do only a few years ago.

When I was very young and foolish I was obsessed with the idea of my own personal charm and magnetism. I was very fond of the theater and it seemed to me, with all the egotism of my seventeen years, that the foot-lights were the proper setting for my talents. Behind the mysterious cur-

tain lay a wonderland of fame and romance. I was perfectly sure that I would be a success.

I remember the morning I selected a trusted girl friend, who also nursed histrionic ambitions, donned my longest frock and sallied forth. We were two pretty and attractive girls, full of absurd confidence in ourselves.

We were both duly impressed with the gorgeous costumes of the girls who had reached the manager's office before us. But the manager looked us over and seemed to prefer my friend and me. He talked to us a long time, asking us questions that sent the blushes to our cheeks and trying various kinds of familiarities.

I was told to appear the following morning to have my voice "tried out," but as the manager attempted to kiss me as I was leaving, I never returned.

But my hopes were not killed. They were only checked and inside of two weeks I had

## REHEARSING A POSE.

The chorus girls are wearing ice bags to counteract the heat.

decided to venture into the drama. This time I went to Mr. Daniel Frohman. I was horribly afraid of the great man, but he listened sympathetically to my ambitions while I assured him that I felt I was born to become a great actress. I have never forgotten his kindness in treating my illusions gently and seriously. He told me that if I worked hard, determined to shirk nothing, I could probably succeed. Then he advised me to go home and grow up before I embarked on a career!

In August, that same year, I ran away from home. I took the train to New York and went direct to a friend who had been on the stage a year. She sent me to the office of one of the biggest New York managers next day and, after trying my voice, he engaged me for a road production.

My heart bubbled over with delight. I was going to see the world. I was about to begin my "career." Every desire of my heart seemed gratified.

Rehearsals were called for the next morning—very early. Full of anticipation, I left for Lyric Hall. The girls all seemed to be

very beautiful to my unexperienced eyes and in spite of the hard work it was some time before the glamour began to wear off. Most of the girls, I found, wore a part of their make-up all of the time. They were not nearly so lovely as I had at first supposed.

Now you, who see only the light and laughter of the stage, cannot know the horrible heart-breaking fatigue that the chorus girls endure to produce the effects you enjoy. In the hottest part of summer we had to be at rehearsal from 10 a. m. to 6 and from 8 to 10 or 11 o'clock. And how we worked! There was never a moment of shirking with Burnside as overseer. I was a plump girl when we began, but I looked two years older by the time we left New York.

The girl who forsakes the store counter for the stage, hoping that she may at least escape the agony of being on her feet all day; the girl who leaves the office, with a yearning to escape its monotony; the girl who deserts her home because of a hatred for housework and with a yearning for the

romance and color which she imagines she will find in stage life—all are bound to be disappointed, and desperately so.

Instead of a life of ease and plenty, she finds, only too often, an unvarying round of hard work that renders her body numb with weariness and her mind stupid. Sleep seems to come but seldom and then only in hasty snatches. Just before the opening of a musical piece, I have seen a rehearsal last from Saturday morning till Monday afternoon and during that time none of the girls were allowed to leave the building. Their food consisted of sandwiches brought in at intervals and their sleep was taken in chairs or in the corners of the wings.

I remember once seeing a stage box filled with sleeping little dancers. They toppled in there after hours and hours upon the tips of their toes and went to sleep where they fell, their little faces, still with their make-up on, showing a ghastly red-and-white under the electric lights.

Nothing could have destroyed my illu-

sions more quickly than my first rehearsal. We had neither the time nor the strength for anything in the world but work, during the weeks when the play was being whipped into shape.

We were booked for Philadelphia as our first stop and we arrived at midnight tired and dejected. Then every young girl in the company had to find lodging. My chum and I came to a glad halt at a dingy hotel and crept dismally into a dingier bed.

We opened the next night after an entire day of rehearsing. The audience seemed to like the show. That night I had my first taste of stage "Johnnies." At first I regularly rebuffed them. Beginners often do. But when it becomes a wearing gamble whether slender salaries may be eked out to cover absolutely necessary expenses every week, even the most refined chorus girl gradually permits herself to be sometimes dined in order to stretch out her dollars a little further. Every meal paid for by somebody else means a little bit saved.

DRESS REHEARSAL OF THE "MODERN EVE" COMPANY, CHICAGO.

Standing on one foot and waving the other in the air may look pretty, but it is very tiring.

And it is only by scrimping on the little things that the chorus girl manages to live.

I am not yet quite certain why it is that certain types of men regard the show girl as legitimate prey. It is true that most of them are better looking than the average young woman. It is also true that many of them are little short of being geniuses in the art of appearing well dressed on next to nothing a week. The stage begets a sort of camaraderie and a directness of manner that comes of seven railroad jumps a week. Perhaps the girl's longing for friends and a little social life, a few of the pleasures she had hoped to find on the stage, render her a little more susceptible to the advances of men than other women.

We suffered a most humiliating experience at Easton, Penn. Three of us girls were taking a walk through the Lafayette college campus when we were surrounded by a small army of young men who insisted that a song and dance by each of us would be the price of our freedom.

In Allentown my chum and I put up at a new hotel where we were the first and only guests. The keys had not been made for the locks of the doors as yet, but as the town was full, it being fair week, we were only too grateful for a place to sleep in. As a precaution my partner placed a chair under the handle of the door before tumbling into bed. About 2 o'clock in the morning I awoke in a cold perspiration. Outside I heard voices, drunken ones, laughing and swearing. I ran over to my friend's bed and shook her. I told her I was going to jump out of the window, but she shook me into my senses and then in a loud voice called out, "Charlie, Charlie! There's someone trying the door!" She was a quick-witted girl and I loved her for it. They were indeed twisting the handle and swearing at us horribly. They tried to break in but that blessed chair held firm. Finally, after much talk and threatening, they left us, but there was no more sleep for us that night.

In every city we had some horrible experience or other. I will not try to tell all of them here.

Our trip took us south and we worked like slaves every day of our lives. We had three matinees each week and rehearsals nearly every morning or late at night. To make matters worse we sometimes made

early morning jumps. Most of us were so tired that we dropped off to sleep with our make-up on.

We grew to hate the life horribly and some of us discovered that southern corn whisky brought temporary strength. After morning trips, rehearsal and matinee it buoyed us up for the evening performance. We grew to shiver at the stations, at the thought of lugging our heavy suit cases about till we found a cheap hotel. There were absolutely no tips. We could not afford any.

There is no profession or industry that so sternly demands perfect health and absolute allegiance as the stage. Illness is prohibited. The show girl must appear under every and all circumstances or drop out permanently. One of our little dancers, about to become a mother, kept her secret and her job almost till the time of her confinement. Her wages were the support of her mother as well as herself.

If a girl dropped out from illness, she was forgotten at once. It is well known that managers do not waste time over the chorus slave.

Two of the girls, who were constantly ill, seldom stepped on the stage sober. Everybody loses self-respect and all sense of decency in such an atmosphere. Still there was seldom a young woman in the company who was not generous to a wonderful degree. When one of our comrades was sick or in trouble the girls denied themselves much needed food to contribute to her comfort or to pay for the services of a physician.

Our company broke up in Galveston with everybody so tired that she longed to imitate old Mr. Van Winkle. I took the horrible Mallory line boat for home and New York and joy once more began to bubble up in my heart. The stage would never allure me again. All my illusions were lost in the dreadful reality. I only wanted my own home and rest.

But for the average show girl there is no home going and no rest. She must be always chasing the elusive job, struggling to retain what good looks she may have in order to compete with her eager sisters for a place in the "profession."

The usual wages of chorus girls are from fifteen to eighteen dollars a week, sums pitifully inadequate when you consider their

expenses, particularly when on tour. Out of her wages she must pay hotel bills. Whether in city or village the very lowest rate for room alone by the day is \$1. Then there are three very necessary meals, which total at least 75 cents daily, and car fares and small incidentals, to say nothing of laundry. No woman could possibly manage on less than \$15 weekly for absolute necessities, and yet we were actually compelled to pay for sleepers when the company made night jumps. Often we would be forced to sit up all night to save our last remaining dollar.

I believe that usually half the girls in most road companies regularly draw less than their full wages. They are all fined

in the chorus—just as it is everywhere for work of any kind.

The chorus girl who has no one to depend on but herself is nearly always only a few dollars away from actual need. When the company fails, or she is taken sick or dropped on the road, her straits become desperate if she has no other way of earning a living. Then it is, perhaps, that she succumbs to the overwhelming odds against her and sells herself piecemeal to keep the wolf from the door.

The chorus girls must sooner or later learn to organize. If they will stand by each other and stick together, they can compel managers to give them decent treatment. There is a Chorus Girls' Union in

(Courtesy of "A Modern Eve" Company, Chicago.)

#### WHEN THE HARD WORK IS DONE.

The stage manager is showing a new dance step. The gymnasium costumes which chorus girls are shown here in the bathing suits and they wear at rehearsals.

for the most trifling mistakes, on every available occasion. Every time a girl is late at rehearsal she is fined 50 cents. Once, when we had a string of night jumps, I lagged a little at rehearsal from sheer exhaustion. The manager scolded me in a raucous voice and I retorted with all the spirit I could muster. For this I was fined five dollars.

The stenographer or telephone girl who goes on the stage will find that wages there are not what she had anticipated. Every month brings its new group of ambitious young girls, eager to start on almost anything. As a result, wages fall to a bare living. Competition is always keen for places

Paris, I have heard, and another in St. Petersburg. The stage employes, the electricians, the scene shifters, and even the bill posters, already have their unions and no manager dares offend them, but the little chorus girl, who needs it most, is without any protection whatever. There is one union of theatrical performers called the White Rats, but they are vaudeville people and admission is hard to obtain. However, they have greatly improved their conditions and have stopped many abuses. The chorus girls must learn from them and organize for their own protection and benefit. Only in that way will they ever save themselves from the beasts who lie in wait for them in and out of the theater.

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# Capitalist Political Parties

By

GUSTAVUS MYERS

Author of "History of the Supreme Court," etc.

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NONE of the capitalist political parties represent the interests and aspirations of the working class. This is a truth so patent that it would not be necessary to state it were it not that these parties have by one means or another duped large numbers of workers. Capitalist political parties are not organized and financed to serve the interests of the workers. They profess to do this, it is true, and it has been those very professions which have so grievously and disastrously misled the mass of workers.

To get the votes of the workers, industrial and rural, certain so-called issues and campaign sentiments have been regularly shouted for popular effect. Long since the workers should have learned the costly lesson that as far as they are concerned these alleged issues were merely counterfeits. Capitalist parties can, and do, purchase batches of votes to swing elections; and to this extent competition while nearly extinct in the industrial field is still gloriously active between the Republican and Democratic parties. These parties have not as yet formed a holding company for the control of corrupt votes. Since both parties stand for the perpetuation of the capitalist regime and its accompanying wage-slavery system, it is not necessary for them to do this. Whichever party wins, the working class inevitably loses, and inasmuch as our capitalists are extremely practical men, and care for results only, the outcome one way or another, so far as the success of either party may go, is equally satisfactory.

The Republican and Democratic parties are the two main political organizations of

the capitalist class. But frequently adjuncts and auxiliary side-issue parties arise which although the capitalists pretend to oppose vociferously, yet are their allies. In this category are "reform" and "radical" parties. They well serve the purposes of capitalism in giving a pseudo outlet for popular discontent, yet the capitalists are thoroughly aware that they are subservient, ephemeral factors, in no wise endangering capitalist supremacy. For one of the many instances of this fact it is only necessary to consider the career of that lightning-change vaudeville performer, Hearst, who swings his blind and befooled followers one year in "independent" lines, the next fastens them to the Republican party, and the year after transfers their votes to the Democratic organization. The "principles" of such demagogues as Hearst fit in very well with capitalist purposes.

For the purposes in hand the capitalists are fully aware that two big political parties ordinarily serve their ends much better than one party. With two political organizations both standing for the same system, both supported by the capitalists, they can confuse and divide the workers. If the mass of workers are dissatisfied with conditions, the Democratic party can assure them that it is the fault of the Republican administration, and that if they vote the Republicans out and the Democrats in, all will be blissful. And vice versa. As between these parties this see-saw game is continually played and to packed houses. The worker turns from one ambushed enemy, only to find himself in the clutches of another. It has been a highly profitable

exercise of strategy for the capitalists, who have grown continuously richer and more powerful, and a sorry and disastrous experience for the workers who have been despoiled and exploited at every turn.

But the capitalist political parties well know that it would be the supremest folly for them to advertise from the housetops what they really stand for and who controls them. With the immense funds at their disposal, they can corrupt a certain number of slum or rural voters, and often snatch a close election. The number of purchasable votes, however, is small compared to the immense total of voters. The great majority of voters cannot be reached by money; they vote according to what is called conviction. Consequently, they must be won over by all the arts of persuasion. That relatively small number of voters who get incomes from stocks and bonds, from land or similar sources, do not require persuasion. They are already intelligently class conscious; they know that either or both Republican or Democratic parties stand for their interests and the continuance of the good things of life for them. But if the capitalist political parties, or their "reform" or "progressive" offshoots, succeeded in getting only these votes, they would be reduced to a cipher.

To get and keep control of the powers of government it is essential for those parties to annex the working class vote. By hook or crook the workers must be shackled to the spiked chariot of capitalism so that they cannot think or act independently for themselves. Always, therefore, at election time the same inspiring sight is presented. All capitalist political parties vie with one another in their disinterested solicitude for the worker. All loudly proclaim their undying concern for his welfare, and make elaborate expositions, professions and promises.

If the Republican party is in power it gravely assures the working class that it was never better situated than it is now, and to prove its altruistic contention it monopolizes the "full dinner pail" as its emblem. Thousands of newspapers and periodical editors, political "orators," college professors and clergy echo the refrain; they love to extol the satisfaction of a full dinner pail—they, not one of whom ever was forced to make its acquaintance. To see a para-

sitic editor, lawyer, professor or preacher sitting on the curb and eating a cold meal from a dinner pail would be an entrancing sight, yet not an impossible one; we may have the pleasure of witnessing that particular and most memorable spectacle.

The road to office and power via the dinner pail argument route has been an effective one, but so highly is the privilege of eating from it respected, that the capitalist commanders of political parties have never been so unfeeling as to transgress it; they leave the pail to the workers, while they, sacrificing souls, content themselves with luxurious meals the price of each of which would keep a working-class family in food for perhaps a week. Not a few of our magnates who so lavishly contribute to the campaign funds of the capitalist political parties have adopted crests, coats-of-arms, etc., but we have not observed that any of them has selected the dinner pail. No doubt, this abstention arises from motives of extreme delicacy in not venturing to appropriate a thing that belongs by right to the working class. Whoever knew the magnates to appropriate anything? Not they, honest souls.

If the Democratic party happens to be in national power, which nowadays is not often, it points to the Republicans as the horrible example of graft, maladministration, breeder of swollen fortunes and pauperism and propagator of all evils and vices. The pure and noble patriots of Tammany Hall—that bulwark of the Democratic party—and of other Democratic rings, come angelically forth and discourse their sweet strains. Away with corruption, down with political rottenness! Elect us, they say, and the country will be saved from ruination.

Between the various political parties there are, of course, differences. But these differences in nowise concern the interests of the working class. They are fundamentally shallow, superficial differences which reflect the conflict of interests among different sets of capitalists. Bear in mind, first of all, that political parties and their backers and adjuncts represent not dreamy phrases but distinct economic forces. The Republican party of today is the successor of the Federalist party, which stood for the aristocratic propertied class and its interests. The Democratic party's predecessor was the original Republican party of Jefferson's time

which represented the small shopkeeper and the developing capitalist at a time when the old landed aristocracy was the dominant and all-powerful factor. Neither represented the working class or cared for it, as is abundantly shown by the oppressive laws passed against the worker. For fifty years after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, for example, the workers had to struggle to get the right to vote. They could be thrown in jail for small debts; striking was a criminal conspiracy, and their leaders were often ruthlessly imprisoned whenever they tried to organize for better conditions.

The Republican party of early days underwent a change of name by which it was called Democratic party. When the issue of negro-slavery became acute, the Democratic party stood for the perpetuation of the chattel slave system. But in the North, which had become a great manufacturing region, negro slavery had become unprofitable, and therefore it passed into disuse. The capitalist owners of the factories found that so-called free white labor was a much cheaper form of labor than chattel slave labor. Immigration was pouring in from Europe, and surplus labor was becoming abundant. The factory owner did not have to care for his white workers when they were sick, disabled or old. He did not have to go to the expense of seeing that they were well fed and tolerably housed. Unlike the negro slaves they were not property. The factory owner could throw them out on the rubbish heap whenever it suited his purpose. When he found it desirable to close down his factory he could do so. He did not have to care for his workers. If they starved it meant no loss to him. Others could be secured in their places.

Thus a conflict set in between the two systems—the pseudo free white labor system of the North, and the chattel slavery system of the South, both of which were antagonistic to the other. The chattel slavery system was an expensive one, although the southern plantation owners did not appreciate this great economic fact. One or the other had to go; inevitably that which had to succumb was the chattel slavery system, which was the economically inferior of the two. A new political party was needed to represent the demands of the northern factory owners, and thus it was

that the Republican party was organized. It was the lineal descendant of the Whig party which had succeeded the Federalist party, but it contained new infusions of strength from the ranks of those opposed to chattel slavery. A divided Democratic party in 1860 gave it control of the National Government, and precipitated the Civil War.

Always, also, there have been certain other apparent differences, or rather issues, between the capitalist political parties. These issues arose purely from conflicting capitalist aims. In Jackson's time elections were contested and won on the issue of whether one big central bank should control the funds of the nation, or eight hundred state banks. The political parties fought fiercely over this question, and the mass of workers were duped into taking sides.

But when the state bankers finally won, the intelligent workers found that they had been pawns. Capitalist fortunes grew greater, while on the other hand the working class was exploited fully as much as before; jobs were as hard to get, and hideous conditions drove large numbers of workers into premature death from want and worry and disease. For the workers nothing had been changed, except that as fast as primitive tools were abandoned and machinery substituted, they became increasingly the slaves of the machines. The very inventions that under a rational system should have lightened the burdens of the worker, were converted into means for making his life harder, and forcing him to be absolutely dependent upon the will of the capitalists owning the machines. Quite true, the workers, after long struggles, strikes and privations succeeded in getting shorter hours and in some cases higher wages. Such improvements in working conditions were obtained in the face of opposition from capitalist political parties, but the cost of living advanced much more than their slight increase of wages.

Always keep the working class divided—that has ever been the motto of capitalist political parties. At any cost they must be kept from uniting politically and economically in aggressive class conscious action. One means of disrupting and drugging their organization has been to buy off certain of their leaders with political offices

or other profitable favors; and this method has been effectively used to this very day. Just as a half century ago or more the policy was begun of appointing labor leaders to political office, so today we have seen Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and others allying themselves with the Civic Federation, that sinister capitalistic enemy of the working class; and the roster of national, state and municipal office holders shows many a former labor leader filling political posts paying considerable salaries. Capitalist political parties give nothing for nothing; when you see a labor leader getting an appointive political job, you may be sure that it is given for service rendered.

If the workers had been intelligently class-conscious, this could not have happened. If they had been as keenly alive to the action their interests demanded, as the capitalists have been of their interests, they would long ago have seen the folly of continuing to vote into power capitalist officials who have proceeded to order out police and militia against workers striving for better conditions, and issue decrees and injunctions, backed by imprisonment against the workers. So long as the mass of workers kept on blindly voting capitalism into power they could not consistently complain when some of their leaders sold out by bargaining for office under Republican or Democratic administrations. In the Socialist party, the militant class conscious organization of the workers, it is impossible for any "leader" to sell out anything, if such a contingency can be imagined; the moment he would even depart from strict working-class action, he would be summarily expelled, as happened recently to Mayor Shook of Lima, Ohio. He would take out nobody but himself and the organization would be the stronger for his expulsion.

But although there have been certain weak or purchasable labor leaders, or leaders who after years of sincere effort, finally surrendered to the pressure brought upon them by capitalist interests, the action of those leaders could not influence all of the working class. There are today some 32,000,000 wage earners in the United States of whom some millions are voters; there will be more when women get suffrage generally. The great mass of the workers have been cajoled, duped and deceived by clouds of dust, called issues, which the capitalist parties raise.

One of these everlasting "issues" is the tariff question. It is a hoary old confidence game, and has been successfully played for more than a century. There is no need of delving into its intricacies. It originated in conflicting interests of capitalists and landowners at a time when the factories were newly established.

The mill and factory owners raised the pathetic cry that they would go into bankruptcy if they were not protected by a high tariff. But they did not elaborate on that point so much. No, indeed. Like the industrial trust owners of today, they, unselfish souls, were not concerned about themselves. Far from it! What excited their deepest commiseration was the thought of what would become of the workers if the factories should have to close down. How tearfully they pleaded the cause of the downtrodden worker, who, with his family, would have to starve if he could get no work! Their noble hearts bled at the frightful thought! It was the worker's fate that concerned them so poignantly; and many a doleful picture they and their political representatives drew of the indescribable extremities to which the worker would be reduced if the tariff were reduced.

While the factory capitalists and their retainers were thus pleading, the agricultural capitalists—the plantation and farm owners and all of the capitalists deriving profit from conditions in those regions—were saying the precise opposite. They, not deriving profits from factories, were interested in importing goods as cheaply as they could. But they, too, like the factory owners, disavowed any great intention of advocating the aims of their own interests; it was always the interest of the laborer.

Now, astonishing as it seems, this antiquated tariff confidence operation is being still used to gull the working class, and divide it on the political field. The workers are regularly assured by one set of capitalists that if they do not vote for high tariff wages will be reduced and factories close. How strange that the capitalists never think of their own interests! Somehow they have contrived to possess themselves of billions of dollars in trust stocks and bonds—which mean ownership of vast factories—but, of course, these immense fortunes, greater than the world ever knew, must have come as a present from Heaven. These capitalists who (at

election time) express such deep interest in the worker and are so solicitous that he should not vote against his interests—these capitalists seem to be men of too superhuman a virtue ever to have lied, tricked, stolen or exploited to get their huge fortunes. They unquestionably have a wireless connection with Providence.

Every election time the same old wearisome farce is presented—a revival performance where the workers are the marionettes and the capitalists pull the strings. Volumes of speeches, volumes of lying statistics, miles of editorials are emitted. For whose benefit? And who pays for it? All of this costly business—and a campaign costs money—is paid for by the big contributions of the big capitalists. Self evidently, the workers do not directly foot the bill; they have a hard enough time existing. What, indeed, impels the capitalists to be so magnificently generous? Is it for the purpose of educating the workers and saving them from the consequences of their own ignorance and folly?

Let us consult a few conspicuous examples. When Harrison, a Republican, was elected in 1888, Andrew Carnegie was one of the prominent contributors to his high tariff campaign. In 1892 Carnegie & Company gave notice to their workers in the steel plants at Homestead, Pa., that they intended reducing wages. The Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers rejected this proposed move. Carnegie retaliated by discharging all workers refusing to accept the company's terms. Then came a virtual lock-out. Meanwhile, expecting a strike, the company had built around its workers a fence three miles in circumference, and twelve feet high upon a parapet three feet in height. On the fence was strung barbed wire. The company then proceeded to import nonunion workers, and at the same time it conveyed three hundred Pinkerton detectives by water to the works. These Pinkertons brought boxes of arms and ammunition with them. Learning of their approach, a crowd of strikers sought to prevent them from landing, but the Pinkertons entrenched themselves behind a wall of steel rails and firing began. Seven of the Pinkertons and strikers were killed and many other strikers wounded. Troops were later sent into Homestead and eleven more workers were shot and killed.

This, in brief, is the story of the Homestead slaughter—an edifying example of what one of the highest-protected industries did to workers striving for better conditions. What was done then was only a beginning for since that time the Steel Trust has proved its extreme solicitude for the workers' welfare by practically succeeding in smashing union organization in certain of its plants. The strike at McKees Rocks, Pa., was another of the many examples of what kind of "protection" the workers receive.

Following the Homestead affair, a Democratic national administration was elected. Cleveland went into the White House—Cleveland, the opponent of high tariff, and the platitudinous apostle of "tariff reform." Great things were again promised for the workers, but this time their paradise was to be under a low-tariff, instead of a high tariff regime.

A little more than a year after Cleveland was re-elected, the strike at the Pullman works, at Chicago, began on May 11, 1894, followed by the great railway workers' strike. The poor Pullman Company pleaded that it was forced to reduce the wages of its workers an average of one-fourth, the company was distributing only a trifle of \$2,280,000 a year in dividends to its stockholders, and it felt quite poverty stricken with an additional surplus of \$25,000,000 undivided profits. Its workers who had to occupy the company's houses and buy gas, water, etc., supplied by it, could not see the logic of the company's position. The extortions practised upon them were such that after the company deducted rent and other charges from their wages, many of the workers received in their bi-weekly checks from four cents to \$1, over and above their rent. These facts sworn to before the U. S. Special Commission appointed to investigate the strike, and the company could not disprove the statements.

When the American Railway Union ordered a general strike, President Cleveland hurried United States troops to the scene of the strike to intimidate the strikers. This he did notwithstanding the fact that it was illegal to do so unless requested by the Governor of the states. And not only had Governor Altgeld made no such request, but he had protested against the invasion by the

military. Despite Altgeld's protest the troops were sent and kept there.

Another shuffle came three years later in the political farce, and McKinley succeeded Cleveland. McKinley was another high-tariff prophet; great were the promises held out to the working class and an entrancing picture was drawn of the wonderful prosperity high tariff would bring to the workers. Prosperity came, it is true, but it was a prosperity exclusively confined to the big capitalists. Huge trusts were organized, and billions of dollars of profits rolled in. But what of the workers? Again deluded. Strikes and lockouts continued just the same. Tariff had been dinned into the ears of the workers year after year, but what was the net result so far as the working class was concerned? Leaving out of consideration previous years, we shall give merely one aspect of the result in the nineteen years from 1881 to 1900. In those nineteen years there were 22,793 strikes and 1,005 lockouts in the United States. Where was that promised prosperity for the working class?

Gulled again, were the mass of workers when Roosevelt went into office. More tariff talk reverberated; the workers were again fooled by catchwords and black arts. Still the cost of living went up out of all proportion to the slight increase wrested in wages. The workers found it harder and harder to snatch a livelihood. Just as other Democratic and Republican officials ordered out troops against striking workers, so did Roosevelt, when, for instance, he summoned the militia, during his term of Governor of New York, against the Croton Dam strikers, and when, as president, he ordered out the regular troops against the striking miners in the west. So far as the interests of the workers were concerned, Roosevelt was talk, talk, talk. He, like other politicians, posed as "a great friend of labor." Talk is cheap, but deed is what counts. And in deed Roosevelt aggressively served the interests of the big capitalists every moment.

Strikes and lockouts and armies of unemployed continued; they persist at this very moment, and will continue as long as the capitalist system does. The report has been going the rounds of the press that there are 6,000,000 unemployed persons in the United States. Assuming this figure to be an exaggeration, all of the reports of

state labor bureaus, municipal departments and charity societies nevertheless, show that the number of unemployed is enormous. Meanwhile the only solution or remedy that Taft has to offer is to suggest the comical notion that certain tariff duties should be revised! As though tinkering with the tariff could provide a rational system whereby unemployment, exploitation and poverty would be effaced.

Even, however, when the deluded workers vote for revision of tariff, they are again fooled as they were when the Wilson bill was passed during Cleveland's second administration, and as has happened since. The farce is a grievous one for the workers. Two of the highest protected industries, for instance, are the woolen and cotton; the average rate of tariff protection in both has been about 100 per cent, but two years ago the tariff on cotton was increased 200 per cent. Yet what of the "protection" to the workers? The facts causing the recent strike of the textile operatives at Lawrence, Mass., should be a final lesson to all such workers as are still befooled by the bogus tariff issue. In 1911, the American Woolen Company distributed to its small clique of stockholders \$2,800,000. But the 25,000 operatives received an average weekly wage of how much? Six dollars a week—six a week in the busy season, and less in the slack months. Quite true, some workers receive more, but that was the average wage. Their ingenuity must have been severely taxed to find ways and means of spending that magnificent sum.

Of what use has all this tariff fanfaronade been to the working class? It has been of the greatest service to the capitalists in enabling them to beguile and divide the working class into supporting capitalist parties, and bewildering and paralyzing the workers from seeing that their only emancipation lay in solid working class action to overthrow the capitalist system. And so it has been with all of the other "issues" raised by capitalist parties; their effect has been precisely the same in giving more power to capitalism in order to despoil the workers.

If further tangible proof of this fact is sought, only one of a thousand proofs need be considered. Who have issued injunctions against labor unions? Who have declared unconstitutional hundreds of laws—and they were but makeshift laws at that

—designed to improve somewhat the condition of the worker? And who, on the other hand, have handed down thousands of decisions favorable to capitalists?

Why, who else have done it but the judges? Whether the judges have been Republican, Democratic or "Reform," they have all acted as enemies to the working class. They have been put on the bench to do that very thing. The organizations which elected them or caused them to be appointed are capitalist organizations. They get their big contributions from magnates and corporations; no one can be so senseless as to believe that capitalists give millions of dollars without absolute assurance that the goods contracted for will be delivered. These goods are municipal, state and federal officials, legislatures and congress, judges and president and president's cabinet. Capitalists are not visionaries. They want the possession of all governing powers by means of which they can get their laws and decisions, as well as to use the armed power of the government against the working class.

Nearly all of the time the capitalists are discreet enough not to reveal their purposes. They talk "patriotism" and "national honor," "honest government" and such phrases—anything to mask their real acts and aims. But now and then some capitalist in an unguarded moment will divulge the truth. "In a Republican district," testified Jay Gould, "I was a Republican; in a Democratic district, a Democrat; in a doubtful district I was doubtful; but I was always for Erie." H. O. Havemeyer, head of the Sugar Trust (which, it will be remembered, by the way, stole millions of dollars in customs frauds), put the case fully as clearly. Asked by a United States Senate Investigating Committee if he contributed to state campaign funds, he frankly replied; "We always do that. \* \* \* In the state of New York, where the Democratic majority is between 40,000 and 50,000, we throw it their way. In the state of Massachusetts, where the Republican party is doubtful, they have the call. Wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is very large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because that is the party that controls local matters."

Of course. Republican, Democratic, "Reform" and "Progressive" parties differ in

external shades only. At times one may appear a little more reactionary or a bit more "advanced" than the others, but they all stand for the continuance of the capitalist system. Capitalists being hard-headed, practical men, are never deceived as to who serves their interests. They well know that the most gigantic graft of all is the graft that they seize as profits on the workers' wages; they take the bulk of the worker's produce, and give him back a bit in the form of wages barely enough to subsist upon. They know that whatever "reforms" any of their political parties may advocate, not one of them is opposed to the wage system. Equally as keenly do they realize that the mission of the Socialist party, and its implacable aim, is to overthrow the whole capitalist system, branch and root. The reactionary capitalist politician does not want to disturb the wage graft system at all, while the "progressive" capitalist is not less bent upon maintaining it, but seeks to make it a little more presentable. Both believe in the capitalist class, and both are venomously opposed to the working class stepping in control of political and economic power, and proceeding to establish an industrial democracy whereby all class lines and the horrors of the present system will be abolished.

The Republican party stands at all times for the trusts and the big capitalists. The Democratic party oscillates between representing the little capitalists and the big. When Bryan ran originally as its candidate, it stood for the little capitalists as against the trusts, but later the magnates captured its majority of delegates by force of money, and it stood for the big capitalists. The "reform" parties of all brands are alternates for the capitalists, whenever the latter see a majority getting tired of the old political parties. As for the "progressives" they are even more reactionary than the other parties, in that they seek to break up centralized industries and restore the obsolete period of competition. All of these parties approve of the fundamentals of the present order, which fact is conclusively demonstrated by their coalescing wherever the Socialist party—the party of the working class—gets strong enough to threaten their control of the machinery of power.

Workers of America have you not been

cajoled and deceived long enough? The capitalist class is your bitterest enemy, and yet the majority of you have kept on voting it into a power which it mercilessly uses against you. The capitalist class uses the newspaper periodical and newspaper press, the church and every other established institution to influence and hold your minds, and by making slaves of your minds seeks

to make slaves of you. Is it not time that you awoke in your might and threw off the shackles? The capitalists are few, and you are many, but by paper titles backed by the armed power of government, they hold the industries and resources of the country, and keep you in bondage. Nothing stands between you and complete economic freedom but enlightenment. Think and act!

American Press Association.

SCENE NEAR MEMPHIS, TENN., DURING RECENT FLOOD.

## Life on the Mississippi in 1912

BY

RICHARD HENDRICKSON

THE Mississippi River, as described by Mark Twain and Chas. Dickens before him and by DeSoto 300 years ago, is not the Mississippi River of 1912. It has been harnessed on both sides from above Cairo, Ill., to the Gulf of Mexico, dammed at Keokuk, Iowa, and bridged at Memphis, Thebes, and St. Louis all for private profit. In Arkansas, along the Mississippi River, from the 36th parallel south to the 33d and inland to the west for about 50 miles, lies a vast expanse of the richest land in the world. To comprehend its extent, let us say from north to south it equals the distance from New York to Baltimore and in width from London to Manchester. Hardwood timber, such as oak and hickory, covered it until a few years ago and in

parts of it, still abound. Where the timber has been cleared, there lies the cotton plantations.

The land is so low that when the river becomes swollen from the spring thaws and rains in the north, it forms the bed of an inland sea. The receding waters leave year after year as they have done for millions of years, the rich silt that fairly reeks with vegetable life. Cotton plants as high as one's head yield a bale to the acre without cultivation.

These lands are owned by a few white men. Practically none of these owners cultivate the soil themselves. They get "George" to do it for them, "George" is the negro—"nigger" down here. The total population of these bottom lands in Arkansas is very

large including the farm lands, towns and cities. The white owners of these fertile lands class the negroes and the few whites who do their work as "croppers" and "renters." "Croppers" are they who are furnished all the implements and stock necessary for cultivating and bringing in the crop, and their share is very small. "Renters" are those who furnish their own stock and implements, and pay so many dollars per acre for rent. The owner of the land in both cases secures himself against loss. With the "cropper" the owner of the land holds the title to the crop itself. With the "renter" the owner of the land takes a mortgage on the crop before IT IS GROWN, as a guarantee that the rent will be paid. In case of flood, drouth or boll-weevil, or if from sickness, laziness or death, the renter falls short, it is the "renter," never the owner of the land, that gets the "hook."

The white owners of these larger tracks of land conduct either directly or indirectly what are called commissary stores. These stores supply for the year all the groceries and other needful articles of life, to the negroes who do the work on the plantations. The profit they usually reckon is not less than 100 per cent on merchandise. All moneys loaned, all credits extended, bear interest of not less than 10 per cent, the legal rate in Arkansas. In the towns and villages there exist the small storekeepers and middle men who perform a perfectly useful and legitimate function of merchandise. But they are largely under the jurisdiction of their powerful competitors whose purpose it is to exploit those who are depending upon them by reason of ownership of the land and of the banks, and therefore of credit.

When the cotton ripens the modern slaves pick it and haul it to the cotton-gin which is owned and operated wholly or in part by the men who own the land and, of course, for profit. The manager of the gin usually buys the cotton from a "renter," and invariably rates it at a lower grade than it really is. The seed is sold by the manager at a heavy profit to the nearest cotton seed oil mill, a part of one of the great family of private owned monopolies in America. The "renter" or "cropper" reports to the owner of the land, and after rent, interest on loans, stock and what not, are deducted

the worker in a good year goes to town with a balance to his credit. In the town await him the merchant with his *gew-gaws*, the gin mills, the harlots and the gamblers, all of whose habitations are owned almost invariably by capitalistic idlers. Each takes his toll and back to the miasmatic swamps goes the happy, dull worker to another year of toil and another mortgage on the crop yet unplanted.

Those rich lands not only in Arkansas, but in Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana are protected by one of the most gigantic systems of dikes in the world, all built by labor, the money being raised to pay for the labor, of course, by national, state or other taxation, which, in turn, comes from the pocket of labor in the form of "protective" tariff. You shall see how these levees serve the interest of the labor that creates and pays for them. Even as I write Senator Newlands of Nevada and Ex-governor Francis of Missouri are wildly proclaiming the urgency of more appropriations and more and higher and stronger levees. A project for a deep water way up the Mississippi River has been given nationwide publicity to the extent of having for its chief promoter, the president of the United States, Mr. Taft himself, who made a spectacular voyage down the river not long ago surrounded by as choice a group of stock waterers and financial porch climbers as have been seen afloat since the days of the buccaneers of the Spanish main. Let every citizen of this "glorious land of the free" remember that the levees are for the sole protection of the foreign and domestic absentee landlords who own practically all the land behind them and the deep water way is to enable the same ilk to make profits out of transporting the PRODUCTS THAT AN ALREADY SHAMELESSLY EXPLOITED ARMY OF LABOR RAISES, and let him remember that all the millions of dollars expended upon draining these low lands through innocent schemes of taxation are charged back a hundredfold in the form of rent or higher price of land, if he offers to become a "renter" or a "cropper" or a "purchaser."

At one town in Arkansas on April 5, 1912, the Mississippi River stood at 51 feet above low water. The highest previous record was 51 feet 8 inches. Directly

American Press Association.

SECTION OF TRACK OF THE MOBILE & OHIO RAILROAD.

in front of the hotel in which I write is the levee that protects this town from inundation to a height of from three to fifteen feet, when the river reached 52 feet along the water front before the town. This levee stretches for four miles. Above the town are cross levees reaching from the shore to the hills and below in the transverse bank of a small river completes the protection against abnormal floods. Back of the town are the hills. There live the "affluent," who own the low lands. In the low lands for hundreds of miles above and below the town and back inland for 50 miles or more, lies the richest alluvial soil in the world. There live the human animals who cut the timber and clear the land and plant the cotton, and under the boiling sun cultivate it, and in due time pick it and haul it to the gin for the "affluent" who live upon the hills. Most of these humans are black. They descend by a few generations from their ancestors who were brought to America by our pious Pilgrims of New England, who exchanged rum for them in Africa and traded them to our equally pious cavaliers of Virginia and to the other colonies of the Sunny South.

Tonight the "affluent" from the hills, who own all the lands in and around the towns and all the houses and all stores and all

the goods and provisions and all the factories, with gun in hand are pressing every black man into service upon the levees. Bales of cotton sacks are dumped helter skelter, flat cars of soil are shunted to the river front and thousands of human hands with shovels fill these sacks with their leaden loads and lay them side by side on top of the earthen levee as a barrier against a steadily rising river. Only the "affluent" boss the job. Governors and mayors, boards of trade and chambers of commerce are telegraphing to congressmen and senators and to the president of the United States himself for relief. Officers of the army are dispatched to view the devastation and report. Congress in an hour authorizes an appropriation of \$350,000.

In the midst of all this we were told that a boat was about to go up the river to rescue some flood distressed families. Thirty miles we battled against the on-rushing flood with a wheezing, coughing little craft about the shape of a bed bug and not much larger. One of her stacks, about the size of a stove pipe, is broken off and one could reach the top of it with the outstretched hand. Bravely she puffs and trembles and whisks across lots over the flooded tree tops on her mission of mercy. On the upper deck sits the aged philanthropist who planned this voy-

age of rescue and for two hours I looked upon him as such a gentle, kind soul; his glance seemed to reprove some of the men when they took a swig from the bottle that bore the little green government guarantee of age and purity. He proudly proclaimed himself a follower of the Man of Sorrows—the meek and lowly Nazarene. The captain of this queer craft seemed taller by a foot than the broken stack and like Don Quixote, bending to whisper to Sancho Panza, he stooped down to our philanthropist for instruction. In a moment there was a jingle of a bell in the crazy engine room below and along the black shadows of the forest we came upon a faint light. There before us on a rude float, guarded around the sides by poles newly cut, were huddled a dozen negroes with as many mules, and 20 head of cattle, a few pigs and horses and some chickens. Our philanthropist took the mules, a few cattle and fewer negroes. The mules are worth \$200 a piece. We went to the Mississippi side and at 3 o'clock in the morning moored on a small island about a quarter of an acre in area and surrounded by miles and miles of muddy water.

Between the bellowing of the cattle, the braying of the mules, the squealing of the pigs and the cackle of the poultry and the shouting of the marooned negroes, we heard the voice of authority from both decks of our fantastic craft. Some of the negroes held out for terms, some even would not

help to load the stock unless paid in advance. On came the mules first (for you know they are worth \$200 a piece), then came some horses and a few cows, followed by all the negroes, except five, who chose to take a chance. The upper deck was loaded with the rudest kind of furniture and bedding. Off we went down the stream with the lower deck loaded to its utmost capacity with stock, mostly mules and the upper deck strewn with sleeping negroes. I asked the philanthropist if he were doing this out of the goodness of his heart. He answered that when a horse has the glanders the neighbors have a right to destroy him or make such disposition of him as they please. He had paid \$75 for the use of the ferry boat. That night when we reached the land safely with the mules, he was a man tired out but satisfied with having done a "fine night's work" — HE HAD NOT CHARGED THE NEGROES A CENT FOR THE RIDE, but had an excellent lot of mules that he did not have the day before.

\* \* \*

Of course the levees will be repaired and deep water ways built and more swamps will be drained. All these good works should go on, but I wonder how much longer the "free and independent" electorate will vote to pay for these things for the benefit of a handful of land speculators, cotton kings, sugar barons and merchant princes.

## Socialist Party Progress in South Africa

BY

ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD

**D**URING the last few months there has been much activity manifest in the South African Socialist movement. The movement hitherto has found expression through numerous Socialist organizations and groups in various centers of industry. For instance, Capetown has a "Social Democratic Federation"; Durban, a "Social Democratic Party"; Benoni, a "So-

cialist Society"; Pretoria and Johannesburg have each a "Socialist Party," the last mentioned city also adding a "Socialist Labor Party" to the plethora of Socialist organizations.

The Socialist party in Johannesburg, desirous of putting an end to this condition of disunity and dissipation, convened a conference during Easter week, representative

## GROUP OF DELEGATES TO SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIALIST PARTY CONFERENCE.

This picture was taken especially for THE REVIEW.

Rear Row, Left to Right—Wm. McNeill, Secy., Johannesburg, S. P.; Comrade Knowles, of Dubar, Natal; W. H. Harrison, Capetown; W. S. Kevington, Johannesburg; T. R. White, S. L. P.  
 Front Row, Left to Right—M. Manson, S. P.; Dora B. Montefiore; Harry Norrie, Chairman; Mary Fitzgerald, S. P.; A. Crawford, Natl. Secy. of New Party.

of all South African Socialist organizations. The conference, which was held in the Vaudette theater met with success quite exceeding our expectations. A resolution affirming the desirability of unity was carried without discussion or dissent, and the delegates set to work upon a draft constitution which had been prepared as a basis of discussion for the conference.

With the exception of the "Policy and Principles" the entire constitution was modelled on the lines of the S. P. of America, South Africa, like the "States," being a country of large area and long distances. The "Policy and Principles" submitted to the conference read as follows:

The Socialist party is a world-wide organization of the revolutionary working class, which aims at the overthrow of the capitalist system of exploitation and the inauguration of the Socialist Commonwealth—i. e., the Social revolution.

New times require new methods, therefore the Socialist party lays down no particular method of waging war upon the capitalist system. Localities have not all reached the same stage of industrial development, hence each locality must determine its own method. One rule, however, will be applied to determine what is and is not constitutional for members, local, and national sections, etc.

*"Does the act help Evolution and educate for Revolution?"*

If it does it is constitutional. If not it is unconstitutional.

The Socialist party recognizes the class war between the revolutionary working class and the reactionary exploiting class and stands at all times with the former. Being a revolutionary party, the Socialist party has no reform program. For the guidance of the working class as a whole, however, the Socialist party at its annual congresses may carry resolutions expressive of its opinion as to what immediate steps the workers should take to strengthen it in its struggle. These resolutions stand good only till the next congress when they *ipso facto* cease to represent the views of the party.

A majority of delegates thought the word "Class Consciousness" a better word than "Evolution" and altered the wording accordingly. The S. L. P. submitted a lengthy and detailed amendment, embracing a set of cast iron principles calculated to bring about the Socialist Republic by peaceful and bloodless means, by political and industrial organization of a specific character, a party owned press, exclusive literature, etc., and *no sabotage*.

The points in this amendment had already been set out in a document presented to the conference, enumerating the "irreducible" principles, under which alone the S. L. P. could agree to sink its identity and join the new party. These, in brief, were:

1. Education of the workers in economics and sociology so as to prepare them for a bloodless and peaceful revolution.

2. A party owned organ edited and controlled by a press committee.

3. The repudiation of "Sabotage" as "unscientific, uncivilized and chaos producing tactics."

4. The endorsement of the "correct" I. W. W.

5. All S. C. P. papers and literature to be advertised and advocated in the party press and propaganda and no privately owned organs to be imported or advocated by the party.

6. No compromise either directly or indirectly with the exploiting class. Revolution and not reform to be the party policy.

It was decided to make those S. L. P. demands the texts of separate resolutions to be submitted to the conference after the constitution had been gone through. The constitution was agreed to with but slight alteration of the original draft and the discussion of the S. L. P. "irreducible demands" resulted in resolutions which can here be expressed briefly.

Numbers 1 and 6 were passed over as being already embodied in the constitution.

No. 2 was agreed to, it being understood that the "Voice of Labour" would be the

official organ of the party which could be taken over when the position of the party—its power to "take and hold"—warranted such a change.

Regarding No. 3, the conference refused to repudiate "Sabotage," but declared "Sabotage" no part of the Socialist party method, it being purely an industrial weapon and as such solely the concern of the workers organized on the industrial field.

The "correct" I. W. W. mentioned in No. 4, we were informed, did not refer to the Trautman-St. John bunch of "I am a Bummary" fame. Our action was therefore clear. In order to further unity a resolution was passed endorsing "*Industrial Unionism*," no mention being made of particular organizations, nor opinions expressed as to what was or was not the "correct" I. W. W.

Re No. 5, the conference declared it had no objection to the endorsement of the "Weekly People" and the "Socialist" of Great Britain, but insisted on advertising, advocating and selling the "Voice of Labour" and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. It was agreed should the S. L. P. decide to join, to officially recognize and encourage the sale of these four organs and such other organs and literature as the party, from time to time, might decide upon.

As the S. L. P. had a particular antipathy to the name "Socialist Party" by itself, a further inducement was offered them by altering the name to "The United Socialist Party of South Africa."

There is very little fear as to the result of the conference. To all intents and purposes there now exists but one Socialist party in South Africa, with headquarters in Johannesburg, P. O. Box 1,639, being its postal address. Our next move is to get into international touch and it is our hope to satisfy the wish of our German comrade, Karl Kautsky, expressed to the writer at Jena last year, and send direct representatives to the next International Socialist Congress, to be held at Vienna.

BY

## COVINGTON HALL

**T**HE second annual convention of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers was convened in Alexandria, Louisiana, May 6th, and adjourned at midnight on May 9, 1912.

About 100 delegates, white and colored, were in the assembly, which was undoubtedly one of the most important labor bodies that ever met in the south, for, not only was it decided by unanimous vote to refer to the membership the proposal to unite with the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers of the Industrial Workers of the World, but, so certain were the delegates that the proposal of the convention would be adopted, that the general officers were instructed to immediately advise the rank and file as to the number of delegates the B. of T. W. should elect to the joint convention of Forest and Lumber Workers and to the general convention of the I. W. W., which conventions are to be held in Chicago this coming September.

On all other propositions also, the convention was progressive to the core. The white and colored delegates met in joint session on the second day despite the fact that the local "Democratic" authorities threatened to get out an injunction prohibiting the convention meeting at all, should this occur.

This great revolt of the Southern Timber and Lumber Workers began about one year ago when all the mills throughout southwest Louisiana were shut down in an effort to crush the young, but rapidly growing Brotherhood of Timber Workers. Not satisfied with the lockout, the Operators' Association also began a campaign of villification against every man connected with the union, blacklisted and forced out of the industry more than one thousand men and capped this act of folly by forcing every worker who applied for a job to take one of the most infamous anti-union oaths ever conceived in the rotten brain of a corpora-

tion lawyer. Failing, after all this, to beat the workers back into meek submission, the operators' association then began to fill the lumber belt with gunmen of the very worst and lowest type, to fence in, with boards or barbed wire, the quarters where the workers lived, this despite the fact that all the lumber companies have the gall to charge rent for their so-called houses and the payment of rent, under the laws of Louisiana, is supposed to give a man the full right to control the dwelling as his own.

In one instance a whole town, Fields, La., has been so fenced in, so that people on the outside are forced to get their mail from the United States postoffice through a back window! which is certainly "some" law and order when we consider the fact that Louisiana is a "Democratic" state and has just been swept by the "progressive" wing of that party. But still the spirit of the awakened workers is unbroken and still the union grows, and ever farther and wider spreads its call to action: "*One Big Union, life and freedom for ALL the workers! Don't be a Peon—Be a MAN!*"

The revolt is economic to the last degree, a thing the brutal bosses of the Lumber Trust seem absolutely unable to comprehend, for, like the Manchu mandarins, they have literally driven the workers into rebellion.

In reality, the fight began in 1907, when, taking advantage of the panic, the Lumber Trust cut wages and increased the hours

of labor throughout the South so outrageously that a spontaneous strike broke out over a wide area, which strike forced some concessions, but brought no real relief because for the concessions, the workers practically agreed not to organize a union. Fatal error! Since then the Trust has added burden unto burden, until today "common" labor in Arkansas is paid for at the rate of \$1.25 per day while in Texas, Louisiana and Mississippi wages, counting in both "skilled" and "common" labor, will not average over \$1.45 per day, for a working day of ten to eleven hours.

On top of this, the cost of living has steadily climbed in all directions, especially in the "commissaries," or company stores, where shoddy and canned cat are sold at a profit that would startle even the soul of Shylock.

On top of all this, the workers were forced to pay fees to support the companies' doctors; fees to support imaginary hospitals and for imaginary treatment therein; premiums for imaginary insurance; outrageous rents for alleged houses, shacks a Lumber King wouldn't herd his hogs in; graft on top of graft, and then more graft was piled upon the workers until human endurance could bear no more, and then came the revolt, and then the lockout, and then the blacklist, and then the oath, and then the gunmen, and *now*—a supreme struggle is on between the Lumber Trust and its peons in the South.

# Sabotage

## and

# Revolutionary Syndicalism

BY

VELLA MARTIN

THE Labor Movement in France: A study in Revolutionary Syndicalism," is the title of an important work by Louis Levine, Ph. D., lately published by the Longmans Company, 91 Fifth avenue, New York. The author traces the growth of Revolutionary Syndicalism in the various political and economic organizations of the working class. He defines Revolutionary Syndicalism as "an attempt to fuse revolutionary socialism and trade unionism into one coherent movement. Its aim is to do away with existing institutions and to reconstruct society along new lines."

Dr. Levine begins with the period of the revolution (1789), citing the various legislative acts which prohibited coalitions of workmen and forced them to unite in secret societies, and co-operative movements. In 1864, the strike of Parisian printers brought about the abolition of the law prohibiting coalitions and insured workmen the right to strike. From this time organizations of workmen grew rapidly, and in 1869, 250,000 workers in France were identified with the "International Association of Workingmen."

After the violent persecution of workmen's societies, incident to the Franco-Prussian War, the Proclamation of the Republic and the suppression of the commune, the syndicates grew very rapidly. From 1872 to 1879, Borlieret influenced the workmen's associations along co-operative lines. At this time the Socialists, under the leadership of Jules Guesde, Paul Brousse and J. Allemane, were fighting for the control of

the workmen's organizations; the party was disrupted by quarrels of possibilists, opportunists, anarchists, Marxian Socialists, etc. The "National Federation of Syndicates" came under the influence of the Guesdists, while the "Federation of Labor Exchanges of France" identified itself with the Socialists who followed Allemane.

At the congress of the National Federation of Syndicates in Bordeaux (1888), the principle of the general strike was approved by all factions save the Guesdists. The conception of a general strike was "a peaceful cessation of work, a peaceful strike of folded arms."

In 1895, at the Congress of Limoges, the "General Confederation of Labor" had its beginning. A long period of dissensions caused the workmen to make the general strike a part of the program of the General Confederation, and to demand the elimination of politics from the syndicates. In 1902, at the Congress of Montpellier, the "Federation of Labor Exchanges of France" joined the "General Confederation of Labor"; thus the economic organizations of the workmen were united. Meanwhile, the bitter experiences of the Socialists in Parliament, the increasing conservatism of all factions of the Socialist party drove the workmen from the political into the economic movement. Attention to the action taken by the various congresses of workmen's organizations shows that the revolutionary syndicalists have manifested increasing strength in their opposition to reformist elements. The year

of 1906 was marked by a number of strikes due to the agitations of the confederation; their purpose was "to spread among the large mass of workingmen ideas which animate the militant groups and the syndical organizations." At the congress of Amiens in 1906, the Confederation defeated the political syndicalists.

Dr. Levine traces at great length the growing strength of revolutionary syndicalism in the workingmen's organizations of France. He carefully explains the meaning of revolutionary syndicalism, both in its economic manifestations and as it is promulgated by the theorists of the movement. The basic idea of revolutionary syndicalism is the idea of the class struggle; it is for the syndicates "to organize the vague class-feeling and to raise it to clear consciousness."

Industrial unionism is preferable to craft unionism because "the separation of workingmen into trades is apt to develop in them a corporate spirit which is not in harmony with the class idea. The industrial union on the contrary, widens the mental horizon of the workingman and his range of solidarity with his fellow workingmen and thus serves better to strengthen his fellow consciousness."

"Direct action is action by the workingmen themselves, without the help of intermediaries; it is not necessarily violent action, though it may assume violent forms; it is the manifestation of the consciousness of the will of the workingmen themselves, without the intervention of an external agent."

Revolutionary syndicalists employ four principal weapons against employers—strike, boycott, the label, and sabotage. "Sabotage consists in obstructing in all pos-

sible ways the regular process of production in order to obtain any demand. It may express itself in slow work, in bad work and even in destruction of the machinery of production. . . . The syndicalists strongly condemn any act of sabotage which may result in the loss of life."

But revolutionary syndicalists, in addition to fighting employers must oppose the state. Only direct methods should be used in forcing the state to yield to workingmen. Antimilitaristic propaganda is a weapon against the state.

"The general strike—the supreme act of the class-war—will abolish the classes and will establish new forms of society."

Dr. Levine gives a careful interpretation of M. Sorel, one of the chief writers of the "New School," which considers itself neo-Marxist. This school considers the development of new moral forces an important factor in the establishment of a Socialist society. This moral training can be gained only through the syndicate, and the idea of the "general strike," which is the "social myth" of this period. "Social myths concentrate the force of the rising class and intensify the point of action. The general strike is the 'social myth' of the working class longing for emancipation; the idea of the general strike keeps alive and fortifies in the workingmen their class consciousness and revolutionary feelings."

A brief review of Dr. Levine's book can not do justice to the elaborate treatment he has given to the labor movement in France. Anyone interested in revolutionary unionism, i. e., "reorganization of society on Socialist principles" will find this book a valuable study of the growth of the movement in France.



# A SOCIALIST MINE INSPECTOR

By A. W. RICKER

LEON BESSON.

**D**URING the 1898 session of the Kansas State Legislature, James Cassin, of Girard, Crawford county, at that time a Populist representative, introduced a measure entitled, "An Act Creating a State Association of Miners with Power to Elect a Secretary of Mining Industries Who Shall Succeed to the Powers and Duties of the State Mine Inspector."

The bill provided as follows:

Whenever seven or more miners whose usual occupation is to mine coal for wages shall now be organized or shall hereafter organize as a miners' union in any county, city or mining camp in the state, and shall choose a delegate or delegates to the State Association of Miners, as such union may be under this act entitled, such delegate or delegates shall, being duly certified to the secretary of said association by the presiding officer and secretary of such union, be admitted to and become a member or members of the State Association of Miners until the first Monday in February next following, and until the successor or successors of such delegate or delegates shall have been chosen and admitted; provided, that at any time any such union may recall its delegate or any or all of its delegates by choosing and certifying a successor or successors. Each union shall be entitled to one delegate, and to one additional delegate for every fifty, or major fraction of fifty, mem-

bers of such union; provided, such union shall have been organized three months preceding the then next annual meeting of said state association, and shall have certified said organization, by its presiding officer and secretary, to the secretary of said state association three months preceding said annual meeting, and during the preceding year, or during such portion thereof as it shall have existed, shall have complied with the requests of the secretary of said state association for statistics and information. Any union may, at its option, authorize a single delegate to cast all the votes to which such union may be entitled; provided, that no delegate shall cast more than five votes.

This law has been amended since so as to make the election of State Mine Inspector annual, and to provide for his recall. His salary is fixed at \$1,500 per year with an allowance of \$1,000 for traveling expenses. Four deputies are provided for, one each for the counties of Crawford, Cherokee, Osage and Leavenworth, whose compensation is \$3.00 per day and necessary expenses.

The mining laws of Kansas cover 32 pages of the statutes and are designed to fully protect the lives of the miners and render the mines safe and sanitary. The laws cover such subjects as proper open-

ings and ventilation, escapement shafts, examination of engines and boilers, kind and quality of powder, fencing machinery and passage ways, shot firing regulations, oil used in lamps, weights and measures, prohibition of child labor under 14 years of age, sprinkling and removal of dust in and from mines, clean and sanitary bath houses, installation of telephones, etc., etc.

Perhaps no state in the union has sought to care for the life and health of its miners as has Kansas and certainly no other state has given into the hands of the Miners' Union the election of the State Mine Inspector. Add to this that last winter the legislature enacted a workman's compensation law which provides for prompt payment of damages for loss of life and injury to persons and you have a program for the safety and well being of the working class fully up to the standard of the world's best.

Most of all, this is due to the Populist party, now defunct, but which left behind it a record certainly worthy of note. It is to be regretted, however, that many of the men who as Populists, rendered good service to the people, are now sunk in the mire of the old capitalist parties and are thoroughly reactionary. Cassin himself is of this number.

There are 16,000 union miners in Kansas and these have been electing State Mine Inspectors since 1899, all the latter of whom until 1911 have been Republicans and Democrats. These Democrats and Republican officials did not enforce the mining law, not because of dishonesty, but rather of incompetency, for one thing; and for another, because they had to deal with unfriendly courts and county attorneys, stubborn operators and indifferent miners.

Of late years, however, a change has come over the Kansas miners. That change has been brought about by Socialism, the great awakener of the slumbering giant—labor.

In the center of the mining district lies Washington township, Crawford county, where are more than 3,000 miners. In 1910 the Socialist miners elected the entire township ticket consisting of two justices of the peace, two trustees, township clerk and two constables, the entire political machinery of the township. In January, 1911, the miners' union, acting as a State Mine Association, elected a Socialist State Mine Inspec-

tor, Leon Besson, of Dunkirk, Kansas. In the spring of 1912, a spirited contest came on over the election of district union officials, which resulted in almost a clean sweep for the Socialists, Alec Howatt and Joe Variott being elected president and vice-president, both of them active Socialists. Now, add to all this, the near presence of the Appeal to Reason, and its talented attorney, "Jake" Sheppard of Fort Scott, and you have an interesting stage setting.

One of the first acts of the Socialist administration of Washington township, was the trial of the Kansas Poll Tax law before Justice Philips, of Curranville. This law, passed in the winter of 1911, was lobbied through the legislature by the Automobile Association, and provided for a cash payment of \$3.00 levied against every male citizen between the ages of 21 and 50. A failure to pay the tax lays one liable to arrest, fine of \$5 and a perpetual jail sentence. The Socialists attacked the law on the ground of its unconstitutionality, and as being an unjust tribute laid on the working class who, owning no vehicles, have no personal interest in better roads. After a sensational hearing Justice Philips declared the law unconstitutional, which decision is binding in his own township, and thus saved the miners \$9,000 in cash. The trustees, by economy and efficiency, were able to take care of the roads from the property tax and did it in a manner better than ever before in the history of the township.

The Socialist Justices having whetted their teeth, so to speak, on the poll tax, next got busy on the mining laws. About this time the State Mine Inspector, Besson, began to get into action, he having found the mine operators openly and flagrantly violating about every law on the statute books. He began to insist on law observance and when the mine operators ignored his notices he promptly closed down mines or brought cases before the Socialist justices of the peace, either Philips at Curranville, or Peniston at Arma. The attorneys for the mine operators have been earning their salaries of late because they have been wearing out good shoe leather traveling to the justice courts to defend their law breaking clients.

Leon Besson, mine inspector, is a sturdy young Frenchman, square of jaw and ab-

solutely fearless and uncompromising. Add to these qualities a Socialist education and you have a man to be seriously reckoned with. During his term of office he has made everything public and reported every accident, however slight. During his predecessor's term of office, only 76 accidents were reported, while Besson has reported more than that in three months.

At first Besson had some trouble with the miners themselves, because the shutting down of mines throws men out of employment, and so fierce is the struggle for existence that men become reckless and will work when they know their lives are in danger. Haunted ever by the cry of hungry babies at home, they work on in grim despair and indifference to danger. It has taken a Socialist education to remove this.

Besson has been firm and he has closed down mines where air is deficient and safety precautions in compliance with the law have not been taken. During his term he has closed more than 40 mines. One of the operators was a former schoolmate and personal friend of Besson's and tried to use this friendship to obtain clemency, but if anything, Besson gave it to him hardest of all.

Kansas Socialists are proud of their fighting miners and this little sketch is written with the hope that the miner boys elsewhere may profit by our success. The Industrial Union, to fight the battles on the industrial field, and the Socialist party to control and exercise the machinery of law and government—in these lie the hope of the working class.

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## Labor the Power

By

J. F. Mabie

IN the Social Democratic Herald of March 9th, is an article by Victor L. Berger on "Socialism, The Next Epoch of Society." Speaking of the transition period from capitalism to Socialism, he says: "That all this will take place peacefully we do not maintain. It will surely not come peacefully if the people are not armed. It will come peacefully if the people will be armed."

We do not know what Marx says on this point, nor do we care. Some of us have a think coming as well as Marx or Berger and we will take issue with Comrade Berger.

We do not believe that a revolution put through by force of arms will ever bring about the co-operative commonwealth or be of much benefit to the workers. In these days of machine guns and automatic rifles it is idle to talk of the workers opposing organized troops with guns, and we can not see how a revolution accomplished by a military power can end in anything but a military despotism. A co-operative com-

monwealth or industrial Democracy is possible only with a working class that knows how to co-operate—who know how to use their labor power in the most effective way.

Labor power is the source of all wealth. The class that can control labor power is the dominant class. The working class will be the dominant class—the only class—when it has learned to control its own labor power.

Organized labor, not organized militia, is the weapon of the working class, expressed on both the industrial and political fields. Armies, navies, militia, the state—all rest upon labor power. A working class so organized as to give or withhold this labor power can and will control.

Not only is industrial organization the prime need of the working class as a weapon, but it is the foundation of the future society. Let us begin to build it now. Let the other class have the guns, the bayonets and the dynamite and let us go on and use all our energies to perfect our industrial organization.

A MODEL CONCRETE CITY.

# Things Doing in the Cement Industry

BY

MARY E. MARCY

**T**HE Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R. Company is now building one of the most interesting groups of buildings of the age at Nanticoke, Pa. This is a model concrete city for wage workers. The houses are of reinforced concrete throughout and make really sanitary homes. Not only that, but they serve as an example of the possibilities in building industrial communities by the process of pouring into steel forms. The inventor and architect of these molds and buildings is Milton D. Morrill, of Washington, D. C.

The Scientific American Supplement of April 27th, contains an interesting description of the new city.

"The forty houses," it says, "are grouped in pairs, inclosing a park or play ground which is 300 by 600 feet. The group will be completed in the spring of 1912, work having been suspended during the cold

winter months. This new idea in both design and construction has been worked out to bring the construction of the substantial fire-proof home within the reach of the wage earner. It is interesting to know that for the construction, products which have been heretofore considered as waste have been utilized. The buildings are of a mixture, of coal cinders, sand and cement poured into steel forms, which are set up forming the walls, partitions, floors and roofs.

"While the idea of the poured house is similar to that which Mr. Edison predicted would supplant other modes of construction, the method is entirely different from the plan upon which he has been working. The steel forms here used have been developed and the practicability demonstrated in the building of a cement city, Virginia Highlands, near Washington, where many of

these houses have been constructed, and the practicability of the plan has been conclusively proved.

"Flanged plates are pressed into 24-inch square sections which are securely assembled by wedge connections, forming troughs around walls and partitions, the sides of which are separated by spacing pipes and slotted straps, giving rigid connections, and holding the plates in line. Only two tiers of these plates are used, as the lower tier is swung up by an ingenious system of arms, the whole being supported by concrete already built. After the inner and outer plates have been swung into position, forming a trough on top, this is spouted full and allowed to harden, the lower tier is then loosened and swung, and the process continued. By this means, throughout the construction of the walls, the plates are not disconnected, but swung up one over the other until the roof is reached. The same forms are used for the construction of floors and roofs which are also of reinforced concrete. While all the buildings of this group are of similar design, the steel forms are arranged with variable corner sections which permits the construction of walls and buildings of almost any design and dimension.

"A novel system of building has been adopted in this group of houses. A railroad track is laid around the entire group and a mixing plant is mounted upon a flat car with elevator for hoisting concrete attached. Cars of sand, cement and cinders are attached to the mixing car, the concrete is hoisted from the mixer to an elevated hopper from which spouts conduct the mixture into the steel forms at the various parts of the building.

"After a section of one house has been completed the mixing train is moved to the next and the process continued. The whole system is surprisingly simple and free from complicated mechanism. Hydrate of lime is added to the concrete for density and to weather-proof the mixture.

"A second cement city development is well under way at High Lake, a suburb of Chicago, where the real estate firm, E. A. Cummings Company, report a remarkable speed of construction by this system, as well as unusual saving in cost. Here the entire concrete work, including cellar walls and first story walls of one of the bunga-

lows, some 30 by 40 feet, has been poured in four day's time, and the cost of construction of 6-inch walls, which is ample for a one or two-story building, has been brought down to 8 cents per square foot, which is less than in the construction of frame houses. The houses have proved dry, and exceptionally warm during the past cold weather."

#### THE CEMENT GUN.

An effort to find a cheap and speedy method of building up forms over which the skins of large mammals, such as elephants and hippopotami, might be stretched, caused C. F. Akeley, naturalist, connected with the Field Museum, to hit upon the idea of spraying rough frames with Portland cement. The method worked perfectly.

Later Akeley used his spraying scheme for renovating public buildings and dwellings, and laboratory tests finally evolved the "Cement Gun," an apparatus which is now being used in some of the most important work in cement construction.

Says the Scientific American of January 13th:

"The product of the cement gun is called 'gunite.' This term has been applied to it so as to distinguish it from the ordinary hand applied stucco. There is a marked difference between cement stucco, which is applied by hand, and gunite. The latter is shot under a pressure of approximately 40 pounds to the square inch, and leaves the nozzle at a velocity of 300 feet per second (200 miles per hour.) Thus the product is far denser, and of a much greater tensile strength than hand applied stucco. A striking illustration of the superiority of machine product over the hand product is that

## CONCRETE CITY, TRUESDALE MINE, NANTICOKE, PA.

one ton of cement mortar applied by hand will cover 25 square yards of surface one inch thick, whereas one ton of cement mortar applied by the cement gun will cover only  $16\frac{1}{2}$  square yards, one inch thick.

"There is apparently no limit to the field for the practical use of the cement gun as foundation work. Coating of steel to prevent corrosion, cement stone and cinder fill for floors, walls of buildings, cement stucco, building of fences, side walls and the covering of old wooden buildings have all been done with this process.

"The method of coating a frame building is first to attach to it a woven wire mesh. The cement mortar is then shot on the surface thus prepared until it is of the desired thickness. At first the large and coarse grains of sand rebound until a thin layer or film of pure cement is obtained. Thus is produced a plastic base into which the coarser sand particles become imbedded and upon which the stream of mortar is played until the desired thickness of cement is obtained. The rapidity with which the work can be done is surprising. With

but one nozzle in play as much as 60 square yards one inch thick per hour has been applied.

"Hollow walls for buildings are made by erecting a frame work of 2 by 4-inch stuff and covering it on both sides with tar paper. Over the tar paper chicken wire is attached, and the cement mixture is then shot upon this surface as described above. Comparatively thin walls can be built up in this way as the wire is completely imbedded in the mortar and acts as a reinforcing. Sidewalks are also made with this process. The method used is to dig a trench and to fill it with the stone or cinder aggregate. Into this aggregate is then shot the cement mortar which completely fills up all the voids and produces a sidewalk of remarkable hardness and density.

"Another illustration shows the sea wall at Lynn, Mass. This wall is 1,200 feet long by 12 feet high and, as shown, it had become badly disintegrated by the action of the sea water. The entire wall was repaired with a facing of "gunite," and it is now in a better condition than ever before."

# Some More Don'ts

By GUY McCLUNG

**D**ON'T call the postoffice department "Socialistic" or "an example of how a business will be conducted under Socialism." It is nothing of the kind. Government employes connected with the handling of the mails are among the most cruelly exploited wage-slaves in this country and suffer under a gag-law, which denies them the right of petition against grievances, the like of which is not found outside of Russia. The postoffice department exists for the benefit of the business interests and to facilitate commerce, only incidentally to serve the people.

Don't confuse government ownership with Socialism or call it a "step toward Socialism." It is neither. The middle class now demands government or municipal ownership of public utilities in order that there may be no interruption in service due to strikes and would willingly see the workers kept on the job, if necessary, at the point of the bayonet. The big capitalists themselves will bring about government ownership just as soon as they find their property threatened by the working class or whenever they have milked the industries dry and want the government to safeguard their dividends. Government ownership will be the culmination of capitalism. Only in that way will it signify progress.

Don't refer to the Panama Canal Zone as "almost Socialism" simply because the government sells goods to its employes there at cost. Because the government is supposed to have dispensed with profit in the Canal Zone doesn't mean that it has shaken itself free of the other two angles of the unholy triangle of capitalism—interest and rent. The government, as a matter

of fact, is annually paying out for interest on the money it uses at Panama—a sum far vaster than the total amount of wages it pays all the employes there.

Don't go around bawling unthinkingly that "we will have Socialism just as soon as the majority of the people are ready for it." It is to be hoped that we will have it a good deal sooner. Remember that most revolutions have been brought about by minorities. Less than fifteen million people took part in the last general election. Would a majority of these votes have made this a Socialist commonwealth?

Don't get on the soap-box and tell the worker that political graft and taxes come out of his pocketbook. Both graft and taxes come out of the surplus value exacted from the worker's toil. The capitalist pays them out of his profits. If both were abolished the propertyless wage-slave would not be benefited a particle.

Don't tell the workingman that he is the victim of a "secondary exploitation" by which he is robbed in the grocery store when he buys, as well as in the shop when he produces. If he gets all the value he produces at the point of production, how can he be cheated "secondarily"? Low prices are of no permanent benefit to working class, for when the price of commodities fall the prices of labor also falls.

Don't be a half-baked Socialist and make statements which you can't prove. Socialism is an economic movement. The Socialist party is merely its political expression. Know what you are talking about before you make an assertion of any kind. Study the writings of Karl Marx. They may be the means of keeping you from making a fool of yourself sometime.

# Notes About Railroading

By

CHRIS N. HILL

**T**HERE is now a law which is supposed to limit the hours of a railroad man to 16. If a man works over the 16 hours, he (as well as the railroad officials), are subject to fine and imprisonment, unless it becomes necessary, through 'some unforeseen act of God,' as the law terms it, which means wrecks, wash-outs or snow-storms. For instance, suppose a derailment happens which ties up traffic at that particular point for two hours and you are on a train just leaving a terminal, 60 miles from the accident, and the company put so much work on you that they saw you could not get in, inside the 16-hour limit, you would receive a message to exceed the 16-hour limit two hours, although the derail-

ment did not affect the movement of your train in the least. Your arrival at the spot where the derailment occurred to find that train ready for traffic, proves this.

Trainmen (engineers, firemen, conductors, flagmen and brakemen are so termed), are supposed to have eight hours rest after their day's work, which is supposed to be 16 hours or less. Now this eight hours is supposed by the law, to be all rest. Whether it is or not will be shown below. We will suppose that we arrive at the home terminal after 15 hours' work, which requires eight hours' rest. After we put our train away, it takes on an average, 20 minutes to get home. Then 30 minutes for bath and 30 minutes for meals. This

is one hour and twenty minutes of the eight hours' rest consumed already. We will not allow any time for our meal to digest, to get up the fuel or any of the necessary chores around the house that we don't want "wifey" to do. We proceed to bed on a full stomach and at 2 p. m., the caller comes for us to go to work at four. We are given two hours before leaving time to get ready, but really only an hour and a half as our time starts at 3:30 and we are supposed to look over our trains or have our engines ready so that the train can leave at four. So there is only seven hours and thirty minutes really. Now, after we are called we eat another hasty meal, and have time for a long visit with loved ones at home.

Now, let's figure up how much real rest (*sleep*) we have had: 20 minutes for reaching home, 30 minutes for bath, 30 minutes for meals. That would be one hour and 20 minutes; then called at two p. m., making four hours and 40 minutes sleep which is all of the real rest we get.

I have been on duty over 16 hours numbers of times and when the conductor would register the time at the end of the road he would make the figures show we had only been on duty 16 hours. Of course we get paid for the time we worked, but the I. C. "Commission" would not see the figures on the time slips and the conductors would be afraid of being discharged if they registered the right number of hours on duty. Often when a man has to stay at the other end of the road in some dirty old caboose, or R. R. Y. M. C. A., they don't think anything of keeping him there 20 or 30 hours. Is not this a grand life when a brakeman receives the magnificent sum of \$2.42 per diem of 10 hours? Perhaps you or your wife is sick and business is rushed and extra men are scarce and you want to lay off a day or two. Then a big howl goes up, "We can't spare you." But if you happen to be 20 or 30 minutes late and *seriously* delay a train of empty cars, then they can spare you long enough for you to serve 20 or 30 days for discipline.

The men injured in the road and yard service for fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, were 1,218 and 490, injured 29,306 and 11,702 respectively, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission report. There were 1,708 engineers, firemen, conductors,

flagmen, brakemen and switchmen killed in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, and 41,008 injured. When men seek employment where it is certain that one out of every eight will get injured more or less, and one out of every 194 will get killed, it goes a long way to show what a man will do under the present murderous rule of the capitalist class to keep the wolf from the door. A report of the different Brotherhoods of the railroad organizations goes to show that one and 6-10 per cent of train and yard men are totally and permanently disabled by accident and looking over the causes you will see the railroads are to blame for most of them. The companies have no time to dig the ice from the engine or caboose steps, to block frog or guard-rails, etc. There are several patent automatic couplers which can be uncoupled by a lever if kept oiled, but these are never oiled (as oiling cost time and money and would reduce dividends), from the time the car is made till it goes out of service.

One more thing. If you are on the grievance committee of your lodge (most men refuse to serve on this committee), and you should go to the officials of the company and show you are representing the men, and if you are as strict as the company in doing your duty to your lodge, you are soon a marked man and at the first small offense, you are discharged.

Railroading is not a certain job. You don't know what minute you are going to be discharged for some little affair. I have known of men who have worked very near long enough to be pensioned off and just a year or two before their time, get discharged for some trivial matter.

There has been what is known as "The Full Crew" bill before the state legislature for some years. Hughes (Rep.), when governor of New York state for first term, vetoed the "Full Crew" bill and the workingmen elected him to a second term after he showed them what a friend of capitalism he really was. When our "Good Governor Dix" (Dem.), was elected, he was going to show labor what a friend he was. That was before election. He has been in some time now and dares not sign the "Full Crew" bill for fear of the big interests. Assemblyman Cyrus W. Phillips of the Fourth Monroe district has introduced a bill in the assembly that provides for an

amendment of the railroad law prescribing the number of men to be employed in train service. At present freight trains of from 50 to 120 cars are run with only two brakemen. Light engines are run without conductor or brakeman. The bill would regulate this so that all trains of over 25 cars would have three brakemen. Sixteen other states have adopted the "Full Crew" bill and the Empire state which is supposed to be the leading state of the country, has not yet adopted it or are there any signs of them doing so.

Now we will have a chance to see what a friend of labor we have in Governor Dix, who, we understand, pays some of his own employes in his wall paper mills as high as seventy cents a day.

Workers of the world, unite in a class conscious group and run the railroads for your own benefit and then you will be able to go out on the road on an engine that doesn't leak steam till you can't see signals or a yard ahead, when comfort will be looked for instead of dividends, and you will not be driven like slaves, as are the men of today.

With scarcely an exception a man's views change with his economic interest. The old stockman who placed his brand on every calf he could get his rope on without regard for the brand on the cow the calf was sucking and never killed a beef with his own brand on it, if he could find any other, became a vociferous advocate of the "Maverick law" after he got so many cattle on the range that he was at a disadvantage when it came to branding calves. He was ready to join a band of white caps, to wet a rope or order a "Beef Rustler" out of the country. The same was true of the men who had the means to lease and fence up what had previously been "Free Lands." While on the other hand those who had been depending on "cow punching" for a living or grazing his small bunch of cattle on the land being fenced, would band together and cut the fence regardless of the law. The only thing necessary to change a "free ranger" into a law-abiding "pasture" man, was to let him get the "price," while a "pasture" man could be as easily changed into a "free ranger" by losing out on the pasture proposition. In view of the foregoing observation I am led to the conclusion that man obeys all laws willingly which do not conflict with his economic interests, and because he has to when they do.

C. B. LANE.

# SOCIALISM AND THE NEGRO

BY  
HUBERT HARRISON

HUBERT HARRISON.

## 1. ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE NEGRO

**T**HE ten million Negroes of America form a group that is more essentially proletarian than any other American group. In the first place the ancestors of this group were brought here with the very definite understanding that they were to be ruthlessly exploited. And they were not allowed any choice in the matter. Since they were brought here as chattels their social status was fixed by that fact. In every case that we know of where a group has lived by exploiting another group, it has despised that group which it has put under subjection. And the degree of contempt has always been in direct proportion to the degree of exploitation.

Inasmuch, then, as the Negro was at one period the most thoroughly exploited of the American proletarian, he was the most thoroughly despised. That group which exploited and despised him, being the most powerful section of the ruling

class, was able to diffuse its own necessary contempt of the Negro first among the other sections of the ruling class, and afterwards among all other classes of Americans. For the ruling class has always determined what the social ideals and moral ideas of society should be; and this explains how race prejudice was disseminated until all Americans are supposed to be saturated with it. Race prejudice, then, is the fruit of economic subjection and a fixed inferior economic status. It is the reflex of a social caste system. That caste system in America today is what we roughly refer to as the Race Problem, and it is thus seen that the Negro problem is essentially an economic problem with its roots in slavery past and present.

Notwithstanding the fact that it is usually kept out of public discussion, the bread-and-butter side of this problem is easily the most important. The Negro

worker gets less for his work—thanks to exclusion from the craft unions—than any other worker; he works longer hours as a rule and under worse conditions than any other worker; and his rent in any large city is much higher than that which the white worker pays for the same tenement. In short, the exploitation of the Negro worker is keener than that of any group of white workers in America. Now, the mission of the Socialist Party is to free the working class from exploitation, and since the Negro is the most ruthlessly exploited working class group in America, the duty of the party to champion his cause is as clear as day. This is the crucial test of Socialism's sincerity and therein lies the value of this point of view—Socialism and the Negro.

## 2. The Need of Socialist Propaganda.

So far, no particular effort has been made to carry the message of Socialism to these people. All the rest of the poor have had the gospel preached to them, for the party has carried on special propaganda work among the Poles, Slovaks, Finns, Hungarians and Lithuanians. Here are ten million Americans, all proletarians, hanging on the ragged edge of the impending class conflict. Left to themselves they may become as great a menace to our advancing army as is the army of the unemployed, and for precisely the same reason: they can be used against us, as the craft unions have begun to find out. Surely we should make some effort to enlist them under our banner that they may swell our ranks and help to make us invincible. And we must do this for the same reason that is impelling organized labor to adopt an all-inclusive policy; because the other policy results in the artificial breeding of scabs. On grounds of common sense and enlightened self-interest it would be well for the Socialist party to begin to organize the Negroes of America in reference to the class struggle. You may depend on it, comrades, the capitalists of America are not waiting. Already they have subsidized Negro leaders, Negro editors, preachers and politicians to build up in the breasts of black people those sentiments which will make them subservient to their will. For they recognize the

value (to them) of cheap labor power and they know that if they can succeed in keeping one section of the working class down they can use that section to keep other sections down too.

## 3. The Negro's Attitude Toward Socialism.

If the Socialist propaganda among Negroes is to be effectively carried on the members and leaders of the party must first understand the Negro's attitude toward Socialism. That attitude finds its first expression in ignorance. The mass of the Negro people in America are ignorant of what Socialism means. For this they are not much to blame. Behind the veil of the color line none of the great world-movements for social betterment have been able to penetrate. Since it is not yet the easiest task to get the white American worker—with all his superior intellect—to see Socialism, it is but natural to expect that these darker workers to whom America denies knowledge should still be in ignorance as to its aims and objects.

Besides, the Negroes of America—those of them who think—are suspicious of Socialism as of everything that comes from the white people of America. They have seen that every movement for the extension of democracy here has broken down as soon as it reached the color line. Political democracy declared that "all men are created equal," meant only all white men; the Christian church found that the brotherhood of man did not include God's bastard children; the public school system proclaimed that the school house was the backbone of democracy—"for white people only," and the civil service says that Negroes must keep their place—at the bottom. So that they can hardly be blamed for looking askance at any new gospel of freedom. Freedom to them has been like one of "those juggling fiends That palter with us in a double sense; That keep the word of promise to our ear, And break it to our hope."

In this connection some explanation of the former political solidarity of those Negroes who were voters may be of service. Up to six years ago the one great obstacle to the political progress of the

colored people was their sheep-like allegiance to the Republican party. They were taught to believe that God had raised up a peculiar race of men called Republicans who had loved the slaves so tenderly that they had taken guns in their hands and rushed on the ranks of the southern slaveholders to free the slaves; that this race of men was still in existence, marching under the banner of the Republican party and showing their great love for Negroes by appointing from six to sixteen near-Negroes to soft political snaps. Today that great political superstition is falling to pieces before the advance of intelligence among Negroes. They begin to realize that they were sold out by the Republican party in 1876; that in the last twenty-five years lynchings have increased, disfranchisement has spread all over the south and "jim-crow" cars run even into the national capital—with the continuing consent of a Republican congress, a Republican Supreme Court and Republican president.

Ever since the Brownsville affair, but more clearly since Taft declared and put in force the policy of pushing out the few near-Negro officeholders, the rank and file have come to see that the Republican party is a great big sham. Many went over to the Democratic party because, as the *Amsterdam News* puts it, "they had nowhere else to go." Twenty years ago the colored men who joined that party were ostracized as scalawags and crooks—which they probably were. But today, the defection to the Democrats of such men as Bishop Walters, Wood, Carr and Langston—whose uncle was a colored Republican congressman from Virginia—has made the colored democracy respectable and given quite a tone to political heterodoxy.

All this loosens the bonds of their allegiance and breaks the bigotry of the last forty years. But of this change in their political view-point the white world knows nothing. The two leading Negro newspapers are subsidized by the same political pirates who own the title-deeds to the handful of hirelings holding office in the name of the Negro race. One of these papers is an organ of Mr. Wash-

ington, the other pretends to be independent—that is, it must be "bought" on the installment plan, and both of them are in New York. Despite this "conspiracy of silence" the Negroes are waking up, are beginning to think for themselves, to look with more favor on "new doctrines." And herein lies the open opportunity of the Socialist party. If the work of spreading Socialist propaganda is taken to them now, their ignorance of it can be enlightened and their suspicions removed.

### The Duty of the Socialist Party.

I think that we might embrace the opportunity of taking the matter up at the coming national convention. The time is ripe for taking a stand against the extensive disfranchisement of the Negro in violation of the plain provisions of the national constitution. In view of the fact that the last three amendments to the constitution contain this clause, "Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation," the party will not be guilty of proposing anything worse than asking the government to enforce its own "law and order." If the Negroes, or any other section of the working class in America, is to be deprived of the ballot, how can they participate with us in the class struggle? How can we pretend to be a political party if we fail to see the significance of this fact?

Besides, the recent dirty diatribes against the Negro in a Texas paper, which is still on our national list of Socialist papers; the experiences of Mrs. Therese Malkiel in Tennessee, where she was prevented by certain people from addressing a meeting of Negroes on the subject of Socialism, and certain other exhibitions of the thing called Southernism, constitute the challenge of caste. Can we ignore this challenge? I think not. We could hardly afford to have the taint of "trimming" on the garments of the Socialist party. It is dangerous—doubly dangerous now, when the temper of the times is against such "trimming." Besides it would be futile. If it is not met now it must be met later when it shall have grown stronger. Now, when we can cope with it, we have the issue squarely presented: Southernism or So-

cialism—which? Is it to be the white half of the working class against the black half, or all the working class? Can we hope to triumph over capitalism with one-half of the working class against us? Let us settle these questions now—for settled they must be.

#### **The Negro and Political Socialism.**

The power of the voting proletariat can be made to express itself through the ballot. To do this they must have a political organization of their own to give form to their will. The direct object of such an organization is to help them to secure control of the powers of government by electing members of the working class to office and so secure legislation in the interest of the working class until such time as the workers may, by being in overwhelming control of the government, be able "to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness"—in short, to work for the abolition of capitalism, by legislation—if that be permitted. And in all this the Negro, who feels most

fiercely the deep damnation of the capitalist system, can help.

#### **The Negro and Industrial Socialism.**

But even the voteless proletariat can in a measure help toward the final abolition of the capitalist system. For they too have labor power—which they can be taught to withhold. They can do this by organizing themselves at the point of production. By means of such organization they can work to shorten the hours of labor, to raise wages, to secure an ever-increasing share of the product of their toil. They can enact and enforce laws for the protection of labor and they can do this at the point of production, as was done by the Western Federation of Miners in the matter of the eight-hour law, which they established without the aid of the legislatures or the courts. All this involves a progressive control of the tools of production and a progressive expropriation of the capitalist class. And in all this the Negro can help. So far, they are unorganized on the industrial field, but industrial unionism beckons to them as to others, and the consequent program of the Socialist party for the Negro in the south can be based upon this fact.

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# CONSTRUCTIVE UNIONISM IN THE MINING INDUSTRY

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BY

JOHN K. HILDEBRAND

**T**HE editor of the REVIEW has turned over to me the following unsigned communication, stamped on the envelope with the name of J. H. Goss, Eldorado, Ill.:

Editor Review: In your News and Views department I see published each month several letters complimentary of you and the REVIEW. But I have never yet seen an adverse criticism of either you or the REVIEW, and have sometimes wondered if you would publish one. As a rule, I could have no criticism to make of you or the REVIEW, but in your May number there is an article by John K. Hildebrand entitled "The Disunited Mine Workers," which looks like rot to me. I am myself a United Mine Worker—one of them who goes down into the mine and gets up against "the face" and handles the pick and shovel—and while my spelling may be far from correct, my grammar bad and my language worse, still I hope to make myself clear enough to be understood. It seems to me that our friend Hildebrand delights in tearing down, but cares nothing about building up. Here is a sample of his

logic: "The majority of the members of the U. M. W. of A. are considerably worse off than they were when they joined the union." How do you think that statement looks to me, a United Mine Worker? How do you think it will look to the thousands of other United Mine Workers? Do you think I could now have the "gall" to ask a brother miner to subscribe for the REVIEW? The only beauty about that statement is the fact that it is not true. He then rides our officials to death because they "draw their salaries." Does this fellow not know that we expected to pay our officials a salary when we elected them? After giving the Illinois agreement "fits," he says it was "signed by J. H. Walker, Groce Lawrence and Duncan McDonald, all members of the Socialist party and candidates either now or in the past for office on Socialist tickets." And one can only wonder if he would have thought more of the agreement had it been signed by Democrats or Republicans. Again he says: "Nobody can make a more resounding, a fierier Socialist speech than Frank J. Hayes, vice-president of the United Mine Workers of America, and yet in the Columbus convention when a vote came as to whether John Mitchell should be

allowed to remain in the union or in the Civic Federation, Hayes voted with the Mitchell gang. Poor Hayes, I do not know how he voted at Columbus. But I do know he made a sad mistake by not having Hildebrand there to tell him how to vote. Our critic then goes on to say "the vote calling upon Mitchell to quit either the civic gang or the miners' union in no way represented the sentiment of the miners as a whole." I cannot understand how he knows that to be true. But I will take that "with a grain of salt," along with the rest. I was not a delegate at the Columbus convention, and, unlike this wise one, know but little about it. But I happened to be a delegate at the Indianapolis convention in January and can say that that sounds like some of the pure and simple trades unionists who took the floor at Indianapolis and tried to defend Mitchell and whined out that the Columbus convention was packed.

I am personally acquainted with Frank J. Hayes and all the officials our friend has lambasted, and I would stake my last dollar that any of them would tell you that the only hope for the American working class is industrial unionism backed up by political action. And the only object their critic could have had in view was to hurt them with the working class voters in the district where they are running for office on the Socialist ticket.

I am not saying that these men are perfect or that the union is perfect. I know that the union is far from perfect, and that all men have faults. But I do say that officers are not altogether to blame for the weakness and faults of the union. I believe the rank and file have a work to do. And I do not think they should sit idly by and await a Moses to lead them from the wilderness. I believe, in fact I know, the time is rotten ripe for a more progressive union. I can only blame the officials for not teaching industrial unionism more clearly. They might help those among the rank and file who have not yet seen the truth to see it sooner. But they are not altogether to blame for our present agreement with its weakness and faults. And the late referendum vote proves that. To have things as our critic would have us have them means long years of education on both the political and industrial fields. And the man who lauds the industrial union at the expense of the political party is sadly in need of education. Just so with the man who lauds the political party at the expense of the industrial union. What a godsend it would be if the labor movement of this country could rid itself of all these cranks. The Hildebrands, the Gompers and the Mitchells belong in the same bunch. They are all working to tear down as fast as true men can build up. They should be friends, and would be if they had a little sense.

This criticism of my article is in the main just and timely, though it would seem that some of the points made against the Mine Workers struck home, since the writer assumes an apologetic tone toward the close

of his letter and admits that "*the time is rotten ripe for a more progressive union. I can only blame the officials for not teaching industrial unionism more clearly. They might help the rank and file, who have not yet seen the truth, to see it sooner.*" That was exactly the point in regard to the miners' officials that I wished to emphasize: that those of them who are Socialists talk Socialism only on the political field and forget it on the economic field. They are willing to fight capitalism to the death in political meetings, but compromise and make agreements with it in their industrial conferences. Is it not farcical to elect men to office who propose to stab capitalism by the ballot and yet bolster it up and prolong its life by time contracts?

The cost of living has increased about 60 per cent in the last 10 years. Have the miners raised wages for themselves to correspond?

However, the brother is right when he charges that my criticisms tended to tear down and not to build up. I felt that weakness at the time I wrote it, but unfortunately the REVIEW imposes a limit on its contributors and I was therefore forced to postpone my "constructive" article till a later issue.

I did not contend that the miners' officials are altogether to blame for the weakness and faults of the union. I expressly stated that "they can see things only from a craft union outlook." Look at this proposal by John H. Walker, president of the Illinois miners, before the Illinois convention: "I would also favor the discussion and consideration of the question of COMPELLING new members to serve apprenticeships and minimize the number of apprenticeships AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE, thus PREVENTING AN INFLUX OF NEW MEMBERS, which would again bring about a repetition of the present condition of unemployment."

That is the same as saying that the union ought not to strengthen itself by taking in new members, but instead should keep them out.

The initiation fee for an unskilled miner, by the way, is FIFTY DOLLARS.

In other words, Walker's contention, against which there was no protest, is that men working about the mines should be organized not by INDUSTRY but only ac-

ording to SKILL, which is the typical narrow-minded craft union viewpoint.

And all the time it is the unorganized West Virginia fields which are undermining the strength of the union and making it timid and fearful.

But enough of criticism. I have made it not because I hate or distrust the mine workers, but because I am interested in them and want to see them win. I want to see them forget their ambitions to become officials or mine managers, to wake up to their real situation, and to realize that only by organizing by industry, with the rest of their class, will they get the fruits of their toil, of which they are robbed every time they send a car to the surface. One of the first jobs I ever held was in a mine, though in a gold, not a coal, mine. But I know mines and I know miners and I like to write about them, despite the brother's intimation that I am not the wise guy I think I am.

Let's talk a while now about constructive unionism. The miners of South Wales, Great Britain, for some time have had a feeling similar to that expressed by my critic, namely, that "the time is ripe for a more progressive union," and they have begun laying plans for a reorganization. A number of militant spirits in the Miners' Federation of South Wales have gotten together and pondered the problems pertaining to their industry, with the result that they have embodied their ideas in an exceptionally thoughtful and suggestive pamphlet which they call "The Miners' Next Step."

A reading of this pamphlet reveals that the miners of South Wales are coming to a realization of the same sort of weaknesses that prevail in our own union on this side of the water; that conciliation and compromise always play into the hands of the owners and that the men eventually lose more than they gain; that the property and profits of the bosses are given more consideration than the welfare of the rank and file; that disputes and grievances are subjected to too much red tape and too much delay; that too much power is placed in the hands of officials and leaders; and that the men are disposed to trust too much to these leaders and not enough to themselves.

This pamphlet was prepared after four or five months of study and thought by a

reform committee composed of union officials, members of the executive board, and members of the rank and file. The result of their conclusions they sum up as follows:

#### "PREAMBLE TO MANIFESTO.

"The present deplorable condition of the South Wales Miners' Federation calls imperatively for a summary of the situation, in an endeavor to discover where we stand.

"The rapidity of industrial development is forcing the federation to take action along lines for which there exists no machinery to properly carry out.

"The control of the organization by the rank and file is far too indirect.

"The system of long agreements, with their elaborate precautions against direct action, cramp the free expression of the might of the workmen and prevent the securing of improved conditions, often when the mere exhibition of their strength would allow of it.

"The sectional character of the organization in the mining industry renders concerted action almost impossible, and thus every section helps to hinder and often defeat the other. What, then, is necessary to remedy the present evils?

#### "PREAMBLE.

"I. A united industrial organization, which, recognizing the war of interest between workers and employers, is constructed on fighting lines, allowing for a rapid and simultaneous stoppage of wheels throughout the mining industry.

"II. A constitution giving free and rapid control by the rank and file acting in such a way that conditions will be unified throughout the coal field; so that pressure at one point would automatically affect all others and thus readily command united action and resistance.

"III. A programme of a wide and evolutionary working class character, admitting and encouraging sympathetic action with other sections of the workers.

"IV. A policy which will compel the prompt and persistent use of the utmost ounce of strength, to insure that the conditions of the workmen shall always be as good as it is possible for the mto be under the then existing circumstances.

#### "PROGRAM—ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE

"One organization to cover the whole of the coal, ore, slate, stone, clay, salt, mining or quarrying industry of Great Britain, with one central executive.

#### "IMMEDIATE STEPS—INDUSTRIAL.

"I. That a minimum wage of 8/—(about \$1.92) per day, for all workmen employed in or about the mines, constitute a demand to be striven for nationally at once.

"II. That subject to the foregoing having been obtained, we demand and use our power to obtain a seven-hour day.

#### "PROGRAM—POLITICAL.

"That the organization shall engage in political action, both local and national, on the

basis of complete independence of hostility to all capitalist parties, with an avowed policy of wresting whatever advantages it can for the working class.

"In the event of any representative of the organization losing his seat he shall be entitled to and receive the full protection of the organization against victimization.

"GENERAL.

"Alliances to be formed and trades organizations fostered with a view to steps being taken to amalgamate all workers into one National and International union to work for THE TAKING OVER OF ALL INDUSTRIES BY THE WORKMEN THEMSELVES."

It can be seen, as the writers of this pamphlet state, that "the suggested organization is constructed to *fight* rather than *negotiate*. It is based on the principle that WE CAN GET ONLY WHAT WE ARE STRONG ENOUGH TO WIN AND RETAIN."

The pamphlet is a little too long to be quoted in full here, but there are points in the proposed constitution and policy that are worth noting by all union men who have seen how their own union laws permit their officials to become czars and autocrats.

The South Wales miners propose that the administration of their organization shall be vested in the hands of one Central Executive Committee which shall be elected annually by ballot vote of the membership; no agent or other permanent official shall be eligible to a seat on the Executive Council; the president and vice-president shall be elected by the Executive Council from amongst its own members. The executive is to become a purely administrative body, comprised of men directly elected by the rank and file for that purpose.

Lodges, or local unions, are to have supreme control as to new proposals, policies, and tactics. The men on the job are to frame their demands and no official is to have power to vary them. Officials are to be made the servants of the men, not their leaders or bosses.

We note the following under "Policy":

The old policy of identity of interest between employers and ourselves to be abolished and a policy of open hostility installed; local unions are to discard the old method of striking on account of minor

grievances and "adopt the more scientific method of the irritation strike by simply remaining at work and reducing the output"; whenever a strike is contemplated demands must be put forward to improve the status of each section so brought out.

Nationalization, or government ownership, as proposed by our reform Socialists in America, is expressly repudiated and opposed as leading merely to the formation of "a National Trust, with all the force of the government behind it, whose one concern will be to see that the industry is run in such a way as to pay the interest on the bonds with which the coal owners are paid out, and to extract as much more profit as possible in order to relieve the taxation of other landlords and capitalists."

It will thus be seen that the Welsh miners propose to make the local union the unit of organization; then if the local union cannot settle a dispute or grievance, the whole fighting strength of the union is to be turned on. This is reversing the policy at present observed by the United Mine Workers of America in centralizing the negotiations and sectionalizing the fighting.

Such procedure would eliminate the necessity for "wild cat" strikes which have frequently broken out among our own mine workers because of the dilly-dallying or fiddle-fuddling of officials when men in a certain camp or field wanted to have a grievance rectified at once. In such cases the miners' officials generally hurry down to the camp affected and order the men back to work with terrific threats of punishment if they fail to obey.

In conclusion the Welsh miners say:

"Our objective begins to take shape before your eyes. Every industry thoroughly organized, in the first place, to fight, to gain control of, and then to administer, that industry. The co-ordination of all industries on a Central Production Board, who, with a statistical department to ascertain the needs of the people, will issue its demands on the different departments of industry, leaving to the men themselves to determine under what conditions and how the work should be done. This would mean real democracy in real life, making for real manhood and womanhood. Any other form of democracy is a delusion and a snare."

# SABOTAGE

## A SUCCESSFUL STRIKE WEAPON

From an Article on Direct Action in May Forum.

**B**UT how about sabotage? Is not sabotage the very essence of Direct Action and is it not equivalent to open violence?

"An illuminating answer to this question may be given by telling the story of one of the earliest manifestations of sabotage. It was in 1889. The organized dockers of Glasgow demanded a ten-per-cent. increase of wages, but met with the refusal of the employers. Strike breakers were brought in from among the agricultural laborers, and the dockers had to acknowledge defeat and to return to work on the old wage scale. But before the men resumed their work, the secretary of the union delivered to them the following address:

"You are going back to work at the old wage. The employers have repeated time and time again that they were delighted with the work of the agricultural laborers who had taken our place for several weeks during the strike. But we have seen them at work; we have seen that they could not even walk a vessel, that they dropped half of the merchandise they carried, in short, that two of them could hardly do the work of one of us. Nevertheless, the employers have declared themselves enchanted by the work of these fellows; well, then, there is nothing left for us but to do the same and to practise Ca' Canny. (Go Easy) work, as the agricultural laborers worked. Only they often fell into the water; it is useless for you to do the same."

"The advice was followed and for two or three days the dockers applied the policy of Ca' Canny. The result was immediate. The employers called in the secretary of the union, asked him to tell the men to work as they worked before, and granted at the same time the ten-per-cent increase in wages.

"This fact shows that sabotage does not always mean violence. *It consists mainly in harming the interests of the employers by cleverly handling the power in the hands*

*of the workers.* It is a sort of resistance which, though effective, does not end in a walk-out and in a complete interruption of production. It is, however, designed to strike the employer in his most sensitive spot—his profits—and to make him feel that only concession can save him from loss. The following story may throw some more light on the variety and ingenuity of methods of sabotage:

"The scene is now Italy, and the time of action the year 1905. The railway men were discontented but, having lost their strike, they determined to keep up resistance while on the job. They made up their minds to follow faithfully all the regulations of the service; but too much loyalty is often as bad as direct obstruction. This was the result as described by contemporary observers:

"According to the regulations, the wickets are to be opened for the distribution of tickets thirty minutes and should be closed five minutes before the train leaves.

"The wickets are opened. A crowd of would-be passengers hurry there full of impatience. A gentleman offers a ten-franc bill, asking for a ticket worth 4 francs and 50 centimes. The employee reads to him an article of the regulations which requests passengers to present the exact price of their ticket, to a centime. Let him then go and get the money. The same story is repeated with eight passengers out of ten. In spite of the customary procedure, but according to the regulations, no money is given out, not even a franc. In twenty-five minutes hardly thirty persons have obtained tickets. The rest come running out of breath with the exact amount of money in their hands. But it is too late, the wicket is closed, according to the regulations.

"But even those who have obtained tickets are not yet at the end of their sufferings. They are in the cars, but the train does not move. According to the regulations, the engines and other cars are manœuvring at some distance, and the train cannot start until they have arrived.

The impatient passengers leave their cars. Immediately the inspectors are upon them, stop them, and draw up a formal report against them. Leaving the train is prohibited by the regulations.'

"And so on. The story could be continued *ad infinitum*. It was a lively experience for the Italian railway men. And

it is a fine example of sabotage without violence."

We might also add that a refusal of men in the army to shoot down striking workers is a fine example of sabotage—a strike on the job. It was for advocating such acts that Tom Mann was sent to jail a few months ago.

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## EDITORIAL

**The Bankruptcy of the Politician.** We go to press with the REVIEW too early to comment on the final outcome of the Republican convention, but it is already evident that the fierce contest between Taft and Roosevelt has so weakened the party that neither one stands much chance of election if nominated. The question then arises why a group of shrewd and able capitalists should have spent large sums of money in furthering the candidacy of Roosevelt, while others have provided the sinews of war for Taft's managers. A brief reflection will put us on the track of the answer. The Republicans have been in control for four consecutive presidential terms. During nearly the whole of this period the condition of the mass of American wage workers has been steadily growing worse. We Socialists know that this fact is due not to any particular legislation put through by the Republicans, but rather to world-wide causes inherent in the capitalist system itself. But part of the traditional game of politics is to blame the party in power for all mysterious misfortunes, and to promise a return of prosperity as a reward for giving the offices to the other fellow. Every dog has his day, and the Democratic hound which has been kicked around for sixteen years will probably bask peaceably for four years on the steps of the White House.

**The Sure Winner.** Whether this forecast is correct or not, one thing is certain. The winner of the November election will be some one acceptable to the trust and railroad magnates who are the real rulers of the United States. They

are in no pressing need of new legislation; the laws and constitution suit them very well already. To them, the Republican and Democratic parties are merely two excellent lightning-rods by which popular indignation may expend itself harmlessly. When one is damaged, the other serves equally well. Today there are beyond doubt more discontented workers in the United States than ever before. Very well, let them smash the Republican party and thus relieve their feelings. It will please them and will not hurt the capitalists. Besides, the Democrats when in office usually make a sorry mess of their work. In 1916 the Republican spellbinders will be able to point this out and promise a new era of prosperity with the return to power of the Grand Old Party. And thus the game can go merrily on; so at least the capitalists think.

**Our Opportunity.** The game was cleverly devised, but it is old. The workers are beginning to see through it, and the Socialist Party is growing. We have the best platform yet offered by any party in America. We shall probably poll not less than a million votes, possibly two million. The number matters little. What matters is how we get the votes. If they come as the result of straightforward Socialist propaganda and educational work, so that each vote stands for a clear-headed Socialist who wants revolution and will be content with nothing less, we may look for swift and steady progress when election day is over. If on the other hand we go out of our way to woo the reactionary reformers who

accept some of our proposed measures but reject our ultimate aim, we may waste some time over imaginary successes followed by rude awakenings. CLASS ORGANIZATION is the key-note of our platform; it should be the key-note of our campaign.

"In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their

political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage-slavery, and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist Party appreciates the full significance of class organization and urges the wage earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for economic and political action."

## SOCIALISM AS IT IS

### An Editorial Review of William English Walling's Recent Book

IT is not too much to say that in "Socialism As It Is," Comrade Walling has made the most important contribution to the history of present-day Socialism that has appeared for years. With patient industry and rare discrimination he has presented an immense mass of facts, reinforced by quotations from original sources and other clinching proofs, all helping to present the most truthful picture yet drawn of SOCIALISM AS IT IS.

The picture is inspiring and reassuring to revolutionary Socialists. Both capitalist and Socialist politicians have repeated so often the statement that as Socialists become more experienced they become less revolutionary and more interested in immediate reforms that some proletarians believe it, and show their belief by losing all interest in the political struggle. But the best thing about that statement is that it isn't true. For proof we refer the reader to Comrade Walling's book.

The book is divided into three main sections, "State Socialism and After," "The Politics of Socialism" and "Socialism in Action." In the first section the author develops a wonderfully interesting forecast of the probable action of the capitalist class in nationalizing the railroads and trusts in the interest of the whole capitalist class. This probable action will involve a raise of wages, not merely a nominal but an actual raise, cost of living considered. The big capitalists,

we are told, are waking up to the fact that more profits can be made from well-fed wage-workers than from those that are half-starved. Some individual capitalists today make profits by exploiting child labor and thus stunting the children who must be the future wage-earners. But this is not profitable to the capitalist class as a whole; it is as wasteful as allowing forests to be burned, and the capitalist class, through its government, is bound to stop it. Most of the obvious horrors of poverty will probably soon be abolished in the near future by the capitalist class in its own interest. But this does not mean that the working class will receive a larger proportion of the product. On the contrary, the increase in the efficiency of labor due to these reforms may reasonably be expected to increase the product to such an extent that profits will grow faster than wages. And as for equality of opportunity, Walling shows that there will be less and less of this from year to year. The higher education required to equip a worker for the better paid occupations is becoming increasingly expensive, so that the children of ordinary wage-workers must grow up ordinary wage-workers. To sum up, the general tendency of "reforms" is not toward industrial democracy but toward a caste society.

In the second part, dealing with "The Politics of Socialism," Comrade Walling offers ample evidence to show that the

majority of organized Socialists the world over take a clear revolutionary position. He points out however that "the reformist minority is both large and powerful, and since it draws far more recruits than does the revolutionary majority from the ranks of the book educated and capitalistic reformers, its spokesmen and writers attract a disproportionately large share of attention in capitalistic and reform circles, and thus give rise to widespread misunderstanding as to the position of the majority." The author also shows at considerable length how futile are the attempts to secure any real or lasting benefits for the working class through legislation, so long as the capitalists control the courts. He also points out the difficulty already experienced by the Socialist party in controlling its members after they have been elected to office, and the need of constant vigilance in this matter.

His third part, "Socialism in Action," starts out with a chapter explaining how vital a thing the Class Struggle is today. In the earlier portion of the book the author has given ample reasons for concluding that the system of private control of the principal means of production is in process of being abolished by the capitalists themselves, and that it is henceforth a waste of energy for us to agitate for "government ownership." Our real

enemy will be the capitalist State, which will be beyond comparison the greatest exploiter of wage-workers and the greatest distributor of unearned incomes to members of the ruling class. The only real step toward Socialism is therefore a step toward the more thorough and efficient organization of the working class. Several chapters are taken up with a study of the various types of labor unions and of union tactics. The closing chapter, entitled "The Transition to Socialism," shows by quotations from Kautsky and other writers that "what the Socialists are really aiming at is to restrict the government to a *government of things rather than to a government of men.*" In other words, we wish the government to interfere with individual freedom much less than at present. There will doubtless be plenty of state tyranny over the individual in the State Capitalism which the capitalist class is introducing.

Comrade Walling's book will certainly be exceedingly useful in correcting the misconceptions of Socialism which still prevail among newspaper and university men. Its price (\$2.00 net) will restrict its sale among wage-workers, but they should at least call for it at public libraries, since it will amply repay a careful reading. (The Macmillan Company, New York.)

"And today, the very people who, from the 'impartiality' of their superior standpoint, preach to the workers a Socialism soaring high above their class interests and class struggles, and tending to reconcile in a higher humanity the interests of both the contending classes—these people are either neophytes, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worst enemies of the workers—wolves in sheep's clothing."

FREDERICK ENGELS.

# Shall Bossism Prevail in the Socialist Party? An Editorial Statement

The Socialist Party of the United States has upon its hands an issue that must be faced. It is useless to try to ignore it or to attempt to make excuses for not confronting it. The question is this: Shall the Socialist party stand for the brand of bossism that has so long prevailed in the old capitalist political parties, as exemplified in the forcing of J. Mahlon Barnes upon the party as campaign manager?

The character and the conduct of Comrade Barnes is not involved in this question. The issue is Hillquitism. Upon the eve of the most important campaign that the party has ever been called upon to wage, dissension threatens to split the party workers in two, all because Comrade Hillquit and those associated with him deemed J. Mahlon Barnes the most desirable person for the job of campaign manager and procured his election by the National Convention of the Socialist party at Indianapolis by trickery and evasion, and by tactics made familiar by the professional politicians of the capitalist class but which have no place in the Socialist party.

To make this statement plain, it will be well to review the facts in the case.

The name of J. Mahlon Barnes was proposed for this position by Morris Hillquit, of New York, before the national convention, in his capacity as chairman of the Committee on Constitution. It was during the closing hours when most of the delegates were weary and anxious to get home and at a time when many of them were absent from the hall.

Now the Constitutional Committee had about as much right to make a recommendation for campaign manager as the Committee on Foreign Language Organizations or the Committee on Farmers' Program. There is nothing in the party laws or regulations that empowers such a committee to make such a report. So Morris Hillquit, as chairman of the Committee on Constitution, simply usurped this function.

A member of the Committee on Constitution also stated that the National Executive Committee and the Campaign Committee had not been discussed before the Committee on Constitution.

On the floor Comrade Hillquit was making a supplementary statement. Comrade Barnes also, speaking for himself and I am sure for the party, said: "I think this is a matter of party discipline because of the stituted against of matters dead, their publicatio

At the conclusion of the speech, which was a commendation of the Delegation, arose and a commendation of the Delegation of Barnes.

Note the manner of Hillquit's reply: "THIS GO

MITTEE ON CONSTITUTION AND ALSO FROM THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Comrade Merrick continued to insist upon asking whether this recommendation was made with the endorsement of the National Executive Committee. Hillquit's reply was: "A general recommendation, yes."

Speeches on the matter were then limited to two minutes and a vote being taken Barnes was declared elected.

Now comes the joint meeting of the National Executive Committee and Campaign Committee called at Chicago on June 15 last. At this meeting William D. Haywood, member of the N. E. C., demanded that he be put on record as stating, "that he would like to have the fact made a part of the record that the National Executive Committee has never at any time endorsed or recommended the nomination of J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager."

Kate Richards O'Hare also asked that she be put on record, "as saying that the

matter of Barnes acting as campaign manager was not discussed in her presence."

A member of the Committee on Constitution also stated that the name of Barnes as campaign manager had not been discussed before the Committee on Constitution so far as he knew.

This gives the lie direct to Hillquit's evasive statement to the convention, in reply to Merrick, that "this comes from the Committee on Constitution and also from the National Executive Committee."

Upon the arrival of Comrade Eugene V. Debs to attend the joint meeting of the N. E. C. and the Campaign Committee, the matter was again discussed and Comrade Debs emphatically stated his dislike for the whole affair. He declared that it looked to him as if this election of Barnes as campaign manager had been "prearranged" and that this action would mean the loss of thousands of votes and the dropping out of hundreds of workers from campaign activity. He blamed Hillquit and his friends for thus creating a bad situation in the party at the start of the campaign.

Hillquit replied that the party could afford the loss of such votes.

Debs' answer was that they would be the votes of Socialists "just as good as you, Comrade Hillquit."

Hillquit then angrily retorted that the naming of Barnes had not been nearly as much of a prearrangement "as your own" and that the attitude of Debs toward the craft unions had lost far more votes to the party in the last campaign than the election of Barnes would cause. Hillquit further charged that Debs knew a much longer time in advance of his own nomination than Barnes did of his.

When a representative of the REVIEW applied to Comrade John M. Work, national secretary, for permission to look at that part of the proceedings of the joint meeting of the National Executive Committee and the Campaign Committee which showed Comrade Debs' protest against the election of Barnes, Comrade Work replied that *the report did not show this.*

"Do you mean that the Joint committee decided to edit the report of their proceedings to suit themselves?"

"Well," was the reply, "they decided upon what should be officially printed in regard to their proceedings on that matter."

Members of the Socialist party, the situation is now up to you to deal with. To permit it to remain as it will simply allow room for further dissension and bad feeling during this critical period. The manner in which Comrade Barnes was shoved upon the party and a job created for him, "in reparation," has created disgust in the minds of many members of the party, including our principal candidate. If this piece of double-dealing is allowed to go through without protest now, similar tricks will be attempted again.

There is no room in the Socialist party for the bossism of Hillquit or of any other "leader."

The time to repudiate such tactics is NOW.

Three different motions for the recall of J. Mahlon Barnes have already been published in the weekly bulletin issued from the national office. One of these should be passed with the least possible delay.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

THE month of May has been one of unrest throughout the civilized world. Our capitalist contemporaries are quite right in being disturbed. If there had been a conspiracy to upset the social equilibrium, the thing could not have been better done. England, Russia, Belgium, Germany, Hungary have all witnessed crucial struggles of one sort or another. In the first two countries named the struggles have begun on the industrial field. There has been a repetition of the old story of a strike against low wages and impossible conditions with the government asserting itself on the side of the employers. In the other three countries the struggle has been primarily political with a resort to what has come to be called direct action only when political means seems to have failed.

If there is any moral to be drawn from the struggles of the month it is the renewed proof that the workers will use any weapon which promises results. In Belgium the election proved that it is practically impossible for the working-class to win under the present system of plural voting; so the workers went on strike to emphasize their demand for a new system. In Hungary the government has finally stultified itself by refusing to carry out its promise to inaugurate a universal suffrage law; so the workers of Budapest went on strike and demonstrated in masses upon the streets. The great body of workers stands ready to use either political or industrial power according to the demands of the moment.

**England. Strike of Transport Workers.**—Nothing could serve better than this strike to show the irrepressible nature of the struggle which is going on in England. Just a year ago occurred the great seamen and dockers' strike. Now the dockers and transport workers are out again. The immediate cause of the present strike is the persistence of a London master lighterman in employing one non-unionist. The men did everything in their power to avert a struggle. For

months they attempted to argue the man in question into joining the union. But he was supported by his employer and would not join. Then, on May 23, the London lightermen and transport workers went out. Though the one non-unionist is the immediate cause of the trouble, he is not the whole cause. In many ways the waterside masters have been persistently breaking their contract with the union. Apparently they have been attempting to badger their employes into a struggle. The extent of the discontent among the men is shown by the fact that within a few days there were more than 100,000 workers out. The London docks were soon piled high with foodstuffs which could not be delivered; ships remained unloaded; railway lines refused to accept freight billed by way of London. Prices of food began to soar. Of course the government was ready to do its best to "restore order." A thousand naval reserves were set to doing the work of lightermen. Two thousand policemen were set to guard what freight could be moved. It was understood that troops were held ready to intervene whenever an excuse could be found.

At the present writing the struggle is still on. What the result will be it is impossible to foresee at this distance.

**Russia. The Lena Massacre.**—"Workers have always been killed upon similar occasions, and they will continue to be killed." This is the Russian government's summary of the situation precipitated by the murder of 200 Siberian miners. It was delivered to the Duma by Minister of the Interior Makaroff.

In the Lena mines, the property of English capitalists, there labor some 6,000 miners. These mines are situated in a desert region in east-central Siberia. They are more than a thousand miles from any town. The men have been working ten or twelve hours a day for seventy-five or eighty cents. They carry on their labors standing to the knees in water which is near the freezing point. They live in

company shacks and are forced to take their pay in the form of provision from the company store.

On March 13 they went on strike. They demand (1) to be paid in money, (2) improved medical service, (3) recognition of a workers' committee, (4) increase of wages ranging from ten to thirty per cent, (5) an eight-hour day. Inasmuch as the system of payment in provisions is contrary to an imperial law, the strikers had a right to expect the support of the government. They got what the Russian government usually metes out to the workers. The strike went on peacefully for some weeks. The mines were practically tied up. Then the government sent an officer with a company of soldiers. In compliance with orders direct from St. Petersburg the strike committee was jailed. On the morning of April 17 a column of strikers undertook to make a peaceful demonstration in favor of their imprisoned comrades. They marched to the jail. The soldiers were drawn up to receive them. The leaders of the demonstration were about to engage in conversation with a company officer when the order was given to fire. The unarmed strikers fell as did those other martyrs on January 22, 1905. At the first charge 113 were killed and many wounded. The whole number of killed is now estimated at 200.

This is the story of the massacre, but it is the least important part of the tale which is to tell about what is going on now in Russia. Two or three years ago there was wholesale murder enough in Russia. But the revolution was dead. The echo of the rifle shots concluded the story. But it is different now. The revolution is alive again. At first there were strikes among the sailors on the *Lena*. Then the massacre was brought up in the Duma. It was at that time that Minister of the Interior made the gentle remark quoted above. He said further: "The demands of the workers may have been modest enough. But for us every movement among the workers is a matter of the gravest political danger. The *Lena* miners did not, it is true, do anything illegal before the 17th. But they might have destroyed property after the 17th. One thing we can guarantee to you: those

whom we shot down on the 17th of April will make no more demands. This is the only absolutely reliable way of dealing with such a situation. Please keep this fact clearly in mind, the army has nothing to do but to shoot. So it has been and so it will continue to be." This official utterance has aroused a storm of indignation. In all the chief industrial centers of Russia it was followed by strikes of protest. In Odessa, in Kiev, in St. Petersburg, and many other places these strikes took on imposing proportions. Altogether some 200,000 workers have downed their tools for shorter or longer periods.

**Hungary. Demonstration for Electoral Reform.**—In 1906 the Emperor of Austria-Hungary gave to Hungary a formal promise of a modern electoral system. This promise was embodied in a speech from the throne and was made as solemn and impressive as possible. In fact the realization of it was to be made the chief business of the government. Since then six years have gone by. The Socialist party of Hungary has agitated constantly for universal, equal, secret male suffrage. The interest of the workers of the nation in the proposed reform has constantly increased. But the government has consistently shifted its ground and left its promises unfulfilled.

In May the matter came to a crisis. The clique which controls the destiny of the Hungarian parliament had chosen as presiding officer of that body Count Tisza, the arch-enemy of popular government. Placing him in a position which gave him the control of legislation practically meant the throwing over of all thought of electoral reform. No doubt the government thought it had settled the matter for the present. But it had a surprise in store for itself.

On the 22nd, the Socialist party called on the members of all the labor unions of Budapest to come out on strike. And they came out, 130,000 of them. Industry ceased. The inhabitants of that great industrial city swarmed in vast processions through the streets. Three times the crowd swarmed to the palace in which the Chamber was carrying on its session. Each time they were met by volleys from the troops. It is reported that at least seven persons were killed and many scores

wounded. Meantime stormy scenes were being enacted within the Chamber of Deputies. Finally the government agreed to permit the introduction and discussion of a new electoral law. The Socialist deputies requested that the strike be called off, and the strikers went back to work. In one or two factories they were locked out, but when they began to take these places by storm the government quickly ordered the employers in question to countermand the lock-out.

The Socialists expect the measure which has been thus wrung from the government to be unsatisfactory. Nevertheless the workers of Hungary have demonstrated once for all that they have the power to get what they want.

**Belgium. Another Demonstration for Democracy.**—The details of the election recently held in Belgium have not yet come to hand. It seems clear that the Clericals raised their majority over all opponents from six to sixteen and that this result led to strikes and riots. This may seem a strange result to follow upon the heels of an election. But even a little insight into the conditions makes it intelligible enough. The workers of Belgium, also, are fighting for a modern electoral system. Under the present law the Belgians vote according to the amount of taxes they pay or the degree of learning which they have attained. Under these conditions, of course, a working-class party is at a great disadvantage. Moreover, before the recent election the number of seats in the Chamber of Deputies was raised from 166 to 186. The clerical party, which was in power, was careful to see to it that the new seats were added to territory which they felt sure of controlling.

Another vital issue in Belgium is the status of education. At present the Roman church practically controls education. Each commune is at liberty to support genuine schools or to designate for the education of its children a church school. The latter is naturally much the more economical plan. The church has its buildings, it receives the support of the faithful, it employs clerical teachers at low salaries. So the communes practice economy by sending their children to the priests to be educated. The education law

for which Prime Minister Schollaert has been fighting goes even farther than this. It would give to the parent of each child about 36 francs a year from the public treasury and allow the parent to choose the school to which the child is to be sent. This plan would make genuine public schools impossible in many parts of the country. It would, on the other hand, make the Catholic schools self-supporting at the expense of the government.

These two issues have aroused the people to a high pitch of excitement. When the result of the election became known the Socialists and Liberals, who were fighting together on the chief points in their programs, were naturally much wrought up. They saw that the antiquated election machinery had put into the hands of the reactionaries the power to get even a firmer grip on popular education and thus perpetuate their domination indefinitely. It is reported in the cable despatches that exasperation at this prospect led to rioting, destruction of property, and even bloodshed. Just what happened we shall not know until fuller accounts reach this side of the water.

**Germany. Persecution of Socialist Legislators.**—On May 9th, Comrade Borchardt, a member of the Prussian Diet, was taken from his seat by the police at the order of the presiding officer. The excuse for this unheard-of infraction of the right of parliamentary immunity was disobedience to orders from the chair. The persecution is not to end with mere exclusion from the chamber. Comrade Borchardt, Comrade Leinert, who defended him, and Vorwaerts are to be prosecuted in court. All of this goes to show that in the eyes of the Prussian government a legislative assembly is subordinate to the police power and to the courts. While the Social Democracy of Prussia is fighting for a democratic election law, Prussia is losing the very form of a democratic state.

Our German comrades are answering with the weapon which has hitherto proven so effective in their hands, the mass demonstration.

**France. La Guerre Sociale not Anti-Political.**—Those who remember Gustave Hervé's interesting statement in reference to the last German election will not be

surprised by an official announcement which has recently been published by the editors of *La Guerre Sociale*. In this announcement Hervé and his chief collaborators declare definitely that they believe in the political organization of the working-class as well as in its industrial organization. It was in their issue of May 8th, that they thus defined their position. The occasion for doing so at that time was afforded by the approaching municipal election. So many anti-parliamentarians have fortified themselves with quotations from Hervé that it is worth while to translate verbatim a part of this, his latest, declaration of faith:

"In December, 1906, when this paper first made its appearance, the great obstacle to co-operation between the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist party, the only

organized forces of the working-class, was the electoralism which dominated the party.

"Today, in 1912, the great obstacle is the anti-parliamentarism which rages within the C. G. T.

"For all those who believe like ourselves, that the Socialist party and the C. G. T. are sister organizations the line of conduct which should be followed at the present time is unmistakable; it is to combat the policy of abstaining from elections, a policy which injures the party, widens the gulf between it and the C. G. T., paralyzes the propaganda work of both organizations, and serves to kill the revolutionary faith which remains in the heart of the people.

"It is not without pain that we separate ourselves, at least so far as this question is concerned, from the anti-parliamentary groups which have supported us with so great revolutionary ardor; we shall continue to appreciate their sincerity, their disinterestedness, and their courage. But the dissipation of all misunderstanding with regard to this question has become to us a matter of intellectual and political honesty."

# Good ting

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

## MILLARD PRICE, SOCIALIST AGITATOR, SEATTLE.

**Who Can Beat This Record?** THE REVIEW is glad to be able to present this month a picture of the only Socialist news cart operated in the North-west and its proprietor and general director, Comrade Millard Price, of Seattle, Wash. His present sales are nearly 5,000 copies of Socialist publications every month. Comrade Price has been in business six months, having begun on December 1, 1911, but in this time he has sold more than 21,000 separate pieces of Socialist literature. He does not handle any "capitalist dope" at all but sells Socialist papers and magazines exclusively. The wagon is "all red" in color. Its boss owns his own job and is not "a half Socialist" but stands for the organization of the workers as a class on both the industrial and political fields. He is for "ONE BIG PARTY AND ONE BIG UNION." He is a member of the Socialist party and the Industrial Workers of the World. He is secretary of the Fifth Ward

Branch of Local Seattle which has 471 members. He is also secretary of the City Central Committee. Besides handing out Socialist ammunition all day, he speaks twice a week in Seattle to crowds of 600 to 1,000. He takes pride in saying that he does not get a dollar from the party for his work but makes a living for himself and wife by selling his literature. His May sales were as follows:

Appeal to Reason.....	500 copies
Chicago Daily Socialist.....	1,500 copies
Milwaukee Leader .....	1,350 copies
Coming Nation .....	800 copies
California Social Democrat.....	200 copies
The Commonwealth .....	80 copies
N. Y. Sunday Call.....	80 copies
National Rip Saw.....	25 copies
Progressive Woman .....	20 copies
Hope .....	50 copies
International Socialist Review....	250 copies
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>4,855 copies</b>

Comrade Price has sent the Appeal more than 100 subscriptions in three months. He has gathered in 75 new members for the local and has contributed \$74 to his ward as a share of his profits. Can any comrade show a better record? Comrade Price's stand is at First avenue and Columbia street, Seattle, where he is always glad to see visiting comrades. He is on the job from 9 a. m. till 5:30 p. m.

**Machinists Like It.** I want to congratulate you on the excellence of the May issue of THE REVIEW and am now passing it around to my fellow workmen. Each issue seems to surpass the previous one. We disposed of our copies at the first meeting and hope to increase our order 100 per cent in the near future.

J. J. GANTTER, Fin. Secy. Bay Ridge Lodge No. 17, Brotherhood of Machinists.

**From a Farmer.** Enclosed please find \$2 for which send me 20 copies of THE REVIEW and extend my subscription one year. Like the cogs of a machine THE REVIEW takes its place in the machine of the literature of Socialism. I have been reading THE REVIEW three years and it has become a part of my life. It teaches us farmers that are far removed from the industrial centers of the nation what our brothers in the factories and mines are doing and as we read of their struggle for more of the product of their toil, we farmers take a new hold on life and work with a better courage for that day when all humanity will be made free.

COMRADE W. H. CLARK, Okla.

**Fast Sales in Canada.** Enclosed find money order in payment for the 50 REVIEWS ordered and for 50 more. They went like hot cakes and coffee on a frosty morning. We sold 41 at our propoganda meeting on May 18 and nine to members of this local. Less than a year ago you could hardly get anyone to read a Socialist paper here.

COMRADE WILLIAMS, New Westminster, B. C.

**Denial from Local Danville.** In the May issue of THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW an article appeared under the caption of "A Dangerous Precedent" which leaves the impression with the comrades that Comrade Jno. H. Walker again made application for membership in the party, for the mere purpose of becoming a candidate for some political office. We, the comrades of Branch Danville, do not know who is authority for that statement, but it seems that after information to the contrary has been sent out to the Staunton comrades, they are nevertheless persistent in their endeavor to leave that impression. We view the matter of protest in the light that the enforcement of the constitution is a secondary consideration with the Staunton comrades, as we believe there is some comrade in the Staunton local who has a personal axe to grind, and is using the constitution as a breast-protector. We also would be pleased to learn whether or not the individual's name (not the secretary) was signed to the protest that went into the state office. We desire to

again emphatically deny the assertion that Comrade John H. Walker made application for the mere purpose of becoming a candidate for some political office. In conclusion we desire to say that so far as vote-catching-abilities are concerned, our tactics do not differ from that of other comrades, and we feel confident that we have chosen one who is capable, aye, not only capable, but will also represent the interest of the working class.

JNO. F. DEMLOW, Sec'y, Branch Danville, Ill.

**South Africa Approves.** "THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, in the opinion of South African proletarians, is the finest revolutionary magazine published and deserves to be pushed by every class-conscious wage slave."

COMRADE MURRAY, South Africa.

**Like Review in New Zealand.** "Congratulations on the continued excellence of your magazine which we greatly value. You will be glad to hear that the Socialist movement and the cause of industrial unionism are making great headway here."

COMRADE ROSS, Editor "Maorialand Worker," New Zealand.

**Congratulations.** "Close to three years ago I left the industrial field and went out in the Colorado mountains, where I 'burrowed up' till about four months ago. On my return I learned of the McNamara case the first thing and then of the Lawrence strike, the Mexican rebellion, etc. But my greatest surprise was the attitude of THE REVIEW on the industrial union question."

LEON VASILIO, San Francisco.

**Won't Miss One.** "I do not intend to miss one number of your magazine. I am rather particular in my choice of reading matter, and cannot stomach this gushy nonsense which is appearing in different papers. I would like to tell you what I thought of this Hunter-Spargo affair, but I am afraid that it would not look very good in print. I will say, however, that I have read both 'Industrial Socialism' and 'The Militant Proletariat' and I assure you that I am not going to use an explosive, Hillquit to the contrary, notwithstanding. Were I to hazard an independent guess I would say that the only thing worrying this precious bunch with their 'trained intellects' is this: They see an army, whose intellectual food is being furnished by Charles H. Kerr and Company springing up around them with a clearer vision than they themselves possess. Continue, therefore, comrade, in the future, as you have in the past, to turn out the unadulterated brand of Marxian economics and Hillquit, Spargo and Hunter to be only a painful memory."

COMRADE BASSETT, Mokelumne Hill, Cal.

**From Australia.** Comrade Jorgensen of Sydney, Australia, sent in \$50 to increase his REVIEW bundle order and for books. THE REVIEW is growing in foreign subscriptions faster than in any three years of its existence. It is now being read in every English-speaking portion of the globe. Australia will soon be doing big things. They have gotten over the reform stage there and nothing will satisfy the party but revolution.

**Comrade Esther Edelson** spoke in Freeport, Ill., June 15th and 16th. The above photograph is a picture of members of the local and strikers on the Illinois Central. Comrade Edelson organized a woman's auxiliary of the strikers. We have had the pleasure this month of reading her new book on "Resolved, That men be disfranchised and women given the vote." It is full of wit and sound information.

**Comrade Delaney** of California sent in \$16.00 for sixteen yearly REVIEW subscriptions. This is the work that counts for Socialism. The men in the town who are getting their friends and neighbors to read revolutionary literature are doing the real work of education.

**Con Foley in Connecticut.** Splendid reports are coming from the meetings addressed by Con Foley in Connecticut. Con is taking REVIEW subscriptions and giving the locals the latest news from the industrial field. Wish there were more like the speaker with "a kick in every word."

**Tom Lewis and Frank Bohn** have been in Minnesota the past month and as a result literature sales have been growing from that region. State Secretary Latimer is one of the men who believes that education and organization is just about all we need to make a perfect movement.

**Illinois Booming.** Everybody is asking what has struck Illinois. State Secretary Bentall seems to have chosen a "live" group of speakers and the meetings are unprecedentedly large. Comrade Diebold, the Whirlwind Roy speaker from Oregon, is doing splendid work at his noon day factory meetings.

**That Story About J. P. Morgan.** Editor, INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW: In view of the withdrawal by the Macmillan Company of a certain recently issued book on the ground

that a statement in that book regarding the career of J. Pierpont Morgan was libelous, I have been asked by a number of comrades as to what the exact facts were connecting Morgan with a sale of condemned rifles to the Union army during the Civil War. I wish to state that the facts as stated in Volume III of my "History of the Great American Fortunes" are the correct documentary facts; that the accuracy of those facts has not been brought into question; and that if the author of the withdrawn book had stuck to the facts as narrated in my book he would have been on safe ground and there would have been no occasion for any threat of a libel suit.

GUSTAVUS MYERS.

**Ettor and Giovannitti.** Local Sheridan of the S. P. of Sheridan, Wyo., and Local Schenectady have sent in resolutions pledging themselves to aid in freeing Ettor and Giovannitti, also to use their power to give publicity to this outrage on the part of the capitalists in Lawrence.

**W. G. Henry** is touring the West under the auspices of the S. P. local and doing great work. Fine reports come in from Oregon and Idaho. Beginning July first he will spend a month in Montana and later on go to South Dakota. We hope many of the comrades will have an opportunity of hearing him.

**Growing In Australia.** Comrade Andrade of Melbourne sends us twenty-five pounds for books and to increase his advance order on bundles of THE REVIEW for six months. From every English-speaking country in the world we are getting letters of praise for THE REVIEW and Australia is one of the best in the revolutionary movement.

**More for Boston.** Kindly send me 50 more copies of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for June.  
COMRADE ZORN, Boston.

east corner of Twenty-first and Wharton streets, where the REVIEW and up-to-date Socialist literature are for sale, also shuffle boards, dart boards and other amusements on hand. Open evenings and Sundays.

**Great.** Bundle of June REVIEWS to hand. The account of the national convention is great. Send 5 more copies. I like the uncompromising, clear-cut character of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

COMRADE WHITESIDE, New Jersey.

**Five out of Seven.** I sold the five copies before I got out of the postoffice and there were only seven people there at the time.

COMRADE HOLDEN, Okla.

**From a 74-Year-Old Reader.** Have been a subscriber to the REVIEW almost from the number that was first issued. Am now seventy-four and may still be able to read and understand the contents of the REVIEW one year more. So will enclose a dollar for another year.

COMRADE VIRGIL P. HALL, Mayfield, Me.

**More of the Same Kind.** Please find \$1.00 for which send me 20 REVIEWS as soon as possible. I sold the 20 I got and need more. Please rush.

COMRADE HINKSON, Ohio.

**They Simply Melted.** Enclosed find check for \$1, for which send me 20 more INTERNATIONALS. They melted away like dew in a morning sun.

COMRADE BALL, Penna.

**The First Day.** Kindly send ten more copies of the June issue, but please do so at once, as I sold the 20 copies the first day I received them. MAISEL, Bookseller, New York.

**A "Labor Party" at Work.** Please forward regularly commencing with May number, one dozen INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEWS to me at above address on behalf of the newly formed Central Branch (Melbourne) Australian Socialist party. The Labor Party is jailing the boys who refuse to train under the compulsory military act, also the parents who refuse to let their sons go to drill. They are fined 100 pounds, or three months, for refusing to let their sons prepare to protect their country from a foreign danger. The state treasurer was only fined two pounds, which he paid, under the vaccination act for refusing to prepare his son against an inside danger.

COMRADE H. J. CRUICKSHANK, Australia.

**Refreshing.** Enclosed find remittance for which please mail 10 copies of the June REVIEW. This additional order is necessary to cover the demand for the convention story. It is so refreshing to read a glimpse from both sides of the controversy in the convention. Comrades here were depending upon the Chicago daily for reports of the convention, but were disappointed when they found the "daily" so narrow that it could only report four full yellow speeches on one side of a debate and with not a bit of room left to report a single word on the other side.

COMRADE GARRETT, Puyallup, Wash.

**Walked 250 Miles.** Comrade E. R. Esler of Dayton, Ohio, who walked to the convention at Indianapolis selling REVIEWS on the way and later walked to Chicago, is taking a jaunt through Indiana. Comrade Esler comes from the working class and knows how to hand out a line of shop talk that reaches the boys. Several Indiana locals were lucky enough to get him to help them in their campaign work.

**Good for Sumas.** I enclose herewith P. O. order for the sum of \$1.00, for which kindly send me 10 REVIEWS for June and 10 for July. This order added to the one I already have with you will furnish me 20 REVIEWS for both June and July, so you see the demand for the magazine is pretty good here, considering that Sumas is a town of less than 2,000.

COMRADE ATKINS, Washington.

**Elyria's Second Order.** Please send me 50 more June REVIEWS. They go like hot cakes.

COMRADE GIBERSON, Ohio.

**Mobile Tickled.** Please mail me 20 more June REVIEWS if you can possibly spare them. My other 20 are gone—melted. Congratulations on the appearance of the June issue and splendid account of our convention.

COMRADE RUSH,

Lit. Agt., Local Mobile, Ala.

**The Thirty-Sixth Ward Branch of Philadelphia** has opened headquarters at the south-

**Best Ever.** Enclosed please find P. O. order for \$1.00 for 20 REVIEWS for June. Have seen a copy and think it the best ever. I approve of your method of lining them up and showing up those who would like to turn our Socialist party into a good watchdog to bark for the capitalist class. Go to it.

COMRADE CLIFFORD, Northville, Mich.

**Watch the vote** in Illinois. Bentall's educational work is bound to bring big results.

**THE NEW REVIEW.** In behalf of the New Review Publishing Association allow me to thank you and Comrade Frank Bohn for the appearance of his very excellent notice in the May issue of our forthcoming weekly, The New Review. Let me also make a slight correction. Comrade Joseph Michael, 123 William street, New York City, is the Corresponding Secretary instead of myself, who am only the Recording Secretary.

As Comrade Bohn says, "Nothing is now more needed by the American movement than a first class weekly devoted largely to a scientific discussion of the momentous problems now pressing for solution."

Our present difficulty is that the number of comrades having an understanding of the present weakness of the party, owing to the immense number of new recruits we must assimilate, or be by them assimilated, is in inverse ratio to that weakness itself. A special responsibility is therefore placed upon every comrade who has awakened to the need of a deeper study of the principles of Socialism in their relation to current events.

The Socialist Party of this country has now arrived at the point where it must act, and in acting apply and test the theories which have been and are being evolved by the logic of events. There is every need of an educational Socialist weekly, undiverted by purely propaganda or agitation purposes. Some of the leading students of Socialism in this country are already listed on our staff of writers, and others, both American and foreign, will naturally be attracted to us as soon as the paper appears and its aims become known. In fact, we already have promises of co-operation from foreign writers.

But we want money—an insignificant amount beside that of many other Socialist enterprises—to make the appearance of the paper possible. Five thousand dollars—about half the amount needed, has already been subscribed, and we wish to begin publication early in the fall. Many inquiries have already been received through Comrade Bohn's article. But more are needed. To be a Socialist, it seems, is a pretty serious business. We pay to get into its army, and we pay for every battle, campaign after campaign. But strange to say Uncle Sam counts hundreds of deserters to our one. Here is a new military operation proposed, and I am sure it will find its volunteers. It is only necessary that the call should be sounded sufficiently far and wide.

Inquiries may be addressed to Comrade Michael or to me.

BERTHA W. HOWE, Hall of Records, New York City.

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**Demand Sabotage Definition.**—Resolution in re. to sec. 6 Art. II, National Constitution, moved by Dennis Dwyer and passed by an unanimous vote by Local Watervliet.

Whereas, At the National convention of the Socialist party, held at Indianapolis, 1912, the following resolution was adopted unanimous vote: "That the party has neither the right nor desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement over questions of form of organizations or technical methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions." And

Whereas, at the said convention the following provision was incorporated in the constitution of the party: "Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates sabotage or methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party." And

Whereas; Comrade Clinton H. Pierce of Albany was the delegate from this district to said convention and is reported as having voted affirmatively on both motions; And,

Whereas our confidence in the good sense and judgment and clear headed revolutionary perception of the membership of the national convention compels us, in view of the first related resolution, to regard the proposed constitutional amendment as aim against some specie or species of political action; And,

Whereas; Local Watervliet hereby admits its complete ignorance of political methods of a character described by the terms used in the constitutional provision; And,

Whereas; The membership of the Socialist party may demand the approval of the aforementioned constitutional provision by referendum vote before it becomes effective.

Be it resolved; 1st, In order to enable the members of Local Watervliet to vote intelligently on the said provision of the constitution that aforesaid Clinton H. Pierce, be invited to explain, either orally or in writing, the new provision of the constitution to them especially defining the word "sabotage."

2nd. In the event that Comrade Pierce declines the invitation that the same be extended to some other who was a delegate to said convention and voted affirmatively on both motions.

3rd. That these resolutions be published in the party press.

**Socialist Agent Wanted** Chance to do some fine propoganda work in your locality and earn quick money taking subscriptions for the METROPOLITAN MAGAZINE, now publishing a notable series of articles by MORRIS HILLQUIT on SOCIALISM. Write today for special offer and sample copy. J. B. Kelly, Circulation Manager, Metropolitan Magazine, 286 Fifth Avenue, New York.

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**Another Red.** The REVIEW is very glad to advise its readers that we omitted the name of a very good Ohio Red in reporting the convention last month. Comrade M. J. Beery, State Organizer, was on the revolutionary side in every argument. From news that comes from the comrades in Ohio he is doing fine work in that state.

# A Wonderful Book That You Should Have

Until the present year there was absolutely no authoritative historical work, widely advertised and circulated, that told the story of the American working class from its beginnings. True, there are wonderfully elaborate and expensive sets, sold at enormous prices, claiming to tell the story of our country, but, in regard to the condition of 80 per cent of the people, these great histories are silent. James O Neal of Terre Haute, Ind., spent seven years of study and research to write a book, "The Workers in American History," telling, for the first time, the history of the American toiling masses, from the days of Columbus until the Mexican War. This is a wonderful book. You can believe every word of it, for O Neal shows, in every instance, where he got his astounding statements. You are positively ignorant of American History until you read O Neal's "Workers in American History." It is creating a sensation, and in ten years from now, as a result of O Neal's work, the lying, inaccurate and fabulous tales taught in our schools as American "History" will be thrown in the waste basket.

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# The National Rip-Saw

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### "Reds" Win in Finnish Socialist Convention.

Beginning June 1 the Finnish Socialists of the United States held their national convention at Smithville, a suburb of Duluth, Minn. It required ten days to settle the matters that came up, not the least interesting of which was the question of Industrial Unionism. This opened a discussion that lasted two days, ending in a complete victory for the "Reds." The resolution which opened the fight declared in substance, that since industrial evolution is daily making class lines more distinct and forcing the workers together into class-conscious masses, this convention should endorse the principle of Industrial Unionism, without approving any particular organization, and that it is the duty of every party member to work whether within or without the trade unions for the adoption of this form of organization; that party members should guard against anti-Socialist tendencies savoring of anarchism, anti-parliamentarism, and individual violence; against Revisionism in the form of non-class conscious political action, bourgeois reformism, "great man"-ism, and reformistic unionism, and against any general tendency to lay too much stress on either one of the two arms of the Socialist movement, economic or political, at the expense of the other. This opened up a warm debate in which practically every one of the delegates took part. The Central and Western groups led the fight for a revolutionary policy, the Eastern delegates being the conservatives. Among those who fought for the resolution were Leo Laukki of Michigan, Professor Sirola of the Finnish Working People's College, Jack Juntunen of the Butte miners, and John Kolu of Illinois. The New York delegates, among whom were Olga Fast and K. Lindstrom, led the opposition. The resolution was finally carried almost unanimously, there being but two dissenting votes. The "Reds" made no attempt to conceal their satisfaction over the outcome, as the last convention at Hancock, Mich., four years ago showed opportunistic tendencies.

Fifty-three delegates were present, including the four editors of the Finnish Socialist papers and seven women comrades. It was the sense of the convention that the Finnish and English-speaking Socialist organizations must be brought into closer touch. The Finnish secretary, Comrade Sarlund, and the Executive Committee were instructed to make more frequent reports to the national office and to the party press concerning the progress of the movement among the Finns and to report on affairs in the English-speaking world for the benefit of the Finnish press. It was decided that the young people shall hereafter not form separate organizations, but are advised to join the societies of the English-speaking young comrades.

The Executive Committee, formerly with seven members, was reduced to five, with the addition of the secretaries of each of the three great districts, Eastern, Middle, and Western, who are to have two votes each.

The managing editors of the Finnish papers

are hereafter to be elected by a referendum of the shareholders in each publishing company. It was decided that the principal of "Työväen Opisto," the Working People's College at Smithville, shall be elected by the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors; that the college shall open a correspondence course in the English language to be furnished at cost, and courses in citizenship and legal requirements, to be financed by an assessment of 50 cents a year on each member. The faculty is also to be increased by four English-speaking teachers. The college at present has 140 students and owns \$35,000 worth of property.

The convention also recommended that all Finnish working women take out citizens' papers and that party members shall use their influence to have Finnish servant girls, of whom there are many thousand in this country, organized into unions. A resolution against "slave contracts" was then adopted, recommending an agitation to be started against these, to which many Finnish workmen, employed in iron, coal and copper mines, fall victims. The convention adjourned with the utmost harmony prevailing.

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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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*The*  
INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIII

AUGUST, 1912

No. 2

# TIMBER WORKERS

AND

# TIMBER WOLVES

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

**A.** L. EMERSON, President of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, is in jail at Lake Charles, La. He was arrested following the shooting at Grabow, La., where three union men and one company hireling were killed outright and nearly two score of men were more or less seriously wounded.

The shooting is the outcome of the bitter war waged against the members of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers by the Lumber Trust for the last eighteen months. The scene of the tragedy that occurred on Sunday, July seventh, is a typical Southern lumber camp. The mill at this place is operated by the Galloway Lumber Company. In common with all others, it is surrounded by the miserable houses where the workers find

habitation, the commissary store of the Company being the largest place of business in the towns. A strike has been on at this place since the middle of last May. The single demand on the part of the union men was for a bi-weekly pay day. Heretofore the pay days have been at long intervals—usually a month apart.

During the intervening weeks, when the men were in need of money to meet the necessities of life, they could secure advances on their pay but not in real money. They were compelled to accept *Company Scrip* payable only in *merchandise* and exchangeable only at the company commissary. If accepted elsewhere it is uniformly discounted from 10 to 25 per cent on the dollar.

In the commissary stores where the cash prices are always from 20 to 50 per cent

## BOGUS MONEY—COMMISSARY SCRIP.

In Lumber Jack Language Called: Gouge Outs, Batwings, Cherry Balls, and Other Appropriate Names.

higher than at the independent stores, the company has established another means of graft by making two prices—the coupon or scrip price being much higher than that exacted for real cash.

The conditions at Grabow can be used as an illustration of nearly all of the other lumber camps of the South.

The commissary store is not the only iniquity imposed upon the Timber Workers. For miserable shacks they are compelled to pay exorbitant rents; sewerage there is none; there is no pretense at sanitation; the outhouses are open vaults. For these accommodations families pay from \$5 to \$20 a month. In one camp worn-out box cars are rented by R. A. Long, the Kansas City philanthropist, for \$4 a month. Insurance fees are arbitrarily collected from every worker, for which he receives practically nothing in return, but whether his time be long or short—one day or a month—with the company, the fee is deducted. The same is true of the doctor fee and the hospital fee, which, in all places, is an imaginary institution. The nearest thing to a hospital that the writer saw was an uncompleted foundation at De Ridder, the place visited a few days prior to the Grabow tragedy. The gunmen and deputy sheriffs are an expensive innovation in the manufacture of lumber. These miserable tools are to be found

everywhere and are used to browbeat and coerce the workers.

The lumber crews are hired without regard to color or nationality. In building up the Brotherhood of Timber Workers the officials of that organization have followed the lines laid down by the bosses and have brought into the ranks such persons as the bosses have employed. With wisdom and forethought they have refused to allow a discordant note to cause dissension in their ranks. This spirit of class consciousness aroused the ire of the lumber company to such an extent that no member of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers or the Industrial Workers of the World is given employment.

The spirit of the organization was plainly shown in its recent convention held at Alexandria where an effort was made on the part of the authorities to prevent a joint convention of white and black members. The Democratic officials of the county threatened to have an injunction issued or some other process of law invoked to prevent the body from coming together. As there is no law in Louisiana that prohibits the mixing of the races on the job, the B. T. of W. could not understand why they should not confer and council with each other in convention about their daily work, it being the purpose of the

organization to improve the conditions under which its members labor.

After the Alexandria Convention adjourned, the first effort of the Timber Workers was to establish the semi-monthly pay day at Grabow. The demand was made of the company that pay day should come every two weeks. The demand was flatly refused and the strike followed and has continued since. The Galloway Lumber Company, the concern affected, tried to operate their mill in the meantime with non-union men who had been induced to fill some of the places of the striking timber workers. It was for the purpose of bringing these men into the organization that President Emerson, accompanied by a hundred or more members and sympathizers from De Ridder, went to Grabow.

While Emerson was addressing the crowd that had assembled a shot was fired from the direction of the lumber company's office, which struck a young man standing by his side. This shot seemed to be the signal for a fusilade, coming not only from the office but from barricades of lumber and from the houses occupied by company thugs, one of whom stepped to the door and fired a shot

which lodged in the abdomen of Bud Hickman, a farmer, who with his wife in his buggy, was trying to get away from the conflict.

Roy Martin and Gates Hall, two union men, were killed outright and A. W. Vincent, a company man, was also killed.

That the company was prepared and looking for an opportunity to make just such a murderous assault is evidenced by the fact that the office had been converted into an arsenal.

The first news received at New Orleans, which later reports seem to verify, was that managers, superintendents and gun-men from other lumber companies were ambushed in the Galloway Lumber Company office and that a wholesale slaughter of union men had been deliberately planned. That the murder of Emerson was intended is clearly shown by the fact that the man standing closest to him was the first shot down. Emerson was the desired victim. He had long been a target for the lumber barons' hatred and venom.

Emerson is in jail, being held without bail at the time of this writing to await the action of the Grand Jury, that is to convene on the 15th of August. He is charged with murder on two counts. It

will be proven in the course of time that his only crime is that of trying to lessen the burden and lengthen the lives of his fellow workers.

Before the campaign of organization now inaugurated by the Industrial Workers of the World is closed the lumber barons of Dixieland will have learned that it is impossible to fell trees with rifles and saw lumber with six shooters.

It should be mentioned here that of the nine men arrested four are non-union men, two of them, John and Paul Galloway, being owners of the Lumber Company. All are charged with murder. This, perhaps, indicates that the Trust has not entirely corralled the officialdom of Louisiana. It is certain that they are in bad repute with the business element in nearly all of the towns as their commissaries have been the means of controlling nearly the entire earnings of their employees, who are compelled to trade with the companies or lose the only means they have of making a living.

To maintain their absolute control of the camps the lumber companies, with the aid of their thugs, patrolled the towns, in some places inclosures were built around the mills and shacks. Notices were posted warning away union men, peddlers and Socialists.

Only a few days ago, H. G. Creel, one of the *Rip-Saw* editors on a lecture tour, was roughly handled at Oakdale and Deridder, La. He was compelled to leave the first-named place, being threatened and intimidated by gun-men.

The small merchant realizes that if the workers are allowed to trade where they choose some of their money would pass over their counters and they know if wages are increased there would be a corresponding increase in their day's receipts. This will account for the fact that the small business man and farmer have given their sympathy and a measure of support to the growing union of timber workers.

Arthur L. Emerson and Jay Smith, both Southern born, are the men around whom interest centers. They are the men who organized the Brotherhood of Timber Workers. Emerson had made

two trips to the West—one to the Lumber District to the Southwest and the other to the Northwest. It was during the time that he worked with the lumber jacks of the Pacific Coast that he learned the need of organization. This thought was especially developed when he came in contact with the Lumber Workers' Union of St. Regis and other points in the Bitter Root Range of Mountains. Being a practical lumber jack and saw mill hand and mill-wright himself, he saw at once the discrepancy in wages between the Pacific Coast and the Gulf States and upon his return to Dixieland he immediately took up the burden of organizing the workers as the only possible means of bringing up their wages and conditions to the level of the already too-low Western scale.

His first attempt was at Fullerton, Louisiana, where, after securing employment in the mill, by energetic work, he had in a few days secured a list of eighty-five of the one hundred and twenty-five employes who signified their willingness to join an organization such as he, in his earnestness, explained to them, outlining the benefits to be derived if all would stand together in one union.

Emerson traveled from place to place securing a few days' employment in the different lumber camps, carrying his message of unionism to the slaves of the pine forests and cypress swamps of the Southern states.

In this work of organization, he soon enlisted Jay Smith, his colleague in office, the present Secretary of the organization, and thousands of other stalwart men of the woods and saw mills, never hesitating at the color line or the nature of a man's work.

The framework of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers was as solid as the heart of the mighty oak that they converted into lumber. It was securely rooted. With headquarters at Alexandria, La., it branched out into the surrounding states. Its membership rapidly increased until thirty thousand of the wage slaves of the Lumber Trust were enrolled in its ranks.

Through the system of espionage which the Trust has established through-

## THE LUMBER WORKERS OF THE SOUTH.

out its domain, the managers of the companies kept themselves informed of the work of the organization and its rapid growth. They realized that with this kind of an organization to contend with, their despotic methods would be at an end and they determined to destroy it root and branch.

To this end the Southern Lumber Operators' Ass'n. applied the most drastic action, closing down without notice forty-six mills. The thousands of workers who were employed in the lumber industry were thus deprived of their means of livelihood and left to shift for themselves. This arbitrary shut-down was continued for a period of nearly six months and it is only now that the operators are endeavoring to run their mills as the demand for lumber has become so great and as the prices are higher than at any period in the history of the lumber industry the most vigorous efforts are being made to man the mills with non-union labor.

Being unsuccessful a few of the largest companies have withdrawn from the Association; have granted the demands of the Timber Workers and are now running their mills night and day to fill accumulated orders.

The more obstreperous members of the Association are still trying to maintain their black list through the agency of their labor clearing house which has recently been established at Branch Headquarters located at Alexandria.

Their black-listing system is the most complete in operation anywhere. A man is compelled to give his name, birth-place, his color is recorded, the name and residence of his relatives, his former place of employment, the reason of his discharge or leaving his last place of work and particularly is he compelled to abjure all connection with the Brotherhood of Timber Workers or the Industrial Workers of the World. No later than the Fourth of July, celebrated as

Independence Day in this country, John Henry Kirby, one of the wealthiest timber barons of the South, in a spread eagle oration, declared:

"That we do ask a man when he applies to us for work whether he is a member of the B. T. W. or I. W. W. If he is, we have nothing that he can do."

Thus a free-born American citizen, or one who has adopted this "Freeland" as his country, is denied the right to live and at the same time belong to this organization. The two having now merged, Mr. Kirby will have to refer to them as one in the future.

At the last convention of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, attended by the writer, which was held last May, by an almost unanimous vote, application was made to the Industrial Workers of the World for a charter. The action of the convention was submitted to a referendum of the rank and file and has been sustained without a single opposing vote.

In September the Timber Workers of the South will meet in Convention representatives of timber workers from all other districts.

This meeting will be held in Chicago at about the time of the general convention of the Industrial Workers of the World. Then a National Industrial

Union of Timber and Lumber Workers will be formed. This will include all of the workers employed in the United States, Canada and Mexico, in this industry, which in this country, is the third largest in importance and employs, perhaps, more men than any other.

Until the American Labor Union, which later merged with the I. W. W., began organizing the Lumber Workers, these millions of men were without a union of any kind. The organization which has now such a splendid foothold, will not limit its jurisdiction to any craft, section or division of the industry, but will include every man employed in the woods, the mills and the co-related industries.

The fight will be a long one and a bitter one. The struggle will be intense. Members and their families will suffer keen heart pangs, as the lumber barons will not loosen the stranglehold on their ill-gotten profits until they have exhausted every weapon that Capitalism has armed them with. But now that the workers of the Southland have joined hands with their fellow workers of the North, there can be but one result as the outcome of their united efforts. It can be recorded in one word—VICTORY! And the first step has been taken in the onward march toward Industrial Freedom!

# Socialism

## the Hope

### of the Workers

By CON FOLEY

CON FOLEY.

**M**ANY people fail to see the two great classes that are struggling in the world today. But if you will stop and consider a little while you will realize—you working men and women—that on one side we have the great and powerful millionaires, who do not work but who own everything, and on the other side, the men and women and the little children who toil for low wages and who own nothing.

You can look all about you and see the results of the labor of these workers. Houses and bridges, cities and railroads, factories, shops and the mills, all are the product of their hands and brains. The whole of civilization is the work of those who toil, and possess nothing.

Socialism is the cause of these men and women. It is the hope of the dispossessed.

Did you ever stand outside one of the great steel mills and see thousands of hungry, ragged men begging the bosses to buy their power to work, striving to sell themselves or their labor for so many dollars a week?

The millionaire who owns the steel mill may be thousands of miles away, but still every man who toils in his great mills is working to MAKE PROFITS for HIM. He is of the master class and they are of the propertyless wage-working class.

The reason he is of the master class is because he OWNS the mill, the mine, the factory or railroad, whichever it may be. If your father had left you owner of a steel mill you also would be of the master class and men would come to ask for jobs of your superintendents and your managers.

It is property that makes it possible for the man who employs you to cheat you out of the things you make. You and your fellow workers may weave cloth valued at \$1,000 in a single day, while your wages may be only \$200 a day altogether. The boss has robbed you of \$800 worth of value that you and your comrades have made. He calls it profits or dividends. It is really theft.

Working men and women are always trying to gain more of the value of the

cloth they weave, or the coal they dig or the cattle they raise, or the wheat they grow, and the owners of the coal mines, the mills, the farming lands or the factories are always trying to give you a smaller portion of the values you create.

It is very clear that every time you get a raise in wages, there is less left for the factory owner and that every time the factory owner is able to force you to work longer hours, or to lower your wages, there are more profits remaining for him. Socialists call this continual struggle between the masters of jobs and the workers—the class struggle.

Government statistics (Bulletin 150) show that the laborer produces commodities valued at \$2.471 every year and that his boss pays him in return in wages, only \$437. Yet we see the paid servants of the bosses, the editors, the law-makers and the "educators" declaring that we are poor because of our laziness or our extravagance—we who do all the world's work for one-fifth of the value of our products, with the rest appropriated by the idle owners of the machinery of production.

The workers are not PAID; they are ROBBED. They do not spend too much, but far TOO LITTLE and they spend too little because they get low wages, instead of the full value of the things they make and build or weave. We do not want Charity. We won't need Charity when we have Justice.

We Socialists are not organized to give alms but to abolish forever the cause of poverty, to banish pauperism from the face of the earth. In other words; we propose to give the entire products of the workers to the workers themselves. No land is truly civilized while those who do not work possess every luxury modern ingenuity can invent and those who clothe and feed and house the world, wear rags and live in tenement houses.

Poverty is the mother of disease, vice and crime. Without her they would die and fade from the haunts of men!

But what is the cause of poverty? How is it that a few are able to suppress the many? By what mighty magic are a handful of folks enabled to confiscate the products of the hands and brains of

the toilers? The answer is simple. We live today in a CLASS society with the capitalist class on top.

This class owns over 75 per cent of the nation's wealth: the mills, the mines, the railroads, factories, shops and the land—the great tools with which food, clothing and houses are produced. But these rich men or women do not USE these instruments of production. They do not build homes or make cloth. They hire working men and women to do these things.

It is because they own no property, because they are unable to use the factories and machinery to make things they need that the workers are compelled to sell their strength to the master class for wages. Because there are so many more men and women who want jobs than there are jobs, the bosses are able to hire men at just enough to live on.

The capitalists are masters because they own the great TOOLS of production. The workers are slaves because they have to sell their strength in order to live. As they only get just enough to live on, they are in continual servitude and they are NEVER EVEN SURE THAT THE BOSS WILL LET THEM HOLD THEIR JOBS.

The capitalists are able to dictate terms to the workers because if one batch of men demands higher wages or shorter hours, there is generally another group ready to take its place.

The capitalists own the newspapers, the colleges, the schools and the government. At every struggle between them and the workers, it is the capitalists who are able to call on the troops and the police to take the places of strikers and to force or shoot them into submission to the masters' terms.

The capitalists are able to buy the services of senators and congressmen and presidents and judges just as they buy machinists. They control the entire government for the purpose of maintaining themselves as idle non-producing capitalists and you and me as propertyless wage slaves.

The way to put an end to poverty, to wipe out panics, to give work to the army of the unemployed, is to abolish the

private ownership of the tools of production. Nothing will do it but Socialism, which means the COLLECTIVE ownership of the means of production and distribution (the factories, mines, mills, railroads and the land) by the working class.

When every man in the world has an equal share in the ownership of these things they will be sure of steady jobs as long as they live. They will know that all the value they create in the shape of commodities—chairs, cots, stoves or

whatever they may be, will go to them alone.

Then the man who produces most, and he who works longest, will possess most, and idle millionaires and ragged working men will vanish from the face of the earth.

Now is the time to find out more about Socialism. The Socialist party is the party of working men and women, managed for and by them. If you want to advance your own interests, vote the Socialist ticket.

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## THE SLAVE DRIVER

BY

ROSE PASTOR STOKES

The brazen loud alarm clock whips my brain.

Its lash stings the raw thought. I curse, and rise,  
And drag my bleeding thought thru bogs of pain  
To where the gray mills grin as darkness flies.

We wait before the gate, my thought and I,

Till sharp shrieks the mill throat. Oh, hell-horn song!  
We're drawn . . . We're lost! Now Cease, Greed's Lorelei!  
And blush to see, low sun, this maddening wrong.

It's evening: spat from out the mammoth maw

Of Greed's gray, supine Beast, I drag my way,  
A broken, sucked-out thing, again to draw,  
In sleep, a mending breath ere yawns the day.

It's night now—night now—night! I wind the clock:

A thought sweeps the dull brain, red wave on wave:  
"This cheap concern—and I!" (myself I mock)—  
"I! master of this thing, make me its slave!

By God! some night I'll wind the thing so taut,

I'll just snap the weak spring! and then—a span  
I'll sleep . . . I'll sleep . . . and wake again for naught  
Except to work in joy; and live, a man!

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# What Threatens Ettor and Giovannitti

BY

ROLAND D. SAWYER

GIOVANNITTI.

ETTOR.

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**R**ECENTLY an organization of conservative but liberal minded men in Boston appointed a committee to investigate the situation as to the Ettor Giovannitti case. This committee unanimously reported that the situation was very serious, and that it was their earnest judgment "that if ever men were in danger of the electric chair those men were Ettor and Giovannitti." This is the exact situation. I find many who do not stir much over the Ettor case because they do not think it serious; the case is so preposterous that they think it hardly worth while to bother over. But men and women who do not think this

case serious sadly misunderstand the temper of the cotton mill barons.

I want here to summarize the things that threaten the lives of our comrades; for unless labor exerts great pressure, I believe Ettor and Giovannitti will be found guilty and sentenced to the chair. Then to allay labor's indignation the sentence will be commuted to life-imprisonment; thus sentiment will be lulled, the manufacturing capitalists revenged and protected from further agitation among their wage-slaves by these two men.

First comes capitalist hate. Joe Ettor did at Lawrence what the capitalists

have always scoffed at as impossible; he cemented sporadic discontent into a compact organization. The capitalists not only had to loosen up and give more wages, but what is far more hateful to them they can never go back to the old order of manufacturing feudalism.

The workers have come into their own, henceforth they belong to the militant, solidified, fighting labor class; they will never again be the abject, cringing, unorganized slaves that they were. When William Wood and his associates think of this they grind their teeth in rage. But there is no help for it. The thing is done; Wood and his cohorts can only take revenge upon Ettor and Giovannitti; and this they will do unless the militant working class of America awakes.

Labor union envy also threatens our comrades. The A. F. of L. of Massachusetts is entirely a moribund organization. Though it has thousands of good men and women in its rank and file, its leaders have for years done nothing for the working class save to draw salaries and trade the workers' votes with capitalist politicians. These men now see their jobs threatened, and from the pettiest collector to the foremost men, like Golden and Tobin, they are using their influence against the new union and its leaders. Tobin's "Boot and Shoe Workers" (of the "tainted" label) is

strong in Essex county, and it is being used to inflame sentiment against Ettor and Giovannitti.

When the Haverhill Socialist local sought the city hall to hold an Ettor protest meeting it was the C. L. U. of the city that prevented its getting the hall. An active secretary recently said about Ettor to the applause of his following: "We hope they kill the damned skunk—he cost our union \$100,000 in the Brooklyn strike, and we will do our part to send him to the chair." Narrow minded trade-union hate is being used to inflame Essex county against Ettor and Giovanitti.

Racial feeling runs strong in the county that will try Ettor and Giovanitti for their lives. The Irish-Americans who have seen themselves displaced industrially by the Continental immigrants now see that in a few years these same immigrants will displace them in political power; so they join in the native-stock prejudice against the "Dagoes and Hunkies." These men hold the petty political machinery which is at the disposal of the manufacturing barons. Their racial feeling prevents them from judging Ettor's case justly if they would, and their servility to the cotton mill millionaires is such that they would not if they could.

If the present indifference on the part of the militant working class continues nothing can save Ettor and Giovannitti. Action, aggressive and prompt on our part, is all that can save them.

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Ed. Note:—Before The Review appears again Ettor and Giovannitti will have been placed on trial for their lives in a Massachusetts court on a charge of having been accessories before the fact of the murder of Anna La Pezza, the Lawrence working girl who was shot dead by a policeman at a time when these two men were holding a meeting two miles away. The accusation is monstrous in its absurdity. But the mill owners of Massachusetts are determined to stop at no legal atrocity in their anxiety to punish these two young workmen for the

crime of having helped to win a strike. The working class of the nation has already become aroused over this case, but something besides protests is needed. To insure a fair trial to these prisoners an immense amount of money is needed. It must come from the working class, for the reason that no other class either knows or cares. Contributions are urgently requested and may be sent to Ettor-Giovannitti Defense Fund, Wm. Yates, Treas., Central Bldg., Lawrence, Mass.

# YOU AND YOUR VOTE

BY

BY ROBERT RIVES LaMONTE

Socialist Candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut.

**T**HIS month I want to talk to the millions of men and women who have votes. It is true that there are hundreds of thousands of working men and millions of working women who have no votes. But millions of you do have votes. Figures just published by the government (*the government, not your government*) tell us that there are 26,999,151 men of voting age in the United States. While millions of Negroes and thousands of migratory and casual workers are disfranchised there are many states in which the women vote, so that we probably have not far from 25,000,000 men and women who have votes. At least thirteen million of these are working men and women. It is to you, who make up these thirteen million, I want to talk.

You have votes. What are you going to do with them? You are surely going to vote; are you not? To vote costs you nothing. To strike usually means to pinch your stomach, while you can vote without having a scrap the less in the larder. If your vote can help you at all it is folly not to use your vote.

Can it help you? That depends on how you use it. Any party that is elected this fall will carry through into law some reforms that will benefit the workers more or less. The Industrial Revolution is moving so fast that no party any longer ignores it. No party is in favor of standing stockstill. Back in the last century a great English statesman (Harcourt) said, "We are all Socialists now." Today in America any politician can truly say, "We are all progressives now."

## Reforms Are Coming

No matter whether the Republicans or the Democrats win we shall get more and

more Workingmen's Compensation Acts, more and more restrictions upon child labor, more and more regulation of the labor of women in industry. No matter whether Republicans or Democrats are in power more and more states will grant women the franchise, and more and more serious attempts will be made to reduce the awful economic waste of unemployment and the human degeneracy it causes. No matter whether the Republicans or the Democrats win the movement to lessen the strain upon organized charity by Old Age Pensions will grow in force, volume and velocity.

If you want nothing more than reforms such as these it matters very little whether you vote or not. It is true you can hurry them up a little by voting the Socialist ticket, but these reforms are coming anyhow, no matter how or whether you vote. Why? Because labor power is the capitalist's goose that lays the golden egg. The efficiency of your labor power depends absolutely upon your health and material well being. If the capitalist does not see to it that you are well stabled and fed, he is killing the goose that lays him the golden egg of profit.

Formerly the capitalist could afford to neglect or ignore this. When your body rotted in the slums till the charity mongers labelled you "unemployable" (which means no longer pregnant with profits) the capitalists could draw upon the villages and fields of the country for fresh supplies of robust and vigorous humanity.

## Labor Power Becoming Scarce

In England the supply of healthy rural labor was long since exhausted, so that there the degeneration or physical shrink-

ing of the bodies of the workers has been going on apace. In the fifty years between the Crimean War and the Boer War the medical records of the British army show that the candidates for the army had decreased three inches in height and thirty pounds in weight. English labor power has been rotting at the core, and consequently England has been outstripped in the mad race of international commercial competition by Germany, Japan and the United States.

Here in America up to this century the farming country has been an ample reservoir from which to draw almost inexhaustible supplies of fresh, healthy labor power. But now the reservoir is *drying up*. The census of 1910 shows that scores of rural counties in Ohio and Pennsylvania have less people in them than they had in 1900.

The capitalists could ignore this so long as they could draw on southern and southeastern Europe and the Orient for fresh stores of healthy humanity whose vitality had not been sapped by the modern factory system. But the recent strikes at Lawrence, McKees' Rocks, Paterson, Jersey City and Middletown have shown them that the "scum o' the earth" have an even greater capacity for organized solidarity and resistance than the native-born Americans.

#### Reforms Will Pay the Capitalists

The capitalists are intelligent enough to see the significance of these things. They are learning the lesson very rapidly. They have no desire to slay the goose that lays the golden egg. Very soon there will cease to be any real opposition to reforms that aim at preserving your health and efficiency. The capitalists are good enough business men and book-keepers to see that old age pensions and insurance against sickness, accident and unemployment are cheaper, are better business than jails, poor houses, asylums, hospitals, Ward's and Blackwell's islands to care for the unemployable. They are daily coming to see that it is better business to prevent men and women from becoming unemployable than it is to care for them after they are down and out. They are even learning that too widespread joblessness and a wage too far below a decent subsistence level leads to

agitations that threaten the whole fabric of capitalism.

In the near future any party that hopes to retain power, that hopes to keep the good will of the capitalist class, must carry out reforms that will materially benefit the workers.

But the Republican and Democratic parties will never knowingly enact a reform in the interest of the workers that will not benefit the capitalist class more than it does the working class. This does not mean they are moved by brute selfishness alone. They are not. They are kindly *when they can afford it* just as you are. As Kipling said somebody "O'Grady and the Colonel's lady are just the same beneath their skins." The workers have no monopoly of the elementary social virtues. The upper class, cream or scum, knows more about the lower strata of society today than it ever did before. It knows those upon whom it rides better, far better than any other ruling class in history ever knew the burden-bearers. And this increased knowledge begets increased sympathy. The rich, altogether apart from self-in-

terest, want to help the poor. And this kindly desire is a factor in all modern social legislation. But the rich are so placed that they can afford to help the poor only when by so doing they help themselves still more.

Please think closely about this. Unless you do think and think hard, you cannot understand the new politics, the politics of 1912.

### **Old Party Reforms Increase Profits Faster Than Wages**

Every party in the field honestly wants to do something to help you. Any party that wins will. But any party except the party of the workers, the Socialist party, will, while it is helping you, help your employers and their class still more. This means the changes that they will make will make no change. They are trying to change the system without changing the system. Their reforms will not narrow by a hair's breadth the gulf between the workers and the shirkers.

Let us try to see just how this is. Let us take a very simple example. Suppose you work for a boss; that the total of wages and profits is ten dollars a day; that you get two dollars and he gets eight dollars. Then, the gap between you and him will be six dollars, will it not? Now, suppose he introduces a reform that increases your wages to four dollars a day. You will now be able to buy better food, you will see your wife and children better fed, housed and garbed, you will find you are saving something and life will begin to be cheered by hope for the future. You will be a better and more efficient slave. The boss can now put in better machinery and speed you up more scientifically by the Taylor system, so that the total of wages and profits can now rise to sixteen dollars. You, getting four in wages, leaves the boss twelve dollars for his profits. The gap between you and the boss is now eight dollars, is it not? Before it was six. The reform has improved your condition absolutely, but relatively you are worse off than ever. You have more comfort, but the gulf between your condition and the master's condition has actually been broadened!

Do you see now, what a reform is? A reform is a change that improves your

condition as an envelope containing labor power, while it at the same time broadens the gulf that separates you from a true human existence, and thus makes your position more deplorable and hopeless than ever. That is true of any reform that is possible or practicable while the capitalist parties, the Republican and Democratic parties, control political power. Such reforms we may call reformist reforms.

But if you and your fellows united in your own party, the Socialist party, held control of the political power, another kind of reform would be possible and practicable. This second species of reforms we may call revolutionary reforms. What is a revolutionary reform?

A revolutionary reform is a change that, while it may, and very often in the early days of your power will, help the boss, will always help you *more* than it helps the boss, and thus make narrower and narrower the gulf that yawns between your condition and his.

Let us go back to our old example. Suppose you are working for an employer; that your wages are two dollars, and his profits eight. There you have the gap of six between you. A revolutionary reform in raising your wages to four dollars might increase the total of wages and profits to only thirteen dollars. The profits would now be nine instead of eight. The employer would be making more money. But the gap between you and him would now be five instead of six. The chasm would have been partly closed.

There we have our definition—a reform is revolutionary whether it increases profits or not, if it narrows the economic gulf yawning between the workers and the shirkers.

Most revolutionary reforms would reduce profits instead of raising them. But even those revolutionary reforms that would leave profits undiminished or even raise them slightly are absolutely impossible until the workers have complete control of the powers of government.

Because revolutionary reforms are today impossible, the man who holds that they are the only reforms worth fighting for is correctly called an Impossibleist. Does this mean that you and I ought to

oppose the reformist reforms that may help you and me even a trifle? Not at all. To use the slang of the day, we simply "Let George do it!" The Progressives, whether Democrats or Republicans, are more expert reformist reformers than we are or can be. Reformist reform is their historic mission, just as the achievement of the Social Revolution is ours. The Socialist in a legislative body will always vote for a reformist reform, but if he does his duty he will not fail to shout upon the house-tops that the "reform" widens instead of bridging the chasm between the classes.

### **Every Logical Socialist is An Impossibilist**

Those who want to end instead of mending the present system of the martyrdom of man cannot afford to waste their energy clamoring for reformist reforms. That is the business of the Progressives. Your business and mine is to be insistent Impossibilists, ever demanding revolutionary reforms that we know will not be passed, for the louder and more attention-compelling our demand becomes, the faster will the reformist reforms multiply upon our statute books, and not only will they increase in number but their quality will improve in direct ratio with the growth of the Impossibilist vote. By Impossibilist I mean Socialist, for every logical Socialist is an Impossibilist.

Now, we begin to see where we stand. You have a vote. To what party will you give it? The Republican party offers you many and real reforms. The Democratic party offers you many and real reforms. Do these reforms look good to you? No doubt; they ought to. They will do you some good. You ought to want them. But to get them there is no need for you to vote for either the Republican or the Democratic parties. The Republican and Democratic parties are going to give the people "progressive" reforms in any case. But the velocity, number, magnitude and quality of these reforms depends absolutely upon the growth of the Socialist vote.

If you want possible reforms *now* the way to get them is for you to become a Socialist and demand impossible reforms *tomorrow*.

It is these "progressive" reforms that you are going to hear the most about during this campaign, so that the most important thing for you politically is to learn to think clearly about these things.

But you need something more than reformist reforms. If you had all the reformist reforms ever dreamt of you would still be a wage-slave with an ever-growing chasm separating you from the life to which human beings should aspire at this stage of industrial development. For, the greater grows our mastery over Nature the greater should become our demands upon Life.

What you need is to increase your share of the social product faster than the employers' share increases. This is a difficult proposition, but nothing less than this will bring you a single step nearer the life of Free Fellowship. Your ballot can help you in this. It can help you now. The larger the Socialist vote grows, the better will become the *quality* of the progressive reforms. What do I mean by quality? Why, just this. A progressive reform always gives the boss more than it gives the slave, than it gives you. To improve the quality of the reform is simply to reduce the employer's share and increase your share of the benefits of the reform. This process of improving the quality of the reform can never under the Republican and Democratic parties go far enough to turn the reform into a revolutionary reform. But it can go far enough to keep the worker's share of the benefit from being a mere empty pretense, and the only way to make it go that far is to pile ever higher and higher the Socialist vote.

### **Socialists in Office Make Class Unions Possible**

But your ballot alone will never enable you to narrow the gap between your condition and the condition of the master class. To do that you need your Socialist ballot, the political organization of the working class, and together with your ballot you need the ever-growing labor-union of your class, the economic organization of the working-class.

It is upon the latter that you must rely to increase your share of the total social product, but you can never organize your unions effectively while you leave the

capitalists in full and unimpeded control of the police, judiciary and all the powers of political government. To give your labor unions an atmosphere in which they can develop a healthy and vigorous life, you must put just as many Socialists as possible in political office. You must have your Seidels and your Duncans in the mayors' offices to use the power of the police on the side of the workers in time of strike and conflict. You must have your Charlie Morrills and your Herbert Merrills and your Jim Maurers in the State legislatures to fight the growth of the state police and constabulary. You must have your Victor Bergers in Washington to rivet the gaze of the Nation upon the atrocities perpetrated by the puppets of the capitalist class in such Titanic struggles as the memorable Lawrence strike. Only thus can you hope to develop a vigorous and effective labor unionism.

Your unions have done so little for you that doubtless you were surprised and incredulous when I told you it was upon your unions you must rely to increase your relative share of the social product. Your incredulity is justified. Your unions have done very little for you of late years. During the 25 years from 1881 to 1905 the total time that the employers lost by strikes was two-thirds of one per cent of normal working time. This troubled them so little that when it was demonstrated to the National Association of Manufacturers that Strike Insurance could be written for less than 1 per cent per annum, the members would have none of it, saying that strikes hurt them so little it was not worth even one per cent to insure themselves against loss of profits and waste of fixed charges during idleness caused by strikes. I think it safe to say that a unionism the employers can afford to ignore is not powerful enough to help the employes materially.

Why are your unions so weak? Because they are not true class unions. Because the vast bulk of the workers are not inside but outside the unions. "Today, after fifty years of organization," a writer in the June *Atlantic Monthly* tells us, "we may say roughly that 70 per cent of the industrial workers and

90 per cent of all wage-earners remain non-union." How can you expect organizations containing only ten per cent of the workers to prove effective? The same writer, himself a manufacturer, tells us, "All an employer needs to win any ordinary strike is the ability merely to shut down, and wait until starvation does its work." This is quite true with 90 per cent of the workers unorganized. But the tables would be turned were 90 per cent of the workers organized. And were their organizations so amalgamated together into unity that *all* could act as *one*, so that they would always treat an injury to *one* as an injury to *all*.

Such an inclusive, unified class labor unionism as this is what is meant by the word "Syndicalism" you see so often in the papers nowadays. And it is upon this Syndicalism that you will have hereafter to rely more and more in your struggles to obtain decent conditions of livelihood.

But a powerful Syndicalism has never yet developed save in countries where the working class had many representatives in the national parliament or congress. Your votes can help you to develop a unionism that is worth while. If you want to make your vote help you in this way you must vote the Socialist ticket. To cast your vote for any other party is to throw your vote away. Nay, it is worse than throwing it away; for to vote for the Republican or Democratic party is to turn your vote into a policeman's club or a militia man's bullet to be used against yourself the next time you go on strike.

The larger and more powerful your unions become, the shorter will be your strikes, and the less the sufferings of your wives and little ones. We are only now learning gropingly the full powers and capacities of the new unionism, Syndicalism. But we already know it has almost miraculous powers as a wage raiser and hour shortener. We are just beginning to realize that it is also a mighty political weapon. Just the other day the Hungarian comrades conquered universal suffrage by a General Strike. And a few days later the Belgian Comrades failed in their attempt to reach the same goal by a political deal with the capitalist liberals. It is thus seen that for purely

political objects Syndicalism is a more effective weapon than political trading.

There has been a political agitation for a minimum wage law in England for years. It produced no tangible results. Lord Morley of the Liberal Cabinet declared the recognition of the principle of the minimum wage would be tantamount to striking a death-blow at civilization. 2,000,000 human moles of coal miners crawled out of their holes and stayed out on vacation for three weeks and Lord Morley's Cabinet brought in and passed a law recognizing the principle of the minimum wage—the only law ever passed in England that was ostensibly intended to increase the workers' share of the social product.

But this law was not passed while the Liberal party controlled the government. It was passed while the striking coal-miners controlled all England including the government.

It was true it was a pretty poor law. How much better it might have been had the coal-miners and the transport workers struck at one and the same time, and thus forced the almost unconditional surrender of the capitalist class of Great Britain!

### The New Unionism

Syndicalism is the power of the future. It is upon it you must rely to improve your working conditions from day to day, and it is upon it you will learn to rely to win your decisive political victories of the future. It will not only prove your great weapon in the struggle to overthrow the wage-system of slavery and degradation; it will also provide you with the organization to carry on production and distribution after your decisive victory.

The development of Syndicalism, that is of a truly all-embracing class-unionism containing in one great federal organization the least skilled as well as the most highly skilled workers, is the supreme need and duty of the hour. But it is a task that can only be accomplished with the aid and co-operation of a politically powerful Socialist party. Without such aid and support, the better and more effective your unionism the more quickly will it be ruthlessly crushed by uncurbed capitalism. To elect a Socialist to office is

to pull one of the teeth of the capitalist wolf.

That the Socialist party fully understands the imperative necessity of developing a vigorous class unionism (Syndicalism) and is prepared to do its utmost to aid this great work is shown by the following resolution passed at our recent National Convention in Indianapolis:

"That the Socialists call the attention of their brothers in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, who stand in greatest need of organized protection and who will constitute a great menace to the progress and welfare of organized labor if they remain neglected. The Socialist party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor unions in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations, who have not already done so, to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions. In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union the workers of this country can win their battles only by a strong class consciousness and closely united organizations on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field *and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.*"

The old unionism was purely defensive. The Socialist party has now officially recognized that unionism *must attack the enemy*. In other words the Socialist party now stands officially committed to the aggressive, revolutionary tactics of insatiable Syndicalism.

With a sufficiently powerful syndicalism strikes when they come will be short, as the tie-up of industry will be so complete that whether the strike be won or lost it cannot last long. But in most cases strikes will be unnecessary. The power of the organization will be so obvious that it will not need a strike to convince the employers of the policy of yielding with a good grace.

It is quite true that a series of such stoppages to industry as England has experienced during the past year will prob-

ably lead to legislation aimed at making strikes impossible or criminal. This legislation may take the form of compulsory arbitration. It is scarcely likely to prove effective whatever form it takes; for it is difficult to frame legislation that will induce a jury to convict a man of crime for merely folding his arms.

But, even should such legislation prove effective, the power of Syndicalism would be unimpaired, for an organization that is perfect enough to conduct such struggles as the London Dock Strike or the recent British Coal Strike would also be perfect enough seriously to impede the progress of industry while the men still remained on the pay-roll.

Syndicalism is the spectre that dying and greedy capitalism has conjured from the social deeps. It will prove the Ogre that will devour the Magician that called it forth. But the Ogre will be bound helpless hand and foot by the cords of capitalist legislation unless we have an effective corps of revolutionary Socialists in every legislative body in the capitalist world.

#### Use Your Vote in the Fight

That is where you and your vote come in. Use your vote to put Socialist watchmen in every legislative tower. Use your vote to put Socialists in command of

every policeman and militiaman. Use your vote to put a Socialist on every judicial bench.

Use your vote to strengthen and in-trench the party of your class, and thus make possible the growth and development of that Syndicalism at whose growing power the whole world of capitalism is trembling today.

It is easier and cheaper to vote than to strike. Less devotion and self-sacrifice is demanded. If you do not show the stamina to vote the Socialist ticket, dare we trust you to show the courage required to bear your part in the Syndicalist strikes that are coming?

We are now in the critical days of the Social Revolution. Every blow that is struck now brings measurably closer the glorious days when we shall have Comfort for All, Luxury for All, Culture for All, Art for All, Freedom for All, the Fullness of Joy for All. Seeing what the task is and the reward is, will you help us now? May we today take you by the hand and call you *comrade*?

“Come, then, join in the only battle  
wherein no man can fail  
Where whoso fadeth and dieth, yet his  
deed shall still prevail.”  
New Canaan, Conn., June 11, 1912.



# BUTTE

BY

FRANK BOHN



**B**UTTE, Montana, has a hill. It is not a very big hill. In fact it rises to an elevation of only a few hundred feet, yet it is distinguished in a way which makes the average American citizen speedily forget Olympus, Mt. Sinai and Bunker Hill. Any member of the Butte Real Estate Dealers' Association will "point with pride" and say, "That is the richest hill in the world." And so it is.

In the bowels of that hill, up and down and in every direction of the compass, an army of six thousand men has toiled through many thousands of miles of diggings. Three thousand feet below the surface the earth rumbles and roars as though rent by a volcano. Up comes the ore which the mills and smelters speedily turn into \$30,000,000 worth of copper annually. Of this sum \$10,000,000 goes to the workers who perform all the labor of production below and above

ground. \$20,000,000 goes to the stockholders in the East and in Europe. Last year forty-seven miners went down into this hill and came out dead. In far away Boston, which owns most of the copper stock, at the end of the year a number of dear kind-hearted old ladies and gentlemen went down town, called on their bankers and learned that they were several million dollars richer than the year previously. Then they went to church and thanked God for the number and excellent quality of his blessings. Now the six thousand one hundred and twelve who compose the Butte Miners' Union say they do not like this arrangement. They are saying so with considerable vigor and effect. What they are saying and how constitutes our story.

## **The Crimes of Amalgamated.**

Do you remember the great story of Tom Lawson's which shook the land way back in 1904 and which gave birth

to the whole tribe of muck-rakers? The whole nation read through reams and reams of Tom's curious jargon, breathlessly awaiting exposure of the "crime" and at the end of it all the culprits appear to have performed the very common Wall Street trick of selling more stock than was originally advertised for sale. Only those versed in the ethical standards of the street ever comprehended why Lawson was led to call this a "crime." Whatever it was it happened in far away New York and when it was over some middle-class parasites had been separated from their dollars. I can remember throwing the copy of Everybody's Magazine which contained Tom's last chapter through the window. I was keyed up for a real big blood-curdling crime, with detectives finding dead bodies buried in the cellar wall and all that. And then to come upon this at last—Tom Lawson and some of the other small fry had lost their little all to the Standard Oil gang.

#### The Real Crimes of Amalgamated.

And our disappointment was so unnecessary. Butte had a story to tell which had we gotten it then would have satisfied the most morbid hunger aroused

by the zeal and rhetoric of the crime exposing Lawson.

In Butte the Amalgamated Copper Company and the Heinze crowd organized their forces for war. And what were the spoils of war? That very hill—the richest hill in the world. It was the working class dupes who were used for the fighting. Agents of the two robber bands organized a reign of terror the like of which the industrial life of the modern world has probably never approached elsewhere. There were pitched battles in the streets and men were shot dead. In the depths of the mine two gangs of workers would find themselves face to face and fight like hyenas for their masters. The Amalgamated agents armed their men with hoses and pumps to squirt lime-water upon the enemy, horribly burning and blinding them. Heinze gave his men guns and told them to defend themselves. Where were the police? Why did not the prosecuting attorneys and the judges get busy? What about the priests and the parsons? Bless you, this whole crowd were in clover. It was honey-making time. One judge got a hundred and fifty thousand dollars for a single decision. Thirty thousand dollars were offered for the vote of a single member of the legislature. And no priest or parson preached sermons so poor that he could not during those times have builded for him a magnificent temple of worship.

These were the real crimes of Amalgamated—bribery, thievery, social war, murder raised to a profession and paid for by the piece, blinding men's eyes with lime-water. To one unfamiliar with present day capitalism in America this may seem extraordinary. Tell the story to the old ladies at Boston who draw such huge slices of the Amalgamated profits and they will, no doubt, say that it was all very naughty. As a matter of fact there never was a day when working class con-

ditions in Butte were not preferable to those in Boston. It was during this stormy period just described, that the workers forced the eight hour day and the minimum wage of three dollars a day. Since then Butte has gone on in comparative quiet. And the miners' union has been strong enough to hold what was then gained.

### The Town.

Butte is entirely a mining camp—the largest in the Western hemisphere and second only to Johannesburg, South Africa. In a town of 40,000 people Local No. 1 of the Western Federation of Miners has 6,112 members. The Butte Engineers, also affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners, has five hundred members and there are probably more than five hundred people directly at work for the Amalgamated Copper Company in its offices and stores. The great camp has the appearance of a modern city. Its stores and office buildings compare favorably with those of a Middle Western or New England city of 100,000 people. Only the shacks in which the miners live are less substantial than those of their fellow workers in the East. The town is located in the center of a basin, walled about by high mountains. In the middle of this basin rises the wonderful hill. Coming into Butte at night one sees it far below at a distance of ten or fifteen miles—its myriad of electric lights making a scene strangely in contrast to the wretched scenes by day.

### The Work.

The Butte one sees above ground is only an incident. The real Butte is under ground. Work never ceases, except for an occasional general holiday. The 6,000 miners are divided into three shifts. They go down in the cages which are used to bring up the ore. A drop of let us say 2,000 feet, sometimes even 3,000 feet, is said to brace a man's nerve for the day's work. No time is lost on that trip. I have no accurate information but I surmise that the speed of one of those cages is at least three times as great as that of the most rapid service in a New York or Chicago skyscraper. All that

the cable and cage seem to do is to break the fall at the bottom. Inside the mine there are four general divisions of the workers—first, the miners or machine runners who drill for blasting, second, the muckers or shovel men who load the ore, the carmen and finally the timbermen who set the solid timbers which keep the roof of this great workhouse in its proper place. Above ground are laborers, mill and smeltermen, engineers, blacksmiths and machinists and ropemen. These last make and keep in repair the great cables which raise and lower the cages. It is really impossible for a normal man to do mine work more than eight hours a day and live. When the shift lasted twelve hours the miners necessarily loafed some on the job. Even eight hours a day every day in the year uses up human material in a frightful way. A miner who had lately visited the graveyard told me how early the faithful in Butte go to their reward. Few miners he said live to be over fifty unless they stop work. Great numbers die before they reach forty. By

far the greater portion are men between twenty and forty years of age. Working conditions depend much however upon the mine. In some mines the air is easily replenished and the temperature within comfort. Others are veritable hells for heat, bad air and life destroying vapors. The pest of Butte is miner's consumption. This disease afflicts great numbers of the women and children who catch it from the men. Last year two hundred men were killed or dangerously injured while at work in the mines. The worst accidents are falls of rock, and premature explosions of dynamite.

### The Men.

On miners day I saw this army of 6,000 men march through the streets. Certain characteristics stand out very clearly. The metal miners of this country are probably as sturdy a class of men physically as the world has. Weaklings do not apply for jobs at the end of a piece of hickory in a quartz mine. The conditions of labor develop a fearlessness of danger. Men who are drawn from other occupations quickly respond to these conditions. The members of the working class generally are broken in spirit and saddened by the environment of their labor and life. Not so with the Western miner. While life lasts he is as merry as can be. The constant danger develops in him the philosophy of fatalism. Each day will take care of itself and in every glass of beer there are smiles and heart throbs. The younger men are in the habit of joking about their work. Even the most unclassconscious realize what a "tough graft" is a job in the mines. A slave will come out of a New England textile mill and stop moving and living until he goes in the next morning. Perhaps the happy-go-lucky atmosphere of Butte is caused largely by the fact that so large a portion of its population is of Irish extraction.

The average western miner is therefore a strong man physically. He eats the best food which his relatively high wages permit. If he is unmarried the chances are that he takes a vacation at every possible opportunity and goes fishing or hunting. He spends his money

more freely than any other wage worker in the world. He never whines or grumbles. When as a union man or a socialist he goes out to fight, joy is in his heart. His method of fighting may not always suit the aforementioned old ladies of Boston but it is quite likely to succeed and that is all he cares about. These are the conditions and qualities which have placed the Western miners in the front rank of the labor movement.

### The Union.

In accounting for the Western Federation of Miners another distinction should be made between the metal mining industry and other industries. A railroad worker who has not read socialist literature is usually unaware of the amount of wealth produced by his labor. He works and gets wages. The stockholders get profit. In a vague way he realizes that other people are rich and that he is poor. But that this wealth is a product of his labor—that he is not so readily aware of. How different is the metal mine. Here the whole process of production is right before the eyes of the men. Let us say that a hundred men working in a mine produce \$1,000 worth of gold, silver or copper a day. They know their product is ten dollars a piece. If their wages are three dollars each it does not take a professor of mathematics to calculate how much goes to the profit taker. They say to themselves, "Why not take four dollars of the product, or five?" To them the mine manager cannot reply that the eight hour day would abolish profits and close down the mine. Right here we come smack upon the greatest and most far reaching idea that has come to humanity in the modern world. Of that more later.

### Local No. 1, W. F. of M.

Local No. 1 of the Western Federation of Miners was organized in 1874. In numbers it is the greatest local labor organization which ever developed in the American labor movement. It is not composed of angels and its majorities have not always been clear as to the purpose of the organization and the interest of their class. In it have developed



eration of Miners, I attended a meeting of the Butte miners. I was to address them on industrial unionism. Out of a membership of five thousand at that time twenty or thirty were said to have been in attendance. But I never even saw them. At a quarter of nine the doors were locked and the hall was dark. The little clique who operated the union for the Amalgamated Copper Company had quickly called the "meeting" to order and adjourned. In June of this year I went again to Montana, this time as the guest of that very local union and at the request of its officials I spoke to them on Socialism and industrial unionism.

The opinions of these officials squared exactly with the position I had intended to advocate in 1905. In 1905 I spoke to the Socialist local of Butte. It contained about forty members and was not considered seriously by the powers that were. In 1912 I had the pleasure of meeting the Socialist mayor, councilmen and other municipal officials. May we dare to conclude that the progress of working class in Butte is an indication of its general development throughout the country?

The Socialist Party administration of Butte and its most successful work I shall discuss next month.

To my mind the working class character and the revolutionary integrity of the Socialist party are of first importance. All the votes of the people would do us no good if our party ceased to be a revolutionary party, or came to be only incidentally so, while yielding more and more to the pressure on modify the principles and program of the party for the sake of swelling the vote and hastening the days of its expected triumph.

It is precisely this policy and the alluring promise it holds out to new members with more zeal than knowledge of working class economics, that constitutes the danger we should guard against in preparing for the next campaign. The truth is that we have not a few members who regard vote-getting as of supreme importance, no matter by what methods the votes may be secured, and this leads them to hold out inducements and make representations which are not at all compatible with the stern and uncompromising principles of a revolutionary party. They seek to make the Socialist propaganda so attractive—eliminating whatever may give offense to bourgeois sensibilities—that it serves as a bait for votes rather than as a means of education, and votes thus secured do not properly belong to us and do injustice to our party as well as to those who cast them.—Eugene V. Debs.

“**I** SEE by the papers that the Comrades at Indianapolis have placed the official taboo on Sabotage; hereinafter, same is not to be given kindly mention in consecrated circles on penalty of excommunication,” said Farmer John, as he laid the Daily upon the kitchen table, and spat in the general direction of the wood box.

“Well, I declare,” exclaimed Mary Jane. “There ain’t no tellin’ what them Comrades will be doin’ next. Like as not we’ll be electin’ a President. But what on earth is that Sabotage?”

“I ain’t a knowin’ just exactly what it is, Mary Jane, tho’ I’ll admit I’ve been tryin’ mighty hard to find out.”

“Land sakes, is it that bad? Somethin’ that’s agin’ the law and the gospels and common decency?”

“I couldn’t exactly say. As near as I can make out from readin’ the party papers, it all depends on whether you’re for it, or whether you’re agin’ it.”

“Is that so?”

“Yes. If you’re for it, it ain’t half bad; and if you’re agin’ it, it’s simply horrible.”

“Well, now that sounds plumb ridiculous to me, and me bein’ a Comrade, too. I reckon some of them high-brow Comrades fixed it that way so’s they

could have something to argy about. But are we for it, or are we agin’ it?”

“I ain’t a’sayin’ nothin’, replied John. “If we violate the party creed, we will have to take the consequences; and I’ve been payin’ dues too long to be courtin’ excommunication. I was just thinkin’ tho’, that it’s a mighty long way between theory and practice; and when you’re theorisin’ you may think one thing is right and proper, but you’d think entirely different when you came to practicin’.

“For instance: Fifteen, twenty years ago a lot of us one-gallus squirrel turners from Missouri, Arkansaw, Texas, and ’joinin’ ranges, was settlin’ up the Cheyenne country of Oklahoma. Settlers had been slow about comin’ into that country, owin’ to the fact that the report had been circulated that them parts was the national habitat and rendezvous of the coyote, prairie dog, rattlesnake, horse thief, cut-throat, etcetra and soforth, and not what might be called a salubrious climate for nesters with wimmen and kids.

“Howsumever, the cowmen were soon loose-herding their cattle over them prairies and when us nesters arrived on the scene, we found that the cattlemen had apportioned the range among themselves, and had it all fenced. All gov-

er'ment land, too, and strictly agin' the law to fence gover'ment land; but shucks, what's the law between friends?

"The cattlemen naturally resented the presence of us settlers on their domains—nesters have a way of plowin' the ground and ruinin' the grass, you know. The cowmen would tell us we couldn't raise nothin' in them parts; nō use tryin'. We'd have droughts and floods and hail-storms and hot winds and frosts and sand storms and grasshoppers and cyclones and chinch bugs; besides nothin' would'nt grow, and it was no healthy place for nesters nohow. Which same wasn't exactly what you might call encouragin'.

"Notwithstandin' all these calamities, natural and imported, us nesters would stay, and we'd live—somehow; mostly on cornbread, sow-bellie and bean soup. We'd go barefooted through cactus, prickly-pear, and rattlesnakes; and we'd wear our old overalls as long as they

would hang together. In some bachelor establishments I knowed of, a ragged shirt and a red bandaner was full dress.

"But we lived—somehow. Come fall, we would have little patches of corn, all cut and shocked as pretty as you please. Then some bright night we would be sleepin peacefully, pleasantly dreamin' we were floatin' gently on a sea of bean soup, in which huge slabs of sow-bellie was disportin' themselves gaily, when we'd hear the rustle of cattle in the corn, and would wake up all standin'. We'd take to corn field just as we stood, and it would be 'Whoop!' 'Hi-ye-ii!' 'Git out a here you durned critters!' until broad daylight. On examinin' the fence we would find that the wires had been cut in a dozen different places.

"Well, we'd repair the fence and mozey off down to the store and post office, where we'd meet Sid Smith just drivin' in, and we'd orate as follows:

"'Mornin', Sid.'

“ ‘Mornin, John.’

“ ‘Fairish day.’

“ ‘Yep, needin’ rain.’

“ ‘How’s things over your way?’

“ ‘O, so so. How’s every-thing with you?’

“ ‘O, I ain’t complainin’ none. Whatcha been doin’ this mornin’?’

“ ‘Fixin’ fence.’

“ ‘Fence down?’

“ ‘Yep. Sumpin’ tore it down last night.’

“Other nesters would come in with the same story, and it would be whispered around that about half a dozen of Wilkin’s cowboys had been seen hangin’ around on the creek, at just about dusk the evenin’ before.

“Well, everything would be quiet for about a week. We wouldn’t be gittin’ no rest, sleepin’ with one ear open, until we’d hear the cattle in the corn again. We’d chase ’em out, then we’d get the old shotgun and as soon as one of them steers got back inside the fence we’d kerbang! and Mr. Steer would tear out of that corn field like all possessed. It wouldn’t take more than four or five shots until that bunch of cattle would up-tail and across country. We’d go back to bed then, cause we knowed *them* steers wouldn’t be back *that* night.

“We wouldn’t much more than get in bed when we would hear boom! boom! over at one of the neighbors. In a few minutes it would be boom! boom! in another direction. We would then go to sleep, peaceful and quiet like, and wouldn’t wake until the sun was an hour high. Looking out over the prairie, we would see five or six steers lyin’ all stretched out as tho’ they wasn’t carin’ for nothin’ or nobody.

“We just couldn’t stop to fix the fence that morning, but would mozey down to the store the first thing, to get the news; and, as usual, would arrive just as Sid Smith was drivin’ in. After some and



MIGHTY UNHEALTHY FOR RANGE STEERS.

sundry discoursin’ on the past, present, and possible future condition of the weather, I’d remark, casual like:

“ ‘Thought we heard some shootin’ over your way last night, Sid.’

“ ‘So,’ Sid’d say. ‘Wife ’lowed as how she heard some shootin’ over your way last night, too. And do you know, when I got out this mornin’ I noticed five or six steers layin’ around over there, as tho’ somepin’ was a-ailin’ of ’em.’

“ ‘Well, the neighbors would keep comin’ in until there wouldn’t be whittlin’ material to go ’round, when old Wilkins’d ride up, lookin’ as pleasant as a grizzly bear, and we’d say.

“ ‘Mornin’, Mr. Wilkins.’

“ ‘Mornin’,’ he’d growl.

“ ‘Fairish day,’ we’d say, real caam like.

“ ‘Wilkins’d grunt.

“ ‘Needin’ rain,’ we’d remark next, tryin’ to be agreeable.

“ ‘Wilkins’d grunt again.

"'What's them over there?' he'd growl, pointin' at them steers.

"'Mr. Wilkins,' we'd say, 'we reckons them's steers. They's been layin' there for sometime. We ain't never been over to em.'

"'Umph!' he'd growl, beginning to shake. 'Six of 'em there! And five here! And eight yonder! And my riders tell me there's more of 'em over there!'

"'Yes, six, Mr. Wilkins,' we'd say, 'it shore 'peers like it was gettin' mighty onhealthy for range steers in these parts.'

"'Wilkins'd look like he was about ready to explode.

"'Yes, sir, Mr. Wilkins,' we'd continue, 'we notices the coyotes are gittin' that fat they're too trufflin' lazy to get out of a feller's way!'

"'Wilkins'd shore enough explode at that, and he'd ride off in a 'lope, bellerin' sumpin' that sounded like 'Damn!' with all the trimmings.

"'Us nesters would start home then, feelin' so good we'd be whistlin' 'Beautiful Land,' to beat the band. In four or five days the news would be circulatin' in the air, that old Wilkins had sold out slick and clean, and was going to Old Mexico.

"'Now, I ain't a-sayin' that us nesters was practisin' Sabotage—that depends on whither you're for it, or whither you're agin it, I reckon—and if we'd been settin' around in easy chairs, blowin' smoke-wreaths at the chandelier, and theorisin', I reckon we'd agreed that killin' them steers was wrong, and showed disrespect for capitalist property laws. But us farmers didn't theorise none. We didn't

think about it; besides we didn't have time. We was too busy tryin' to make a living. All that we thought of was: them steers were destroying our corn, there seemed but one way of stopping 'em, we took that way AND SAVED OUR CROPS!

"'And we didn't call it Sabotage, nor 'other methods of violence,' nor destruction of property—WE CALLED IT JUSTICE!

"'Now the moral of this here yarn is this: It's a mighty long way between theory and practice; and when you're theorisin' on a full stomach, you hain't the least idea what you'd do if you was practicin' on an empty one.

"'But as I said 'fore, I ain't a sayin' nothin'. I've been payin' dues too long to be courtin' excommunication. Then we names the ante and you will have to put up if you want to set in the game. However, there are some things I don't understand, and one of them is, 'Why should workingmen be penalized for participatin' in the class conflict?'

"'The road to the co-operative commonwealth ain't mapped, and we will have to blaze our own trail. Some will think we ought to go this way, some will say we should turn that way, others will declare the correct route lies straight ahead; at times, a few will think we are off the road entirely, but we will find the way through. For we'll get there, Mary Jane, you can bet your boots on that; and once there, law-zee! what a time we will have tellin' of the adventures we had a-comin'!'



YARD MEN AT ALLEN TANNERY.

## THE WOPS OF KENOSHA

BY CARL SANDBURG

**W**HENEVER I went to a vaudeville performance in Chicago, I always heard Kenosha referred to in terms of jest and disparagement. All Chicago people laugh when Kenosha is mentioned at a slapstick show. I beg, therefore, that such Chicago vaudeville fans as may read this will forbear from laughter while the matters herein get started on their pathway of narration.

I believe it can be demonstrated that Kenosha, for all that it has become the butt of Chicago jokesters, can reveal contrasts of poverty and luxury, frugality and waste, "righteousness oppressed and wickedness uplifted." And these contrasts will stand out like vivid lights and brutal shadows as peculiar and amazing as any in our so-called civilization.

Kenosha, taking its out-of-town visitors by the elbow, can show them the world's largest tannery in the production of sole and harness leather. This shop, the tannery of N. R. Allen and Son, has a record of revolts among the workmen that is remarkable.

On June 18, at two o'clock in the afternoon, 100 workmen in all the various departments walked out. The foremen did not know where the men were going. That night there were hall meetings and house meetings.

The next morning, at 7 o'clock, just as the whistle blew a committee of thirty men, three from each of ten departments, walked into the office of the superintendent. They told that official, "We want a raise in wages. We want \$1 a week more for every man in the whole

300 tried to stick to their jobs but were pulled and driven out into the streets. The demand for a raise of \$1 a week had been refused and there was no offer of compromise.

That night showers of stones broke against the walls of the shops. Every window pane accessible from outside the works was shattered. The mayor and the police chief in an automobile patrolled the strike district. The next day men who tried to go back to work were beaten. The governor of the state sent Gen. Otto Falk with the Milwaukee Light Horse Squadron to the scene.

Another day and the workers were taken back, with the increase of pay granted. The managers had thought of a scheme. From that time on, every worker handling hides has been required to put across a certain number per day or he gets the cheery axe of dismissal.

Note, nevertheless, that twice since that day, a large squad of men have walked out on an afternoon, organized a revolt during the night and the next morning demanded and obtained increases of wages. It is getting to be somewhat of a habit.

Whenever this kind of a game has been tried in one lone department, it has failed.

#### SLAVE TAKING A NOON REST.

works. Out in all the departments are 400 men ready to take their tools. But they won't work a tap today unless you raise our pay."

The superintendent stepped to the telephone and called Chester Allen, the young millionaire who spends his time when he feels like it, as a manager of the works. Allen came by automobile, full power on. He looked at the faces of the Poles, Slavs and Germans on the committee. He did a little thinking and figuring. Then he granted an increase of fifty cents per week to apply throughout the entire plant. The men went back to work.

Understand, these workmen have no union, as we ordinarily understand a labor union. They have no elected officers, no dues, no oaths of membership, no office.

They have, however, developed a certain system of shop practices. And they do maintain a certain crude, spontaneous kind of organization which has been learned instead of taught.

The reason young Chester Allen offered the men an increase without anger or expostulation was because he remembered a lesson of three years ago. In July, 1909, some 1,500 workers, every employe of the tannery, went on strike. About

Thirty Italians in the bark mill walked out and made a demand one day. They were ordered off the premises and their places filled the next day. The only fear in the hearts of the managers is that the whole works may be tied up.

About 75 per cent of these workers are Poles and Slavs, the remainder being Germans, Italians and Americans. Their wages range between \$7 and \$10 a week. As prices rise from year to year and the pinch of want becomes keener, they strike.

Desperately, almost blindly, with only a bare shadow of an organization, they have massed their strength and forced their masters to raise wages. If they can achieve even as little as they have with so slight an organization, what couldn't

they do if organizers speaking their own language came to them with tried methods and principles?

The Allen tannery is part of the leather trust. Among its stockholders are millionaires. Nathan Allen was a big newspaper topic last year when he was fined for having smuggled diamonds into the port of New York, the affair connecting him with "fast" women and debaucheries that reveal the fraud back of the morals taught by the capitalist organs.

The "wops," the "hunyaks," and the "guineas," sense the injustice of these things. That's why they form a loose organization, take chances, and send a committee with demands on the managers—in Kenosha, the target of the Chicago jokesters.

## TWO KINDS OF UNIONISM

By H. SCOTT BENNETT

**T**HERE are two kinds of Unionism appealing to the working class of the world today. One belongs to the past. The other belongs to the present—and the future! One stands for disintegration, for weakness, just where strength is most required. The other is based upon principles that make for the organizing of the working class might. One is conservative, inasmuch as it conserves the blunders that the toilers have made in the past—the tragic past! It likewise conserves a system of society that makes possible the ghastly tragedy of toil. The other is scientific, because it is based upon a recognition of economic facts; revolutionary, because it recognizes that nothing short of a complete social transformation can bring permanent relief to those who toil and moil!

The different view-points entertained by these opposite forms of unionism are reflected in their actions. One seeks relief in arbitration, stone blind to the fact that this is one of the many pieces of mechanism under the control of the Master Class, and is used by them to subjugate the workers. The other form of unionism faces the Master Class upon the industrial field with

courageous mien! It declines to condone the moral wrong of exploitation by attitudinizing before a tool of the Capitalist Class, arrayed in the vestments of "identity of interests." One believes that the Working Class, when not engaged in "Arbitration," should fight in sections for a little more of the wealth that labor produces; the other believes in united action, and by such action wring all that can be obtained from the full fruits of its toil tomorrow! One is the old-time Craft Unionism; the other is a manifestation of class-conscious Industrial Unionism.

Craft Unionism grants a liecnse to its membership to scab. Industrial Unionism declares, in language unmistakable that "An injury to one is an injury to all." Craft Unionism believes it can see a harmonious relationship existing between the leech and its victim. Industrial Unionism is out to abolish the conditions that make leeches possible. Craft Unionism cries Peace! In the midst of a hot-as-hell war! Industrial Unionism cries: Fight. Up and at an infamous system of legalized theft.

\* \* \*

Freakish political parties are born of the

old time muddled and mixed unionism. Political parties that betray, mislead and dishearten the workers; political parties that with open arms receive the riff-raff, the dregs of bourgeois society!—"parsons without pulpits, storekeepers without customers, lawyers without clients," all alike are embraced!

\* \* \*

The Unionism that is stamped with the hall-mark of science, declares that the political army of Labor must be the reflex of Class-conscious revolutionary industrial organization. Revolutionary? Yes! REVOLUTIONARY! How the Socialism-by-the-back door folks love to frighten the half-baked with a word. Revolutionary! Could the Capitalist Class own and control the tools of production today if they had not Revolutionized Feudal Society? Start thinking!

\* \* \*

With muddled brain and palsied hands, Craft Unionism faces the gigantic crime of Wage slavery. Its idea of Working Class economics is worthy of an old felt hat! When it attempts to fight, it only succeeds

in making itself appear ridiculous. It is simply a back number in Working Class methods of organization. Scientific Militant Economic Organization is the great need of the hour; without it, the Ballot Box is as useless as a Throne. "Without economic organization, the day of Labor's political triumph would be the day of its defeat." We need industrialism in our skirmishes with Capitalism today: It will be indispensable in the work of transformation that awaits us upon the morrow. All Hail the United Hosts of the Proletariat! Long live Industrialism!

\* \* \*

See! With majestic steps the workers who have locked might to right march to the Socialist Republic! Their Organization demonstrates their preparedness for the Social Change! Their organic solidarity is indicative of the Coming Triumph.

\* \* \*

Behind! Aye, far behind! stands Craft Unionism, immersed in the muck and mire of Capitalist Society.

*Voice of Labor, Johannesburg, South Africa.*

Three grand old men of the New York Socialist movement. Read from left to right: Matchett, one-time Presidential candidate of the party; Fero, 80 years young, rural philosopher and humorist; Lucien Sanial, too well known to need description.

# THE NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION

## Cartoons from New York Call

**W**HAT was declared to be the most successful meeting of the Socialist party of New York was held in Auburn, N. Y., the first week in June, more than 300 delegates being in attendance. However, no particularly advanced stand was taken by the convention, a resolution by Morgenstern of Schenectady declaring for the principle of industrial unionism being voted down by 110 to 46, and the platform simply calling for "public ownership of all public utilities, to be operated for the convenience of the public and the welfare of the employees."

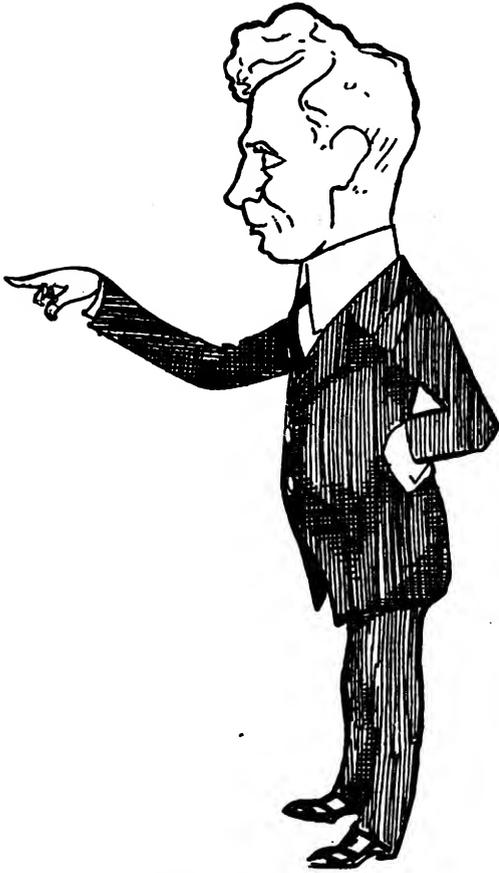
One of the warmest discussions centered around a clause in the platform calling for the abolition of all laws exempting church property from taxation. Delegate Wood, of Schenectady, moved

to strike out this paragraph, claiming that such action would hurt the party.

Hubert H. Harrison opposed the motion, saying that the church was attacking the Socialist party, it being a mighty financial factor, and urged that it be voted down.

Mayor Lunn, of Schenectady, opposed the insertion of this paragraph and proposed a paragraph calling for the abolition of laws exempting all property from taxation, excepting property owned by the nation, State and municipality. Algernon Crapsey, of Rochester, also urged the convention against passing the resolution calling for the taxation of church property.

Henry L. Slobodin said that the fact that church property is exempt from taxation shows that it is working in the



HENRY L. SLOBODIN.

interest of the capitalist class against the working class, and urged that the clause stand in the platform. Frank Cassidy, of Buffalo, urged the delegates not to mix the church question in the platform, and stated that the Socialists were fighting against the capitalist class and not religion, and asked the clause to be voted down.

William Maily said that it was about time for the Socialist party to come out and fight the church. The church has been fighting Socialism for years and has now come out openly and attacks it every time it gets a chance, and before the campaign is over the church and especially the Catholic church, will be out attacking Socialism.

John Mullen said that church property is just as good as any other property, and said he did not see any reason why it should be exempt from taxation.

William E. Duffy, of Syracuse, spoke against the clause and said it was not the business of the Socialist party to mix in religious questions. U. Solomon and Delegate Sheehan, of Albany, also spoke against the Socialist party mixing in religious questions. The offending clause was finally stricken out and the Lunn amendment was adopted.

Among the most active delegates were those from King County, which comprises the city of Brooklyn. The Brooklyn "reds" were strong advocates of revolutionary politics and unionism.

State Secretary Solomon's report showed that the cause is going rapidly ahead in New York State, every county except six being now organized and the people everywhere giving a friendly reception to the message of Socialism. The average membership for the first six



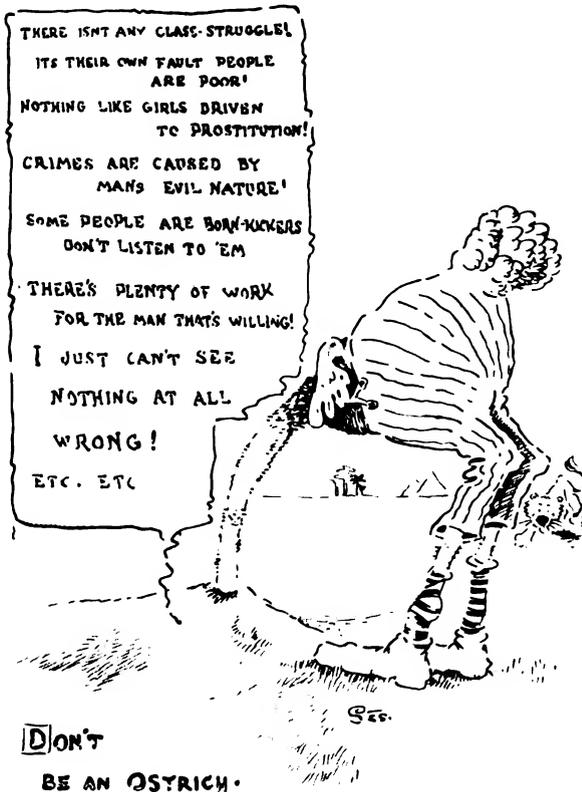
TIMOTHY WALSH (JOHN D.)

Well-Known Agitator and Writer. Tim Works on Wall Street. Note Figure in Background.

months of this year was shown to be 12,700, a decided increase from the 2,900 of 1906.

A strong ticket was named, headed by Charles Edward Russell for governor and Gustave Strebel for lieutenant gov-

ernor, Carrie W. Allen, secretary of State, O. Hoxie, State Controller, Henry L. Slobodin, Attorney General, Frank Ehrenfried, State Treasurer, and Dr. Charles Furman for State Engineer and Surveyor.



# How Capitalist Parties Are Financed

BY

GUSTAVUS MYERS

**B**Y ascertaining who supplies the funds of political parties you at once are able to know who controls those parties. "You pays your money, and you takes your choice" runs a popular saying, and one strictly to the point. The millions of dollars spent in capitalist political campaigns certainly do not come from the working class; that is self-evident. At least the workers do not consciously or directly contribute. They have a difficult enough time managing to pay their bills. From whom, then, do the campaign funds come?

They come from individual capitalists, corporations and trusts, and a certain part is extorted in the form of "voluntary contributions" from office holders. But by far the greatest share, running into millions of dollars, is supplied by capitalists. It is not necessary to go back very far for specific examples. Nor need it be said that despite laws which require publicity of campaign contributions, the capitalist political organizations cover up the facts as to where their big campaign contributions come from. They could not well afford to reveal these secrets to the mass of voters. If they let out the truth the workers would clearly see that the capitalists, corporations and trusts of all kinds who have been bitterly fighting labor, disrupting and smashing unions, and calling out the militia to shoot down workers in strikes, were the very parties who financed the old political parties.

But now and then in some investigation some significant facts are brought out, and although these facts are but a few of the whole, they give a lucid indication of what the entire truth must be. If a survey were taken of the last thirty

or forty years, not to mention the previous decades, a long and startling list of capitalist campaign funds could be presented. In giving corruption funds to both Republican and Democratic organizations, Jay Gould was simply following a rule long since established by other capitalists. But it is not necessary to delve into the past for examples. Recent disclosures supply enough of them for the present purpose of elucidation.

In the great investigation of the New York, Equitable and Mutual life insurance companies, in 1905, certain definite facts were disclosed. It appeared that the New York Life Insurance Company had contributed nearly \$50,000 in 1892 to the Republican National Committee and that it gave similar amounts in 1896 and 1900 for the same purpose. The Equitable gave \$50,000 in 1904 to the Republican National Committee, and had also for many years been giving \$30,000 annually to the New York State Republican Committee. The Mutual Life Insurance Company also made large and continuous contributions. But let it not be supposed that these companies were so prejudiced and partial as to single out only the Republican organization for especial favor. No, indeed. With superb impartiality they gave as much to the Democratic organizations. "The insurance companies," reported the New York legislative investigating committee (the "Armstrong Committee") "regularly contributed large sums to the campaign funds of both the Republican and Democratic parties." (See Report of the Legislative Insurance Committee, 1906, Vol. X, pages 62, 398, etc.) In fact, all of the large insurance companies regularly gave contributions not only for national

political campaigns, but also for state campaigns.

If the insurance companies did this, what of all the other corporations—railroad, mining, manufacturing, water-power, street railway, gas, electricity, banking and the aggregation of other corporations? What of the big magnates and the multitude of trusts that they controlled? If one investigation disclosed these details regarding a few insurance companies, what would have been the total disclosures had it been possible to examine the records of the thousands of other corporations? Now, you can get a glimpse of where the capitalist parties get their immense campaign funds. If a municipal campaign alone in a city like New York costs about \$2,000,000, what must a national campaign cost? Many times that sum.

But before considering other specific facts it is well to bear in mind those contributions made by the insurance companies. Who controlled those companies? The biggest capitalists in the country. J. Pierpont Morgan controlled the New York Life Insurance Company—Morgan the organizer of the Steel Trust, the Steamship Trust and a number of other vast trusts—Morgan who ruled more than 55,000 miles of railroad—Morgan who is now a director of sixty-one huge corporations—Morgan in whose private banking company the stupendous sum of \$500,000,000 in cash is deposited largely by the corporations that he controls.

And who controlled the Mutual Life Insurance Company? Some of the most powerful capitalists in the world—magnates such as William Rockefeller and Henry H. Rogers of the Standard Oil Company, Cornelius Vanderbilt, George F. Baker, James Speyer and similar others. Rockefeller was an officer or director of thirty-one large corporations including railroads, mines, industries, gas plants, etc. Rogers was an officer or director of twenty-five large and varied corporations; Cornelius Vanderbilt of twenty; Speyer of seventeen; Baker of more than thirty. Likewise their associates on the Mutual's board of trustees, were all officers or directors of a multitude of corporations. J. Pierpont Morgan, too, was represented on that board.

Screened behind figureheads Morgan was also active in the affairs of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, but hardly less so was that memorable freebooter E. H. Harriman in league with the bankers Kuhn, Loeb and Company. Beginning his career as an errand boy, Harriman "accumulated" a fortune of at least \$149,000,000; and after a campaign of vast fraud, bribery, stockjobbing and theft controlled the Union, the Central and the Southern Pacific Railroads, the Illinois Central and other roads.

How Harriman turned a campaign for the verbose paragon of all the virtues—Theodore Roosevelt—is a matter tolerably fresh in memory. While Roosevelt was posing as a "dear friend of labor" and incessantly giving out gratuitous and wordy—oh! such wordy! advice on "honesty in politics," "decent citizenship" and the like, he was endearing himself to Harriman, but not, however, by his fine preachings. Harriman was not the man who cared about phrases; the solid coin was what he was in quest of and tools to help him.

When Roosevelt was governor of New York he had proved very accommodating to Harriman. Harriman had consummated the first steps of a gigantic job in his capture of the Chicago and Alton Railroad, and his issue of a vast output of bonds and stock representing nothing but the cost of printing them. But where were these spurious bonds to be sold? Upon whom could they be saddled? Harriman had it all planned out; they would be unloaded upon the savings banks. But a special law was required in order to allow the savings banks to exchange money for these bonds. Harriman lobbied a bill through the New York legislature authorizing the savings banks to do so, and Governor Theodore Roosevelt signed the bill, making it a law. By that fraudulent bond operation Harriman and associates "made" fully \$32,000,000 in profits.

But much later, when Roosevelt was president, he and Harriman had a falling out over something or other. Then appeared that memorable letter of Harriman to Sidney Webster in which Harriman related how he had been summoned to the White House by President Roose-

velt in the closing days of the 1904 campaign when Roosevelt was a candidate for election. Harriman, in that letter, went on to tell how he (Harriman) returned to New York to raise a campaign fund of \$260,000 by which "at least 50,000 votes were turned in the City of New York, making a difference of 100,000 votes in the general result." Harriman said his personal contribution to this fund was \$50,000.

So long as Harriman was alive, Roosevelt did not dare categorically deny the specifications. Everybody knows, of course, that Roosevelt has a genial way of calling anyone who questions his word a liar. But Harriman was an astute man. No doubt he had documents, and was prepared to produce them. In this case Roosevelt considered it wise not to provoke Harriman too far. But after Harriman and Webster were dead, and when Roosevelt, backed by George W. Perkins of the Steel Trust, was moving heaven and earth to get a renomination, a different version of the affair suddenly appeared in the form of a letter written on December 15, 1911, by George W. Sheldon, treasurer of the Republican National Committee. Sheldon averred that it was Odell, chairman of the New York State Republican Committee, who appealed for aid to Harriman through Cornelius N. Bliss, treasurer of the Republican National Committee, and that Harriman then raised \$160,000 which in addition to \$80,000 raised by Bliss was given directly to Odell. As for Odell he declined to make any statement, and Bliss was dead when Sheldon's assertion appeared.

These political worthies differed as to details but not as to the essential fact, namely that a large fund was hurriedly raised at a critical time in the campaign, and that it was used in Roosevelt's behalf. We have Harriman's written word for it that it made a difference of 100,000 votes in the general result. For what purposes it was employed we can easily and unerringly conjecture.

While this corruption fund was being hastily gathered—and it was but a part of the great total of campaign funds used that year—Roosevelt was, of course, indulging in his usual declamations for

public effect. How he lashed the "malefactors of great wealth!" With what strings of windy words did he denounce "both lawless wealth and lawless labor leader," and demand that all, high and low, rich and poor, respect the law. That the big capitalists smiled in secret at this actor's antics, well knowing that they had him in complete tow, is a fact. We do not have to suspect it; we know it, thanks to the disclosures made by Wharton Barker, a Philadelphia banker and at one time a middle-of-the-road (People's party) candidate for president. Testifying before the United States Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, on November 29, 1911, Barker swore that he had been told by a Wall street banking magnate that in the campaign of 1904 when Roosevelt was a candidate for the presidency, Wall street interests had made a bargain with Roosevelt. "He is to 'holler' all he wants to," the magnate was quoted as saying, "and by and by—not immediately, but in due time"—certain legislation demanded by the big railroad magnates was to be passed.

That Roosevelt is a past master, graduated and confirmed, in the great art of "hollering" no one will deny; it was a very satisfactory performance to the magnates who wanted precisely a man of that caliber—a charlatan who could delude people by his big talk while in act giving the capitalists everything they wanted. You will notice, furthermore, that although Roosevelt was thundering against the "malefactors of wealth," not one of those trust magnates was seriously disturbed; they kept both wealth and liberty.

"Respect the law" was another of Roosevelt's grand slogans, but how he respected it was again conspicuously shown in the panic of 1907 when he allowed Morgan's Steel Trust, in violation of all law, to gobble the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, and make a profit of \$670,000,000 on the deal.

On the political field the capitalists make a blustering show of violently differing with one another. But this is an integral part of the farce. Some magnates call themselves Republicans, others Democrats, but they are all on the look-

out for big capitalism and their own interests every day in the year. Examine the lists of directors of big corporations, and you will find that there is no political line drawn. There they are, both Republicans and Democrats, not to speak of "Reformers" also.

Thomas F. Ryan, for example, labels himself a Democrat. He started his career with nothing; he is now said to own at least \$225,000,000 of wealth, not including his vast African possessions which he obtained in partnership with the late King Leopold of Belgium and which are said to be worth as much more. He and William C. Whitney were associated in the looting of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company in New York City. By fraudulent manipulation of construction charges and accounts and in various other ways the treasury of this road was robbed of at least \$90,000,000. Whitney was President Cleveland's campaign manager, and he married a daughter of Henry B. Payne, treasurer of the Standard Oil Company, who bribed his way into the United States senate. When Cleveland ran a third time for the presidency, in 1892, Whitney was his campaign fund accumulator and general manager. It will be recalled by the way that one of the scandals later developing was that of James J. Van Alen, one of the Newport "smart set" who, in return for a campaign contribution of \$50,000, was promised an ambassadorship abroad.

With the wealth plundered in different directions both Whitney and Ryan became great lights in the Democratic party, and Ryan became a trust magnate of the first order. Ryan and others organized the Gas Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Rubber Trust and other combinations, and he seized control of the Seaboard Air Line and other railroads. He also became a very devout member of the Roman Catholic church, even carrying his piety so far as to pay for a cathedral in Richmond, Va. Meanwhile Ryan was not omitting his duties as a leading Democrat. He, or the corporations controlled by him, contributed large sums regularly to Tammany Hall and the Democratic party in general. It is said that Ryan contributed \$500,000 to the Democratic National Campaign Fund in

1900, when he, August Belmont and other notable Democrats caused Parker to be nominated for president. Assuredly, Ryan is actuated by "pure patriotism"; who would be so cruel as to suspect him of working for his own pocket? The thought is unbelievable.

Now, pray, who was Ryan's chief attorney in all of his devious financial transactions? We will let Harriman speak—Harriman who knew his facts quite well. "Ryan's success in all of his manipulations," wrote Harriman in that famous letter to Sydney Webster, "traction deals, tobacco combination, manipulation of the State Trust Company into the Morton Trust Company, the Shoe and Leather Bank into the Western National Bank, and then again into the Bank of Commerce, thus covering up his tracks, has been done by the adroit mind of Elihu Root."

Who is there that needs an introduction to Elihu Root? Who needs to be reminded that Root is one of the great and brilliant lights in the Republican party? Who does not know his career—how when a young attorney he defended the great thief, Boss Tweed of Tammany Hall, and received from Tweed certain real estate which Tweed had got by his plunderings; how during his long life he did the deft legal work for capitalists and corporations and at the same time was an active leader in the Republican organization, manipulating conventions and legislatures, and how he became Roosevelt's chief aide and Secretary of State. Yes, this is the same Elihu Root who is now a United States Senator from New York.

How broad minded these capitalists are! Republicans have no prejudices against Democrats nor Democrats against Republicans. What nobility of soul and spirit they display in acting with such superb unity! When a demand arose that Ryan and associates be criminally prosecuted for their gigantic lootings of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, and when because of these plunderings that railway was on the verge of bankruptcy, this harmonious spirit between the capitalist brethren was again rapturously shown. The attorney-general of New York was on the point of

asking the court to appoint receivers. Ryan was on his way home from Europe when he heard the news. Such a move would never do; if hostile receivers were appointed there was no telling what might happen. Ryan got busy, and so did his lawyers. A petition was hurriedly drawn up, presented to the accommodating Judge Lacombe and signed by him, appointing Douglas Robinson and Adrian Joline as receivers. Who was Robinson? Why, he is Roosevelt's brother-in-law, and Roosevelt was president at the time. To be sure, Robinson was selected because of his "eminent qualities"; the thought could never have entered the head of so pure a patriot, so conscientious a Democrat as Ryan that the mighty power of Robinson's brother-in-law, Roosevelt, could be thus enlisted in Ryan's behalf.

Early this year—1912—more illuminative incidents took place. The original promoter of the candidacy of Woodrow Wilson for the presidential nomination was "Colonel" George Harvey, editor of "Harper's Weekly." Wilson joyfully accepted the booming of that publication until the sinister news got abroad that the real, practical owner of the Harper establishment was J. Pierpont Morgan. Wilson had known this fact all along, and so had the initiated. The trouble started when Wilson realized that the public were "getting on to it." The eminent educator saw that it would never do to have Morgan's tag too conspicuously on his coat front. Gentlemen may have their private understandings, but the voting public must not have a look in. With a fine ostentatious outburst of virtuous indignation Wilson requested Harvey to cease his eulogies. It may be added that in his "historical" works, Wilson has poured adulation upon the career of Grover Cleveland, who, among other acts, presented the J. Pierpont Morgan syndicate with \$18,000,000 profit in the scandalous Government bond deal in 1894.

The second incident was the rupture between that industrious Democrat, Henry Watterson, and Woodrow Wilson. Watterson stated that he had been authorized to solicit funds for the movement to nominate Wilson for the presidency, and that the illustrious Thomas

F. Ryan was one of the contributors. Wilson virtually called this statement a lie, and there was a fine sequel of challenges and recriminations. If credulity can be stretched far enough to believe Wilson's repudiation this occasion was the first in decades that Ryan's stealthy hand was not to be traced. But no one who knows capitalist politics and Ryan's methods would feel justified in terming Watterson a fabricator.

The third incident was Roosevelt's defense of the Steel Trust in one of his published articles late in 1911. The fact came out that before its publication he had submitted the manuscript of this article for revision to George W. Perkins, Morgan's right-hand man in the Steel Trust and other trusts. It had been given out that Perkins had retired from the firm of J. P. Morgan & Company, but he was phenomenally busy for a retired magnate. Reports were later freely published in the leading newspapers that Perkins was engineering and financing Roosevelt's campaign for re-election. These reports became so insistent that Perkins, early in 1912, found it necessary to deny them. He was, he said, acting purely in his capacity of a private citizen.

Assuredly. Who would be so base as to accuse Perkins and the interests represented by him of using sordid money? Such high-minded patriots are concerned only with the welfare of their country; pity it is that Diogenes is not around; he would only have to take a trip to Wall street and there he would find not merely one honest man, but hundreds of honest, conscientious, pure-souled men like Morgan and Perkins. Perkins is so very conscientious that when he was vice-president of the New York Life Insurance Company he pocketed a commission on an insurance policy issued on his own life, and as for Morgan's sterling patriotism, the present writer has shown in his "History of the Great American Fortunes" only to read Gustavus Meyers' "History of the Great American Fortunes" to learn how at the beginning of the Civil War, Morgan, through a dummy, bought up 5,000 condemned rifles at \$3.50 each, and unloaded them upon the Union army at \$22 apiece. Morgan and Ryan may be

“opposed” politically, but they work together when it comes to business; it will be remembered that it was to Morgan that Ryan recently sold the Equitable Life Assurance Company.

The facts given here give only a glimpse, but a sufficient glimpse, of how the capitalist parties are financed. Those parties are an investment, and are part of the business of capitalism. The capitalists buy legislators, municipal officials, congressmen, senators, judges and presidents more easily than a worker buys a mechanical tool. Whether these officials are labeled Republican, Democratic or Reform is immaterial; all stand for capitalism, and all unite in enforcing the exploitation and repression of the working class. The capitalists who financed Taft’s campaign are the same who have financed campaigns of both Republicans

and Democrats. To use their own classic and expressive phrase they are in business for business, and not for sentiment or health. And in supporting these parties, the mass of the working class in finding the police, militia, regular troops and injunctions used against workers, have got precisely what they were deluded into voting for.

Turn, however, to the Socialist party. You will find that this party is financed wholly by monthly dues paid by the members of its organizations. No contributions from outside sources are allowed or received. It is supported and maintained by the working class, and the working class absolutely controls its principles and policy. And any member who may happen to depart from the strict lines of working class action is instantly expelled.

## NO LABOR PARTY REPRESENTATIVES

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

**A**T the recent joint meeting of the National Executive Committee and the Campaign Committee at which no quorum of the former was present, it was decided to bring J. Kier Hardie to this country for a lecture tour during the campaign. This can be done only at great expense, but aside from the question of the expense involved, Mr. J. Kier Hardie is not a member of the British Socialist Party. Whatever his past record may have been, he is now identified with the Independent Labor Party and as a member of Parliament was elected on the Labor Party ticket, which is generally recognized by the Socialists of Great Britain as the tail of the Liberal Party. Mr. Hardie’s position on the Conciliation Bill, a compromise measure, supported by him, is intended to give votes to women in Great Britain, but only to those who are property holders. He

thus places himself in opposition to the general Socialist movement for unrestricted woman’s suffrage.

Mr. Hardie is the close associate of such men as J. Ramsey McDonald and Willie Anderson, who in a measure are responsible for the unfavorable result of the general strike of the coal miners, all of them having given their influence to the establishment of the Minimum Wage Bill, which acted as a mean of stampeding the miners who were standing as a unit for an increase of wages.

The Socialist party of the United States cannot afford to stand sponsor for anyone, especially any speaker, whose efforts and influence and very personality would tend toward the thought of establishing a Labor party in this country. If speakers are to be imported let it be those whose position on the class struggle is clear.

SAN QUENTIN, present abode of the McNamaras and prospective residence of Clarence Darrow, is no better and no worse than ninety-five per cent of our prisons. It is just a fair sample of society's brutality toward the underdog. It boasts, however, one peculiar instrument of torture invented years ago by Martin Aquierre, then warden. Every "good" warden invents a new instrument for "disciplining" prisoners. That is the way he proves his fitness for the office. Flogging had been forbidden by the legislature. The straight jacket invented by Warden Aquierre took its place at San Quentin, the "derrick" at Folsom. Donald Lowrie estimates that at least fifteen hundred men have been tortured by these two instruments in California.

The case of Edward Morrell is typical. He served nearly seventeen years in San Quentin for his connection with the Sontag-Evans band of outlaws. Sontag and Evans, it may be remarked in passing, were originally peaceable homesteaders. Their lands were "legally" stolen from them and in revenge they turned against society and became bandits. Twenty years ago they were the terror of all California. Some time after Morrell was imprisoned an attempted mutiny occurred. Responsibility for it was thrown by the guilty persons upon him and although asleep at the time of the outbreak, he

was dragged forth, accused of having firearms concealed in the prison, and ordered to produce them. Being innocent, he could not do so, and since he could not—or would not—he was ordered into solitary confinement until he did. He remained there for five years—in a cell about four feet wide by eight feet long. No light entered. Bathing was out of the question. Bread and water—especially water—was his only food. The five years of solitary confinement were enlivened however by the occasional use of the straight jacket, derrick, and other instruments of torture. He is now touring California, lecturing to crowded houses everywhere, telling the people what goes on behind the walls of San Quentin—a place where a reporter is still looked upon askance and a camera is considered more dangerous than dynamite.

Jack Oppenheimer was the first man to experience the straight jacket. Morrell heard his groans and shrieks for a day and a night, in his solitary cell. Then he deliberately brought the torture upon himself *as a relief* from hopeless seclusion and monotony.

The jacket as known to prison officials is not the mild instrument of the same name used in asylums. It is a kind of half-coat of heavy canvas, reaching from the collar-bone nearly to the knees. San Quentin has jackets of eight sizes to "fit" any victim. There are two pockets

into which the prisoner places his hands. His arms are pressed against his body, shoulders are pressed forward and the jacket slipped over them from the front. Then the victim is laid on the floor, face down, and the jacket is laced up the back. But that is only the beginning. The edges of the jacket, when it is laced as tight as a man can breathe in—as tight as he *thinks* he can stand—are nearly a foot apart. But it has merely been “fitted on.” Torture has not commenced. In a few minutes the guard will tighten the ropes. Every few hours he will come in and tighten them again. He will use a stake to aid in twisting the rope tighter, much as a man tightens a fence wire. Three days and nights of this torture leaves the victim unable to move. His flesh is parboiled and dead. Ribs are often broken, internal organs permanently displaced. Morrell was given 105 hours as his first dose—the first of many. He has spent six weeks in the straight jacket. He says the first pain is about the heart; there is a rush of blood to the head, followed by suffocation. He

felt like one being drowned. Mercifully delirium sets in early.

The State Senate was investigating San Quentin once upon a time. Morrell was one of the witnesses examined. He told the truth. Result! That very night the straight jacket was put on him in the usual way. He laid in it for days. It was tightened till the canvas seemed about to break. Then the officials got another jacket, put it on from behind and laced it up in front. They intended to kill him. He heard a guard ask another if it was desirable to let him die in the jacket? But that seldom happens. The victims are taken out, put in bed, and left to die “naturally,” so the prison physician can report it as a case of heart failure.

The writer once saw the use of the jacket demonstrated by Mr. Morrell. A workingman from the audience had volunteered his services and the jacket was “fitted” on as I have described. About ninety seconds of even that “fitting” sufficed to make that strong and husky worker beg to be released. He thought he was already in for the real thing.

They tried the “derrick” on Morrell, borrowing the idea from the other state prison at Folsom. This is a simple arrangement of cords and pulleys. The victim’s hands are handcuffed behind his back. The handcuffs are then hooked on to the “derrick” and he is pulled up by the wrists till his toes barely touch the floor. A great many have died as the result of this torture. It inflicts permanent injuries and death may result months or even years later.

Morrell was once sentenced to fifty hours in the derrick. At the end of thirty hours they had to let him down to save life. When strung up again he hung limp like a dead beef or pig. They had to let him down frequently after that, as he suffered from bleeding at the kidneys. It required thirteen days to complete the fifty hour sentence. But he was only *one victim out of fifteen hundred.*

The California legislature has refused to forbid the use of these instruments of torture. They are not used in presence of visitors, of course. The present warden of San Quentin is reported to be, compared with his predecessors, a hu-

#### THE STRAIGHT JACKET.

A Favorite Method of Punishing Convicts for Trivial Offenses. The Victim, if Laced Too Tightly, May Be Crippled for Life.



THE BULL RINGS.

This Form of Torture—Otherwise Known as the "Hook" and "Strappado"—is in Widespread Use. It Causes Excruciating Agony.

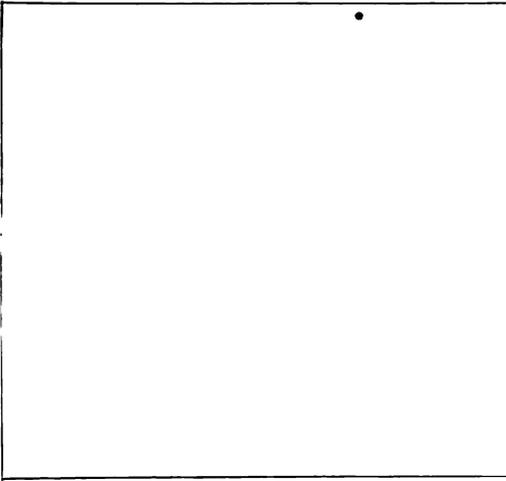
mane man. Thanks to a state-wide agitation the straight jacket is seldom used—at least the public believes so. But the lives of 1,700 men at San Quentin are absolutely at the mercy of the warden and board of directors and their good intentions, if they have any, are often frustrated by "trusties" and others under them.

San Quentin is still a field for graft. Within its walls, as outside in the business world, the successful crook has an easy time. Money smooths over the entrance examination and enables him to smuggle in certain forbidden luxuries. Money is just as essential toward securing a good cell as in hiring a good room at a hotel. Money insures him more liberties and enables him to shirk his share of toil.

For instance, the principal industry at

San Quentin is the manufacture of jute. Every convict assigned to the jute mill is required to do a certain amount of work a day. Individual ability and skill are not considered. The skilled, experienced workers can do the required work in six hours. The green man cannot possibly complete his task in the given time. For his failure to do so he must be "disciplined." For errors in his work, such as a green man cannot help making, he must also be "disciplined." Repeated mistakes mean more severe discipline, ranging all the way from twenty-four hours on bread and water through a dozen forms of torture. Apparently, the officials think that starvation torture and solitary confinement tend to make a man a skilled jute worker. The green man, the slow and dull worker, gets plenty of "discipline." And there are many, many workers who after years of labor in the mill are still unable to do their work sufficiently well to escape punishment. But the wealthy convict does not have to become skilled. Some of the fast workers, after completing their own tasks, will do the rich man's share also. A small piece of tobacco will buy an hour's labor.

But San Quentin is not the only barbarous institution in California. A few days ago a boy attempted to run away from the State Reformatory at Tone. Society would not have been seriously undermined if he had escaped. But a guard shot and killed him as he ran. Some newspapers gave the news an inch of space. Many ignored it. The instance is typical of California's efforts at reforming her boys. Tone has one of the leading schools for crime in the country. Some years ago that Reformatory sent a boy down to San Quentin, branded as an incorrigible. A record of his offenses against discipline covered many pages. The Tone officials hoped that the more rigorous discipline of San Quentin would bring him to time. The boy's shoulders were bent. He looked like a scared rabbit. But he did *not* look vicious or bad. Every sound, every footstep, caused him to turn. If any one approached him from behind he would duck his head, dodging as from an impending blow. When they stripped him in the office they



#### THE "HUMMING BIRD."

Chained in a Metal Tank the Victim is Tortured with Electricity Until His Muscles Cord and He Faints from Pain.

found his back to be one mass of welts. He will carry those scars to his grave. His wrists and ankles were calloused from the chains he had worn. Luckily, he fell under the care of Morrell, then head trusty. He was put to work in the machine shop. He developed a talent for mechanical drawing and studied at night. From the first he was trusted. He was never "disciplined" at San Quentin. Today he is a successful inventor, worth \$60,000 or \$75,000, has a family and is a respected citizen of his city. It is not necessary to give his name. But the Tone Reformatory is still manufacturing criminals. And Society as a whole is busily engaged in making crime necessary. The average worker is about thirty days ahead of the bread line—or prison. If he is of the rabbit class of humans he goes to the bread-line. If he has brains, courage and skill he tries—though vainly—to beat Society at its own game

#### THE WATER CURE.

The Prisoner Endures All the Agonies of Strangulation, and Frequently Succumbs.

and goes to prison. More than three thousand prosecuting attorneys earn their salaries by sending men to jail. As many judges divide their time between imposing sentences on one class of criminals and devising means for keeping the makers of criminals out of jail. Three hundred thousand men and women, guilty and innocent, but ALL victims of capitalism, are wearing away their lives behind prison walls. They have brains and energy. They are no better and no worse than ninety-five per cent of the men and women on the outside. Not as bad, perhaps, as those who uphold the system which makes criminals. They are merely more unfortunate. They might be useful, constructive members of society. Most of them want to be. But society in its wisdom has made them as useless and dangerous—but no more so—than the banker, soldier, preacher and detective.

TIED UP.

# THE ATLANTIC TRANSPORT WORKERS STRIKE

BY

FREDERICK SUMNER BOYD

**O**UT of misery and degradation grown unbearable has come another proletarian revolt — the strike of the Atlantic coast transport workers, the strike being called and organized by the comparatively newly-formed National Transport Workers' Federation, which is industrial in spirit and method, having for one of its moving spirits Jaime Vidal, industrialist and labor organizer.

Upwards of 30,000 workers are already involved in practically every port on the Atlantic coast from Maine to Texas and Cuba. Vidal declares that it is not only for a wage raise that the strike is called, but to organize and protect the transport

worker, whether he be sailor, longshoreman, fireman, coal passer, hoisting engineer, waiter, oiler, watertender or checker.

The strike is to some extent a continuation of the general strike last year of the British seamen and transport workers. The British strikers urged their fellows the world over to strike with them, and in response to the appeal the workers this side of the Atlantic quit work. Their own conditions were as bad as those in Britain, and they would have won last year but for the cowardice or treachery of certain "labor leaders." But conditions remained the same and the fight was merely delayed for a year.

No better accounts of the working conditions can be given than the following from *Labor Culture*, the official organ of the Federation:

"You, sailors, slaving away for a ridiculous wage under the contemptuous commands of a captain who though himself exploited has no consideration for you, except perhaps when the ship's in trouble. You, who in cold or wet weather have to be on deck or shin up a mast and often become the plaything of the waves and winds.

"You, cooks, who pass sleepless nights preparing the delicious dishes to be tasted and nibbled at by the over-fed passengers while you are sweating your lives away before the kitchen ovens merely to please those who reap a profit off your work! Your fellow workers aboard the same ship go to bed hungry—or take what they can get out of the "black pan," warmed over for them, as though they were animals to be fed bones already gnawed at!

"You, stokers, slaving away in those floating hells face to face with red hot furnaces and becoming incapacitated in the prime of your youth because you have chosen to exhaust your health for a petty wage. You, who crawl over heaps of coal in search of fresh air to breathe, often fainting from a lack of it after you had worked overtime under the gibes of your bosses.

"You, stewards, who have to smile and put up with the insults of the chief! You who have to endure the ill temper of the men you serve, having to lower yourself to the doing of things which no steward nor any man should be called upon to do.

"You, longshoremen, who slave away in the darkness of the warehouses at the risk of being crushed to death under barrels and cases of massive weight. You, whose work is so uncertain and so poorly paid. You who are divided by race prejudice and exploited by your own fellows as well as by your bosses. You who most of all need organization.

"Comrades, unite; for the hour of battle is approaching. Think of the long years of oppression which we have already suffered. It's about time we were putting an end to it. Let's burst asunder the chains that bind us! Let's take advantage of

this golden opportunity! Remember, to be respected these days, we must be united. Then, let us unite! Workers of the World, Unite and Fight!"

Again, M. H. Woolman, in "A Word to You, Longshoreman!" says on June 15: "Over there in Brooklyn the Warehouse Freight Handlers get a miserable wage of 20c an hour. If a ship comes in and he gets through in a couple days, he has earned a dollar or two. And that measley dollar is to last him until there is more work to be done, until another ship comes in! Isn't that a shame? But who's to blame. Are not the men themselves? Haven't they the collective power in their hands to put an end to such capitalist contempt? Five or six hundred men are sometimes at work on one dock, unloading six freight steamers, three on each side and all at once. Then comes the day when they havn't a thing to do—but ORGANIZE!"

The issue of June 1 under the heading "A Burning Shame," tells of the abuses heaped upon the marine:

"If the life of the seaman (about which we have had to complain so often) is bad, worse yet is the life of the marine—the man who has to slave away on a collier of the war fleet for a pretty 35 dollars a month.

"Besides that they fine a man ten dollars or more for the merest trifle, as if they were soldiers. In order to get a job on a collier a fellow has to pay a certain amount, and WHOEVER LATER BALKS AT KEEPING UP THIS GIVING OF PRESENTS IS FIRED."

To remedy to some extent their vile conditions of work the Longshoremen presented the following demands:

Day work, 7 a. m. to 6 p. m., 35 cents an hour.  
 Night work, 7 p. m. to 12 m., 50 cents an hour.  
 Night work, 1 a. m. to 6 a. m., 60 cents an hour.  
 Sunday, 7 a. m. to 6 p. m., 70 cents an hour.  
 Sunday night, double Sunday rate.  
 Meal hours (12-1 noon, 6-7 p. m., 12-1 m., 6-7 a. m.), 70 cents an hour.

Men working over twenty hours to a finish, to receive last overtime rate.

Fifteen minutes before or after an hour, to call for a half hour.

Men to be hired or knocked off on even time, hour or half hour.

Five minutes to be allowed for putting hatches on.

No bonus or extra pay is to be allowed to gangway men or headers.

## NOTHING DOING ON THE DOCKS.

No timekeeper is to have the power to hire men or blackball them.

No dockmen are to be used to load or discharge lighters for outside contractors, excepting over the side.

No bag stuffs weighing over 100 lbs. to be carried on the docks. Trucks to be used inside when possible.

No case goods to be carried on docks.

The following, taken from the official circular of the Strike Committee, constitute the demands of the maritime unions:

"Shipment of crews by the union.

"Four hours on and eight off.

"Sanitary improvements in the sleeping quarters.

"A new bill of fare.

"Also other justified and necessary demands, such as the abolition of the medical examination, and the payment of salaries per trip, etc."

These demands were presented by the Union of Firemen, the demands presented by the Union of Sailors being analogous, yet adapted to their trade.

The demands were refused by the companies, which include the big Morgan combine, against which the biggest fight

is necessarily conducted, and a general strike was ordered, to go into effect at 10 a. m., on June 29.

Saturday morning there were to be seen stretched along the waterfront of New York a long line of policemen, on foot and mounted, which served to awaken the interest of the passersby. Even before 10 o'clock the crews of certain ships began to pour forth from the docks of the various companies, among them sailors, firemen and waiters. Everywhere were to be seen the seamen, grips in hand, making for the headquarters of the union. The enthusiasm was great. At 10 o'clock there were no crews left on the American ships in the port of New York. Some English ships were also struck.

At 12 o'clock noon (sailing time for the majority of the ships) some were towed to the Statue of Liberty! Think of that; And there they were stuck, like a stationary fleet of merchant marine, while the companies went everywhere during the afternoon in search of strikebreakers to take the places of the strikers. The purpose of the shipping companies was plain.

They towed their vessels out to the Statue of Liberty because in last year's strike many of the passengers came back ashore, tired of waiting for the sailing of the ships.

Thus the companies held their passengers prisoners for more than eight hours in front of the Statue of Liberty!

Within a few hours the Strike Committee received telegrams from practically every port on the Atlantic Coast from Maine to Texas and Cuba, stating that ships were tied up and Longshoremen on strike.

The companies, meantime, had been preparing, and had housed scabs in boats along the river, and with these men, incompetent, drunken and vicious, and with the help of the authorities in winking at flagrant acts of peonage, some ships managed to clear New York, many hours late and with a fair chance of never been seen again save as derelicts.

But the most significant thing in connection with the strike is the use by the government of naval seamen to man the ships of the Panama line, which is government owned. In any considerable battle between the capitalist and the proletariat, such as a general strike of transport workers, the whole of society is affected, and class interests as distinct group interests are at stake. Under these conditions the capitalist class calls to its aid all its forces to crush the revolt of its slaves, and then is seen the true character of the State. The State then proclaims itself by its acts as the representative, not of society, but of a class, the dominant class, today—the capitalist class.

This has been demonstrated in Italy, France, Germany, England, and is now again demonstrated in these United States by the action of the State in compelling United States naval seamen, working men themselves, to scab on their fellows and thus to aid in breaking a strike for better living and working conditions.

The National Transport Workers Federation was formed after the A. F. of L. Atlanta, Ga., convention, when the Waterfront Federation asked that a Transport Workers Department be organized on the lines of the Building Trades Department. Andrew Furuseth of the International

Seamen's Union, moved that the matter be referred to the Executive Council, which is the A. F. of L. morgue, to which is transferred undesirable motions that it is not polite openly to oppose. The Waterfront Federation then gave way to the Transport Workers Federation, composed, until a little time before the strike, of the following affiliated unions:

Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders of the Atlantic and Gulf.

Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union.

Marine Coast Seamen's Union.

Marine Cooks and Stewards Association of the Atlantic and Gulf.

Harbor Boatsmen's Union of New York and vicinity.

National Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

General Longshoremen of the Port of New York.

International Longshoremen's Association.

International Union of Steam Engineers.

The Marine Cooks and Stewards are—or, rather, have been—manipulated by one Henry P. Griffin. When the time arrived to take a ballot of the union membership on the question of a general strike, this A. F. of L. labor leader managed to obstruct so well that no ballot was taken. Continuing to obstruct the taking of a ballot the Transport Workers Federation was obliged to throw out this union a week before the strike was declared, and, although it is probably just what Griffin was playing for, the Federation had no alternative, since it obviously could not continue to be associated with a union that submitted to what it calls "gentlemen's agreements" between its own and the capitalist bosses.

However, the union members were each sent a circular by the strike committee, urging them to strike with their fellow workers, and at this writing a ballot, initiated by the men themselves, in defiance of their gentlemanly officials, is being taken. It is likely to result in the downfall of another labor leader.

T. V. O'Conner, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, has also been compelled to display his yellow streak. His "association," in addition to

six locals in New York City, has six locals in Brooklyn, three in Hoboken, one in Jersey City and one in South Amboy. As the strike propaganda grew in enthusiasm and July 1 drew near, when the agreements expired, the locals in Brooklyn, Hoboken, Jersey City and South Amboy withdrew from the Federation and are now scabbing under the protection of the American Federation of Labor.

Despite this weakening of the ranks

of the workers the strike is spreading daily, and upwards of thirty thousand workers are on the fighting line. The watchword of the Transport Workers Federation is "Workers of the World, Unite and Fight!" and its officials believe with Karl Kautsky that "today the worst enemies of the working class are the pretended friends who encourage craft unions and thus attempt to cut off the skilled trades from the rest of their class."

## YOU ARE UP AGAINST IT

BY

J. O. BENTALL

**Y**OU found out that Bill was a Socialist, did you?

And you fired him and black-listed him?

Well, we just want to tell you that his name is no longer Bill. He is Jim now. He was smooth shaven when you fired him. He has a moustache now.

Your black-list card hasn't been revised yet, but Bill has.

And you have not moved. You are still at the same old stand. But Bill has moved. He went to a town where there wasn't a single Socialist.

He is making Socialists as fast as he is making fork handles.

Of course it put our local on the bum for a few weeks after you fired Bill, because it was he who kept the fires of revolt burning within our breasts. We got discouraged and thought we would go all to pieces.

But the fellow you took in to fill Bill's place was a Socialist. He was blacklisted by the boss that fired him. He came from another town.

But, like Bill, he revised himself. He has a new name and a new location, but the same old spirit of revolt. He is firing us up now. We are glad he came. You didn't know that, did you?

You will discharge him, too? And you will black-list him?

Very well, he will grow chin whiskers and sideburns and call himself Bob or John or Ed or some other common name.

He will go to a place also where there are no Socialists and, like Bill, he will make Socialists as fast as a convict makes broomsticks.

So you are firing all the Socialists in your shop? You say there are ten of them.

I see. And you are going to scatter them into ten other communities. They will get into fresh territory, eh?

All right.

Each one of the ten will make ten new Socialists. That adds one hundred Socialists to the crowd that you have to choose from to work for you.

And these hundred will each make ten more new Socialists. That gives you one thousand that you have got to try to dodge.

The fact is that you have done this fool thing of firing and black-listing Socialists so long that now we have over a million of them in this country and close to fifty millions throughout the world.

Just keep going. We don't mind. We will just move and revise our face and our name and our location so fast that your black-list card will be several years behind.

We have no home. You have made us homeless by exploiting us to death.

We rent. It is always easy for tenants to move. You got our rent in advance, so you need not worry.

You get to see that you are making us more eager for Socialism every time you fire us?

Exactly.

You are pushing us clear out into the sea of revolt. You are making us work harder for Socialism, for that is our only hope.

No, no. Don't try to change your tactics and treat us nice. Don't leave Bob and Jim and John at their jobs and think that you can soothe them. They will get

the organization so strong in their town, in their city, in their county, state and nation that your whole working force will be Socialists and will elect Mayor, Governor, Legislature, President and Congress—all Socialists—and will turn your factories, your mills, your mines, your railroads over to the people for use by all and deprive you of the opportunity to exploit and black-list.

It won't work, boss.

If you fire us we scatter the fire of revolt, and if you leave us alone we organize and capture the industries for the people.

You are up against it and we'd like to know what you are going to do about it.

## WAGE MINIMUMMERY

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

**S**Ocial reformers and some of the newspapers are now making a great fuss over the fact that the Massachusetts legislature has established a Minimum Wage Commission which is supposed to see to it that women workers are paid enough to keep them alive and in health.

It is just as well to keep an eye on this Legal Minimum Wage proposition. A wolf can wear a lambskin and look harmless and seductive if only it can manage to keep its ears and bristles hidden. The Legal Minimum Wage may look pretty good on the outside but if observed closely the hair and teeth of Capitalism are apt to be seen showing through the hide.

However, as finally passed the Massachusetts minimum wage bill isn't even a fair imitation of the real thing. It merely creates a commission which is to recommend wage scales and to publish in at least four newspapers in each county the names of employers who fail to comply with their recommendations. However, any employer may procure exemption by declaring before the supreme,

judicial or superior court that compliance with the proposed schedule would endanger the prosperity of his business. The absence of objection on the part of capitalists of Massachusetts showed that they regard the act as quite harmless. It is very likely to be shown later that the law redounds to their interest.

The farcial weakness of this new law doesn't need extensive comment. The point that requires attention is that this is the first step toward the idea of a legal minimum wage taken in this country and is likely to be followed by others. The next big strike in an industry of national importance will probably give rise to a demand for a legal minimum wage in that industry, and right there is where American labor had better be on the lookout, else it will be tricked just as the British miners were tricked following their great strike in the early part of this year.

If the government has power to establish wage boards it also has the power to enforce their decisions, if necessary at the point of the bayonet, and whether the workers involved like such decisions

or not. And workmen who accept a minimum wage at the hands of the government are likely to find that employers will not be slow in making it the maximum. Charles Edward Russell, who has had an opportunity to see a minimum wage law in actual operation in New Zealand, declares that it has been of most benefit to the capitalists because it assures them "an exact and unvarying labor cost, backed by the strong arm of the government."

It is quite possible that in the next few years we shall see a good deal of minimum wage legislation passed, not because the capitalists are making any "concessions" but because they realize that such reforms as the fixing of a minimum wage eventually play into their own hands.

Some of the capitalist newspapers have already discovered that there is nothing harmful to the interests of their masters in social reforms of this character. For example, the *Chicago Record-Herald* describes how a certain company found it was actually profitable to increase the wages of their workers, as follows:

"The company, at the suggestion of social workers, increased the wages of its employes about 30 per cent on the average. The result surprised and delighted it. Better wages enabled the employes to buy better food, and that made for efficiency. The spirit of the factory distinctly improved; cheerfulness and appreciation in turn 'boosted' efficiency. Again, there was less shifting, and permanency increased skill and reduced waste and cost. The net result has been an actual decrease in manufacturing cost of 30 per cent. Instead of losing anything, the company gained much through the very material advance in wages. Benevolence paid, it became 'business.'"

Note, also, the following masterly summing up by the *Boston Transcript* from the high capitalist viewpoint, of the benefits to be derived from the legal minimum wage. The points particularly worthy of attention are emphasized:

"Every consideration of public policy seems to dictate the expediency of 'doing something for' the lowest paid among the workers, since, if the state does not intervene in their behalf at the beginning, it almost surely will have to do so, in the form of charity, at the end. It may be that the establishment of a minimum wage will meet the demands of justice. In two ways it would tend directly to benefit the employer, since it would enable him to rid himself of the competition of sweaters, and would encourage him to study the economic possibilities of his force and to develop the underpaid to a profitable point of efficiency. Possibly it is along this general line of 'getting together' that the projected measure would reveal its chief usefulness. It would insure against strikes, by convincing workers they were paid as much as others in their grade; it would lessen the objection to seasonal industries by making it worth an employer's while to keep his trained help, and it would abolish or change the character of the 'parasitic industries' that tend to lower the wages in all others."

The *Transcript* here discloses the milk in the cocoanut: Far-sighted capitalists have found that underpaid labor is unprofitable and the main purpose of the legal minimum wage is to develop the labor power of these underpaid workers to a point where it will afford profitable exploitation.

Let labor beware of the law-made minimum wage. The sort of minimum wage that it needs most to concentrate its attention upon is the minimum wage that it is able to maintain and enforce through its organized economic power.

# Why the Socialist Party Is Different

BY

MARY E. MARCY

**W**HY is the Socialist party different from the Republican and Democratic parties? And why should workingmen and women join the Socialist party and support its candidates? These are questions that intelligent workers are asking everywhere and that socialists will have to answer more often than usual during the coming presidential campaign.

We are going to give you a few plain facts and we want you to think them over and talk them over. We want you to find out the aims of Socialism and decide whether the Socialist party will be of benefit to you or whether the old parties will serve you best.

Read the Socialist Party Platform. Compare it with the platform of the Republican and Democratic parties. Read our magazines and buy a few Socialist pamphlets and find out what Socialism means and stands for.

We all know how fertile the old parties have been with PROMISES to the working class, in the past, and how effective in making laws for the benefit of the employing or capitalist class. They have failed you upon every possible occasion. We want you to consider the Socialist program for a while.

1. The aims of Socialism are always in the interest of the working class.

2. Workingmen and women contribute to and conduct our year-long campaign of education. The campaign funds of the Republican and Democratic parties are contributed by such men as E. H. Harriman, J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Jim Hill, the Swifts and the Armours.

3. You will find that the Socialists are working men and women fighting the battles of the WORKING class, while the Republican and Democratic parties are serving the MEN WHO EMPLOY AND ROB YOU.

The factory owners, the mill bosses, the mine operators, have had old party officials serving them long enough. If you

workingmen unite in the Socialist party you can elect men from your own ranks to SERVE YOUR INTERESTS.

The working class has nothing in common with other classes in society. We know that any newspaper, any magazine, or any movement that is financed by the employing class is going to serve those who grow rich on our labor.

Sometimes you may see Socialists in office who are trying to lighten the burdens of the workers by reform legislation, such as shortening the hours of labor—giving you an eight hour, instead of a ten or twelve hour day.

But these reform measures are not the essentials of Socialism. The Republican party might make legal the Eight Hour Day. The Democratic party, or a reform party, might pass laws to prevent very young children working in factories. It may be that when the old parties see the workers joining a party of their own, they will give us a few sops to keep us from the REAL BUSINESS OF SOCIALISM.

The real business of Socialism is to abolish a society that is based on the wages system. It proposes that the working class shall take over all the great industries, the mines, mills, the factories, the land and the railroads; it means that these industries shall be owned and managed by the workers who use them and that every working man and woman shall receive the full value of his product, without handing over any profits to any boss.

The man who owns a cotton factory today employs men and women and children to work FOR HIM. He pays them starvation wages while he makes millions of dollars profits on the cloth THEY WEAVE.

It is ownership of the factory that makes one man a rich and idle employer and the man, who has no property, a wage slave.

Socialism stands for the ownership of the factory by the factory workers. It means the overthrow of the wage system. This is the real essence of Socialism.

# BUZZARDS OF THE RAILROAD TRACK

## A RAILROAD FOREMAN'S STORY

BY

JOHN MURPHY

**M**Y first job was as water-boy to a foreman who was bossing a track-laying job for the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad in Iowa. I had gotten in wrong with the capitalist hirelings of my home town and had to "beat it," though I was only a boy.

Sometimes I listened to the conversation of the men at work, which was carried on in an assortment of foreign languages, and from time to time would catch phrases that sounded like "two dollars," "five dollars," and so on. One day I asked one of these foreigners, who could speak fair English, what this talk was about. He told me his countrymen were talking about the amounts they had to give up to employment agencies in order to get a chance to work. I asked him where this money went. He answered: "You follow up this kind of job and before you are as old as I am you will know."

Shortly afterward I quit this job and got another one, holding the level for a surfacing or track-raising gang, composed mostly of Italians. Before long I overheard the same refrain from them—"two dollar," "three dollar," "five dollar," and so on. They were also discussing the graft they had to give up to employment sharks. Again I changed jobs and this time I landed with a gang of 25 Austrians. One day I saw them counting out some money behind a sand house which, one of them told me, was to be handed over to the interpreter.

"Can't you take care of your own money?" I said.

"It for the boss," he replied, and then explained that for this purse the boss allowed them to remain in the bunk cars on bad winter days.

Later on I learned that this graft found its way into the hands of the chief engineer. His salary was about \$200 a

month, but he lived in a home that was fit for a king, owned a big farm, and entertained his friends on a lavish scale.

Soon after I went to work in a packing house but finding graft even thicker there, I went back to the railroad. I was successively trucker, caller, yard checker and delivery clerk and was then made foreman of an extra-gang doing heavy work around the round house and machine shops of Council Bluffs, Iowa. My job was to break in the "green-horn" Greeks and teach them to swing heavy machinery.

No sooner would I have a gang broken in and trained to do the work that all would suddenly be laid off and I would be given another green gang; and the breaking in would have to be done all over again. After this had gone on a while it was communicated to me that these harassing tactics were likely to be kept up by the head foreman until I "gave up" to the graft fund. I also learned that my gangs were laid off because they wouldn't come across with \$6 for the interpreter, who divided up with the head foreman.

Graft and blackmail were thick everywhere. An especially hard-working gang that worked in the same yards, was composed of Italians. The interpreter's wife was an American woman who told me one day that they would soon "get theirs," as they wouldn't "give up" enough. Sure enough, in a short time these Italians were laid off and a gang of Greeks got their jobs. Some of these afterwards told me that it had cost them \$6 apiece for a jackpot to go to the "higher-ups."

Graft is part of the system reaching from the head officials of the company on down. The smaller bosses learn it from the chiefs over them.

The padding of pay-rolls by foremen

AFTER THE DAY'S WORK IS DONE.  
Home, Sweet Home Scene in a Typical Railroad Construction Camp.

and interpreters became so bad a few years ago that the railroad finally adopted a new system and forced laborers who wanted jobs to go to "employment kings" in the cities and secure a button or badge before they were allowed to work or to draw their pay. One of these sharks, who did a big business in Omaha, forced foreign laborers to give up from \$7 to \$10 apiece for jobs. He then gave them a letter to the section boss instructing him to work them two weeks or a month and then let them go.

The best comment I ever heard on this system came from a young Greek interpreter who was unusually well educated and informed. He said: "There's no use trying to be square on a job like this. Graft is a part of the system. Our bosses force us to produce so much more than we can consume that there are always more men than there are jobs. Where men must fight each other for a chance to work, graft and trickery is bound to spring up. You see your protection laws bar the products of our country, so your capitalists can go over there and undersell our capitalists. The result is that foreign workers are forced upon your labor market. I notice your capitalists talk a lot about 'patriotism' and 'protecting American labor,' but it strikes me as queer that we are better treated than you are in the way of free box cars to live in, free coal, free wood, and no taxes, and we can violate your sanitary laws as we please. We Greeks came over here for the same reason that your forefathers did. The problem was the same—something to eat."

His words set me thinking and my observations soon led me to become a Socialist and an Industrial Unionist. I believe in political action but I saw that it was useless to preach that to the poor devils who toiled around me. Most of them were not citizens and could not become naturalized for years, even if they were able to pay the necessary fees. The only way these workers can secure relief is through their own power, industrially organized. In other words, by direct action.

The petty bosses of the railroad world would learn their crooked practices from

their superiors. For instance, the Kansas City Railroad was once offered a bonus by a certain town if they entered it on a certain day. When they found they were going to be short of material and determined not to lose that bonus, they laid the steel on three-cornered or V-shaped ties which were made of cottonwood. Much they cared about the lives of passengers.

I wish I could tell all I know about the way the railroads stand in with officials of city and state governments. Any railroad worker can tell you things that you wouldn't believe unless you were already on the inside. One little story will do. Four years ago I was storing freight for the C. & N. W. Railroad at Council Bluffs, when a case of whisky was stolen. A checker named Head and myself were called into the railroad agent's office by a detective of the Council Bluffs' force and another detective belonging to the railroad. We told them we knew nothing about the loss of the goods. Previous to this a man named Negus had been arrested for the theft but was released on bail. He went to work in a candy factory, the engineer of which told me that these detectives had visited this man and had induced him to swear that we were implicated. Head and myself were brought before a justice of the peace, a Civil War veteran. Our lawyer asked for the dismissal of the case, because of the fact that the Iowa Supreme Court had held that the evidence of a self convicted thief was not to be believed in a case of this character unless substantiated by witnesses not charged with crime. The Justice said:

"My mind is already made up. I fine one \$10 and the other \$20."

We appealed to the district court. Before our trial was called I got a position in the Illinois Central shops as blacksmith's helper, but they made me get out when it was found that I had attended the trial of my friend. On the pay-day following, the boss informed me he had sent my pay-check back to Chicago and there was nothing for me. Soon after, on our way from work, we were held up by three detectives and searched, but they found nothing on us.

Then the prosecuting attorney offered

to let us off on payment of \$5 each, providing that we could consent to let the records show that we had pleaded guilty. This is often done, and many an ignorant and scared railroad worker has found himself blacklisted and branded for life because he has once been frightened into pleading guilty of some offence that he never committed. Needless to say, we declined this offer.

When our case finally came to trial we found that the general freight agent of the railroad was on the jury panel. Our lawyer was smart enough to see what chance this would leave for us and got our case continued until the next term of court, when we were acquitted without a dissenting vote of the jury. Head then filed suit for damages against the railroad. The railroad won with the help of the city detective, and there was nothing to do but put up with the loss of time and wages we had suffered because of a false charge. I know now, of course, that

courts are for the classes and not for the masses.

The judge who presided at my friend's trial wherein the case was taken from the jury and a verdict rendered for the railroad is now congressman from the Ninth Iowa District.

But Head and I are now marked men. We cannot hold a job after it has been discovered that we were once in a capitalist Court. I have a wife and family to support but no sooner do I land a place than I am fired off it.

An acquaintance of mine, a foreman, came to me the other day with a little friendly advice. He counselled me to go back to the Catholic Church and cease being so active for Socialism and industrial organization. Do that, he said, and he was in a position to assure me that I would be given a job at not less than \$75 a month. Also, he explained, there would be a little easy money on the side—but I did not wait to listen to him any further.

## GOBBLE-UNS

BY

GEORGIA KOTSCH

**J**AMES WHITCOMB RILEY knew his state when he wrote "The gobble-uns'll git you," and if the Socialist convention had been held anywhere but in the middle of Hoosierdom we might have been spared all this. It was tempting fate, i. e., gobble-uns.

Now, I will confess I was scared after I read the convention report—but not so very much. No, honest. The real reason I have been so long speaking about it is that I have been cleaning house and it is the sum of all unwisdom to expect a woman, even a Socialist woman, to give her attention to any other subject when the carpets are on the clothesline and the family is eating off the piano and sleeping in the coal bin.

O, well, if you *didn't* expect it, never mind.

But I couldn't keep still permanently. If there is anything in this world that makes me hanker to do a thing it is to be

told I musn't. That's why I ate the poison vine berries in my gladsome childhood and came near robbing the world of my invaluable personality.

I'm very much like ordinary humanity in this contrariness of spirit, and I do hate to be ordinary, too. It's so common, you know, and we Socialists are getting too far from overalls and blue calico to relish it.

Well, I went out behind the chicken coop the first time and said it softly to the cat. Nothing happened. He didn't even yowl, which was marked self-control for him. Then when I spilled an arm-load of books into the scrubbing pail and needed an emphatic word to express myself I said it right out loud—"Sabotage!"—just like that. (It had already happened that time.) So now I have become careless of danger and if the editor is game we'll have it in print—s-a-b-o-t-a-g-e. See that? The g has a little horn

and a curled-up tail and the hoof is in the sabot.

I'm truly sorry the gobble-uns was exposed. Children have too few illusions now-a-days. Comrade Bentall snatching the pumpkin face off and exposing the real features was enough to spoil any Hallowe'en spook party ever held and bringing up those merry quips about Our Congressman's arms and ammunition and our legal lights mounting barricades was in shocking taste and calculated to rob any carefully planned coup of dignity and eclat.

Such a propitious place and occasion seldom present themselves for covering the reds with confusion, getting them on the run with the gobble-un at their heels, and leaving the yellow kids in command to do the constructive work of constructing Something out of a vote-getting campaign. So far as I have ever heard none of them expect to get Socialism by their methods, but they are set in the notion that they will get Something.

They are like Pat when his comrade on strike got shot in the stomach.

"Poor divil," he said, "a bullet's better than nothing. He's had nothing in his stomach these three days."

Illustrating this cheerful vagary are the many excuses one hears for the Los Angeles Plan, that dear little buff primrose that burst so suddenly into bloom, outvying all the golden flowers in the country and demonstrating the superior virtues as a fertilizer of Owens River alkali over Revolutionary Dope.

There are so many excuses for it that I am sure it must be all right. The last

time it was "explained" to me a devotee quoted one of its leading proponents thus:

"The labor unions are not ready for industrialism and we (the Socialist party) must keep the good will of the unions."

Now, take the screws out of that and examine its works. It is assuming that the Socialist party is an entity valuable in itself aside from its mission to advance the interests of the working class, which some of us thought was the only excuse for its existence. Indeed it is assuming that it should be preserved at the expense of the interest of the working class. It is saying the unions do not know what is vital to the lives and liberties of their members and we must not hurt their feelings by telling them lest we estrange them from a name. *We* have superior brains and can do Something and it is rather risky, this cultivating power and thought in the economic mass. Where will *We* come in? But if the business of the Socialist party is not to educate the workers along the lines of most efficient revolt against their economic masters, then— —

"But," exclaims my unsophisticated comrade, "surely you cannot think these men are insincere—these men who have been in the party so long and managed its affairs."

Perish the thought, but that's just it. They have managed the affairs of the party so long.

But I started out to talk about gobble-uns and here I have drifted to treason to the working class.

It is all very fine to talk about tramps and morality. Six hours of police surveillance (such as I have had), or one brutal rejection from an inn-door, change your views upon the subject like a course of lectures. As long as you keep in the upper regions, with all the world bowing to you as you go, social arrangements have a very handsome air; but once get under the wheels, and you wish society were at the devil. I will give most respectable men a fortnight of such a life, and then I will offer them twopence for what remains of their morality.—Robert Louis Stevenson.

# IN SELF-DEFENSE

BY

MORRIS HILLQUIT

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In the report of Comrade Morris Hillquit as International Secretary to the last International Congress at Copenhagen he named all of the Socialist publications of the United States with the single exception of the International Socialist Review. Comrade Hillquit has now discovered the Review and has submitted the following article for publication in its columns, which we print exactly as written. The article by Comrade Eugene V. Debs, under the caption "Statement of Presidential Candidate," is a full and complete answer.—*Ed. Note.*

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**T**WENTY-FOUR years of active and uninterrupted service in the Socialist movement have taught me to take personal attacks philosophically. Whether such attacks come from opponents of our cause or from "comrades" in the movement, it is humiliating and unprofitable to respond to them. There are, however, certain exceptional occasions when silence ceases to be a virtue, and when any Socialist who hopes to retain his usefulness in the movement owes it to himself and to the cause to speak up in unmistakable terms.

I feel that such an occasion has now arisen for me, and I propose to face it squarely.

Ever since the recent Indianapolis convention I have been made the object of flattering attention by certain persons within and around the Socialist movement, and the brunt of their attack has been the charge that I induced the convention to elect J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager by unfair means.

The specific accusation against me in this connection is that I falsely represented to the convention that the nomination of Barnes had the endorsement of the National Executive Committee.

The indictment was first framed by the Reverend Edward Ellis Carr in the "Christian Socialist." It was then repeated and amplified in an anonymous circular emanating from the office of Charles H. Kerr & Co., and it now appears with all the solemnity and authority of an "Editorial Statement" in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

The entire charge hinges on one disjointed sentence of fourteen words taken from the stenographic records of the convention. For the benefit of the comrades who did not attend the convention, I will reproduce here the entire record on the subject, including the "incriminating" statement.

As chairman of the Committee on Constitution I had recommended the election of a special campaign committee and a campaign manager. The reason for the motion was very obvious. Our present National Executive Committee consists of two members living on the Atlantic Coast, two on the Pacific, one in the Middle West, one in the Middle South and one of somewhat uncertain residence. It is quite evident that a committee thus composed could not meet with sufficient frequency to manage an active and aggressive national campaign. The National Secretary and his office staff, on the other hand, are so absorbed by the large and growing routine business of the party that they could not give adequate attention to the daily demands of a strenuous campaign. The motion was presented by the Committee on Constitution, and I stated that it also had the approval of the National Executive Committee. It was adopted, and the convention proceeded to the nomination of a campaign manager. I will now let the stenographic report of the convention tell the rest of the story.

The Chairman: Nominations are in order.

"Del. Slayton (Pa.): I move that the election of the Campaign Chairman be left

in the hands of the National Executive Committee.

"Del. Hillquit: The National Executive Committee had the matter under consideration, and prefers that for this important position, this convention make the choice.  
\* \* \*

"The Chairman: We have a motion that has been carried, as I understand it, for the nomination and election of a Campaign Committee of five and a Campaign Manager. In what order shall we take them? Campaign Manager first, if there is no objection.

"Del. Hillquit: I desire to place in nomination for this position Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes. (Seconded.) In doing so I wish to state to the comrades that I have been on the National Executive Committee a number of years, and I have had opportunity and occasion to observe the work of Comrade Barnes, and while I have no more personal attachment to Barnes or interest in the matter than any other delegate, I wish to say that my colleagues on the National Executive Committee and on the several preceding committees are unanimous in the opinion that the party has very few men, if any men, as efficient, as painstaking, as devoted, and on the whole, as fit for the position as Comrade Barnes. I wish to state also, speaking now personally for myself, and I am very frank in this matter, I think this convention and this party owe a reparation to Comrade Barnes because of the campaign of slander instituted against him and the hunting up of matters dead and buried years ago and their publication in Socialist papers. I think this was one of the most disgraceful things ever suffered in the Socialist Party. (Applause.) I think, as far as I myself am concerned I do not care whether it is wise, whether it is politic—I think every man among us is entitled to justice, and I speak for Comrade Barnes because I know a great injustice has been done him. (Applause.)

"Del. Merrick (Pa.): A point of information. Do I understand that this recommendation is the action of the National Executive Committee?

"Del. Hillquit: *It is the nomination of Delegate Hillquit from New York.*

"Del. Merrick: The nomination of Barnes; that is what I refer to. *Is it the*

*recommendation of the committee, the recommendation of Barnes?*

"Del. Hillquit: *This comes from the Committee on Constitution and also comes from the National Executive Committee.*

"Del. Merrick: With the indorsement of the National Executive Committee?

"Del. Hillquit: *A general recommendation, yes.*

"The Chairman: *I believe Comrade Hillquit was trying to make the point that his nomination was as an individual.*"

It will thus be seen that my report as chairman of the Committee on Constitution had been fully disposed of, when nominations were called for. When I rose to put Barnes in nomination I did so as an individual delegate, and spoke as such. When delegate Merrick first asked me whether the nomination came from the National Executive Committee, I answered definitely and distinctly: "It is the nomination of Delegate Hillquit from New York." It is true that the record shows a reiterated question from delegate Merrick, and a somewhat indefinite answer on my part, but those who have attended national conventions of the Socialist Party and are familiar with the tensivity of debate and confusion of the proceedings attending the more exciting episodes, will realize how readily a question from the floor may be misunderstood by a speaker, or how the stenographer may make a mistake in his minutes on such occasions, particularly when the proceedings are taken down by two stenographers at the same time and are then pieced together, as was the case in our convention.

I do not pretend to remember the exact sequence of the colloquy between delegate Merrick and myself, but I am reasonably certain that the stenographers who took the notes have unwittingly mixed up the order of the questions and answers.

In the sequence presented by the official minutes, the questions and answers fail to meet and make but little sense. The reader will readily see that what appears here as my first answer does not respond to Merrick's first question, but *does directly respond to his second question*, in the sequence as given. The report becomes intelligible only if we suppose

that Merrick's question about "the nomination of Barnes" and my answer, "It is the nomination of delegate Hillquit of New York," came after the other two questions and answers.

But whether my surmise is correct or not, the official minutes of the convention show several distinct statements on my part that I nominated Barnes in an individual capacity as against one ambiguous statement, and to make the point perfectly clear the chairman officially announced before further discussion and before the vote was taken that the nomination was my individual act. All this appears in the same minutes from which the editor of the REVIEW quotes. The entire passage reproduced above was accessible to him, why did he satisfy himself with quoting one sentence in a misleading connection? And yet the honest soul charges me with "trickery and evasion."

When I put Barnes in nomination every member of the National Executive Committee was present in the convention hall. Does it stand to reason that I would assume without authority to speak in their name under these circumstances? And to what end? To lend greater force to the nomination of Barnes? I must confess I never noticed that the convention stood in great awe of the prestige of the National Executive Committee, and furthermore no pressure was needed. The great majority of the delegates accepted Barnes' nomination with spontaneous approval, and this to my mind was one of the sublimest acts of the convention. The Socialist Party through its representatives rejected with scorn the petty intrigues and persecutions of a handful of meddling mischief-makers and self-constituted moral guardians of the movement. The convention elected Barnes because it had a well-founded faith in his ability and integrity, and because it had a healthy contempt for the unholy combination of preachers, soreheads and impossibilists which had hounded him out of office.

The significant part about the agitation against Barnes is that not one of his accusers denies his exceptional fitness for the position of campaign manager. Since the first day that he took office, the cam-

paign was alive. He had not been a week at his desk before he had mapped out a broad and comprehensive plan of action, aroused every local in the country to the great possibilities before us, infused general enthusiasm into our movement and laid the foundation for a brilliant and memorable campaign.

No bona fide Socialist Party paper has expressed disapproval of Barnes' election or work. The opposition to him, so far as I could observe, is confined to three magazines. *The Christian Socialist*, edited by an individual who insists on saving the Socialist soul, although he has long been expelled from the party; *The Common Cause*, the only magazine in the world to my knowledge which is exclusively devoted to the task of combatting Socialism, and which in its last issue ranges itself squarely with the *Christian Socialist* as against Barnes, and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, a private enterprise of Charles H. Kerr, published for the propaganda of a little Socialism, and a little anarchism and for the sale of books.

And it is no less a personage than the editor of the REVIEW, who now issues the thrilling warning to the membership of the Socialist Party: "There is no room in the Socialist Party for the bossism of Hillquit or any other 'leader.'"

Calm yourself, Mr. Editor. There is no imminent danger in my "bossism." I have no powerful financial backing behind me. I have no offices or rewards to bestow on the "faithful." I have no machine to carry out my diabolical plots. What little influence I may have gained in the Socialist movement, I have gained through service. Whenever a measure proposed by me in party councils happened to be adopted, it was adopted because it represented the views of the majority. Whenever my proposals did not appeal to my comrades, they have always voted me down without the slightest compunction, and I have always submitted and always will submit when I am overruled.

The talk about my "bossism" is cheap demagoguery, and I repeat the party is in no danger from it. But there is a very real danger menacing our movement right now—the danger that comes from the

meddling and intriguing of self-appointed leaders, who have built up powerful machines within the party, but not in its control; persons commissioned by none, responsible to none, but assuming to direct the policies and practical management of the organized Socialist movement; gentlemen who have on their payroll a host of traveling agitators disseminating their particular vagaries throughout the movement, and who by secret circulars and similar honorable means seek to foment discord and confusion in the Socialist Party on the eve of its most

important campaign; a gentleman, for instance, who has the distinction of having published in the pages of an alleged Socialist magazine a more scurrilous and contemptible account of the National Socialist Convention than any capitalist scribe dared to print, and who still has the brazen affrontery to pose as a guardian of the party—I mean you, your magazine and organization, Mr. Editor of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and similar volunteer saviors of the party and free-lance organizations preying upon the Socialist movement.

## THE WORKING CLASS CANDIDATES

For President.  
EUGENE V. DEBS.

For Vice-President.  
EMIL SEIDEL.

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# STATEMENT OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

BY  
EUGENE V. DEBS

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To the Members of the Socialist Party.

Comrades: This statement is issued with great reluctance and only after long and serious deliberation. It relates to the selection of Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager. The protests which have come to me from every section of the country and which continue by every mail cannot be ignored without giving rise to serious complications in the impending campaign and threatening grave results to the party.

These protests do not involve the incompetency of Comrade Barnes to serve as campaign manager, but grow entirely out of the charges, with which party members are familiar, which resulted in his retirement as National Secretary.

Concerning the merits of that unfortunate affair I have nothing to say. It is not for me to review the record and pronounce judgment. The proceedings were given wide publicity at the time and members of the party had ample opportunity to hear both sides and form their own conclusions.

But since the selection of Comrade Barnes as campaign manager has revived the whole unpleasant issue with all its attending animosity, setting comrades against each other in bitter strife at the time above all others when they should be working together in union and concord, there is but one safe course to pursue and that is to face the issue calmly and dispose of it, so far as the party is concerned, with the least possible delay.

It is to the rank and file of the party that I issue this statement and make this appeal. They have always had my unqualified confidence and I go before them now with implicit faith that they will appreciate my position and understand my purpose in claiming their attention at this time.

Since my nomination the time which I

should have given to the campaign has been largely occupied with this affair. Some well-meaning comrades have advised me not to attempt to answer all these protesting communications, but I cannot agree with them. I have always made it a rule to answer every communication that comes to me, unless there is good reason for not doing so. When a comrade, or anyone, addresses a proper letter to me it is my duty to answer it.

But it is not possible to settle this matter by personal communication, and the longer it is permitted to continue the more serious and complicated it will become for all concerned.

Some of the protesting comrades and locals are very angry and threatening, declaring that they will contribute no funds to the campaign; others that they will not vote the ticket; still others that they will work and vote against the ticket. There are yet others who demand my withdrawal as a candidate. To all of these communications I have made a reply, but I realize how inadequate these replies have been. My time has been consumed, but practically nothing has been done to meet the demands of the campaign, while through it all the cries of protest have steadily increased.

The questions which have been most frequently and insistently pressed upon me and my answers thereto are now given here for the information of the party members and to avoid their endless repetition by personal communication:

*First.* Did you know that Barnes was to be made campaign manager?

I did not.

*Second.* Were you consulted about his selection?

I was not.

*Third.* Do you approve of it?

I do not. I frankly told Barnes so and I stated the reason for my disapproval

before the joint meeting of the National Executive Committee and the Campaign Committee, at which meeting Comrades Hillquit and Spargo declared that all those who protested against Barnes were not socialists at all and the quicker the party was rid of them the better for the party.

I did not question the capability of Comrade Barnes—no one has—I objected to him solely on the ground that the affair which resulted in his official retirement and which provoked the bitterest feeling at the time would be revived and divide the membership into angry and warring elements at the very time the party needed most of all a united and harmonious membership; I objected on account of the party as a whole and because I clearly foresaw the state of angry protest and agitation which has now forced upon me the necessity for issuing this statement.

*Fourth.* Did the National Executive Board and the Committee on Constitution recommend Barnes' election as campaign manager?

**They did not. The matter was never before either committee. The committee on constitution recommended the election of a campaign manager, but the name of Barnes in that connection was not mentioned.**

I have the information from members of the National Executive Committee and the Committee on Constitution that not only was Barnes not recommended by these committees, but that his name was not at any time mentioned in any meeting of those committees.

*Fifth.* Did Hillquit in placing Barnes in nomination for campaign manager state that Barnes was unanimously recommended for that position by the National Executive Board and the Committee on Constitution?

This question being in controversy, will have to be answered by the official record of the convention proceedings which is here quoted as follows:

"The Chairman: We have a motion that has been carried, as I understand it, for the nomination and election of a Campaign Committee of five and a Campaign Manager. In what order shall we take them? Campaign Manager first, if there is no objection.

"Del. Hillquit: I desire to place in nomination for this position Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes. (Seconded). In doing so I wish to state to the comrades that I have been on the National Executive Committee a number of years, and I have had opportunity and occasion to observe the work of Comrade Barnes, and while I have no more personal attachment to Barnes or interest in the matter than any other delegate, I wish to say that my colleagues on the National Executive Committee and on the several committees are unanimous in the opinion that the party has very few men, if any men, as efficient, as painstaking, as devoted, and, on the whole, as fit for the position as Comrade Barnes. I wish to state also, speaking now personally for myself, and I am very frank in this matter, I think this convention and this party owes a reparation to Comrade Barnes because of the campaign of slander instituted against him and the hunting up of matters dead and buried years ago and their publication in Socialist papers. I think this was one of the most disgraceful things ever suffered in the Socialist party. (Applause.) I think, as far as I myself am concerned—I do not care whether it is wise, whether it is politic—I think every man among us is entitled to justice, and I speak for Comrade Barnes because I know a great injustice has been done him. (Applause.)

"Del. Merrick (Pa.): A point of information. Do I understand that this recommendation is the action of the National Executive Committee?

"Del. Hillquit: It is the nomination of Delegate Hillquit from New York.

"Del. Merrick: The nomination of Barnes; that is what I refer to. Is it the recommendation of the committee, the recommendation of Barnes?

"Del. Hillquit: "This comes from the Committee on Constitution and also comes from the National Executive Committee.

"Del. Merrick: With the indorsement of the National Executive Committee?

"Del. Hillquit: A general recommendation, yes."

After reading this report copied from the official record members will be able to answer this question for themselves.

Now, comrades, there is but one way to remove this obstruction from the track and that is by a national referendum of the party. The resignation of Barnes would not overcome the difficulty. He has his partisans as well as his opponents.

Let the party decide the issue and let us all abide by that decision, at least until the close of the campaign. The party is not to blame for this affair, but the party alone can settle it, and the sooner the better. We may indulge in vain regrets but we cannot escape the issue. It will not down and its demoralizing effect is already but too apparent upon the national campaign.

This is a different statement than the one I first intended. Calm reflection and the counsel of comrades have modified what I have had to say. I am not seeking to fix responsibility. That is for the party and not for me. I am endeavoring to keep conscious of the position I occupy as one of the presidential candidates and of the trust that for the time has been committed to me by the confidence of my comrades. It is not for me to take sides and provoke resentment at this time. I shall be drawn into no controversy. Rather it is for me to use such influence as I may have to clear the way for an understanding and minimize the harm that may be done.

I appeal to the members of the party. Let angry passions subside and calm reason have sway. We have encountered many difficulties and overcome them, and we shall overcome this.

We stand upon the threshold of the greatest campaign in American history. The Socialist party's entrance upon the political stage is the event of the epoch. The supreme opportunity has come for the master stroke. Shall we now permit

ourselves to be diverted by a minor issue of personal concern, or shall we rise triumphant to the occasion and vindicate the character and capacity of the Socialist party as the champion of the working class and the hope and promise of the better day?

There is nothing else in the way of unity and success. The campaign committee and the candidates are united and working together as one. Let this matter be adjusted and the road is clear to victory.

I believe that all are agreed; the campaign committee, the campaign manager, and the candidates, that the matter should be settled by a national referendum of the party, and the sooner the better. Several motions are pending at the national office and I am informed that from three to a dozen seconds are being received to these motions by the national secretary every day. As soon as the required number of seconds is received the matter will go to the party membership for settlement. I venture to suggest that all locals favoring a national referendum promptly second the motions now pending at the national office so that the matter may be determined and over with the least possible delay. In sending in their seconds local secretaries should not fail to state the number of members in good standing. If the necessary number of seconds is not received within the prescribed time the matter goes by default and will drag through and demoralize the entire campaign.

Prompt and decisive action by the party membership will dispose of the matter. Silence protest, reunite the comrades, inspire enthusiasm, and insure victory.

Yours fraternally,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

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#### EDITORIAL NOTE.

As we go to press, word reaches us from the National office that the motion of Local Branon, Texas, has received the requisite number of seconds from locals, and is being sent out as Referendum C, reaching the State Secretaries on July 22. The substance of this motion is that J. Mahlon Barnes be at once removed as

Secretary of the National Campaign Committee, and that the Campaign Committee and presidential and vice-presidential candidates name his successor. A decisive majority for Referendum C will end an unpleasant situation and leave the Socialist Party free to attend to the real work of the campaign.

# EDITORIAL

**The Case of Morris Hillquit.** We take pleasure in printing verbatim an angry and insulting letter from Morris Hillquit. He has been a dictator so long, and loves power so well, that a general revolt against his methods naturally excites him. We merely wish to point out that in his excitement he has made two or three slanderous statements which he will need to prove or be still further discredited. THE REVIEW, he says, is published for the propaganda of a little Socialism a little anarchism and for the sale of books." We plead guilty to the Socialism, also to the fact that we publish most of the standard Socialist books, but where is Hillquit's evidence for the anarchism? He made a similar charge at a meeting of Branch 5, New York, against Comrade Gustavus Myers, which did not pass unchallenged. Is it anarchism to advocate the abolition of capitalism, and does Socialism mean nothing but office-seeking? If not, when and on what page did the REVIEW ever advocate anarchism? Again, he charges that we have on our pay-roll a host of traveling agitators, whom he charges with various crimes and misdemeanors. Our pay-roll is open to the examination of any stockholder, and our books were lately examined by Comrades Reynolds and Berry, elected for the purpose by the National Committee of the Socialist Party. These books will prove that the "host of traveling agitators" exists only in Hillquit's frightened imagination. Once more, he charges us with sending out "secret circulars." A similar charge was made months ago by Spargo. We demanded proof and he could furnish none. All we had to say about Hillquit's methods was published for all to read. The flimsy foundation for the charge is that eight personal letters were sent out by a member of the REVIEW staff (without the editor's knowledge) calling attention in advance to the article on page 77 of the July REVIEW, and the substance of one of these letters was sent out as a circular by Comrade M. E. Costello, 130 Sprague street, Wilkinsburg, Pa. This circular letter has been sent out to the Socialist press by Comrade Barnes, and it contains

nothing that the editor of the REVIEW would not have endorsed, though as it happened he had nothing to do with its circulation.

In conclusion, the REVIEW is not the personal organ of any individual. If it were merely this, its influence would not be such as to infuriate Morris Hillquit. THE REVIEW is the voice of that large and growing portion of the Socialist Party which cares more for the overthrow of capitalism than for office-seeking and office-holding. These comrades are united in protest against the methods of Morris Hillquit, and they are supporting the demand for the recall of J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager. The reasons for this recall are given with irresistible logic by Comrade Debs on another page of the Review.

**Praise from the Enemy.** *The Century* and the *World's Work*, two of the ablest popular magazines published in America in the interest of the capitalist class, have lately published two notable editorials, which we reprint entire:

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY ON RECORD AGAINST LAWLESSNESS.

Although from time to time there has been a natural, and in many respects wholesome, drift of public opinion toward an extension of the functions of government in the direction of paternalism, we can see no basis for thinking either wise or practicable the main tenet of Socialism,—the wholesale substitution of governmental proprietorship and co-operation in productive effort for individual ownership and initiative. It will not suffice to stir up discontent with wrong conditions; a political party or candidate should propose definite policies of a constructive nature. But the economic field offers much debatable ground and it would be folly to affix a stigma to any class of men who simply differ in opinion as to the best way of curing public evils. It is when discontent leaves the fields of discussion and political action for that of violence that it arouses the protest of all who believe in the supremacy of freedom through law.

It is a pleasure to make record of the fact that in the national convention of the Socialist Party, held at Indianapolis, May 17, counsels of violence were emphatically rejected, despite the opposition of the ideas of the Industrial Workers of the World (known in England as the "I Won't Works"), whose apparent purpose is to possess themselves by violence of the control of one industry after another. The convention adopted a new section of its constitution to read thus:

"Any member of the party who opposes politi-

cal action, or advocates crime, sabotage, or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class, to aid in its emancipation, shall be expelled from membership in the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist Party platform."

The only fact that would seem to discredit the sincerity of this action lies in the convention's nomination for the Presidency of Eugene V. Debs, who in the past has not "roared you as gently as any sucking dove," and who, were he to repeat the offense of resistance to authority for which he was imprisoned, might now incur the additional penalty of disavowal and dismissal by his party. Nevertheless, accepting the Socialist statement at its face value, it is a great gain for true conservatism. At a time of vague and widespread industrial unrest the forces of law and order should welcome this downright and patriotic action from the Socialists, who have much to gain by strict adherence to this declaration and everything to lose by failure to adhere to it. At last they have given us a statement both definite and admirable.—From the *Century*.

#### CONSERVATIVE SOCIALISM.

First in the field the Socialist Party did this much to commend itself to the patriotic: it repudiated what has come to be known as "Syndicalism"—the policy of violence by working men—in unequivocal terms. The platform declares that any member of the Socialist Party "who advocates crime, sabotage, or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class, to aid in its emancipation, shall be expelled from membership in the party."

It is only within a few months that America has heard the open proclamation of the doctrine that industrial establishments belong by right to the men who work in them and that they are perfectly justified in destroying them by fire or dynamite, or in taking possession of them by force, but the astonishingly swift acceptance which the new gospel has won at the hands of large bodies of workingmen is one of the most disquieting signs of the times.

This is not Socialism, nor has it any sort of connection with Socialism, and it is at least cheering that the Socialist Party disavows it promptly and positively. It may turn out that the Socialists, whom we have been brought up to regard as dangerous radicals, will be classifiable as one of the strong and conservative bulwarks of the country.—From *World's Work*.

We believe that these editorials, full of clever misrepresentations, will convince every clear-headed Socialist who reads them that our delegates at Indianapolis made a serious mistake, which is being skillfully used by our enemies to divide the working class. Syndicalism does not mean "the policy of violence by workingmen." Syndicalism means the union of wage-workers on the economic field to establish the co-operative commonwealth.

The weapon of syndicalism is not "crime," unless capitalist law makes it a crime to strike. The weapon of syndicalism is a strike at one and the same time by all workers in a given industry, with a view to forcing higher wages, shorter hours, and an ever greater degree of control by the workers over shop management. Syndicalists do not propose to destroy factories by dynamite, but to operate them for the benefit of the working class. Syndicalism, or as we call it in the United States, Industrial Unionism, is "Socialism with its working clothes on," to use Haywood's phrase. The Socialist Party, in its recently adopted platform, "urges the wage earners to organize for economic and political action." If the Socialist Party ever becomes a "conservative bulwark" of the country, in other words of the capitalist system, its usefulness to the working class will be ended, and some other organization will take its place. For revolutions do not go backward, and the working class is awakening to its real strength. But the rank and file of the Socialist Party have no love for the capitalist system. If they ratify "Section 6" in the referendum now in progress, it will mean nothing worse than a misunderstanding which time will correct. We only regret that this "praise of parasites" will reach the membership too late to have its logical effect.

**A Campaign on Class Lines.**—The nomination of Woodrow Wilson for President is a good thing, for it clears the issue, whereas the nomination of some cheap politician or notorious tool of the "interests" would have befogged it. Wilson is a "good man," a reformer; we even suspect him of being a sincere reformer. Nevertheless his election will be perfectly satisfactory to the trust magnates. For the magnates are intelligent enough to understand what many of their critics, and even some Socialist critics, overlook, namely, that special "corrupt" legislation is not needed to maintain and increase their power. No doubt most of them have in the past increased their individual wealth by such means more rapidly than would otherwise have been possible. But their security for the future depends on the stability of the system of private property which is triply entrenched be-

hind the laws and constitution of the United States, the laws and constitutions of the several states, and the inherited ideas of a majority of the working people of America. The flagrant decisions of the courts nullifying certain laws intended to benefit wage workers are not at all essential to the maintenance and increase of profits. Taft is clearly destined to fall ingloriously in defense of these decisions, while the magnates smile to think how easy it is to fool the people. And yet, and yet, when the returns come in they may not smile after all. Acceptable as Wilson is to the capitalist reformer, there is nothing in his record to appeal to any wage worker with red blood in

his veins. We Socialists have the chance of our lives this year. The capitalist politicians have unwittingly done their best for us. We can not if we would talk about reforms, for the Democrats can promise reforms with much probability of making their promises good. We can and must simply denounce the whole system of production for private profit, and demand the overthrow of the capitalists as a ruling class. The one real issue of the campaign is Capitalist Class Rule versus Working Class Rule. Let the reformers vote for Wilson, let the "Progressives" vote for Roosevelt, and let us roll up a vote of two million revolutionists for Debs.

## STUDY SOCIALISM

Every day people write us asking "What books must I read in order to understand Socialism?" To meet this demand we have assembled our Beginners' Combination. Don't imagine that you know all about Socialism because you have heard a Socialist speaker and have read a book or two. Socialism is no high-brow science, but it rests on certain fundamental principles which must be thoroughly grasped. These books are not only educative but of absorbing interest. We suggest that you read them in about the order named:

Revolution, Jack London.....	\$0.05
Introduction to Socialism, Richardson.....	.05
Industrial Socialism, Haywood and Bohn.....	.10
Science and Socialism, LaMonte.....	.05
Revolutionary Unionism, Debs.....	.05
Shop Talks on Economics, Mary E. Marcy.....	.10
Value, Price and Profit, Marx.....	.10
Wage Labor and Capital, Marx.....	.05
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels.....	.10
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels.....	.10
The Class Struggle, Kautsky.....	.25
Socialism, Growth and Outcome, Morris and Bax..	.50
International Socialist Review (one year).....	1.00

Total .....\$2.50

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# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**Belgium Liberals learn about the Class Struggle.** The elections to the Belgian parliament, which occurred on June 2, brought defeat to the Socialist-Liberal combination, but not to the Socialists. The fight was between the Clericals on the one side and Socialist-Liberal combination on the other. The chief matter at issue was the national school system. The Clericals have been in control of the government ever since the present electoral and parliamentary system was introduced, but their majority has been declining. In the last parliament it amounted to only six seats. In order to fortify themselves in power they devised a new method of administering the educational system. Instead of continuing the present system of national schools the clerical ministers propose to distribute the money devoted to educational purposes to the parents of children of school age and then to allow these parents to turn the money over to any private or parochial school to which they elect to send their children. Since the church has in operation an extensive system of schools taught by monks, nuns, and priests, who demand almost no salaries, this new system of administering school funds would give them the benefit of government support. They could take the pupils much cheaper than could anyone else, and thus all children except those whose parents have very strong anti-clerical convictions would fall into their hands. Before the election the ruling party passed a new electoral law increasing the number of parliamentary seats by twenty and allotting these seats in such a way as to make tolerably sure that it could control a majority of them. All this in addition to the fact that the plural voting system of Belgium gives the propertied, conservative classes two or three votes for one which goes to the working class.

The situation faced by the Socialists justified a coalition if ever one did. The issue was a vital one, and without a coalition of Socialists and Liberals the victory seemed certain to go to the

clericals. On the other hand it was mathematically demonstrable that the Socialists and Liberals together would obtain a majority. The arrangement between the two anti-clerical parties did not destroy their identity. They merely refrained from running candidates in opposition to each other. In districts where the Socialists might be supposed to predominate both were to support the Socialist candidate and vice versa.

Now comes the instructive part of the story. The mathematically demonstrable did not happen. In the last parliament there were 166 seats; of these the Clericals held 86, the new parliament contains 186 seats, and the Clericals obtained 101 of them in the election of June 2. That is to say, they raised their majority from six to sixteen. But this is not all. The Clericals received, it is reported, 1,344,623 votes, the united opposition 1,271,919. The popular majority in favor of the ruling party amounted, then, to more than 60,000.

Of course there are numerous deductions to be made before this result appears in a true light. It is to be taken into account, for example, that the Clericals conducted a campaign abounding in vilification and falsehood. In one district municipal officials pretended to survey the land of citizens on the pretext that they had been ordered to take it over in case of an anti-clerical victory. Everywhere the religious instincts of the people were appealed to. Prayers were said against Socialists and Liberals. Processions of children were sent through the streets singing hymns and bearing Clerical banners. More than this, there was wholesale ballot-box stuffing and falsification of election returns. It is to be borne in mind, also, that an electoral system permitting just representation of the votes cast would give the Clerical a majority of no more than five or six instead of sixteen.

But all this does not do away with the fact that the Clericals won. They won, however, not as clericals, but as conservatives. For, and this is the im-

portant point, the Liberal leaders could not hold their voters in line in favor of a democratic movement. This is proved by the fact that though the coalition lost, the Socialists gained both in popular vote and in the number of seats captured. They increased their group in parliament from 35 to 39. It was, then, the Liberals who lost the fight for the coalition. They lost because their bourgeois followers fear the Socialists more than they do the Clericals. They deserted in large numbers to the enemy's camp.

This result gives us a new angle from which to view the advisability of combining forces with capitalist parties. In this case the combination was defeated, therefore the evil results commonly predicted for Socialists in cases of this kind did not follow. But the sword cut in the opposite direction. If the Socialists did not suffer from an attempt to disregard the class-struggle, the Liberals did. The Liberal leaders found that they are permitted to follow liberal ideas only so far as their bourgeois supporters permit. So the moment they combined with the Socialists for a genuinely liberal purpose they lost the support which is necessary to their very existence.

For the Socialists of Belgium the "defeat" means nothing. They are stronger in every way than they ever were before. They will continue to organize for victory. Incidentally it is safe to say that they will enter no unholy alliances for some time to come. In conjunction with the labor unions they are now discussing the advisability of calling a general strike as a demonstration in favor of electoral reform. General working-class opinion seems to be in favor of such a strike. The plan which seems to meet with most support, however, is to postpone it until careful preparations can be made and the move will be irresistible.

**Germany. The Democracy of the Social Democrats.** For some years past the executive committee (Parteiverstand) of the German Social Democratic party has been under fire. The criticism directed against it culminated at the time of the movement of the government against Morocco. The critics, notably Comrade Rosa Luxemburg, maintained

that the members of the committee acted at that time with an eye to the approaching election rather than for the purpose of really rousing the working-class against the policy of foreign aggression. At the party congress which met at Jena the committee received the support of a majority. It was decided, however, to appoint a commission of twenty-two members, who, acting conjointly with the executive committee, were to present to the next party congress proposals for the amendment of the party constitution. From the form in which the original resolution with regard to this matter was submitted it is clear that the purpose of its authors was to introduce into the party machinery a greater degree of democracy.

The commission has now completed its report, which is to be submitted to the approaching party congress, to be held on Sept. 15 at Chemnitz. There are two important proposals involved in the amendments drawn up in this report. The first is to constitute a committee of thirty-two members corresponding roughly to our National Committee. The members of this committee are to be nominated by the agitation districts into which the empire is divided and elected by the party congress. All except the most populous districts are to have one representative apiece. The committee is to meet regularly with the executive committee every three months. On these occasions the two bodies are to sit jointly. Together they are, subject to the party congress, to have under their control "such important political questions as involve the entire party, the establishment of central institutions which depend permanently on the party for funds, as well as the drawing up of the agenda of the party congresses." Since the executive committee contains only about a fourth as many members as the proposed new body, it is evident that the amendment gives to the new committee the predominant position. In fact in most respects it is to be a close counterpart of our own National Committee as it has been reconstituted in the amendments adopted at the Indianapolis convention.

The other proposal of importance is to cut down the representation of the parliamentary fraction in the party congresses. At present every Socialist member of the imperial parliament has a seat in any party congress held during his term of office. It is now proposed to give seats to only one third of the members of the Socialist group.

Most of the arguments advanced for and against these proposals are very familiar to every American reader. We have heard them at least a thousand times in this country. They represent the old opposition between efficiency and democracy. The advocates of the new national committee maintain that its members, living in the various districts which they represent, can keep in touch with the party membership and really represent it in decisions upon party affairs. Representatives of the present form of organization argue that the executive committee, made up of few members all living in Berlin, can deal much more quickly and efficiently with any emergency which may arise. In favor of cutting down the representation of the parliamentary fraction there are two arguments: it would decrease the size of the congresses, which now number between three hundred and four hundred members; it would decrease, more especially, the number of delegates who have a natural tendency to overemphasize the importance of parliamentary work. In favor of allowing all members of the fraction to retain their seats it is said that it is useful both to the party and to the members of parliament to have the latter seated in the body to which they are responsible and from which they must receive their instructions.

The discussion aroused by this proposal to amend the constitution of the Social Democracy draws attention to the quiet, orderly, bureaucratic manner in which the regular propaganda work of our German comrades is done. This work is carried on under the auspices of the party executive committee for the entire empire, an agitation committee for each nation, a similar committee for each of the twenty-nine agitation districts. These committees route speakers, author-

ize and distribute literature, etc. If one is to judge from the Socialist press their work is subjected to little criticism. There are, of course, occasional disagreements, but hardly ever are there such extended controversies as those to which we are accustomed in this country.

This discussion emphasizes, too, the importance which German Socialists place upon the proper and adequate use of political and social events for purposes of propaganda. In comparison with the Germans others know hardly anything of demonstrations. The denial of a suffrage law, an international complication, a rise in prices—almost any event which interests the working-class—is made the occasion for the publication of protests and the gathering of hundreds of thousands of comrades and sympathizers. One hardly knows whether to call this direct or indirect action, but it has become a mighty power. It is noteworthy that in all the discussions of the constitution of a new national committee it is the ability of such a committee to arrange for such demonstrations that the comrades have chiefly in mind.

One cannot help observing that the referendum vote plays practically no part in the thinking of our German comrades. They are evidently attempting at the present time to bring the rank and file of the membership into action. But all they think of is some method of making reasonably sure that the leaders will have opportunity to keep in touch with the members.

**England. Progress of Transport Worker's Strike.** The English Transport Workers are making a heroic struggle under the most terrible conditions and against the most brutal opposition. After their strike last autumn they and the representatives of the employers as well as members of the Board of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, and the British Cabinet signed a contract. This contract, thus solemnly and abundantly signed, the employers have absolutely refused to keep. Since last August they have deducted from the wages of the men, contrary to the contract, a sum amounting to more than 500,000 pounds. Since most of the Transport workers re-

ceive less than a pound a week, this robbery is to them a matter of life and death. But the employers have refused to meet their committees, or in fact to do anything at all with regard to the grievances. Even when the government submitted propositions looking toward a settlement of the strike the employers remained obdurate. Then the men called a general strike. The response to this call has not been general. Most of the English unions are not now in what they consider a financial condition which justifies the calling of a strike. In London and the provinces together, it is estimated, there are 50,000 men out.

The struggle has resolved itself into a brute fight against starvation. The men have issued an appeal for help, and are receiving magnificent financial support from their fellow workers throughout England. The Socialists of London and vicinity are giving a fine example of solidarity by taking the children of strikers into their homes.

**France. The Struggle of the Seamen.** On June 10 there began at Havre what promises to be the beginning of the final struggle of French seamen against the inhuman conditions under which they work. The seamen of the French republic are subject to a maritime code which became law as a decree of Napoleon III. in 1852. This law delivers sailors absolutely to the mercy of their officers. A captain at sea can have his men beaten, imprisoned, or starved. On land seamen are subject to courts made up chiefly of their employers or officers subject to their employers. The question of wages enters also into the strike, but the inhuman discipline carried on under the law of 1852 is the chief matter at issue.

In the beginning 2,000 men went out at Havre. These were soon joined by some hundreds at Brest, Marseilles, and other ports. Ten days later the national officers of the seamen called for a nation strike. For twenty-four hours vessels were tied up in all the ports of France, and after the period for which the strike was called had passed many men remained out. Some of the largest vessels in the French mercantile service have been unable to sail. As a tie-up the strike has been extremely effective.

The government has brought marines from its men-of-war to Havre with a view to setting them to do strike-breaking, but the employers, apparently, fear to allow this step to be taken. The latest news received as the REVIEW goes to press is that the men have been strengthened by the adhesion of some of their officers and that troops have been sent to shoot them into submission.

**Austria-Hungary. Persecutions in Croatia.**—The International Socialist Bureau has sent out to the affiliated parties and to the Socialist press an appeal on behalf of the comrades in Croatia. In this province all legal guarantees have been suspended, working-class periodicals have been suppressed, the right of meeting or distributing literature has been denied. The Socialists of Croatia have fought long and desperately against oppression. Now they find themselves at the end of their resources. They ask the Socialists of the world to give them financial support. If they do not receive this support it is probable that their organization will be crushed. The address of their party is Slobodna Rijec, Ilica 55, Zagreb, Croatia.



# NEWS AND VIEWS

**The Barnes Case.**—Comes to me a pair of circular letters, one from Comrade Debs, our Presidential candidate, and the other from Comrade Barnes, our campaign manager. Nine full pages of closely typewritten matter, charging and refuting, but by their very existence proving that "the selection of Comrade Barnes as campaign manager has revived the whole unpleasant issue, with all its attending animosity, setting comrades against each other in bitter strife at the time above all others when they should be working together in unison and concord."

Having served as one of the delegates at the last convention, the writer is in a position to know at first hand just what happened, and after reading the two statements above mentioned it becomes necessary to "nail" several statements made by Comrade Barnes as false. First, he states: "The election of the campaign manager was not rushed through. The delegates were not weary or woozy, nor tricked out of their senses." Comrade Barnes knows as well as anyone else who attended the convention that his nomination was effected in the very last hours of the convention, when the delegates were wearied with a full week of close confinement and tedious and patient attention to the many details coming before the delegates. He also knows that many of the delegates were compelled to fulfill early arrangements to leave for their homes and were consequently restless and nervous, not to mention the further fact that the nomination immediately followed the tiresome reading and consideration of a proposed constitution entirely different from the present document, and therefore requiring extra application and many amendments, all requiring settlement without discussion, and therefore straining and exhausting our every atom of energy and vitality. The ordeal was terrible! The delegates were worn out and their nervous systems taut, and at the breaking point! And at such a time appears the master hand of the boss Hillquit and plays its trump card, timed to a nicety and working to perfection. He won, and the few who were alert enough to understand the significance of the move were insignificant in numbers. And now comes the beneficiary of this little game and informs us that we were not tired or weary. For nerve exhibition, this is the limit.

Again, Comrade Barnes states that "A protest was made by one of the delegates," but the undersigned, who made the protest, cites the records to show that twenty delegates from Ohio (the remaining one being absent) and several delegates from elsewhere went on record, the Ohio delegates going so far as to sign a written protest against the injection and uncovering of the whole stinking, filthy Barnes mess, and these twenty odd delegates are quite a different proposition from the one so kindly mentioned by Barnes.

Barnes also states, on page two of his let-

ter, that his "election as campaign manager was the most surprising and unexpected event of" his experience, and in the very next paragraph we find this statement: "One of the delegates, but a few hours before the nomination, while endeavoring to induce me to accept, stated that there were one hundred and ninety-three delegates who had expressed preference for me." Some surprise, that! Like a regular birthday surprise party, where the recipient of the honors is compelled to pretend ignorance concerning the affair!

But the terrible phase of the whole matter is not the above false statements of Comrade Barnes, but the wrangle and mix-up in which we find ourselves immediately preceding the heat of a most important campaign, "setting comrades against each other in bitter strife," as Comrade Debs so lucidly states it, and putting an effectual estoppage to real campaign effort. How Comrade Barnes was induced to play the clown for and by the self-appointed boss Hillquit is impossible of comprehension, but since he did so, it is up to the membership to correct this deplorable state of things as quickly as possible by recalling Comrade Barnes as campaign manager.

LAWRENCE A. ZITT, Cincinnati, O.

**Not Another Like It.** I must tell you the truth—there is not another magazine like the REVIEW in the world. I read Socialist publications in five languages, and none of them are so good, so filled with revolutionary spirit as the REVIEW. Put some more written dynamite in the REVIEW, comrades.—Comrade Auerbach, Nebraska.

**Certainly Not Bad.** Sold all last month's REVIEW—45 in all. Nuff sed. Sold them—did not give them away. I want 50 this month. It is not bad—from 5 to 50 copies in six months.—Comrade McQuoid, Alberta, Canada.

**FROM A LABOR ORGANIZATION:** Enclosed find draft for the sum of \$30.00 for which place the name of Bisbee Miners Union on your books as subscribers for 100 Reviews per month for the term of six months. The boys here are of the opinion that the Review is the best propaganda magazine in the country for the upbuilding of a class conscious union.

E. J. MacCOSHAM,  
Secretary No. 106,  
Western Federation of Miners,  
Bisbee, Ariz.

**FROM A PARTY LOCAL:**  
 Enclosed find express order of \$2.00 for 40 Reviews. The local at the last meeting passed a motion that we get 40 copies each month until we require an increase. The opinion of this local is that it is just the thing needed to make sound Socialists.

**J. H. MEARNS, Secretary,**  
 Norwalk, Ohio.

**COMRADE IRVIN H. CADY.**  
 La Porte, Ind.

**Action in La Porte.** Comrade E. R. Esler, who spoke for some of the best locals in Indiana during the last month, reports enthusiastically of the splendid work being done by the local of the Socialist Party at that point. He said that his meeting there was one of the best, and that Comrades Deford, Frankinberger, Hunt, Halberg, Kepplin, Messer, Rohn, Collar, Keuhne, as well as Secretary Cady, make a team that he has not seen equalled anywhere in the Hoosier State. The local has stirred things up until everybody in La Porte is studying Socialism. The comrades are not going to give them a chance to say, "I don't know." When La Porte opens her street meetings the boys set off a big red fire fuse to attract the crowd. They have a classy "soap box" with an illuminating torch light and they only invite speakers who have something to say. As a consequence every inhabitant in La Porte is soaking up more and more of the principles of Socialism. Comrade Secretary Cady, a proletarian, and candidate for Congress, is a great worker, as well as a student, and he knows how to reach the crowd from the soap box. The local flying squadron has its wards so well organized that they can cover some of them distributing literature in twenty minutes. In fact, the La Porte friends have kept things stirring so long that the Knights of Columbus have appealed to David Goldstein to come to La Porte to speak against Socialism. From all we know of La Porte comrades, we believe they can be trusted to have a speaker on hand that will nail every lie Goldstein tries to spring.

**Starve Poor to Make 'Em Good.** Sandusky, O., July 3.—(Special.)—That the common people must be starved to make them good; that men, women and children—gaunt, shriveled and wan—must stand in a bread line all over the country to "quiet the unrest" manifested in the progressive political movement, was the remedy proposed by President W. P. Sharer of Zanesville in his opening address at the annual convention of the Ohio Bankers' Association, now in session at Cedar Point.

"We need a period of hard times and misery," declared Sharer. "The bread line is the only thing that halts a certain class of voters."  
 —Toledo News-Bee.

**COMRADES ELKNER, St. Joseph, Mo.**  
 The cause has lost one of its most faithful workers in the death of Comrade J. F. Elkner.

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We refer you Charles H. Kerr, Editor of this magazine, with whom we have done business the past ten years.

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**Results in Hamilton.** The Socialist local at Hamilton, Ohio, is doing wonderful work. Their campaign plans have already been formulated, and they are holding meetings every other day. The photo is one taken of a Harry Spears meeting, held in Hamilton June 8. Comrades assure us they have an excellent chance to capture the whole county next fall. They give the REVIEW credit for helping in the work of real Socialist education. The photograph was sent us with the compliments of Comrades Jacob Halperin and son, two of the best workers in the State. Keep your eyes on Hamilton. She will probably be on the elected-revolutionists-to-office map next fall.

**Not Coming.** Scott Bennett, the well known orator of New Zealand, has had to abandon his lecture tour through the United States to straighten out the tangle of compromise wrought by Walter Thomas Mills in that country during his stay there. Comrade Bennett's meetings are attended every week by from 1,000 to 1,500 working men and women and we are proud to report that he writes us sending "hearty congratulations on the continued excellence of the REVIEW. It is the publication in the English speaking movement."

**Socialist Literature in Kansas City.** Comrade W. S. Crater of Kansas City, is conducting the only establishment there where Socialist literature is publicly exposed for sale. The small exploiters of labor are trying to run him out of business by boycotting him on account of his politics, and we hope the Socialists in his city will rally around and help him do a bigger business. Sales of working class literature are bound to grow if the salesman handles the right stuff, so dig in and give our friend a lift until he works up a steady trade. Look for his news cart at Twelfth and Oak streets.

**A Hot One from Brazil.** June 16, 1912—Re-

solved: Whereas, the Socialist party in national convention assembled at Indianapolis, in May, 1912, and in report of the constitution committee of Section 6, Art. 2, of the proposed constitution, voted to insert the word "Sabotage," which makes said section read as follows:

"Any member of the party who opposes political action, or advocates 'Sabotage' or other forms of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation, shall be expelled from the party."

Believing that the Socialist party has never, at any time, as a party measure, advocated violence, then it follows that adoption of above section in the party constitution admits our guilt in time past. Also, the Socialist party has, as a rule, rendered material aid to workers in their struggles for better conditions, and the Socialist party, being a political organization for political purposes; and, as the adoption of said section into the party constitution will place the political party in the position as dictator of methods and a usurper of rights on industrial fields; and, whereas, the Indiana delegation voted solid for the adoption of said Section 6, Art. 2, of National Constitution, we, Local Brazil, Socialist Party of Indiana, do hereby go on record as opposing the action of the Indiana delegation, and of the other delegates who voted to place said section in the party constitution, which will establish a dangerous precedent, and lay the foundation for factions, disruptions and eventually disunion of the party, by becoming dictator of tactics and methods of the workers in their industrial battles against the master class; and we further wish to go on record as favoring the striking out of the entire section above named, and in favor of political action by the political party, and leave the methods of bat-

tle upon the industrial field to those directly engaged in the fight for life and liberty. And, further, we call upon the rank and file of the Socialist party of Indiana to vote down this part of the constitution when referendum is taken, and release the State party from the reflection cast upon it by our nine delegates, and call upon each delegate to give reasons for thus voting.

Signed, after unanimous vote. Local Brazil, S. P. of Indiana. Wm. Lynch, Wm. Tumsdon, Ed. Harper, committee.

**A Correction.** To John M. Work: In the June issue of the REVIEW I notice a denial of my statement in the May issue that you are an ex-preacher. I made the statement there referred to because I understood you to say in a lecture delivered at Walker Theater, Los Angeles, about two years ago, that you had come into the Socialist movement as a result of conclusions reached while studying social conditions as a minister. My memory may have served me wrongly, and, since you say you were never a preacher, I gladly accept your statement as fact and congratulate you on being a member in good standing of the stenographers' and typists' union.

My personal opinion is that Comrade John M. Work has proven to be the most efficient national secretary the party has had since its organization, and I am delighted to know that his mind has never been stunted by studying theology.—Lindsay Lewis.

**From State Secretary of West Va.** Comrade Houston orders 1,000 "Breaking Up the Home," "The Shrinking Dollar" and "What to Read on Socialism," and says: "The American movement owes a debt to the Kerr Co. for giving us a literature that tends to clarity. The three pamphlets above named are an evidence of this."

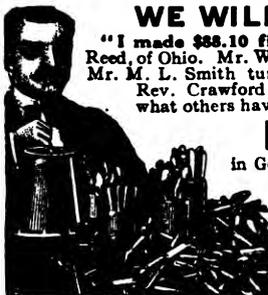
**Wanted Some More.** Hope I am not too late for my bundle of REVIEWS. I asked some of the comrades at the local last night who had been getting them of me if they wished me to order again, and their reply was, "Indeed we do." We give away all that are not sold and consider them cheap propaganda.—Comrade Mrs. Bullard, Kansas.

**Too Full of Meat to Miss.** Indeed I do not want to miss a single number of the REVIEW, for it is too full of meat. While I may not be in full accord with all it contains, I like to keep in touch with the various ideas entertained by the comrades. Money is a very scarce article with me, and I am obliged to make a little go a long way in the purchase of literature, and that is the reason that I take the REVIEW, for I think it furnishes more real matter for the money than any other Socialist publication.—Comrade Swift, New York.

The S. P. of California sends in a big order for books, including 5,000 each of "The Shrinking Dollar" and "Breaking Up the Home."

**Neck and Neck.** Local Kings County, N. Y., and Los Angeles, Calif., are still running a close race on literature sales. Local Kings County sent in over \$225.00 this month at one whack.

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**AGENTS.** "Was out one day, sold 11 stoves." B. L. Husted, Mich. "You have the best stove on the market; sold 9 in 2 hours." W. E. Beard, S. C. J. W. Hunter, Ala., secured 1—tested it—ordered 200 since. J. G. Gauthreaux, La., ordered 155 since. **THESE MEN MAKE MONEY**—You have the same chance. Price low—\$3.25 up; any number of burners. Send no money. Write today. Agent's selling plan, etc.

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From an Optimist. The REVIEW has arrived with its account of the Indianapolis convention and it is pleasing to note the rise, since the last convention, of the influence of the "reds." The absence from the platform this year of the "capitalist the slave of his wealth rather than its master," "realize the international brotherhood of man," "the religious beliefs" paragraphs, etc., is a healthy sign and gives rise to the hope that the Socialist Party in the United States will be represented in the next national convention by delegates the majority of whom will not see fit to waste time denying that they are anarchists, or to apologize for aiding workmen on trial for life, even though these same men subsequently proved themselves enemies of labor. When the membership, by referendum, cuts the sabotage clause out of this year's platform and places it in an antique frame and hangs it among the spider webs and mold and the many other discarded playthings of the Socialist Party's childhood, that will be another step forward. Still another step will be when we own to the charge of being "direct actionists" or cease associating with an organization the avowed purpose of which is to organize the workers so that they may achieve their own emancipation. In closing, allow me to say that I am glad that we have the REVIEW and to express the hope that it may live and continue to grow in power and influence so long as its present editorial policy is continued. Yours for the revolution. Comrade Jamison, Montgomery.

Andrew C. Sill was born in Bainsbridge, N. H., February 21, 1871, died June 3, 1912. Comrade Sill was one of the pioneer organizers of the Socialist Party in Florida, and was the nominee of the party for secretary of state in 1908. Later he was elected state secretary of the party, to which position he was twice elected to succeed himself, and served most efficiently until April 1, 1912, when he resigned on account of the pressure of other interests. As a tribute from his comrades, he is regarded as more responsible than any other man in the party for its having polled nearly one-third of the votes in the last state election. The party throughout the state will feel that it has sustained a great loss.

In 1909 he became greatly interested in Ruskin Colony, becoming one of the earliest allottees; and a year later sold his holdings at St. Petersburg and concentrated all his interests at Ruskin. He has been one of the most active promoters of the interests of both Ruskin and Morris Park, and held the offices of chairman of the executive committee of Ruskin Co-Operative Mercantile Company, president of Ruskin Colonization Company, general manager of Ruskin Colony Extension Company, and secretary of Ruskin-Morris Park Interurban Railway Company.

To express the high appreciation in which he was held in Ruskin, we may quote from "Bonnie Brier Bush" in the account of the passing of Georgie Howe, leaving out the Scotch dialect, "There is but one heart in Ruskin, since he has gone; and that is sore."

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**CUT THIS COUPON TO YOUR LETTER**

**The Ways of John F. Tobin.** Editor INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW: I have just seen the Tobin letter in your June issue. It is characteristic of that gentleman, and of the methods by which he has made the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union what it is, that he purposely and with malice aforethought omitted the date of my letter of introduction of him to Comrade Debs. That letter of mine was written some fifteen years ago—between 1896 and 1898—when I was living in Nashville, Tenn., and Tobin was a member of the Socialist Labor Party and an honored member at that. It was not inconsistent of me to write that letter then, but it would be worse than inconsistent—it would be dishonest—for me to write it now. It is not generally known, and to new-comers in the movement especially, that Tobin was once an active Socialist. Indeed, it was chiefly because of that that he first became president of the United Boot and Shoe Workers' Union when that organization was formed in Boston in 1895. He was the candidate of the progressives in the convention then held, Jim Carey stepping aside to make way for Tobin. I first met Tobin at the A. F. of L. convention in New York in 1895, when he, Barnes, Bechtold, myself and other Socialists were a small minority that voted unitedly on all Socialist propositions. We met next at Cincinnati the following year and again in 1897 at Nashville. It was from Tobin, by the way, that I first heard the news of Jim Carey's election as a Socialist to the Common Council in Haverhill in 1897—the first Socialist official elected in the New England states. It is only necessary to add that in those days Tobin was known as "Honest John," and that his utterances then were as revolutionary as his acts now are reactionary.—William Mailly.

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By Karl Kautsky

Old-time American Socialists will remember that in 1899 the most widely-circulated Socialist books were four pamphlets entitled **The Capitalist Class, The Proletariat, The Class Struggle and The Co-operative Commonwealth.** They were badly printed, in small, dingy type set across wide pages. They were badly translated, the ponderous German sentences were reproduced in English without mercy on the reader. Yet they were read eagerly because they contained the real Socialist message in full detail, answering just the questions that wage-workers ask. These pamphlets were taken from a book by **Karl Kautsky**, known in Germany as the **Erfurter Programm.** William E. Bohn has made a new and a good translation for us. He has broken up the straggling German sentences into crisp American sentences. We have used large clear type and good paper. This is one of the few books that you can't afford to miss if you want to know about Socialism. Price in cloth binding 50c; in paper 25c., postpaid. We will send 10 paper copies by express prepaid for \$1.50 or 100 for \$12.50. Address

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**Ettor-Giovannitti Meetings in Essex County, Mass.** Roland D. Sawyer is making his headquarters for the summer at Kensington, N. H., town on the borders of Essex county, and since July 8 he has been holding lectures in the various towns and cities in the county in the interest of Ettor and Giovannitti. Comrade Sawyer has a set of stereopticon slides on the Lawrence strike, and he is endeavoring to off-set the prejudiced statements of the capitalist newspapers. In addition to the stereopticon lectures, several mass meetings have been arranged at which Comrade Sawyer and Elizabeth Gurley-Flynn are the speakers.

**Section No. 6.** Local 19, East Hartford, protests emphatically against the proposed constitutional amendment known as Section No. 6, which would expel from the party any member who advocated sabotage. One of the reasons for our protest, regardless of the merits or demerits of sabotage, is the wording of the amendment (constructed by cunning lawyers at the convention), which makes it impossible to vote against the amendment without apparently voting against the principle of political action. If it was deemed best or advisable to amend the constitution to denounce Sabotage, why was it necessary to include the words, "Any member of the party who opposes political action," etc., since Article No. 2, Section No. 1, subscribes to the principle of political action? To our mind, the wording was cunningly contrived to conceal the real object of the resolution and to slip it by the membership of the party on a referendum vote without the members sensing the real meaning of the amendment.

There is no more occasion for a clause of this nature in the constitution than for one denouncing free love, or anarchism, or any other ism which we have been accused of standing for. Under a strict interpretation of the clause any member of a labor union might be expelled from the party for advocating a strike, since a strike is an interference with the machinery of production, and that is sabotage. In conclusion, we say: Let every member scan this clause carefully and understand the full purport of it before casting a vote in favor of it. Organizer and Recording Secretary, Henry D. Noble, E. Hartford, Conn.

**From Woonsocket, R. I.** The Socialist Fourth of July picnic at Cold Spring Park was a decided success. All day long the workers of Woonsocket and surrounding towns came and went and enjoyed the picnic of their own class; it was estimated that 6,000 persons attended. Rev. Roland D. Sawyer of Ware, Mass., was the speaker, and he divided his talk between a treatment of the Ettor-Giovannitti case and a propaganda speech on Socialism. The following resolutions were passed:

"We, some 2,000 citizens of Woonsocket, R. I., in public meeting assembled, united in the following resolutions as our protest against the unjust treatment of Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti by the ruling class of the state of Massachusetts; and,

"Whereas, Joseph J. Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti were seized and thrown into prison at the behest of capitalist manufacturers, when

guilty of committing no crime whatsoever; and,

"Whereas, It appears that the courts of Massachusetts are intent on giving these men long terms of imprisonment, or perhaps judicially murdering them; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we protest to our fellow citizens of New England against the class character of the courts, the governor and the whole political machinery of the state; and we call upon our fellow citizens everywhere to unite with us in raising such a public sentiment as shall secure justice for our comrades and fellow workers, whose only crime is loyalty to their class; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to Governor Foss, of Massachusetts, and District Attorney Atwell of Lynn."

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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*The*  
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No. 3

# THE WALKER

BY

ARTURO GIOVANNITTI

Written in His Cell in Essex County  
Jail, Lawrence, Mass.

I HEAR footsteps over my head all night.  
They come and they go. Again they come and again they go all night.  
They come one eternity in four paces and they go one eternity in four paces, and between the coming and the going there is Silence and the Night and the Infinite.

For infinite are the nine feet of a prison cell, and endless is the march of him who walks between the yellow brick wall and the red iron gate, thinking things that cannot be chained and cannot be locked, but that wander far away in the sunlit world, in their wild pilgrimage after destined goals.

Throughout the restless night I hear the footsteps over my head.  
Who walks? I do not know.. It is the phantom of the jail, the sleepless brain, a man, the man, THE WALKER.

One—two—three—four: four paces and the wall.

One—two—three—four: four paces and the iron gate.

He has measured the space, he has measured it accurately, scrupulously, minutely, so many feet, so many inches, so many fractions of an inch for each of the four paces.

One—two—three—four. Each step sounds heavy and hollow over my head, and the echo of each step sounds hollow within my head as I count them in suspense and in fear that once, perhaps, in the endless walk, there may be five steps instead of four between the yellow brick wall and the red iron gate.

But he has measured the space so accurately, so scrupulously, so minutely, that nothing breaks the grave rhythm of the slow phantastic march.

When all are asleep (and who knows but I when they all sleep?) three things are still awake in the night: the Walker, my heart, and the old clock which has the soul of a fiend, for never, since a coarse hand with red hair on its fingers swung the first time the pendulum in the jail, has the old clock tick-tocked a full hour of joy.

Yet the old clock which marks everything and records everything and to everything sounds the death knell, the wise old clock that knows everything, does not know the number of the footsteps of the Walker nor the throbs of my heart.

For neither for the Walker nor for my heart is there a second, a minute, an hour, or anything that is in the old clock; there is nothing but the night, the sleepless night, and footsteps that go, and footsteps that come and the wild tumultuous beatings that trail after them forever.

\* \* \*

All the sounds of the living beings and inanimate things, and all the voices and all the noises of the night, I have heard in my wistful vigil.

I have heard the moans of him who bewails a thing that is dead and the sighs of him who tries to smother a thing that will not die;

I have heard the stifed sobs of the one who prays with his head under the coarse blanket and the whisperings of the one who prays with his forehead on the hard cold stone of the floor;

I have heard him who laughs the shrill sinister laugh of folly at the horror rampant on the yellow wall and at the red eyes of the nightmare glaring through the iron bars;

I have heard in the sudden icy silence him who coughs a dry ringing metallic cough and wished madly that his throat would not rattle so and that he would not spit on the floor, for no sound was more atrocious than that of his sputum upon the floor;

I have heard him who swears fearsome oaths which I listen to in reverence and in awe, for they are holier than the virgin's prayer;

And I have heard, most terrible of all, the silence of two hundred brains all possessed by one single relentless unforgiving desperate thought.

All this have I heard in the watchful night,  
And the murmur of the wind beyond the walls,  
And the tolls of a distant bell,

And the remotest echoes of the accursed city,  
And the terrible beatings, wild beatings, mad beatings of the one Heart  
which is nearest to my heart.

All this I have heard in the still night;

But nothing is louder, harder, drearier, mightier, more awful, than the footsteps I hear over my head all night.

Yet fearsome and terrible are all the footsteps of men upon the earth, for they either descend or climb.

They descend from little mounds and high peaks and lofty altitudes, through wide roads and narrow paths, down noble marble stairs and creaky stairs of wood, and some go down to the street, and some go down to the cellar, and some down to the pits of shame and infamy, and still some to the glory of an unfathomable abyss where there is nothing but the staring white stony eyeballs of Destiny.

And again other footsteps climb. They climb to life and to love, to fame, to power, to vanity, to truth, to glory, and to the gallows: to everything but Freedom and the Ideal.

And they all climb the same roads and the same stairs others go down; for never, since man began to think how to overcome and overpass man, have other roads and other stairs been found.

They descend and they climb, the fearful footsteps of men, and some drag, some speed, some trot, some run; the footsteps are quiet, slow, noisy, brisk, quick, feverish, mad, and most awful is their cadence to hear for the one who stands still.

But of all the footsteps of men that either descend or climb, no footsteps are as fearsome and terrible as those that go straight on the dead level of a prison floor from a yellow stone wall to a red iron gate.

\* \* \*

All through the night he walks and he thinks. Is it more frightful because he walks and his footsteps sound hollow over my head, or because he thinks and does not speak?

But does he think? Why should he think? Do I think? I only hear the footsteps and count them. Four steps and the wall. Four steps and the gate. But beyond? Beyond? Where does he go beyond?

He does not go beyond. His thought breaks there on the iron gate. Perhaps it breaks like a wave of rage, perhaps like a sudden flow of hope, but it always returns to beat the wall like a billow of helplessness and despair.

He walks to and fro within the narrowness of this ever storming and furious thought. Only one thought, constant, fixed, immovable, sinister, without power and without voice.

A thought of madness, frenzy, agony, and despair, a hell-brewed thought for it is a natural thought. All things natural are things impossible so long as there are jails in the world—bread, work, happiness, peace, love.

But he does not think of this. As he walks he thinks of the most superhuman, the most unattainable, the most impossible things in the world.

He thinks of a small brass key that turns half around and throws open the iron gate.

\* \* \*

That is all that the Walker thinks, as he walks throughout the night. And that is what two hundred minds drowned in the darkness and the silence of the night think and that is what I think.

Wonderful is the holy wisdom of the jail that makes all think the same thought. Marvelous is the providence of the law that equalizes all even in mind and sentiment. Fallen is the last barrier of privilege, the aristocracy of the intellect. The democracy of reason has levelled all the two hundred minds to the common surface of the same thought.

I, who have never killed, think like the murderer;

I, who have never stolen, reason like the thief;

I think, reason, wish, hope, doubt, wait like the hired assassin, the embezzler, the forger, the counterfeiter, the incestuous, the raper, the prostitute, the pimp, the drunkard,—I—I who used to think of love and life and the flowers and song and beauty and the ideal.

A little key, a little key as little as my little finger, a little key of shiny brass. All my ideas, my thoughts, my dreams are congealed in a little key of shiny brass.

All my brains, all my soul, all the suddenly surging latent powers of my life are in the pocket of a white-haired man dressed in blue.

He is powerful, great, formidable, the man with the white hair, for he has in his pocket the mighty talisman which makes one man cry and one man pray, and one laugh, and one walk, and all keep awake and think the same maddening thought.

Greater than all men is the man with the white hair and the little brass key, for no man in the world could compel two hundred men to think the same thought. Surely when the light breaks I shall write an ode, nay, a hymn, unto him, and shall hail him greater than Mohammed and Arbues and Torquemada and Mesmer, and all the other masters of other men's thoughts. I shall call him Almighty for he holds everything of all and of me in a little brass key in his pocket.

Everything of me he holds but the branding iron of contempt and the clamor of hatred for the most monstrous cabala that can make the apostle and the murderer, the poet and the procurer, think of the same key, the same gate and the same exit on the different sunlit highways of life.

\* \* \*

My brother, do not walk any more.

It is wrong to walk on a grave. It is a sacrilege to walk four steps from the headstone to the foot and four steps from the foot to the headstone.

If you stop walking, my brother, this will be no longer a grave; for you will give me back my mind that is chained to your feet and the right to think my own thoughts.

I implore you, my brother, for I am weary of the long vigil, weary of counting my steps and heavy with sleep.

Stop, rest, sleep, my brother, for the dawn is well nigh and it is not the key alone that can throw open the door.

# THE NEW SOCIALISM

BY

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

---

AUTHOR OF "SOCIALISM, POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE," "SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM," ETC.

---

WRITING a decade since in one of our heavy academic quarterlies, Professor Thorstein Veblen, then of the University of Chicago, said: "The only Socialism that inspires hopes and fears today is of the school of Karl Marx." Today with almost equal truth one might paraphrase Veblen thus: The only Socialism that now inspires hopes and fears is of the school of Tom Mann and William D. Haywood.

For the purposes of this discussion we shall call the Marxian Socialism "the Old Socialism," and the Socialism of Mann and Haywood "the New Socialism."

The New Socialism has usually been known in America as Industrial Unionism, while in England and on the continent of Europe it is commonly called Syndicalism. But, no matter what the name it bears or the country in which it appears, it is essentially the same everywhere. Everywhere it inspires fear and dread in the privileged classes, and everywhere it fills the breasts of all the workers, even the lowliest and most unskilled, with revivifying and unquenchable hope.

Whether it startles humanity by a strike of the railway workers in France, or of the dock workers in London, or of the coal miners in England and Wales, or of the

heterogeneous and polyglot textile workers of Massachusetts, or by wresting universal suffrage from the reactionary government of Hungary by a general strike in Buda Pesth, its outward phenomena and its inner spirit are the same.

Surely it behoves us all, no matter what our viewpoint, to understand this new portent.

What is this New Socialism? Is it a friend or a foe of the Old? Is it its child? And, if its child, is the child destined to devour its parent?

To answer these questions we must first make sure we know what were and are the salient features of the Old Socialism. Fortunately this is no difficult task, for the main characteristics of Marxian Socialism have remained practically unaltered since they were first publicly stated in the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels in 1847.

Briefly stated, the essential Marxian theses are that human thought, action and institutions are molded and determined by material and economic conditions; that this has caused a constant succession of class struggles to retain or obtain economic advantage; that the last and culminating class struggle is the modern conflict between the class who work for wages and the class who subsist on rent, interest and profits;

and that this struggle can only be ended by the decisive victory of the working class or proletariat, who, once in control of society, will abolish all classes by doing away with their foundation, private ownership of the means of production and distribution.

It will be seen that the most essential points are that it is the function and mission of the wage-working class to become the rulers of society and the abolishers of exploitation of man by man.

Lest it be thought that I have colored my outline of Marxism consciously or unconsciously to suit the purposes of this paper I will quote here an epitome of Marxism from the pen of Gabriel Deville, formerly one of the leaders of Marxian Socialism in France. "History, Marx has shown," wrote Deville, "is nothing but the history of class conflicts. The division of society into classes, which made its appearance with the social life of man, rests on economic relations—maintained by force—which enable some to succeed in shifting on to the shoulders of others the natural necessity of labor.

"Material interests have always been the inciting motives of the incessant struggles of the privileged classes, either with each other, or against the inferior classes at whose expense they live. Man is dominated by the material conditions of life, and these conditions, and therefore the mode of production, have determined and will determine human customs, ethics and institutions—social, economic, political, juridical, etc.

"As soon as one part of society has monopolized the means of production, the other part, upon whom the burden of labor falls, is obliged to add to the labor-time necessary for its own support a certain surplus-labor-time for which it receives no equivalent—time that is devoted to supporting and enriching the possessors of the means of production. As an extractor of unpaid labor, which by means of the increasing surplus-value whose source it is, accumulates every day more and more in the hands of the proprietary class the instruments of its dominion, the capitalist regime surpasses in power all the antecedent regimes founded on compulsory labor.

"But today the economic conditions be-

gotten by this regime, trammled in their natural evolution by this very regime, inexorably tend to break the capitalist mould which can no longer contain them, and these destroying principles are the elements of the new society.

"The historic mission of the class at present exploited—the proletariat—which is being organized and disciplined by the very mechanism of capitalist production, is to complete the work of destruction begun by the development of social antagonisms. It must, first of all, definitely wrest from its class adversaries the political power—the command of the force devoted by them to preserving intact their economic monopolies and privileges.

"Once in control of the political power it will be able, by proceeding to the socialization of the means of production through the expropriation of the usurpers of the fruits of others' toil, to suppress the present contradiction between collective production and private capitalist appropriation, and to realize the universalization of labor and the abolition of classes." (Foot-note. From Preface to "The People's Marx.")

It will be noted that Deville states that the first act of the proletariat must be to wrest the political power from its class adversaries and then "proceed to the socialization of the means of production." He does not even state that the latter will be accomplished by the use of the political machinery of the state. It would be difficult to cite a quotation from Marx himself that would indorse the notion that the capture of the political power is a condition precedent to social reconstruction. It is true that the Communist Manifesto states in general terms that "every class struggle is a political struggle" and that historic document concludes with a tentative practical program largely political in character, but this is very far from stating that it is purely through politics that the working class are to work out their own salvation or that it is through the medium of parliamentary legislation that the means of life are to become the collective property of the people.

What Marx was ever clear upon was that the Revolution which he foresaw and foretold was to be a revolution from the bottom up, not from the top down; that society was to be saved, not by the privileged, but

by the oppressed; that it was the stone which the builders rejected that was to become the head of the corner. That the proletariat were destined to rule he never doubted. How the proletariat were to gain the dominant power he never ventured to predict in detail.

In the Communist Manifesto he and Engels wrote, in 1847, "The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air." In 1864, drawing up the declaration of principles of the Workingmen's International, Marx wrote: "The emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the workers themselves." This emphasis upon the proletariat as the dynamic agents of Social Revolution is just as marked in Ferdinand Lassalle, the practical founder of the German Socialist Party. In his famous Arbeiter-Programm, after asserting again and again that the workers are to become the rulers of society, he says: "But on all who belong to the working class the duty of taking up an entirely new attitude is imposed, if there is any truth in what I have said.

"Nothing is more calculated to impress upon a class a worthy and moral character than the consciousness that it is destined to become a ruling class, that it is called upon to raise the principle of its class to the principle of the entire age, to convert *its idea* into the leading idea of the whole of society and thus to form this society by impressing upon it its own character.

"The high and world-wide honor of this destiny must occupy all your thoughts. Neither the load of the oppressed, nor the idle dissipation of the thoughtless, nor even the harmless frivolity of the obscure, are henceforth becoming to you. You are the rock on which the Church of the present is to be built.

"It is the lofty moral earnestness of *this* thought which must, with devouring exclusiveness, possess your spirits, fill your minds, and shape your whole lives, so as to make them worthy of it, conformable to it, and always related to it. It is the moral earnestness of this thought which must never leave you, but must be present to your heart in your workshops during the

hours of labor, in your leisure hours, during your walks, at your meetings, and even when you stretch your limbs to rest upon your hard couches it is *this* thought which must fill and occupy your minds till they lose themselves in dreams. The more exclusively you immerse yourselves in the moral earnestness of this thought, the more undividedly you give yourselves up to its glowing fervor, by so much the more, be assured, will you *hasten the time* within which our present period of history will have to fulfill its task, so much the sooner will you bring about the accomplishment of this task."

I have chosen to dwell upon the fact that the founders of the Old Socialism always taught that the Social Revolution was to be achieved by the proletariat, was to be from the bottom up, because many apologists of the New Socialism, perhaps led astray by the love of rhetorical antithesis, persist in telling us that "Socialism is a movement from the top down, while Syndicalism is a movement from the bottom up." I would not deny that the conduct of some of the "leaders" of American and English political Socialism do give a certain color of verisimilitude to this facile antithesis; but it is certain that the Socialism expounded by Marx and Engels and Lassalle was as truly as Syndicalism salvation from the bottom.

While it is indisputable that Marx believed in participation in politics by the revolutionary proletariat, it is equally undeniable that in his more scientific writings he was most careful to avoid any prediction as to *how* the proletariat would dispossess the holders of the means of production. In the famous chapter on the "Historical Tendency of Accumulation," in the first volume of "*Das Kapital*," published in 1867, he vouchsafes us no more than this:

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital be-

comes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.

"The transformation of scattered private property arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process, incomparably more protracted, violent and difficult, than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

There you have Marx's view in Marx's own words. If Marx believed that this expropriation was to be effected by the regular routine of parliamentary politics, it is passing strange he was so extremely careful to avoid saying so. In the light of what Marx actually did say, anyone who believes in organizing the proletariat, whether in labor unions or political parties, or both, for the purpose of expropriating the expropriators is justified in calling himself a Marxian Socialist.

In "Value, Price and Profit," a paper read before the Workingmen's International in the seventh decade of the last century, Marx said quite clearly that he recognized the possibility and desirability of the labor unions becoming agencies for social revolution. His exact words were: "Trade unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say the ultimate abolition of the wages system."

The New Socialism might well be defined as a systematic attempt of the labor unions to follow this advice from Karl Marx.

But it cannot be denied that the generally recognized spokesmen of present-day Marxian Socialism tend to lay more and more exclusive stress upon political action or rather parliamentary action; and that they look with no friendly eyes upon the growing power of the New Socialism. Thus, in England, Harry Quelch, the editor of "Justice" and the generally recognized defender of the pure Marxian faith in Great Britain, in the May issue of the "British Socialist," sneers at Syndicalism as "this latest phase of Anarchist anti-Socialism." And Quelch's *bete noire*, J. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., leader of the British Labor Party on the floor of the House of Commons, recently contributed to the *Daily Chronicle* (London) a series of articles analysing and denouncing Syndicalism. It is no mean tribute to the power of the New Socialism that it has been able to make Quelch and Macdonald agree on one subject at least.

The beginnings of the tendency in the Socialist movement to lay paramount stress upon political action are readily to be traced to the writings of Friedrich Engels. And it is of interest to note that Engels derived his theory of the State from that great and still inadequately appreciated American scholar, the late Lewis H. Morgan, of Rochester, New York.

It is true that Marx and Engels were approaching a similar theory of the State independently before they had read Morgan's "Ancient Society," for in the Communist Manifesto they wrote: "Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another." And in his "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," which appears to have been written before Engels had read Morgan's "Ancient Society," which appeared almost simultaneously, Engels elaborated this thesis more fully thus: "Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. Whilst it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialized, into State property, it shows itself the way to accomplish this revolution. *The proletariat*

*seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property.*

"But, in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State." Further on he says even more explicitly: "The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not 'abolished.' *It dies out.*"

This conception of the State as born to protect economic privilege, as being essentially a class instrumentality, has been generally accepted by Socialists. Logically it simply proves that the overthrow of capitalism is impossible so long as the capitalist class retain complete control of the political power. From this the natural conclusion was drawn that the first objective of the Socialist parties must be the conquest of political power. It does not necessarily follow that this seizure of governmental powers must be effected by the ballot and the routine parliamentary methods. All that the Engels conception of the State implies is that Socialist reconstruction of society cannot be carried out unless the capitalist class are very considerably hampered in their use of political power.

But this conception of Engels remained an unproved hypothesis until Morgan demonstrated the existence of organized communities, possessing no coercive public power, among the North American Indians and the pre-Homeric Greeks and others. Engels was quick to see the tremendous importance of Morgan's discoveries. In 1884 he published his "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," frankly basing his work upon that of Morgan.

While there are passages in "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" that indicate that Engels regarded the State as the probable instrument of expropriation and social

transformation, it is doubtful if he continued to hold that view. In the "Origin of the Family," written a decade later, he said: "Universal suffrage is the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It can and will never be anything else but that in the modern State. But that is sufficient. On the day when the thermometer of universal suffrage reaches its boiling point among the laborers, they as well as the capitalists will know what to do." And a decade later still, in writing a preface for a reprint in German of one of Marx's historical studies, he said that since the Paris Commune it was impossible for us longer to cherish the illusion that the proletariat could seize upon the machinery of the bourgeois state and use it unmodified for revolutionary purposes.

Certainly Marx's view that the State, like all other human institutions, is the creature of economic conditions, comports ill with the notion of many of the modern followers of Marx that the State can be used to alter fundamentally economic conditions.

The Marxian position would appear to be that the proletariat are destined to achieve the Social Revolution by abolishing private ownership of the means of life; that they cannot do this so long as political power remains wholly in the hands of their opponents; and that the Labor Unions may and should play an important role in effecting this social transformation.

The New Socialists, whether in France, England or America, would all subscribe cheerfully to these doctrines, though many of them would hasten to explain that the ballot is not the only means by which political power may be won.

Why then is there so much friction between the accredited leaders of Socialism and the New Socialism? Because there have been in the course of years accretions to the Marxian doctrine. The Marxian doctrine that Socialists must hamper the capitalists in their employment of the powers of government has grown into the doctrine that the Social Revolution can be effected solely by parliamentary methods. This growth has been natural and largely unconscious on the part of those who have been affected by it. It magnifies the importance and role of the elected person and the

Intellectual. To those who have come very naturally to look upon themselves as the leaders of the Socialist Movement, the new doctrine that politics are of secondary importance, and that the great work of reconstruction is to be accomplished by the united strength of the labor unions, seems little short of blasphemous heresy, and they have not been slow to dub it a reversion to Anarchy. But if our analysis of the essential nature of Marxian Socialism has been correct, the New Socialism has as much right as the old to the name of Marxian.

After all, the conflict between the leaders of the Socialist parties and the exponents of the New Socialism are more apparent than real. For in times of actual serious conflict with Capitalism we find them fighting side by side. In France after the railway strike of 1910 it was Jaurès, the leading advocate of Parliamentary Socialism in France, who fought for the re-instatement of the blacklisted railway workers. In England it was George Lansbury, M. P., whose efforts in Parliament obtained the release of Guy Bowman and the reduction of the sentence of Tom Mann, who had both been imprisoned for telling the British soldiers that murder was none the less murder because the killer wore a uniform, a doctrine enunciated by James Russell Lowell in the Bigelow Papers. When the Lawrence strike culminated in the atrocities committed upon women and children by the police and militia, it was Berger, the Parliamentarian, who aided Haywood, the New Socialist, in arousing the conscience of the nation. And in the municipal elections in Ohio, in 1911, which resulted in many Socialist victories, much of the most effective campaign work was done by Haywood, Frank Bohn and other New Socialists.

In order to understand the New Socialism it may be most convenient to study it chiefly in England, for there its most signal victories have been won. I refer to the London Dock Strike, the Seamen's Strike and the Railway Strike of 1911 and the great Coal Miners' Strike of 1912. These strikes, while they did not secure the strikers all they demanded, nevertheless showed dramatically both to the workers and to the general public the essential omnipotence of the workers when united, and their very formidable power when only partially united

and very inadequately organized and prepared for combat. Moreover three of these strikes, like the French Railway Strike of 1910, and the Hungarian Suffrage Strike of 1912, had very perceptible political effects, thus demonstrating that the strike as well as the ballot can be used for the proletarian conquest of political power.

These strikes were all illustrations of the New Socialism in action. They by no means give us the measure of the power of the New Socialism. They were in fact mere hints of the mighty portents we may expect when the propaganda of the New Socialism shall have thoroughly permeated the working classes.

Whence sprang British Syndicalism? Primarily from the conditions of British trade, industry and politics. In the face of the highly centralized organization of British industry the old methods of craft or sectional trade unionism had shown themselves powerless. The Labor politics of the British Labor Party, a mixture of lobbying and trading with the Liberal Party, had destroyed the belief in the efficacy of political action along parliamentary lines—a belief that was very strong in England in the ninth decade of the last century. Hence, the workers were ripe for the doctrine that what they wanted they must take by their own power, and that they could only do this by the action of all the workingmen and women in an industry, including the lowest paid and the most unskilled as well as the highly skilled craftsmen who had formerly formed the bulk of the organized labor movement.

These conditions would have given birth to the New Socialism sooner or later in any case, but the process of birth was facilitated and hastened by the timely arrival from Australia of Tom Mann, early in 1910. Mann at once began a vigorous propaganda for Industrial Unionism, though he was careful to antagonize the existing trade union movement as little as might be. His aim has been to induce the existing unions to open their doors to the unorganized and the unskilled, and to federate or amalgamate themselves into unions as broad as the industries in which they worked. He has never organized new unions save where the workers were unorganized, as among the waterside workers

in Dublin; and he organized them, not into a new union, but into the already existing National Transport Workers' Federation. In this work he has been eminently successful. Indeed his success has been so astounding and so rapid that it can only be accounted for on the theory that the movement would have come a little later spontaneously without his very effective propaganda.

Where did Tom Mann get his knowledge of the New Socialism? From France? No; to French Syndicalism his debt is very small. He became an Industrial Unionist in Australia, and the Industrial Union Movement in Australia drew all its inspiration and literature from America.

This literature consisted chiefly of the Preamble to the Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World, other pamphlets issued by that organization and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW (Chicago). That Mann had read this literature carefully and thoughtfully was shown me when he surprised me in London just before the Dock Strike of 1911 by quoting to me *verbatim et literatim* from an article of my own in the REVIEW.

Mann had been thoroughly trained and grounded in the tenets of Marxian Socialism during the many years in which he had been a co-worker with H. M. Hyndman and Harry Quelch in the Social Democratic Federation. This is also true of Ben Tillet, the very able leader of the London riverside workers.

The most active and militant of the younger leaders of the South Wales coal miners, who had so large a part in bringing to pass the recent coal strike, had been trained in the Workingmen's College, formerly at Oxford but recently moved to London. And there they had studied, as a sort of Labor *Magna Charta*, the Preamble to the Constitution of the American Industrial Workers of the World.

Since this document may fairly be regarded as the fundamental statement of the principles of the New Socialism it may be well to state that it was framed at the first convention of the I. W. W. in Chicago, in 1905. It has been slightly amended since, but the spirit has remained unchanged. The amendments have only served to make it more explicit. The first convention was

largely the result of the conviction of many American trade unionists that in the face of the Trust and the centralization of manufacturing capital the old-time trade unionism based on craft divisions and the manual skill of the craftsmen was rapidly becoming impotent or worse. This conviction had manifested itself spontaneously and sporadically in all parts of the country. So that it is fair to say the Preamble sprang, not so much from theory as from actual experience of the working class in its daily struggles for a decent livelihood. This Preamble reads, in its present form:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

"We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

"These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.'

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capi-

talists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The differentiating ideas of the New Socialism appear to be that unionism should cease to be the organization of the aristocrats of labor and become truly all-embracing class organizations; that such unions will be strong enough, whether with or without the aid of political parties, to overthrow the rule of the employing class; and that when once this is done they will be prepared to carry on the work of social production and distribution, which will be in the main merely a continuation of the functions they will have been performing before their conquest of society.

In addition to this one always finds the idea that in the conduct of their daily conflicts the workers are training themselves intellectually and morally for their future responsibilities to humanity.

Thus, while the New Socialism is not in essentials in conflict with the Old, it easily answers two objections that always gave pause to the apologists of the Old. The first of these is implied in the common query: "How are you going to see to it that the world's work is done after your victory?" The Old Socialism, looking forward to a political victory, had no convincing answer. The New Socialism says the very organization that wins the victory will carry on society's work after the victory is won, and that without any interval of disorganization. Indeed it is impossible for the New Socialism to win until it is fully prepared morally and technically to shoulder the responsibilities to mankind the victory will impose upon it.

The second of these objections to Socialism is commonly stated: "You must change human nature to make Socialism practicable." The New Socialist answers, the process of obtaining Socialist victory will change human nature; our victory will only come after human nature has been sufficiently changed.

The New Socialism tends to assure a peaceful revolution. This the Old could never do. Curiously enough the idea has gained currency in America that Haywood, Mann and the New Socialists generally are

advocates of force and violence, while the Old Socialists of the parliamentary type, such as Berger, Hillquit and Spargo, love peace and eschew violence. This is almost the exact reverse of the truth. It was the parliamentarian, Berger, who in a signed article advised every Socialist to buy a rifle. It was the parliamentarian, Hillquit, who said that if the Socialists were not allowed to seat peacefully the officials they had elected they would, "if need be, fight like tigers on the barricades."

The New Socialists look on riots, barricades and street fighting as hopelessly obsolete with the capitalist class in full possession of all the machinery of war. The weapon upon which they rely is the power of the workers peacefully to fold their arms in such numbers as to paralyze industry and force the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class.

This means the General Strike; but the New Socialists are not foolish enough to believe that any strike will ever be absolutely universal. The absolutely universal strike is simply an ideal toward which to work, but which in the nature of things can never be reached. The New Socialist believes with Browning that "a man's reach should exceed his grasp."

Moreover, there is no necessity for an absolutely general strike. A strike falling far short of that would force society to capitulate unconditionally. One hundred thousand London riverside workers, in 1911, compelled the British Government to solicit their permission to move petrol enough to furnish power to move the mails across the City of London. Two million coal miners forced the British Parliament in 1912 to pass England's first Minimum Wage law.

It is difficult to set limits to the possible effects of a strike of five million English workers sufficiently well organized to carry out a peaceful General Strike of one week's duration.

M. Georges Sorel, who has been the leading writer among the apologists of French Syndicalism, calls the General Strike a social "myth" which will never be realized, but which inspires the French workers to great and heroic daily deeds. But to the struggling workers the General Strike is no "myth." They know well enough that

a strike sufficiently general to emancipate humanity is not only possible but as certain as any future event can be.

The notion of violence so generally associated with the New Socialism probably springs in part from the fact that many French Syndicalists have perpetrated acts of violence. But this violence, as Dr. Louis Levine has pointed out in his just published scholarly work on "The Labor Movement in France," has been due, not to their revolutionary ideals, but to the numerical and financial weakness of the French Labor Unions. Weakness in labor unions everywhere begets violence without regard to the theoretical views of the union leaders. The MacNamaras were *craft* unionists, Democrats in politics and Catholics in religion. Yet there is no atrocity in the annals of French Syndicalism comparable in horror to the blowing up of the Los Angeles Times building.

English and American Syndicalism have been so slightly influenced by French Syndicalism that it is unnecessary to go with any fullness into the latter. Suffice it to say it only took form and actuality in 1895 and has only been powerful since 1902. Its achievements have been marvelous in view of its small numbers. The General Confederation of Labor has today less than half a million members; and owing to the extreme reluctance of the French workers to pay more than nominal dues it has never had large funds at its disposal.

Like English and American Syndicalism it was the creation of actual economic and political conditions, rather than of theorists. Indeed theorists like M. Sorel have never exercised much influence on the French Syndicalist movement. It is true that the leading ideas of French Syndicalism can be found in rudimentary form in writings of Bakunin and his associates in the old *International*. But it is very doubtful whether these Bakuninite writings had any real influence in determining the course of the development of modern Syndicalism.

It could be held very plausibly that Bakunin's distrust of the State and parliamentarism was more logically Marxian than the position of Marx and his friends in those bitter struggles in the old *International*. For Marx held that each stage of economic development begets the political

institutions in harmony with it. The present parliamentary or representative State came into being to serve the will of the bourgeoisie, and fulfills that function admirably. But, for that very reason, would not pure Marxism hold that it is impossible for it to be used by the proletariat for wholly different ends?

But, be that as it may, there can be but little doubt that Marx and his allies were right in holding that at that stage of industrial and historical development a powerful movement could only be built up along political lines. For the rest the divisions in the *International* were doubtless influenced more or less by racial and personal feelings. Marx was a German and a Jew. Bakunin was a Russian and an aristocrat. And it is quite certain that most of Bakunin's support came from those Latin races that then, as now, had little love for the Prussians.

What is the general attitude of the New Socialism toward ordinary political action, in short, toward participating in elections? This is well stated by the hero of the elder Rosny's very conscientious study of French Syndicalism, "*La Vague Rouge*." The hero, an agitator for the General Confederation of Labor, when asked by a workman, "Is it no longer necessary to vote?" replies, "Vote if you want to—A so-called Socialist deputy is always better than a radical deputy, and a radical deputy is preferable to a re-actionary deputy. But do not take your vote too seriously. Give your attention, all your attention and all your enthusiasm and all your courage, all your strength of arm and of head, to the struggles of your labor union."

It will have been noticed that there is nothing in the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World inconsistent with participation in politics. And the French General Confederation of Labor at the Congress of Lyons in 1901 expressly adopted a resolution "leaving to individuals the undeniable right to devote themselves to that kind of struggle which they prefer in the political field."

Tom Mann was a member of the Social Democratic Party when he began his crusade for Syndicalism in England. When the Social Democratic Party adopted a resolution in favor of "an adequate navy"

for England he resigned. But he told me in conversation that he was not especially hostile to political action, but that his great desire was to unite the workers on the economic field, so that with that in view he felt political abstention was the best policy for him. His main idea being that religious or political differences must not be allowed to divide workers whose economic interests were identical. In a recent letter he reminded me, "You know I am non-parliamentary."

On the other hand Ben Tillet, next to Mann the most successful strike manager in England, is still an active member of the British Socialist Party, into which the Social Democratic Party has been merged.

In America Haywood, the leading exponent of the New Socialism in practice, is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. Nor is Haywood alone. In fact, most of the active workers for the New Socialism in this country are dues-paying members of the Socialist Party.

It is well to remember that the New Socialism has never yet become powerful in any country where there was not already in existence a more or less potent Socialist political party. And in all of its struggles it has been aided by Socialists in office. Here in America, as a matter of chronology it was not until after Berger was elected to Congress that Haywood led the Lawrence strikers to victory. And Berger helped very materially in that fight. Without the active aid of the Socialist Party the Lawrence strike would have failed.

Most New Socialists believe that the political machinery of the present State is by its very nature unfitted to be used for revolutionary social transformation. They believe the constructive work of the Social Revolution will be performed by the labor unions. But they also believe that the State is a power-repressive engine in the hands of the capitalists, and that the election of Socialists to office interferes with the capitalist employment of this machinery of repression, and so gives the revolutionary unions a freer field in which to develop.

The New Socialists are not inclined to be narrow or dogmatic. What can be gained by parliamentary action they are willing and glad to take, though they believe that the

direct pressure of a strike will often secure political results more quickly than votes alone. Hence, in America at least they believe in using both methods. New Socialists in this country fully realize that it costs a workingman nothing to vote, while a strike often means suffering and privation, not only for himself but for his wife and little ones as well. Hence, they believe in supporting the Socialist Party, while building up with all their energy insatiable revolutionary unions.

Indeed there are many New Socialists, including the writer, who hold that a strong Socialist Political Party is a condition precedent (in this country at least) for a strong Syndicalist movement.

Electing Socialists to office is usually called "indirect action" in contrast to the "direct action" of the New Socialism. Curiously enough many people have come to believe the "direct action" means assassination and dynamite bombs. Dr. Louis Levine has rendered a valuable public service by blowing away the clouds of misunderstanding with which this subject has been enveloped. On page 122 of the work already referred to, he tells us: "Direct action' may assume various forms, but the principal ones in the struggle against employers are: the strike, the boycott, the label, and *sabotage*." The first three of these have always been employed by the most conservative craft unionists, while the latter under the name of "Go Canny" has long been used by the conservative unions of England. So that it appears there is nothing very new and dreadful about "direct action" after all.

"*Sabotage*," according to Dr. Levine, "consists in obstructing in all possible ways the regular process of production, in order to obtain any demand. It may express itself in slow work, in bad work and even in the destruction of the machinery of production." It should be noted that the Congress of Toulouse (1897) of the General Confederation of Labor recommended the boycott and *sabotage* "only in those cases in which strikes would not yield results." Dr. Levine tells us the French Syndicalists "strongly condemn any act of *sabotage* which may result in the loss of life."

*Sabotage* is only used as a last resort by men who are apparently beaten. The Bri-

tish thought John Paul Jones was beaten. But when they called on him to surrender, he replied: "We have only just begun our part of the fighting." In the same spirit the French railway workers, after Briand called them to their military colors, and their strike was apparently lost, might have said: "We have only just begun our part of the fighting." They worked, but freight that was destined for Lyons mysteriously turned up weeks later at Lille, and packages shipped to Havre were hopelessly lost till they were reported from Marseilles. This disorganization of the service continued until the discharged strikers had all been reinstated. The Socialist deputies in Parliament helped very materially in bringing this result about.

The Socialists of the world are more and more coming to see that they cannot neglect either direct or indirect action. It is quite safe, to predict that the American advocates of "direct action" will almost to a man help the Socialist Party in this year's campaign. And we may be quite as sure the parliamentary Socialists will loyally support every strike organized by the "direct actionists."

I think we are now in a position to say with considerable assurance that the New Socialism is the legitimate child of the Old, and that it will not devour its parent. On the contrary we are even now beginning to see a synthesis of the two which will retain all that is virile in either. But when this synthesis shall have been completed it is quite safe to say that those traits which have heretofore been the differentiating marks of the New Socialism will be the most salient characteristics of the Ultimate Socialism.

That this synthesis is well under way in America is shown significantly by the following resolution adopted unanimously by this year's National Convention of the Socialist Party at Indianapolis:

"In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union the workers of this country can win their battles only by a strong class consciousness and *closely united organizations on the economic field*, a powerful and militant party on the political field *and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.*"

Here the political party has definitely recognized that it is the mission of labor unions not only to protect the workers against the encroachments of capitalism, but also aggressively to attack capitalism; and that is the fundamental doctrine of the New Socialism.

When this synthesis shall have been completed, the knell of capitalism will have been rung.

The two great contributions of the New Socialism are: First, its ability to guarantee a peaceful transition from Today to Tomorrow, from Capitalism to Socialism; and second, its emphatic insistence upon the inevitability and the absolute necessity of the psychological and moral regeneration of the working classes.

When the Old Socialism was asked what would happen if the ruling classes did not surrender when Socialist parties should register majorities at the ballot box, its only possible answer was the threat of Hillquit to "fight like tigers." The New Socialism serenely replied: "If they do not surrender, the workers will peacefully fold their arms until they do."

Socialist writers from Ferdinand Lassalle to Miss Vida Scudder have always insisted upon the spiritual re-birth effected by a vivid sense of class consciousness and class responsibility. But the Old Socialism, which made its powerful appeals to class emotions only at infrequently recurring elections, could not make this spiritual awakening of the toiling masses an actuality. The New Socialism, with its call to the workers to fight the Class War daily in the shops, is day by day effecting the moral re-birth of the workers.

What the New Socialism will lose, in the course of its metamorphosis into the Ultimate Socialism, is its more or less marked reluctance to participate in electoral politics. This is the one respect in which English and American Syndicalism have been strongly influenced by French Syndicalism. And the labor union prejudice against politics in France is largely due to local causes. Formerly French political Socialism was divided into five warring factions or camps. And each faction sought unceasingly to capture the labor union movement. The latter became the foot-ball of factional politics, and its growth was retarded until at

length in desperation the unions deliberately excluded politics from the unions. Having suffered so much from politics, it is small wonder that the organized French workers are still reluctant to take an active share in the political struggle. But in England and America, where in their very first struggles the revolutionary unions have been so materially assisted by such political Socialists as George Lansbury, M. P., and Victor Berger, M. C., it is probable the very slight hostility to politics that has manifested itself sporadically will soon wholly disappear. It has never seriously affected the masses of the British and American workers who are practical enough to wish to use every weapon at their disposal.

The political propaganda and agitation of the Old Socialism must remain the chief means by which the Ultimate Socialism will educate the general public as to its goal

and methods, and by which it will teach them the true significance of the constantly recurring struggles on the industrial field. But it is probable that the activities of Socialist representatives in legislative bodies will in the future be largely limited to seconding the efforts of the revolutionary unions on the industrial field, and to giving permanence and universality to their victories by giving them statutory registration.

The palliative measures which have often been introduced in the past by Socialist representatives will probably, as time goes on, be left more and more to Progressives such as Winston Churchill and Lloyd George in England and LaFollette and Bryan in America; for Capitalism to prolong its lease of life must, willingly or unwillingly, become progressive.

The New Socialism has come to stay. Its power will steadily increase. It is a World Force that must be understood and reckoned with by friend and foe.

**From London, England.** Send us 300 copies of the September REVIEW in time for our congress at which hundreds of delegates will be assembled.

We are making the question of revolutionary industrial unionism hum in the little island of ours, and with a larger circulation of the REVIEW we will make fast progress. Good luck to the REVIEW and the band of revolutionary workers whose efforts are making it such a successful medium for the expression of revolutionary Socialist thought.—J. C. W.

NIGHT SCENE—PITTSBURGH DISTRICT.

# OVER A VOLCANO

BY

WILLIAM E. TRAUTMANN

Photos by Hine—Courtesy of The Survey.

“**T**WENTY thousand common laborers are needed in the Pittsburgh District!—” “The Carnegie Steel Corporation is paying court fines to get prisoners released so that they can go to work in the mills.”

These, and similar, are the news items running through the newspaper nearly every day. There is a scarcity of labor, *common, unskilled labor*, but many mechanics and skilled toilers are in the peculiar position of looking for jobs. Many of them are compelled to take work as “common laborers.”

This need for common laborers may look very prosperous on the surface. Not in 38 years has there been such a situation in the Pittsburgh District. As work is plentiful, the job of hunting for men is on. Wages ought to be high and employment devoid of the rough features that are imposed upon the toilers when the streets are

filled with idle men and women. Premiums are offered to employment agencies to get more workers, and in several mills the skilled mechanics cannot work full time because of this dearth of the “common herd” on the labor market.

It's indeed a strange situation created by the capitalist process of production. The skilled mechanic has been gradually reduced or eliminated by the more skilful machines operated by semi-skilled or common laborers. With wages comparatively higher these former skilled workers have helped to bring about the conditions they now suffer under. They resisted being drawn into the mass of common unskilled toilers. They rebelled against being placed on the same level with the latter. In pursuit of a blind policy of trades unionism, they shut the doors in the organizations of glass, of iron and steel workers, and in many others, against the common laborers.

They neglected and sometimes deliberately refused to help in the education and organization of hundreds of thousands of common laborers, and scorned even the latter's efforts to rise to a higher standard of living. This is now causing a reaction which the craftsmen bitterly resent. Slowly but surely great numbers of them sink into the mass that constitutes the low level, or thousands of them roam the country in the delusive hope that the days of "craftsmanship" are bound to return some time when some political party will turn backward the wheels of progress.

Now the time, the golden opportunity, has arrived when the common laborers, the unskilled toilers, can accomplish things. The law of supply and demand ought to operate automatically. The supply being so extraordinarily scarce, and the demand so keen and intense, wages ought to go up for these workers by leaps and by bounds.

But this has not always happened. The corporations prefer to pay premiums to employment agents. But they have not stimulated the increased needed supply by granting better wages and improved working conditions in general. It is with them a matter of policy to set that economic law aside if they can. They seem to know that the combined strength and united efforts of the aroused toilers would make them go a few points better than allowing that law of supply and demand to operate. They are therefore biding their time till the workers are able to force them.

A portion of these employers of labor, however, remember what great advantages will accrue if they can tie down the unrest by contracts with trades unions, being assured, of course, that minute compliance with all the terms of such contract will be looked after by the faithful servants of the National Civic Federation.

In a recently renewed agreement with the United Mine Workers in the Pittsburgh district it is stated that 15,000 mine laborers, for the first time, are going to share in the great achievements of the organization. They are granted an increase of 5½ per cent in wages, and the operators benevolently agree to check the monthly dues from the pay envelope of these common laborers. This means absolute control over the actions of these toilers. It

assures the mine owners that these thousands are enjoined from going out on strike during the life of that contract even though in other industries, wages of the unskilled workers may be raised from 10 to 20 per cent.

But the capitalists and their faithful are placing their hopes of control over these workers on their experiences in the past. They could then rely upon the crafty leaders of labor to avert suspension of operation when it did not suit them. But the days of meek obedience to orders by the common laborers are passing by. The rank and file is restless. Despite the desperate efforts of the capitalists and their servants to clamp the lid tight on the rumbling volcano, the pressure from the seat of discontent below will cause an eruption when the tension grows too strong. Industrial-socialist propaganda, more or less, is responsible for this state of affairs.

In the Westmoreland Mining District these lessons of a great propaganda are brought home to the workers, as well as to the capitalists. Unhampered by iron-clad trades agreements, thousands of South Slavish miners rebelled. They had scabbed during the last strike, that is true, but agitators of the South Slavish Socialist Federation have been pounding into their heads the doctrine of working class solidarity. They wanted to make good. And they did. Consternation ran rampant among the mine owners. Increases ranging from 15 to 20 per cent in wages were "voluntarily" granted. These employers did not want the lid to be blown off from a smouldering volcano. They had no labor leaders to fix things by contracts, and they were compelled to recognize the growing demand of millions for better returns for the work they perform in the mines.

It is pitiful only to observe that the large mass of workers are not conscious as yet of the wonderful industrial advantage they occupy at this time. They could again make "Pittsburgh" a historic place in the battle of labor for more rights and better things. Here and there the rumblings of an impending industrial eruption can be heard. Usually small outbreaks are quickly pacified for fear the heaped-up discontent will result in an industrial conflict involving hundreds of thousands of men.

## SLAVIC LABORERS.

Labor troubles of all kinds grow fast in the Pittsburgh District.

Jones & Laughlin, the steel corporation in which the William Taft family has its assets, quickly yielded an increase of 10 per cent to the common laborers, but only after hundreds of workers had started a stampede out of one of the departments. The situation was fraught with imminent danger that the tens of thousands employed in other departments, including the 8,000 employed by the same corporation in Aliquippa, would be involved. Once the men break loose, there will be no halt. The employers only too keenly realize this.

In Homestead a repetition of an industrial conflict was feared when the workers in three departments walked out. Their demands were quickly granted.

The Steel Trust, in order to assure itself of "peace and prosperity," would now comply with some of the recommendations of the Stanley Committee and introduce the three-shift system. But this they would only do with a corresponding reduction in wages, like the Wool Trust did in Lawrence.

But here in the Pittsburgh district this

would require not less than 50,000 additional common workers. That would put the corporation still more at a disadvantage. The supply is not here now. They have their agents busy in Europe, but for reasons to be touched on in other articles, they cannot get the slaves to come over to the homes of the brave.

Seven hundred and fifty people from Slavonia, who were given work in the Braddock mills last week, to cover a shortage of over 3,000 common laborers, were taken directly from the steamer, after their arrival, and packed into the company houses in the midst of dark night. The corporations were afraid that these workers would be approached to join some organization before they got into the mills, and they feared they would refuse to accept work for 16 cents an hour, when there is such an agitation to wrest from the companies all that the workers are able to get by their combined efforts.

In McKees Rocks, in the plant of the notorious Pressed Steel Car Company, a 10 per cent increase in wages was granted immediately after the company officials learned that organization meetings ad-

dressed by socialists had been held by the company held immediately thereafter, dreds of the deluded the hope of making ex- miums by overtime work- ursday afternoon and

After the mem- strike of 1909, all things were no longer committed, as the work being organized. I shortage of labor the capitalists to make inducements to fill orders. Much of our ture does not include discussion of subject related to the workers needs and final history. Therefore ig on such industrial is liable to react o who strive for the ch the system with all ized means availab

The Cigar Trust, how the tobacco workers in the Pittsburgh District won

WASHING UP AFTER A DAY IN THE MILL.

strike after strike in some large factories, "voluntarily," of course, increased the wages of its men for the first time, believing that thereby an outbreak of discontent would be averted.

All these phenomena combined demonstrate that the capitalists are very much alarmed. They attribute all these evil things to Socialist propaganda, and this is true as far as the agitation among the hundreds of thousands of aliens go. The North Slavish and South Slavish nationalities, and the Italians as well as Hungarians, form a veritable hotbed of revolutionary possibilities. They are ready to demand much. The capitalists feel it, too, and their peacemakers are kept busy. The large mass of Socialists are getting wise to the game. No longer has the labor aristocrat, represented in his craft union, and his walking delegate, the whiphand over the formerly despised common man. Their days are, fortunately for the labor movement, gone forever.

There will be foolish attempts to divert the activities of class conscious, militant workers from the industrial field of battle. The free speech fight here provoked by police and courts, with the backing of the corporations, sprung from the vain hope that thereby the industrial revolt would be

#### "THE MANSION."

The Company-Owned Home of the Superintendent, Homestead.

ignored and energies wasted in other directions. But the great courage and determination of the advanced workers in these fights attracted the attention of the millions of industrial slaves. Despite all the villification and abuse the common workers recognize in the industrial-socialists their only friends. When things start here in Pittsburgh, here where once over twenty-eight years ago a new labor organization was born when the old became too conservative, too corrupt and an instrument of reaction, here the workers, guided this time by the experience of the years, will set a mark on the work and progress of all revolutionary forces. They will march onward until industrial and political freedom is fully assured to all who toil.

# THE BIG THREES

BY GUY McCLUNG

CAPITALISM and Socialism come in threes, so to speak. Capitalism is based on the three institutions: rent, interest, and profit. Socialism is based on three principles: the class struggle, surplus value, and economic determinism.

Capitalism may be likened to an octopus with three tentacles. An octopus is a sea monster so tenacious of life that all its far-reaching arms must be cut off before it is put out of business. Capitalism is a monster of the same nature. So far do its evil tentacles extend, so desperate are its clutch upon society, that all its snaky arms must be cut off if it is to be destroyed.

For instance, it might be possible to have the government go into the producing and manufacturing business and sell everything to the people at cost. That would dispense with profit, but rent and interest would still have to be paid. Then if the government took away from private capitalists the right to absorb rent and interest, it would merely transfer that right to itself and the exploitation of the toilers of the earth would go on just the same.

That exploitation might be reduced to a minimum, so that the amount of rent, interest and profit extracted would be of the smallest degree, but the institution of capitalism would remain.

Some of its worst horrors would be abolished, but the system itself would still be on the job sucking the lifeblood of the workers, and it might prove to be harder than ever to destroy because it is entrenched and concentrated.

This is enough to show that what we want is not an extension of the powers of a political government but a replacement of this political government by an industrial commonwealth managed by the workers themselves through their industrial councils.

The point to be remembered is that as long as the smallest fraction of *surplus value* is created we shall still have capitalism on our hands. Surplus value is measured by the amount of labor time over and above that socially necessary to produce a

certain commodity. For example, it is the boast of a certain typewriter factory that it turns out "a typewriter every minute." This typewriter sells for \$100. Let us say that 2,000 people work ten hours every day at \$3 a day to produce these machines. Ten hours at \$3 means a half cent a minute. Two thousand minutes of labor, then, which produce a \$100 machine, at half a cent a minute, bring \$10 in wages. We thus see what an enormous amount of surplus value is extracted out of typewriter makers by their employers.

The employers accumulate fortunes out of this surplus value. After a time their slaves demand higher wages, or more of the value of their product, and failing to get it, they strike. They have the sympathy and support of the workers in other trades, but on the other hand we find other employers lined up with the factory owners. The situation thus created we call *the class struggle*.

The profit that he makes renders the employer satisfied with conditions as they are. He is interested in maintaining what he calls "the established order." Therefore everything that helps to support and preserve this established order is to him right and good. But the worker sees things otherwise. He has been beaten down in the struggle for existence and after a time he wakes up to the fact that the rules of the game are unfair. He demands a change. The whole established order and everything that helps to maintain it is to him wrong and brutal. Thus we see that a man's outlook on life and view of society are determined by the way he makes his living and the amount of his income. This principle is what Socialists call *economic determinism*.

To summarize: The Big Three of Socialism are the Class Struggle, Surplus Value, and Economic Determinism.

The Big Three of Capitalism are Rent, Interest and Profit.

Understand these and you will have a working knowledge of the present society under Capitalism and the new society under Socialism.

# "I AM HERE FOR LABOR"

BY

COVINGTON HALL

"I AM here for labor and I will still be fighting for it, though I am killed." These brave and splendid words are taken from a letter written by President Emerson since his arrest and imprisonment. His spirit is the spirit of all the other boys who have been jailed with him for the crime of resisting the infamous tyranny of the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, which is the southern branch of the National Lumber Trust, the most shameless, most merciless, most lawless aggregation of gunmen and grafters fighting under the black flag of business today.

For years conditions in the southern saw-mills and camps, rotten to begin with, have been growing steadily worse and worse until human nature could endure no more, and the workers revolted and began to organize. The beginning was made at Carson, La., on December 3, 1910, where and when Jay Smith, now general secretary, and A. L. Emerson, now president, organized the first local union of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, the rapid growth of

which caused the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, about six months later, or during July, 1911, to order the closing down of about forty mills in western Louisiana and eastern Texas in an effort to destroy the Union by lockout and starvation.

This lockout, the market for lumber then being dull, was not lifted until January and February, 1912, when, immediately, the struggle between the Union and the Association began again and was fought with increasing intensity, the Brotherhood steadily gaining ground, until, on Sunday, July 7, 1912, in a final ferocious effort to drive the workers back into the old meek submission to peonage, the lumber kings planned and carried out the massacre of Grabow.

Before and since the massacre, outrage on outrage has been committed on the persons of Union men and those suspected of working for or being in sympathy with them. At Zwalle, La., an attempt was made to lynch Organizer Wiggins of the Brotherhood, and only the prompt arrival of Union men and sympathizers saved his life. This

dastardly outrage was committed by the thugs of the Sabine Lumber Company.

At Elizabeth, La., a few months ago, a poor devil was taken into the office of the Industrial Lumber Company and beaten nearly to death because he was "suspected" of being an organizer, which he was not, never having had anything to do with the Brotherhood, and it was a thug of this company who attempted H. G. Creel's life at Oakdale, La.; as it was General Manager Bridgewater of this concern, who several months ago unexpectedly assaulted President Emerson at Lake Charles, La., taking him unawares and knocking him down. At another town one of the Brotherhood organizers was seized by thugs, beaten nearly insensible, stripped naked and driven down the railroad track. At Strong, Ark., Organizer T. J. Humble was kicked and clubbed, his watch taken away from him and his suitcase plundered, then he was escorted out of town and told to "stay out under penalty of death," and the next issues of the local papers denounced him for "trying to organize the negroes against the whites," which last is a thing the Southern

A. L. EMERSON.

## IN THE WOODS.

Lumber Operators' Association is doing every day. Nor is this one-tenth part of the infamies that have been committed by the lumber trust's managers, foremen and gunmen. These gunmen, commissioned as deputy sheriffs by the Democratic party officials, brazenly meet all trains, hold up whom they please, demand his life history, business, etc., and, if not satisfied, order him out of town; this they have also done on the public roads of the state, while these so-called officers of the law have led the mobs that broke up mass meetings of the Brotherhood, and, tho complaint was made on at least three separate occasions to the governor of Louisiana and to the sheriff of Calcasieu parish, against the acts of these "peace officers," no attention was ever paid to the protests, which non-attention on the part of the authorities emboldened the gunmen and aided greatly in making the massacre of Grabow the success it was. Immediately following the indictment of President Emerson and sixty-four other officers and members of the Brotherhood, these man-hunters took up the trail of those who had not yet been arrested and confined in the black hole of Lake Charles, when Emerson and the first few were seized, and showed

the zeal of blood hounds in their masters' cause.

There, to that terrible prison at Lake Charles, that cesspool of filth and temple of inhumanity, the gunmen brought their prey, and there, as in its mills and camps, the Southern Lumber Operators' Association made no distinction between its victims, for, white and black, they were thrown together, in the same room, in the same cell; there, as in the mills and forests, equality was forced upon the workers by the masters and not a word of denunciation did one hear from the local press about its horrors there; nor was a word uttered in denunciation of *this* "social equality" of the races by the "Democratic" press of Louisiana, Arkansas or Texas. It is only when the peons of the South are urged to organize and stand together on the job that this cry is raised, that we hear the harpies of the press shrieking at Humble and the others, and the gunmen damning and beating and killing them for the "crime of organizing the negroes against the whites."

With one accord, led by such shameless sheets as the New Orleans "Times-Democrat," the Houston "Post," and the Beaumont "Enterprise," the papers throughout

this section have prostituted themselves to the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, have lied and pimped and pandered, done all and everything in their power to help these vampires drink the blood of Emerson and his associates.

Drunk with authority and power, long and brutally exercised, the southern oligarchy, now astonished and frightened at the resistance being made against it by the timber workers and working farmers, has thrown to the winds all pretense of respect for the laws, even those the most fundamental, and with the ferocity of fiends and cornered tigers, is hesitating at nothing in its mad effort to crush the Brotherhood of Timber Workers and maintain, in all its unvarnished cruelty, its economic-political supremacy. And this intention is proven by every act and deed that has been committed against the Brotherhood and its allies both before and since the packed grand jury at Lake Charles indicted all the unionists and released every mill owner and gunman brought before them and charged with complicity in the Grabow "riot."

Private detectives are everywhere, and in the Timber Belt today we have practically a government of the people by a detective agency for the lumber trust. These social vultures, these spawn of Burns and Pinkerton, follow us on the trains, are in the mills, the camps, the forests, and even

in the jail among the imprisoned workers, posing as martyrs to the sacred cause of human liberty!

Such is the hideous social system prevailing over the greater part of the South today, a system that only madmen could conceive or hope to last, a system that is so cold and brutal in its denial of all human rights and liberties that it is shocking all real men and women into rebellion; a system that worships Mammon so thoroughly it is dying of its own corruption, expiring in its own filth, but, like Diaz, still butchering and murdering on its way to ruin.

The Southern Lumber Operators' Association, and back of it the whole southern oligarchy . . . this is the power the Brotherhood of Timber Workers and its allies are fighting today; this is the power that has its blood-stained hands on the throats of A. L. Emerson and his associates and that will drink the blood of sixty-five of the finest Union men and Socialists in the South today, unless the working class comes as one to their assistance and defense.

"Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing but your chains to lose! You have a world to gain!"

Unite, and break, and break forever, the power of the infamous southern oligarchy!

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## VOTE FOR LIBERTY

BY

**JOHN P. BURKE**

State Sec'y, New Hampshire

**F**REE speech, free press and the right of peaceable assemblage. These three rights are supposed to be the bulwark of American freedom. They are supposed to be the principles upon which this nation was founded.

In the struggle of the working class for Industrial liberty it is absolutely necessary that these three rights be maintained. To agitate among our fellow workers we must have free speech; to

educate the working class we must have a free press; to organize the working class it is necessary that we have the right of peaceable assemblage.

The capitalist class is fully awake to what these three rights means to the working class and at the present time are taking these rights away from the working class all over the country. Here in New England, where the class struggle has raged with such intensity ever since the Lawrence strike, city and state offi-

cials have deliberately taken from the workers every vestige of their constitutional rights.

The arrest of Ettor and Giovannitti, denying strikers a permit to hold parade and out-door meetings, ordering hall owners not to let their halls to strikers and strike sympathizers are a few of the instances where the workers of New England have felt the "Iron Heel" of capitalism. But the workers themselves are to blame for this condition. No class has a "right" only so long as it has the power to maintain that right. The working class has the power, but on every election day, by voting the Republican and Democrat tickets, they surrender their power into the hands of the capitalist class. After what has happened in the New England states during the past few months it should not take any argument to convince any intelligent worker that both the Republican and Democrat parties are but instruments in the hands of the mill owners to keep them in subjection.

To maintain the right of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage the workers must use their political power. How? Not by voting the Republican and Democrat tickets. That is mis-using your political power. As a result of mis-using your political power, by voting the same ticket your industrial master votes, you are mis-used and abused when you and your class go on strike. To use your political power effectively you should vote the Socialist party ticket.

When you vote the Socialist party ticket you place power in the hands of

your class. With the Socialist party in power when you go on strike you have the city and state governments to back you up and help you win. With the Republican and Democrat parties in power the capitalist class has the courts and militia to back them up to help you lose.

Don't be fooled into thinking that Industrial organization is all that is necessary and that voting and political action does not amount to anything. To have an effective Industrial organization we must have the right of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage. The easiest way to maintain these rights is by electing the Socialist party to power. Last winter when the Lawrence strike was on, the Amoskeag mills at Manchester, N. H., (the largest mills of their kind in the world) seethed with unrest. These great mills, could, for the first time in their history, I believe, be organized. But what did the mill owners do? Through the city and police officials they suspended the right of free speech and assemblage. Speaking on the streets or in the park was prohibited. Not a hall could be hired. A hall that the Socialist Party had hired to have Haywood speak in was closed when the authorities learned who the speaker was to be. An Industrial organization could not be formed in Manchester because the workers had misused their political power. The workers must either vote for Socialism or submit to having what few rights they have taken away from them and an absolute Industrial Despotism established. Which is it going to be, fellow-workers, a vote for Industrial Despotism or a vote for Industrial Liberty?

# THE NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE PARTY

BY

FRANK BOHN

FRANK BOHN.

**T**HE National Progressive party has not resulted from the egotism and spite of one man, nor yet of a group of men. Parties do not grow that way—at least, not parties which are or bid well to be permanent.

The fundamental cause of the National Progressive party lies deep in the history of the past generation in America. On first thought it seems strange that it was so late in coming. But upon careful analysis it is plain that the panic of 1893 and the after results could not possibly have pro-

duced a party of constructive radicalism because the most important discontented element of that time was the debt-ridden farmer class of the west. Hence Populism and the Free Silver campaign rolled like a tidal wave over the feeble efforts put forth by the then labor movement to express itself politically. The Henry George movement died with Henry George. The Free Silver movement would have risen had every Populist been laid in his grave.

From the fundamental cause of rapidly increasing poverty on the one hand and a top-heavy plutocratic industrial machine on the other, comes this new party of today. Four specific immediate causes may be discerned. First, corruption in political office. Second, the muck raking campaign beginning in 1904, which has made this corruption known and destroyed the faith that the American middle class hitherto has reposed in national, state and local governments. This accounts for the purely political demands for the initiative and referendum, the recall and direct election of senators. Third, the increasing poverty which happens to take the form of the high cost of living. The middle class in part feels this poverty and in part is becoming ashamed of its wretched effects upon the national life. Fourth, the political fortunes of Theodore Roosevelt.

The panic of 1907-8 for the first time brought the whole nation face to face with the modern social problem in its most critical form. In 1893 the Republicans blamed

the Democratic tariff and the working class believed them. The Democrats blamed the gold standard and the western farmers believed them. In 1907 Wall street attempted to lay the cause of the panic at the door of Roosevelt and that wily gentleman proceeded to develop his national constructive platform. He has before his eyes the success of the English Radical-Liberals lead by the extremist, Lloyd George. The simple game of selecting the greatest ass in the whole country to sit in the President's chair while he prepared himself to again assume possession was soon patent to all but the totally blind. When the Republican machine beat him there was only one possible thing left for him to do and his illimitable egotism braced his nerve to do it. Had Bryan been nominated in Baltimore any new party even with Roosevelt at its head would have cut a sorry figure. But his proverbial good fortune did not forsake him. The Democratic nominee is he whom Roosevelt would have himself have chosen. Wilson is a staid, quiet creature of the older school even in university life, a man whose whole life and work belies the position he is now attempting to assume. He could not stir up a hungry lion with a red-hot poker. The only hope for Wilson's election is the solid South against a divided North and West. And that is quite likely to make him President.

And so under the best possible conditions comes forth the National Progressive Party.

To personally assail Roosevelt is to be both ineffectual and silly. Although he has cleverly taken advantage of the movement, Roosevelt is not the new party by any means. The National Progressive party has grown naturally out of conditions and makes its appeal to three elements in American society. These elements constitute a portion of each class—the plutocratic class, the middle class and the working class.

Among the plutocratic element are George W. Perkins, late of the J. Pierpont Morgan group, George Speyer, President of the Fifth Avenue bank, Frank Munsey and Medill McCormick. These names represent a very large contingent of the American plutocrats who are perfectly willing to back a policy of constructive reform. To the uninitiated this crowd seems to be playing a trick for personal advantages. This

is absolutely wrong. These men are class-conscious in the most intelligent way possible. Furthermore, many of them imagine that they are soldiers of the new social war, heroes in a fight which will give them much personal satisfaction and national distinction. An after dinner speech of one of these people is always couched in the following style:

“Fellow citizens, the nation is in a bad way and we alone can save it. If America cannot find hope in us, where is she to look for salvation? Poverty is increasing and the starving poor are raising the blood cry. I hear it and I want you to hear it. Child labor and twelve-hour shifts for women are a disgrace to the country and when I go home and meet my own wife and children and think of it I am heartily ashamed of

myself. Our exorbitant tariff is an iniquity and is, furthermore, no longer needed. Our government is the most rotten west of Turkey. Political conditions cannot be changed until respectable large-minded men like you and me go into politics and take the offices, as they do in England. Why, I was in England last year and everybody despised me because I was not in politics and had no ideas upon social and political questions. You and I, gentlemen, have plenty of money. What we ought to desire more than greater riches are public service and public honors for ourselves and our sons. We must find solutions for the problems that now face us and bring our government abreast of the times so that when we go to Europe we shall not be ashamed of ourselves and our country. I propose a toast to that fearless leader of social progress, Theodore Roosevelt." (Loud applause from everybody under 70 years of age.)

#### THE MIDDLE CLASS.

A matter of much more significance is the position of the new party toward the middle class. Up to the panic of 1907 and the announcement of Roosevelt's constructive policy there was not a middle class politician representing any group or any shade of opinion but who clamored for the smashing of the trusts. For of all the people on earth who can read and write this same American middle-class shopkeeping and professional crowd is as ignorant as any. It developed the habit of shrieking in unison with any one who howled against the trusts no matter what his political label might be. Most of this element have been driven into clerical positions and are now more interested in lowering the cost of living than they are in trust busting. So the Bull Moose party could well afford to throw overboard the still independent element of middle class business men, bag and baggage. They were forced to do this because to do otherwise would have meant a continuation of the fatal and reactionary trust-busting policy still advocated by Bryan and La Follette. "We stand for the elimination of the middle men in order to reduce the cost of living," said Roosevelt in his "Confession of Faith." And the party platform in pointing to co-operation between government and business in Germany declares:

"It should be remembered that they are doing this on a national scale and with large units of business, while the Democrats would have us believe that we should do it with small units of business, which would be controlled not by the national government but by forty-eight conflicting sovereignties."

True, we have here raised up "a new prophet who knows not Joseph."

The Progressive party makes its appeal to those two elements of the middle class which are still mighty with power in votes and in the creation of opinion among the working class—the small farmers and the new middle class in the cities. To the former of these elements it makes the following appeal:

"We pledge our party to foster the development of agricultural credit and co-operation, the teaching of agriculture in schools, agricultural college extension, the use of mechanical power on the farm, to re-establish the Country Life Commission, thus directly promoting the welfare of the farmers and bringing the benefits of better farming, better business and better living within their reach."

Special paragraphs on the development of good roads and parcels post are also calculated to appeal strongly to the small farmers.

To the new middle class of the cities, those hundreds of thousands of clerks and professional people, who receive, let us say, over fifteen hundred dollars a year income each, an appeal is made on the basis of lowering the high cost of living (a promise, which, of course, can never be fulfilled), the promotion of the public health, the extension of the civil service and the raising the burden of taxes through a graduated inheritance and income tax.

A further influence with the middle class and a very strong one must not be overlooked. Whatever is left of the Protestant religion in both England and America is a middle class affair. Anybody familiar with this class realizes that religion has by no means lost its hold. The climax to a Lloyd George speech in England is usually a denunciation of the aristocratic Episcopal church and an appeal to Sectarian hatred of church establishment. The same political game is being played here and with

probably greater success. The Massachusetts delegates on their way to the Bull Moose convention joined in a prayer meeting service in the Pullman car. The convention as a whole sang, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," and closed some of its sessions by singing the old Trinitarian doxology. The wide success of the anti-saloon league proves the strength of this element and the Protestant churches are likely to be rallying centers of Progressivism.

#### THE WORKING CLASS.

In 1867 when Gladstone and Disraeli were the titanic opponents of English politics, Gladstone thought to wrest the government from Disraeli by an extension of the suffrage. But the utterly unscrupulous Disraeli was not to be outdone in that fashion. He flung his "principles" to the winds, proposed a bill much more radical than any Gladstone dared to write and so won the election. "Disraeli stole the Whig's clothes while the latter was in bathing," was the terse phrase which then went the rounds in England. And that is what the Bull Moose party has now done to the reform Socialists here. They picked them up clean, too—undershirt, shoestrings and all. Reform Socialist speakers, now stricken naked to the skin, will be seen going to campaign meetings dressed in empty barrels or perhaps in the fig leaves of personal invective against Roosevelt. "I shall be called a Socialist," said Roosevelt before he made his speech. Not by THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, Teddy.

In the development of a sound Socialist movement the National Progressive party is likely to be of inestimable value. Elements of the middle class which cannot understand Socialism and would turn their backs quickly upon it if they did understand it, will find a safe abiding place in the new party. Labor leaders in the American Federation of Labor who are looking for public office, and who produce nothing but turmoil when they come into the Socialist party, will be speedily won over and given their heart's desire by the Roosevelt crowd.

The greatest possible danger to the Socialist party, has been that, with its largely increased voting strength, the grafter, the trimmer and the job-hunter would come to

it in numbers so great that the fight to keep it clean and straight would be rendered hopeless. Roosevelt, Tim Woodruff and Jimmy Flynn are welcome to this element. Also a certain portion of the craft unionists of the American Federation of Labor are much more closely allied in interest to the new middle class than to the great body of the unskilled workers. These belong at present in the Progressive party and will go there. Not until the conditions of their lives are changed by industrial progress and until they can be reached by sound revolutionary Socialist education will they be ready for the Socialist party.

#### SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE.

Lazarus, feeding hungrily upon the crumbs which fall from his master's table, finds his body from head to foot broken by blows. Here come again our old acquaintance, the dogs of social reform to lick his wounds. Careful, Lazarus, don't move, don't speak, keep your eyes shut, or the dogs will leave you. Industrial insurance to be paid to somebody else after you are dead! Pensions for paupers over seventy when most of the working class die before they are five years of age and nine-tenths, at least, before they are sixty! A wages minimum law which will make harmless Sunday reading matter for the inmates of a lunatic asylum! Of such is the program of Progressivism.

For men like ex-Senator Beveridge, Governor Johnson, Gifford Pinchot and Harry Garfield we have much genuine respect. But their politics are bound to remain nine parts talk and one part a snare and a delusion for the working class.

#### THE NEW PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

For fifteen years there has raged in the American Socialist movement a battle unceasing. The struggle has not been due to the character of individuals in the movement. It has been everywhere and always a struggle of principles. On one hand were those who declared that the Socialist movement must proceed by means of political reforms—taking a "step at a time," and emphasizing those reforms, generally to the exclusion of Socialist education. On the other hand are those who maintained that emphasis on reforms should form no part of Socialist propaganda; that it was the

business of the Socialist party primarily to awaken the working class and teach economics and political science; and that only by emphasizing with our utmost strength the need of social revolution could the Socialist party be of any benefit to the working class. These latter always maintain that whatever good could be accomplished through national reforms would come through a reform party when the time for that party was fully ripe. Such a party developed on the Continent thirty years ago and in England ten years ago. We have waited long for its arrival in America, but to the student of European and American history as to those familiar with the trend of current events, its coming was as sure as the coming of the tide.

#### WHY?

The mission of the National Progressive party is to make the final attempt to save the capitalist system from the impending social revolution. In this mission it is bound to fail and to fail utterly. It will honestly strive to carry out its platform. It will actually attain something of what it seeks. It will be one of the main forces in building up the Socialist party which will overthrow it. It must finally be swept as chaff before the rising floods of the social revolution because

It cannot stay industrial progress.

It cannot lower prices.

It cannot raise wages, its wages minimum notwithstanding.

It cannot furnish enough jobs in time of unemployment.

It cannot prevent the industrial organization of the unskilled workers.

It cannot prevent the capitalists from fighting the strikers.

It must, much more outspokenly than the English Liberal party, take the capitalist side in time of strikes.

In England the Labor Party is the wagging tail of the Liberal Party. During the recent great strike of the London dockers, when thousands of workers and their families were literally starving to death, the "labor" politicians were occupied in waging a campaign in connection with the insur-

ance legislation of the Liberals. To the working class of the whole world and throughout the coming struggle this disgusting conduct of the "Labor" crowd will stand as an example of hopeless political degeneracy. For what do we behold?

Just this: The chief weekly organ of the Liberal Party, *The Nation*, takes the leaders of the "Labor" Party to task for their desertion of the dockers and urges that they quickly get into the fight and help raise funds for the starving. The Laborites, who for some years have spent their time in trying to appear comfortable in swell clothes and who have simulated the manners and speech of the middle class commoners as well as their political policies, come at last to find themselves ridiculed and spit upon by these same Liberals, and yet the Liberal Party could not have maintained itself in office a week without the acquiescence of the Laborites. This history must be written large before the eyes of our American Socialist Party during the present crisis. We anticipate no Labor Party stumbling and crawling here. The Socialist Party will refuse to ally itself to the National Progressives and it will also with equal firmness refuse to enter into competition with these wholesale distributors of chloroform to the ignorant and slavish portion of the working class. The sham of political reform can be successfully opposed only by exposing the sham, not by greater shamming. Reform Socialists, however, must work with the Rooseveltians or change their tactics completely.

Revolutionary Socialists will fight the new party all along the line because they recognize in that party the most advanced enemy of the ever growing army of the unskilled workers. To its coming partial success and ultimate failure in saving a social system based upon private property we shall not be silent onlookers. This may be their day. Tomorrow belongs to a working class too intelligent for the chloroform bottle and too keen upon realizing industrial freedom to accept the hand-me-down palliatives mis-named "social and industrial justice."

BATTLESHIP SCENE IN NAVY YARD.

# FRESH BAIT—'WARE SUCKERS

BY

MARION WRIGHT

**T**HE SENATE recently passed an appropriation measure for \$133,000,000 to meet the expenses of the United States navy for the next fiscal year. Most of this enormous sum will pour into the coffers of the steel, gun and powder trusts at extortionate prices for material, for many of the officials authorized to place contracts for ships, armor and guns are in partnership with the steel and powder companies and the rest will be frittered away in the easiest way to get rid of it until time rolls around for the next appropriation.

About \$200,000 will be required for the up-keep of the trained man-catchers employed by the navy department to keep the enlisted personnel of the navy up to its standard quota of approximately 48,000 men. Recently it has been necessary to put a number of new flying recruiting squadrons in the field as the old facilities

for landing men have proven entirely inadequate. These traveling parties are to search the country with a fine-toothed comb for suitable food for powder and scalding steam.

And the anglers are using fresh bait! Trusting, gullible farmer boys and young tradesmen from the inland states were formerly drawn like flies to a molasses jug by the pretty picture posters of Navy life on the town "Opr'y" house. "Serve your Country," said the flaming posters with their spotless decks and shining guns. But the recruiting offices are no longer filled with eager youths. The young men of America are getting wise to the game. Their older brothers, cousins and friends who have been "joinin'" the Navy since the Spanish-American (Sugar-Trust) war have been coming home again. And Jack has had a story to tell. Although the capitalist

press shuns these stories like a breath of plague, they have a way of getting around and the recruiting officer with his glib tongue is continually running foul of young men who have had friends or relatives who have "been there," and so the recruiting problem is becoming acute. Dozens of ships are laid up in the yards rusting for want of men to man them. At the grand fleet mobilization last fall for the political benefit of President Taft about half the ships were manned with skeleton crews.

The navy department is cutting away from its circus-poster stunt and getting down to brass tacks. In other words, they place economic facts before the prospective victim now instead of appealing to his cupidity and "patriotism." The green young men of the farm and country towns holding aloof, the recruiting officer goes down to the haunts of men who have been ground betwixt capitalist mill-stones until they are ready for anything, and opens his arsenal of facts.

"Young man, how much money do you earn?" is his opening broadside, and he follows this with a rapid-fire line of what every workingman already knows—that it is impossible for him to earn a decent living—let alone saving anything, and that he is never sure of even a dog's job. In short, it is made perfectly clear to the intended prey by the recruiting officer, who is carefully selected for this line of work, that he must choose between two

things; that of continuing to be a capitalistic wage-slave, or becoming (if the victim only knew) an officer's dog. The man-catcher frankly acknowledges the present terrible industrial situation. In fact, he dwells on it—drives it home. He makes it plain that under the present system the workingman has "no chance." And the fine irony of it all is that he is coaxing the poor, blind fool to swear to support to the death the very leech that has already sucked his life blood.

Skillfully it is explained that pay in the navy is fairly good; that there are no strikes; that board, bed and medical attention is free; that chances for promotion are good, etc., etc., etc. And so the sucker bites! What then?

Once hooked, the angler changes his manner toward the catch completely. This American youth must be "broke" immediately. "These United States ideas of independence" are the very first things that are taken out of him—sometimes even before he is sent to the barber to have his hair clipped. If the Medieval ways of handling this Twentieth century man fail to work on the start they will get in their good work before he leaves the training station. He is either "broke" or forced to desert before he goes to sea; and then what?

He is indeed "food for powder" and scalding steam for the rest of his enlistment. During the past nine years 149 men in the United States Navy have been

#### NAVY SAILORS AT WORK ON SHIP IN DRY DOCK.

They Are Gradually Replacing Citizen Workingmen Since the Citizens Protested Against the Taylor System of Speeding Up.

## NAVY SAILORS BURYING A SHIPMATE.

During the Past Nine Years 149 Sailors Have Been Blown to Pieces or Scalded to Death, and 102 Maimed for Life Due to Graft in Gun and Boiler Construction.

horribly cooked and shot to death, and 102 maimed for life in accidents of bursting guns and exploding boilers. Eight men were scalded to death last year in the boiler room of the battleship Delaware, and there is continually news of some naval casualty due to graft in ship construction and reckless management. The sailor is not allowed to question or discuss these things. To any who "opens his face" the severest penalty is meted out.

In the early part of July of this year a sailor on a Navy vessel serving in the Pacific, whose enlistment was to expire in a few days, was suddenly arrested and thrown into the ship's brig. He had written some letters under a *nom-de-plume* calling attention to rotten conditions in the fleet. The officers put secret service men and handwriting experts on the case and located the man. Now, although his four-year enlistment has expired, he will undoubtedly be sent to prison for a long term for writing these letters *while in the Naval service*.

The prospective recruit is shown, in his own language, "only one side of the paper" to which he puts his name. Only the pay, promotion and retirement tables are prominent there. He does not learn that he can be ordered to act as a scab or strike-breaker (navy sailors were recently ordered to take the place of strikers on the Panama line) and be sent

to prison for a long term if he so much as hesitates to obey.

He takes an oath to obey "all lawful orders," but another part of the Navy regulations which he is not allowed to see provides that as far as his opinion is concerned, any order given him by a superior is "lawful."

The constitutional right of trial by his peers is unheard of. Officers, only, sit on court-martials, and an officer's word is taken over any number of enlisted men's. All officers are educated in the one snob-factory at Annapolis, and they are bound together in self-interest bands of brass. If a man is accused by an officer his punishment is certain. There is no "comin' clear" in a court-martial; it is merely a question of the extremity of the sentence.

Privacy, even of the person, though one of the most ancient and sacred rights of man, is a jest in the navy. Every man on board ship may be called on deck and forced to stand in line while his personal effects are being ransacked by the officers, ostensibly in a search for liquor or drugs, and many a man has stood under guard while an officer read his private letters in an effort to discover a clew to the whereabouts of a deserter who was known to have been his friend. At inspection a man must stand rigidly at attention and silent as a statue while the officers may finger his chin to see if he

shaved closely enough; pull open his shirt front and inspect his underwear; comment on the length of his hair while pulling his fore-lock, and otherwise treat him as if he were a prize mule on exhibition. There are also times when the crew is lined up and every man, irrespective of his character and habits, is forced to submit his person for examination by the surgeon for evidences of vermin or venereal disease.

Any protest against these outrages is dealt with in the severest manner. Many men have lain in irons for weeks on a diet of bread and water for "silent contempt." Punished because they were un-

able to repress the blaze of fury in their eyes while being so publicly and thoroughly humiliated.

No longer is the navy job a sinecure. Sailors are now required to perform much of the work at the yards formerly done by civilian workmen, who are becoming more and more "exacting" (which means that they resented the infamous Taylor system of "speeding-up").

The man who goes into the navy expecting something soft gets badly fooled. He swears his soul away for four years and becomes, potentially, a catspaw to snatch chestnuts out of the fire for Capitalism.

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE ON THE PACIFIC COAST

An Interview with O. A. Tveitmoe

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

**O**LAF A. TVEITMOE, of San Francisco, was in Chicago recently, and since he is regarded as a pretty big man in the labor movement on the Pacific Coast, I considered it worth while to get his views on recent developments in the industrial world.

Tveitmoe is a Norseman and looks it. Out on the coast they call him "the viking." He is secretary-treasurer of the State Building Trades Council of California, recording and corresponding secretary of the San Francisco Building Trades Council, editor of "Organized Labor," and a former official of his union, the Brotherhood of Cement Workers. The Government considered him important enough to indict, soon after the McNamara confession, on a charge of being in a conspiracy "to transport dynamite." The indictment was based on a letter of Tveitmoe's, written in 1910, extending the greetings of the season to John J.

McNamara, it being near Christmas.

The organizations which Tveitmoe represents took an active interest in the recent free speech fight in San Diego and Tveitmoe himself made a personal investigation of the atrocities committed there, making a report which was printed and widely distributed. Therefore, one of the first questions asked him was about the conditions at present prevailing in that notorious city.

"Well, they are speaking on the streets in San Diego," he said, "and are likely to continue to do so. The vigilantes will be prosecuted for their outrages and murders. If the authorities do not take proper action in the case, the workers and women voters will attend to them in the next election."

"Then you recognize the fact that the San Diego war was not merely a local affair, of interest to only one labor organization?"

"Certainly not," was the reply. "The San Diego fight was our fight just as

much as it was the I. W. W's. We supported them morally and financially, and I was sent there for the special purpose of making an investigation of conditions. The free speech fight in San Diego was a part of the workingmen's struggle throughout California. It was created by interests which have been driven back by organized labor until they have taken refuge in San Diego. One of the capitalists having large interests there is John D. Spreckels, an old enemy of California labor. He is the owner of the *San Francisco Call*, of the *Union and Tribune* of San Diego, and is interested in many public utility corporations. He and Gen. Otis, of the *Los Angeles Times*, want to crush out all semblance of organized labor throughout California. Otis came to San Diego last fall and met a committee from the Chamber of Commerce which waited on the city council and demanded the passage of the so-called traffic ordinance, also of the notorious 'move-on' ordinance, which was similar to that enforced in Los Angeles during the Metal Workers' strike. What Otis, and the members of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association wanted to do was to divert attention from the labor troubles in Los Angeles, which were greatly detrimental to their real estate holdings, to San Diego. The San Diego situation was deliberately created by capitalist interests. It was a part of the class struggle on the Pacific coast."

"Then the San Diego war has made for greater solidarity among the labor organizations of California?"

"It certainly has. We realize that it is directly connected with the struggles of the building trades which we have carried on for so long. It reaches back to 1900, when the Millmen's strike brought on one of the first big battles of the San Francisco Building Trades. All the Millmen of San Francisco and Oakland were involved. The issue was an eight-hour workday. The fight was endorsed by the local Council, one of the first acts of which was to build the Progressive Planning Mill, which furnished union-planed lumber and material which our members could use in construction work. This was the first big attempt at co-operation in production ever attempted on the Pa-

cific coast by the unions. It was a success from the start and was largely instrumental in winning the strike. It was owned and operated by the unions and employed as many as 200 or more men at times. When all the mill owners finally yielded, in February, 1901, the victory furnished a stimulant to all the workers in the city and state, causing them to unite as never before. This movement was met by the employers with reprisal measures in the shape of lockouts, culminating in the great Teamsters' and Waterfront Workers' strike of San Francisco in 1901. And from these fierce fights, in which the employers' associations openly used municipal administrations and police clubs to beat down the workers, sprang the Union Labor party of 1901, which elected Schmitz as mayor. These successive fights brought about a feeling of solidarity in the entire labor movement of California, regardless of affiliation. There is now a greater degree of tolerance and better understanding than ever before. The educative work of the Socialists has had much to do with this feeling of class solidarity and their efforts have been of great benefit in many places."

"Is it your opinion that the unions in the American Federation of Labor will yet evolve into a fighting organization industrial in form?"

"I do, yes," was Tveitmoe's reply. "We shall have to have a readjustment among our international organizations, and that soon. At present we have 150 different organizations where fifty would do as well. This condition of affairs is largely responsible for our accursed jurisdictional fights in which the workers have employed all their energies fighting each other instead of the common enemy."

Here Tveitmoe spoke out vigorously and pounded his fists to emphasize his remarks.

"What do you blame mostly for this state of affairs?" he was asked.

"Time contracts and the greed system," he answered promptly. "Contracts are the most worthless things to which union men have ever pinned their faith. They have never held the employers; they have merely acted as shackles by which the workers have locked their own

hands and through which they have repeatedly signed away the only right they have—the right to quit work when and where they please. There are centers in which labor has practically committed suicide in signing contracts. The labor movement in New York, for example, and especially in the building trades, has been strangled to death in the grip of the contract system. Contracts mean the protection of the employer and the oppression of the worker. As for the greed system under which we live, it has its hold even upon our own organizations. Look at the situation here in Chicago, where one of the printing trades stays at work while the others are on strike and where men are done to death in fights between rival unions."

"Mr. Tveitmoe, what do you think will be the future of the California labor movement—how do you think things are going to shape up?"

"Well, that's rather a large order," he laughed. "I couldn't undertake to make prophecies in that direction."

"I refer specifically to the developments likely to occur on the opening of the Panama canal. It is widely reported that as soon as the canal is open, the big employers will see to it that a large part of the stream of immigration now landing at eastern ports will be diverted to San Francisco and other cities on the Pacific coast for the purpose of securing cheaper labor and thus reducing wages."

"Ah, that's different!" said Tveitmoe. "I can answer that, partly at least. We have had that problem under consideration for some time, and it will be met. The State Building Trades Council has appointed a committee to join with a like committee from the State Federation of Labor in making plans for this contingency. There is a way. Remember that California is an empire. It has more arable land than some countries in Europe and much more than Japan, for instance. It has an ideal climate and fertile soil. But these natural resources are of little avail to the people as a whole because of three great curses. The first curse consists of the old Spanish land grants, which have locked up vast areas of fine land and left them undeveloped. At one time I wanted our unions to buy some of

that land and make it a sort of haven of refuge in time of trouble and a place for the women and children to go to during strikes. We needed to raise only \$80,000, but nothing came of it. Since that time, however, we have dug up ten times that amount in strike benefits. We will now make efforts to have those big blocks of land divided up and sold at popular prices. Immigrants will be welcomed to these spots and invited to make their homes there. The second curse to the state is the complete domination and tyranny of the Southern Pacific Railroad. For years it has had the ranchers and farmers at its mercy and has oppressed the population with its exorbitant transportation charges. However, the power of this monster, politically at least, is no longer what it was. Our third curse has been Oriental coolie immigration. Young white workers formerly did not like to come out and compete with these people, with their low standard of living, and the result was that the farm population decreased. In later years the coolies have been found unsatisfactory and white labor has been coming in. But employers have tried to hand these white workers the same treatment that they accorded these submissive coolies, with the result that there has been trouble. A mass of floating workers have accumulated. The I. W. W. has done valuable work among these fellows and recently we have begun organizing them in the A. F. of L. with the co-operation of the farmers' organizations. More than 5,000 of them have been organized in the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys. They are the sort of fellows who were embroiled in the Fresno and San Diego free speech fights. But Fresno has learned its lesson and when 500 of the boys recently marched from San Francisco to San Diego they were well treated in Fresno and other towns. Some people call these men 'casual laborers.' Others call them 'hobo laborers,' and it is my intention to make the term 'hobo' respectable. In talking to some of our aristocratic workers in the highly paid trades I always call on them to realize that these men are their brothers and must be brought into our unions if the solidarity of labor is to be preserved."

AT THE WAGON—WHERE THE LITTLE SLAVES ARE RELIEVED OF THEIR LOADS.

# THE LAND RENTERS UNION IN TEXAS

BY

**T. A. HICKEY**

**Socialist Candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Texas**

**T**O UNDERSTAND the renters union situation it is necessary to know the immense amphitheater upon which the tragedy of their lives is staged.

Texas is the largest state in the Union in area. Between El Paso and Texarkana, a distance greater than from Boston to Milwaukee, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Panhandle, there lies 212,000 square miles. This is an area as large as Germany, with 55,000 square miles to spare and 57,000 square miles larger than France. It is sixth in population amongst the

states, containing 4,000,000 people. Less than five per cent of the population is foreign, thus making it the most American of all the states. The factory system is practically unknown, sixty-five per cent of the people living in small towns, villages, cross-road settlements and farms. More cotton is raised in Texas than in any other geographical division in the world, including the valley of the Nile. The enormous production of this great staple makes Texas the greatest agricultural state in the Union, for cotton still is king.

The people of Texas have never been

noted for conservative methods. By tradition and training they are cast in a revolutionary mould. When the great cities of New England, New York and the middle west saw their proletariat bound to the chariot wheels of capitalism without much thought of protest, the Texas worker, the much despised one-gallus fellow at the forks of the creek, was striking fearlessly though blindly at his oppressors.

And thus it has come to pass that the Greenback party, the Union Labor party, the Populist party, the Farmers' Alliance, the Grange, the Wheel and the Farmers' Union have in the past reached their highest development in the Lone Star State.

### **Agricultural Evolution Plain Here.**

In no place in the world can the trend of capitalism along the lines of agriculture be observed at first hand as it can in Texas. The great steam plows and mechanical cotton pickers on bonanza farms can be observed side by side with primitive methods of agriculture, that Potiphar's men might have used in Egypt.

Of still greater benefit to the student of economic development is the fact that this tremendous area has been taken over, within the lives of men now living, by a few great capitalists who possess greater landed possessions than any landlord in Europe ever dreamed of.

I have ridden in buggies over dozens of Texas counties when on a schoolhouse campaign and have had pointed out to me by my driver the great cattle trails over which the cowboys drove their mighty herds to Kansas. The cowboy now is as extinct as the dodo so far as the open country is concerned, and a large number of the survivors are now washing dishes in Chinese restaurants in Fort Worth.

The trail is obliterated, the land is fenced in and the locomotive engineer has taken the place of the cowboy. It is of this fenced-in land that I would write, because, with the coming of the barbed wire the gaunt specter of tenantry raised its head in Texas.

### **Renters Unknown in 1860.**

In 1860 land renters were unknown in Texas. Land could be secured literally for a song. This in spite of the gigantic land frauds that had been going on for

years, particulars of which can be found in the chapters on Land Frauds in Texas in Myers's great work, *The History of the United States Supreme Court*.

A story is told with much relish in Texas that vividly illustrates how easily land was secured at that time. A cattleman rode across the Concho River in '60, dropped off his horse at a tent saloon and found himself unable to pour out his liquor because he was shaking all over with laughter.

"What are you laughing at, Mr. Brown?" inquired the bartender. Said Brown: "I met a durned fool across the line in Coke county this morning. I swapped him a section of land for a calf. The durned fool couldn't read and I'll be dad gassed if I din't work off two sections on him." From this true tale it can be seen that landlordism did not menace the people when the guns roared out at Fort Sumter.

### **Enormous Land Holdings.**

After the war renting commenced. The lines had commenced to tighten even while the armies were battling at the front. Cattle companies fenced in multiplied thousands of acres. The legislature gave away to individuals and corporations many millions of acres. Their gifts to railroads alone amounted to thirty-six and one-half millions of acres, and by the runover system the railroads come into possession of several million acres more. Three million acres was given for the building of the state capitol, which was a scab job. As a result of the wholesale gifts to sharpers the public domain dwindled and enormous land holdings became the order of the day. Thus we find Mrs. King, who resides in Corpus Christi, holds title to 1,400,000 acres of land; it is just fifty miles from her front porch to her back gate. Mr. Wagoner, the Fort Worth banker, owns 800,000 acres in the Panhandle. Colonel Slaughter has title deeds to 600,000 acres. C. P. Taft, the step-brother of the president, has 356 sections. Mr. Higginbottom, of Dublin, Tex., has 125 tenants in one portion of Nolan County, Texas. Mr. Swenson, Wall Street banker, has 1,100 sections in west Texas. Our old friend Post of sawdust fame has 200,000 acres on the plains.

## STEALING THE BABIES' PLAYTIME.

I might go on to tell of other enormous possessions, but I have said sufficient to indicate the size of the holdings of the great landholders in Texas.

**Obtained by Violence and Fraud.**

These holdings came into the possession of their owners in the same manner described by Spencer in the ninth chapter of Social Statics:

"The original deeds were written with the sword; \* \* \* blows were the current coin given in payment, and for seals blood was used in preference to wax."

It was even so in Texas. The cattle companies when stealing the public domain employed gunmen more vicious than the western mining corporations ever dreamed of, and indeed some of the thugs were borrowed by the Mine Owners' Association, notably Bob Meldrum, of whom Haywood could tell a wonderful tale. These gunmen were used to scare away the "Nesters," as the bona fide settlers were called who went out into the wilderness to carve out a home for their wives and babies. Hundreds of them refused to leave and were shot like dogs, when the sun went down!

So plain is this trail of blood and fraud that I am serenely confident that did we but possess a Socialist legislature at Austin, that would be responsive to the best interests of the disinherited masses of Texas, they would appropriate \$100,000 to investigate the Land Commissioner's office

and the result would be, I am sure, that a number of the smug gentlemen who own great tracts of land in Texas would be deprived of their stolen goods and to save themselves from the penitentiary would seek sanctuary in a less healthy clime than Texas.

**Tenantry Inevitable.**

In the face of the conditions just sketched it was inevitable that Texas, in spite of her enormous area of free land, should soon find tenantry developing. In 1870 five per cent of the men who tilled the soil in Texas were renters. In 1900 50 per cent were renters, while in 1910 71 per cent is operated by renters, while in the richest black land counties, such as Bell and Falls, 82 per cent of the land is operated by renters. In connection with this I may say that I have had some discussions with some of our socialist statisticians who claimed that the figures were somewhat less than I have given, but they overlooked the important fact, however, that the average renter needs from 80 to 160 acres, according to his family, to make a living, and that there are 29,118 farmers who own less than nineteen acres, a large proportion of whom are compelled to become renters so that they may live, and this is also true of the 98,363 farmers who own from twenty to forty-nine acres, hence my figures are conservative.

**Increasing Rentals.**

These renters of Texas, for two genera-

tions, have been accustomed to pay the landlord the traditional third and fourth, which means that of every three bushels of corn and grain that they produce, the landlord takes one; of every four bales of cotton the tenant produces, the landlord takes one. To the intense disgust of the renter, this third and fourth system is passing away. The landlords have commenced to demand a third all round, which means that the tenant must give up one bale out of every three instead of one out of every four.

Then the landlords commenced to demand of the tenant \$1 an acre bonus, and some landlords have demanded as high as \$2 and \$3 an acre bonus as well as the third and fourth. The putting through of these reductions in the renter's income produced a storm of discontent and was the main factor that led to the organization of the Renters' Union, and inasmuch as the economic laws of capitalism will not permit of a reduction in these burdens now being piled upon the renters, it is inevitable that the Renters' Union shall grow until it is the largest union in the United States.

I will now sketch the reasons why the landlords will not and cannot reduce these burdens.

Within the past fifteen years there has been a steady flow of capital to Texas. It was mostly brought to the state by wealthy farmers of Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Ohio and Illinois, who had sold out their lands at an enormous increase over what their fathers had secured them for. They believed they could come to Texas, buy lands at a "reasonable" price and trust to the growth of the state to enable them to secure large piles of unearned increment. They found, however, that the gentleman already on the ground was able to maintain the price of land at a very high figure, largely because of the fact that the public domain had disappeared and all hands were inclined to hold the land which, unlike other things, is a fixed quantity.

Thus it happens that land that in the 70's sold for \$2 per acre jumped to \$40, \$50, \$100 and even higher. I was on one section of black land in Bell county near the town of Rogers last year that had just been sold to a Northern man for \$150 an acre. The renters who worked this land

when it was selling at \$50 an acre paid a third and fourth and the landlord was satisfied with receiving a good return upon his investment, but when this land went to \$150 an acre the new purchaser found that after meeting the fixed charges he could not secure 2 per cent on his investment, hence he was compelled, in order to receive what he considered an adequate return, to demand, as well as the third and fourth, \$3 an acre bonus.

On the poorer lands, where production is not half what it is in the rich black land, a corresponding condition obtains, but the land being cheaper in price causes the landlord to ask a smaller bonus than in the black land belt. In either case the renter finds himself in the same position as the city wage earner. *That is, he just receives enough to keep body and soul together and enable him to prepare for the next day's toil.*

#### Land Speculators in Clover.

The second reason for the inevitable growth of the Renters' Union is found in the fact that, owing to the antiquated constitution under which the State of Texas is being ruled and that was drafted originally in the interests of the landlords, it is impossible to place an adequate tax upon idle land that is held out of cultivation for speculative purposes. The constitution provides that land shall not be taxed more than 35 cents on the \$100, and the actual tax is considerably less than half of that sum.

Hence the million-acre land owners pay this petty tax on the millions of acres of land that they have fenced in and lie back in silent satisfaction as they watch the population growing by the natural growth within the state and the immense immigration from without. To give my readers an idea of the blighting effect upon the renter that results from this policy I will quote from an article published in the Chicago Tribune some months ago that was written by the present governor of Texas, O. B. Colquitt. He said:

"There are 146,000,000 acres of land in Texas that has never felt the caressing touch of the plow; 46,000,000 acres of this land is of a mountainous and arid character, but there is 100,000,000 acres of fine

arable land that has never been tilled." The governor goes on to say. "All the public domain has gone. All of this land is now fenced in, in private hands."

#### **Tenants Increasing.**

After pondering over this statement of the governor I would like to then point out that the number of tenants is continuously increasing. In 1900 there were 174,991 white tenants; by 1910 they had increased to 219,106, an increase of 44,115 in ten years.

If we take a pencil and divide the 219,000 tenants into the 100,000,000 acres of arable land that Governor Colquitt speaks of, we find that each renter could have a farm of 456 acres of good arable land, while the other 46,000,000 acres of land is good for stock grazing!

**WHAT A TREMENDOUS PRIZE TO STRUGGLE FOR! WHERE IN ALL THE NATIONS IS THERE A DEFINITE, DISTINCT PROLETARIAN GROUP THAT WAS EVER MOVED TO ACTION WITH THE HOPE OF SUCH A REWARD FOR VICTORY?**

I will pass over the great, broad fact that all the proletariat of all the nations has all the world to gain by the establishment of the Socialist Republic. My readers will note that I am writing about an industrial union and not about the general philosophy of Socialism. Let us mass the facts that I have set forth.

Here is land far greater in area than the German nation that has been grabbed by a few exploiters in fifty years. From being practically worthless the land has gone to a price that the workers cannot think of purchasing. The great public domain has disappeared. Where there were no tenants there are now 219,000. The bonus system has been introduced. The landlord has increased his demand on the crop, and each year finds the tenant sinking to an ever lower level.

#### **Renters' Union Organized.**

These facts have led to the organization of the Renters' Union of North America.

On the fourth day of last November, in the Labor hall in the city of Waco, 110 delegates, from twenty-four counties, met in convention for the purpose of launching the Renters' Union. Every man paid his own expenses, some of them stopped at the dollar-a-day hotels and others slept in

the wagon yards. I attended the convention and in consideration of the fact that I had written the first call for the organization in *The Rebel* on the 15th day of last July, the convention honored me by placing me on the committee on by-laws and constitution in an advisory capacity. I have attended many conventions during my twenty years in the labor movement, but never one that displayed more singleness of purpose, unity of action, clearness of thought or had a cleaner personnel than the men who formed this convention.

The slogan of the convention was: **LANDLORDISM MUST GO.**

When our labors were completed I returned to my home confident that the groundwork had been laid for an industrial union that possesses greater potential strength than any other union in the nation. This is what the convention decided upon as its course of action:

First, they declared with Chancellor Kent and Sir William Blackstone that use and occupancy was the only genuine title to land.

Second, they declared that a confiscatory tax should be placed on all land held out of cultivation for speculative purposes.

Third, they declared that the organization should be strictly non-political and non-sectarian.

Fourth, they demanded a change in the State Constitution that would secure the objects outlined above.

Fifth, they declared that when the organization was well under way that a committee from the union should be sent to the political conventions of every party in Texas with a request to place in their platforms a plank demanding an amendment to the constitution that would enable them to tax the land held for speculative purposes and that would make use and occupancy the title to land. They further pledged themselves to use all honorable methods to destroy the political party, be it Republican, Democrat, Prohibition or Socialist, that would not accede to their demands.

Sixth, they took a positive stand for industrial autonomy, and while declaring Texas state division No. 1 the parent organization, it should have the right to issue charters in other states, but as soon as forty

local organizations were chartered in the state, then a state convention should be called that would elect state officers and secure autonomy within that state.

Seventh, they struck new ground in a farmers' organization by absolutely prohibiting from membership anyone who was not a bona fide tiller of the soil.

Eighth, they provided that a man who owns his small home might be eligible to membership, but any man who rented as much as one acre of land could not pass the portals of the union.

Ninth, they demanded that the bonus system should cease, that no man should give a third of the crop. That the third in grain and the fourth in cotton should be the limit that they would give the landlord.

Tenth, they arranged for a widespread educational propaganda for the renters, their wives and their children under eleven separate heads.

Eleventh, they placed the dues at the lowest possible level, 50 cents initiation, 15 cents a quarter.

Twelfth, they demanded that all of their affairs, as far as possible, should be conducted by the initiative, referendum and recall.

#### **Headquarters Established.**

Headquarters have been established at Hallettsville, Texas, with E. O. Meitzen acting as Secretary-Treasurer. The President is Hugh Moore, who resides at Chil-

ton, Texas. Organizers have been appointed, pamphlets have been written, a constitution and by-laws adopted, a large number of locals have been chartered and when the second annual convention occurs at Waco on November 8 the Renters' Union delegates will meet prepared to take such steps as will bring the entire renting proletariat of the South within the sphere of their influence.

One significant thing may be noticed in connection with this Renters' Union, and that is that it has been of great value to us in building up the Socialist party. It has broken down a wall of prejudice that stood between the renters and the Socialist party. The Democratic party renters have had the big fact rubbed under their nose that it was the Socialists of Texas that were the most active spirits in coming to their assistance when the difficult work of organization was projected. They are commencing to understand the necessity of using both the political and economic arm. Their old-time leaders are being put to the test and found wanting. Their union is drawing the class line taut. Before the launching of the Renters' Union the landlord and tenant would walk arm in arm to the same primary, but now they separate at the union door and the renter is beginning to vote for the interest of himself and his class.

# SHALL ETTOR AND GIOVANNITTI BE MURDERED?

Manifesto Issued by the General Executive Boards of the  
YOUNG SOCIALIST PARTY OF SWEDEN  
and the  
CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF SWEDISH WORKERS

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FROM across the Atlantic ocean there comes an urgent appeal for assistance. Ettor and Giovannitti, two prominent men in the American labor movement, are about to be legally murdered in Lawrence, Mass., U. S. A. The committee charged with their defense appeals to the workers, of the whole world to give their support by writing protests and sending them to the American authorities and especially to the President of the United States and to Governor Foss, Boston, Mass.

After due deliberation the General Executive Board of the Young Socialist Party of Sweden has come to the conclusion that international solidarity demands that measures be taken, which are more effective than a mere written protest.

We fear that these protests will be thrown, unread, in the waste basket. With the knowledge we possess of the American capitalist class, we believe that they intend, in spite of all protests, to take the lives of Ettor and Giovannitti, if harsher means are not resorted to. And we consider it an imperative duty for the workers of Europe to do their utmost, in order to force the American capitalists to set these two labor leaders free.

In thus taking the initiative towards international action, by bringing the matter before the international central organizations, we could advance many good reasons for so doing.

Not counting the fact that labor's cause is one and common throughout the whole world, thus making an injury to one an injury to all, we have this special cause for interceding, that about one-third of the Swedish working class lives in America and there suffers under the oppression of capitalism. We also have a debt of grati-

tude to pay to the American workers who during the general strike of 1909, so liberally came to our assistance.

But even if these special causes did not exist, we need not make any apologies for the step we are taking.

We wish, therefor, to request the *International Trade Union Secretariate*:

1. To take steps towards establishing a world-wide boycott of all American goods, and

2. To request the organizations of transportation workers in all the countries of the world to refuse from a certain date, to have anything to do with vessels and goods arriving from or departing for America, until Ettor and Giovannitti shall have been liberated.

We, furthermore, address a request to the *International Secretariate* and to the *International Socialist Bureau*, to cause the matter to receive the greatest possible publicity, in order that the world's workers may arouse themselves to an understanding of the necessity of immediate action, if the lives of Ettor and Giovannitti are to be saved.

We are convinced that in the face of such a world boycott of American goods and a world blockade of American vessels, the American capitalist class will stop and consider the tremendous loss we could inflict upon them in this manner surely would be of greater effect than written protests.

Finally we request and admonish all *Swedish workers*, from this day until the liberation of Ettor and Giovannitti, to completely boycott all American goods of all kinds, such as bacon, meat, fish, flour and canned goods; shoes, hats, collars, bicycles, graphophones, knives, arms, etc., etc., etc., of whatever kind they may be. We also

request all Swedish sailors, longshoremen and transportation workers to absolutely refuse to handle vessels going to or coming from America.

We also wish to suggest to all brother organizations in other countries, to start a similar agitation and to continue same until Ettore and Giovannitti are free.

Should we neglect to do our utmost and thus allow the murderous designs of the American capitalist class to be carried out, then the blood of our brothers is upon our conscience.

Let us therefore, over the whole world, unite our forces to liberate Ettore and Giovannitti.

## THE FIGHTING I. W. W.

BY WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

**"The first fight was in the night.  
Now comes the dawn, the sword is  
drawn, the scabbard thrown away."**

**T**HAT the Industrial Workers of the World are in a class by themselves is indicated by the uniformity of condemnation this organization receives from the many diversified sources and representatives of apparently conflicting interests.

Mr. Samuel Gompers gives vent to strictures peculiar to himself. Mr. John Henry Kirby condemns the I. W. W. in no uncertain terms. Mr. Daniel DeLeon has phrases of his own in which he curses the Industrial Workers of the World. Mr. Victor L. Berger joins the chorus with four hands round singing "Hallelujah, I'm a bum".

While this redoubtable quartette are cursing and reviling what to them is a growing menace, the overworked and underpaid workers are organizing and understanding themselves, refusing longer to surrender their well-being to the care of any well-meaning representatives. The workers are massing in the I. W. W. and are acting for themselves. Such self-assurance has struck terror to the hearts of wily politicians, lazy labor leaders and greedy capitalists alike.

The militant spirit of the awakened proletariat has brought upon their innocent and unsuspecting heads the most vile abuse and vicious persecution.

The Lumber Trust has inaugurated a most pernicious and inhuman blacklist against the members of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The Los Angeles Labor Council in sycophantic fawning has likewise denied

I. W. W. members recognition as an integral part of organized labor in Otis-land.

Vigilantes of San Diego in spasms of brutal hysteria have branded the letters I. W. W. in living human flesh.

Authorities of Clinton, Mass., have spattered the head-stones of the dead with the blood of living men and women, members of the I. W. W., who were cruelly wounded by the haters of liberty, thus dedicating and consecrating the quiet churchyard to the cause of Industrial Freedom.

Among the cypress and pines of Louisiana at Grabow, a lumber camp, was the scene of a murderous assault that killed and wounded many members of the I. W. W. The echo of the volley sounded the tocsin and the workers are answering the call.

From Aberdeen, Wash., to Perth Amboy, N. J., from Circle City, Alaska, to Juarez, Mexico, brave women and brave men are singing revolutionary songs of discontent.

Prison walls reverberate with the battle cry of the Internationale. Organizers and agitators are afield. But the real work of the organization, the voice of liberty comes from those imprisoned.

From jail Ettore delivers his Sermon on the Common to the multitudes.

Giovannitti's poems are sung in the tongues of all nations.

Emerson sends his message of hope from a prison cell to the slaves of the Southern forests and swamps.

The pathetic silence of Buccafori adds fuel to the flames of protest and bitterness.

With failing eye-sight Tom Whiteside in the dim light of Canada's dungeon can see the dawn of labor's new day.

The martyrs of Imperial Valley join hands with Jack Whyte of San Diego and his fellow workers and start a local in the prison of California.

From hundreds of prison cells and dungeons grim comes the battle cry of the Industrial Workers of the World. Nor can imprisonment, injunctions nor death itself stop the onward march of humanity.

We have been your slaves, your tools, your stepping stones to power. We have been meek, dumb, driven cattle. We know your true worth now, Gompers, Kirby, DeLeon, Berger. You have mocked us in our agony!

One hundred fifty of us in jail in British Columbia, the filthy cells of Hoquiam and Aberdeen are filled with our men. Twenty of us are festering in the prison cell in the prison of San Diego. In the terrible dungeons of Lake Charles, La., we are fifty-four. The hearts of all of us are beating in unison with our fellow workers in New Jersey and Massachusetts jails.

From behind the walls and bars of prisons comes the mighty cry for Industrial Freedom. Those of us who are in jail—those of us who have been in jail—all of us who are willing to go to jail—we care not what you say or what you do! We despise your hypocrisy. The fight is on, on with the fight. We are the Revolution!

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE BUILDING INDUSTRIES TRADE  
UNIONS INTO ONE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION.

# Forces Making for Industrial Unionism in the British Trade Union Movement

BY

**Alderman J. V. WILLS, Operative Bricklayers' Society**

**T**HE rapid march of economic development in Great Britain, as in other capitalist countries, and the inevitable industrial conflict of the working class with the master class have revealed in unmistakable manner the relative ineptitude of craft or sectional form of organization, either as a weapon of attack or defense. Consequently the workers' attention is turned to a more reliable weapon with which to fight. And here let it be noted that those who have accepted the philosophy of industrial Unionism, those who are able to see the logical method and outcome of economic development, have not been slow to take full advantage of every

opportunity to see that their principles receive first consideration. Full advantage has been taken by the militants to bring those principles to the front in the trade union branches and in the columns of the union journals. And here I should like to mention that great strides have been made as a result of Comrade Bill Haywood's visit to this country in 1910, and still later the return to these shores of Tom Mann who, with his fiery propaganda, has had a tremendous influence in attracting the serious attention and consideration of both the organized and unorganized worker to this highly important side of the working class movement. The propaganda has flourished,

and opinions have been changed to such an extent that in the same year, 1910, we see a growth in the old conservatively cherished ideas of craft unionism by the trade union congress itself passing the following resolution:

"That in the opinion of this Congress, the present system of sectional trade unionism is unable to successfully combat the encroachments of modern capitalism, and, while recognizing the usefulness of sectional unionism in the past and present, the Congress realizes that much greater achievements are possible, and the redemption of the working class would be hastened if all the existing unions were amalgamated by industries, with one central executive, elected by the combined unions, and with power to act unitedly whenever there is a strike or a lock-out in any industry, thus making the grievance of one the concern of all. The Congress, therefore, instructs its parliamentary committee to put themselves in communication with all the trade unions in Great Britain, and ascertain their views on the above question, also to promote a general scheme of amalgamation, and make a recommendation on the matter to the next Congress."

For the resolution.....	1,175,000
Against .....	256,000
	<hr/>

Majority for ..... 919,000

Here we see the first national expression in favor of a change. But, as you will note, the voting was not unanimous. Now observe a year later, 1911. This year will go down in history as one in which the trade unions of Great Britain were engaged in one of the stiffest struggles of their time with the master class. Virtually a life and death struggle. And side by side with this we see the employers perfecting their power by syndicating and amalgamating wholesale, in order first to eliminate all waste and unnecessary expenditure in production, and second, to offer consolidated resistance to any demand of the workers for improved conditions. These, then, were the forces the workers were up against and the school-master of experience had taught the doubtful such a lesson that we see in the 1911 trade union congress the following resolution carried unanimously:

"That this Congress, recognizing the in-

creased power of the capitalists in closing up their ranks and their adoption of improved methods, deploras the lack of similar consolidation among the workers. It urges, therefore, that the parliamentary committee take steps to call conferences of the different industries, with a view of amalgamating the several trade unions connected with each industry."

When it comes to be remembered that the delegates to the congress numbered 523; the societies represented 202; and with a total membership of 1,662,133, the progress of the idea is something in the nature of the marvelous.

In the meantime, however, the advocates of industrial unionism, whilst being distinctly encouraged by the turn of events, realized the need of "getting together," so that a regular, uniform and consequently more effective propaganda could be entered upon.

In this connection we see the birth of a committee which was destined to play an important part in moulding the movement upon scientific lines. "The Provisional Committee for Consolidating the Trade Unions in Building Industry Into One Organization."

It first saw the light in February, 1911. At the commencement it numbered only about a dozen sympathizers, but in a short time it grew to immense proportions. It was the medium through which the active men in each union could work, until today we have representations from the Painters' Society, Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners, Operative Stone Masons, United Builders' Laborers' General Union of Carpenters, Amalgamated Order of General Laborers, National Association of Operative Plasterers, National Association of Operative Plumbers, Electricians' Union, Operative Bricklayers' Society, Masons and Paviers, etc., etc. The Operative Bricklayers gave it a kind encouragement at the outset by, first, granting the committee a meeting hall, rent free, for the purpose of carrying on their work; second, by a good money grant to start the propaganda.

The committee lost no time in getting to work; they immediately published a leaflet explaining how they came into existence, what they stood for, and their methods of spreading the gospel.

In a word, their aims are to organize the working class along the lines of industry, upon the basis of the class struggle, in order that we may, in conjunction with the political weapon, eventually dethrone King Capital from society. But I shall return to that more fully later on.

The leaflets, methodically distributed in the various building trades unions, soon brought a request from branches all over the country, to send speakers to explain our views, and as far as voluntary effort would allow the demand has been supplied. I should here like to mention that our secretary of the provisional committee, George Hicks, was at this time a member of the executive council of the Operative Bricklayers' Society, and rendered us valuable service in successfully establishing this committee.

Now, to resume, we have, in addition to publishing 30,000 leaflets upon sectional unionism, our thrice-cursed national insurance act and how it affects amalgamation. On these subjects 100 meetings were addressed. And it was one of our members, Ted Morris, Operative Bricklayers' Society, who moved the resolution at the 1911 trade union congress previously referred to.

This provisional committee has attained a position of exalted influence. Amongst other things in September, 1911, when the supreme council of the Operative Bricklayers' Society held their annual meeting, they decided to set up inside their society a consolidation committee for the purpose of trying to bring about a union of forces connected with the building industry. After a few preliminaries with the executive council we were invited to send two representatives to form part of that consolidation committee. The provisional committee accepted the offer and elected our secretary, George Hicks, and myself to represent them there. This, I think, constitutes a record, in so far as any one union has set up inside its own society, a special committee to deal alone with trying to amalgamate the unions in a given industry, and for that purpose decides to give representation to ideas from others than their own members in order to accomplish that objective. That committee also got to work and drafted a leaflet as follows:

## OBJECT—ONE UNION FOR THE BUILDING INDUSTRY.

### FELLOW WORKERS,

Recent events affecting the position and influence of organized labor has led to a general revival of interest among the industrially organized workers on the question of the best means to be adopted to increase the power of the fighting arm of our class—the trade unions. Almost universally the cry has gone up for the greater unity of action among the unions catering for the workers in a given industry. Therefore we, the members of the above Committee, wish to submit the following suggestions and proposals to you, hoping they will receive your careful consideration and support:

### SECTIONAL UNIONISM.

Sectional unionism is no longer able to cope with the conditions and problems of modern industry in the building trades. During late years a complete change has taken place in the construction of buildings, as regards the materials used, and also the part played by labor. Machinery, specialization, and speeding up of manual labor have broken down, in a large measure, the craftsmanship which was a great factor in the former power of existing forms of industrial organization, and has greatly reduced the time formerly required for the erection of buildings. Needless to say, this has increased the competition among the workers, increased the periods of unemployment, and made great inroads on the old trade lines.

All this has meant endless demarcation disputes among the various sections of skilled workers, leading to bitter struggles between trade unions catering for allied crafts, and the wasting of our fighting strength in internal disputes, whose only effect has been to consolidate the power of the employing class. Against the solidarity of the masters we have appeared weak in comparison, each section fighting for its own hand, and making separate agreements with the employers, which they (the masters) have skillfully used to suit their own ends, *i. e.*, to prevent united action by the workers. The result of this policy has had disastrous effects, due to the misguided belief among the workers that industrial organization is played out. We are no longer respected, because we are no longer feared. Now, if this state of affairs is to be improved, we have no hesitation in saying that new methods of organization, coupled with a new policy, will have to be adopted.

### THE NEW METHOD.

The new method of organization we suggest is the amalgamation of existing trade unions catering for the workers engaged in the building trades. Such an organization should be constructed so as to admit to membership all workers employed in the building industry. This recognition by our organizations of the common interests of all who work for wages will have the desirable effect of breaking down the prejudices which have divided our forces in the past, and through having ONE union for the building trades, make our industrial organization a power again.

A fighting policy will draw again to our ranks the workers who are at present unorganized. Even with our present membership much could

be done to improve our working conditions. A great amount of the present senseless cut-throat competition in output could be avoided, and a general movement could be undertaken to raise wages and shorten the hours of labor. A properly organized propaganda, from convenient centers, would also be effective in unifying the rates of wages of the various grades in a given area.

**INTERNAL.**

Internal organization should be of such a character as to allow of the fullest freedom for the various grades to discuss and promote the advance of their sectional interests in line with the general policy of the whole organization.

Sectional strikes should be reduced to the lowest possible margin consistent with the maintenance of a fighting organization. When a district or a national stoppage is decided on, all sections should be prepared with claims for improved conditions. One of the immediately pressing needs is the abolition of long agreements, and the unifying of the time set for their expiration, so that concerted action is possible for the industry all over the country.

We have thus briefly enumerated some of the advantages to be gained from an amalgamation of existing trade unions; we therefore suggest the following as the Name, the Object, and the Immediate Functions the organization should take:

**NAME.**—The Building Workers' Industrial Union.

**OBJECT.**—To unite the present building trades' unions into ONE union, embracing the whole of the wage workers engaged therein; with a view to building a union which, in conjunction with other industrial unions, will ultimately form the framework of the machinery to control and regulate production in the interests of the entire community.

**IMMEDIATE FUNCTIONS.**—1st. To maintain a fighting organization, working to improve the material conditions of the workers engaged in the building industry; to take joint action with other similar unions in the furtherance of the interests of the workers nationally and internationally, believing that the interests of all wage workers are identical.

2nd. The systematic organization of propaganda among the workers, upon the necessity of becoming organized on the industrial field, upon the basis of class instead of craft. Organize by industry as workers, instead of by sections as craftsmen.

**FINANCIAL.**—1st. For trade purposes, a uniform scale of contributions and benefits.

2nd. The amalgamation of the friendly side benefits into a separate account.

**HOW TO HELP.**

For carrying on an immediate propaganda in favor of the above suggestions, members everywhere should form groups of branches to discuss the subject. Later, grouped meetings of the various trade unions concerned should be held, and resolutions should be drafted and forwarded to the various executive bodies, asking that a vote of the members be taken on the subject by a given date. If the result is favorable, a grouped national delegate meeting of all the building

trades' unions should then be demanded, to formulate proposals for the suggested amalgamation.

The above committee are only too anxious and willing to receive communications from, and information about, any building trade union, or any committee or branch, concerning the above, and shall be pleased to place at their disposal any information they may have, and if possible co-operate with them in the best interests of this great movement.

*Signed,*

H. J. ADAMS.  
 JAMES LANE.  
 J. V. WILLS.  
 WALTER DAVIS.  
 BENJAMIN T. AMES.  
 GEORGE HICKS, *Chairman.*  
 JOHN BATCHELOR, *Secretary.*

Arrangements were made for special meetings of its members to consider the leaflet, with the result that it was adopted by 186 branches to 12, and by the part this leaflet has subsequently played it bids fair to become one of the most historical documents in the British trade union movement.

Having obtained this mandate from its members, the consolidation committee called upon the parliamentary committee of the trade union congress to put into operation the resolution that was carried at the last congress, instructing them to call conferences of the unions in a given industry, and with the assistance of provisional committee they were stirred to move. A conference was held at Essex Hall, Strand, London, on April the 18th, 1912, and the following societies were represented:

Societies Represented.	Membership.
Operative Bricklayers' Society.....	23,000
General Laborers' Amalgamated Union.....	1,440
Amalgamated Slaters and Tilers' Society...	929
Gasworkers and General Laborers.....	32,000
Amalgamated Union of Labor.....	22,000
French Polishers .....	1,000
Engine Drivers, Crane Drivers, Hydraulic and Boiler Attendants.....	.....
National Association of Builders' Laborers.	2,300
Scottish Painters' Society.....	2,950
General Union of Carpenters and Joiners...	6,000
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners .....	56,000
Operative Stonemasons' Society.....	7,000
Manchester Unity of Operative Bricklayers.	1,655
Plumbers' Association .....	10,907
United Builders' Laborers.....	1,900
National Amalgamated Painters.....	14,909
Street Masons, Pavers and Stone Dressers.	800

After considerable discussion the following resolutions, submitted by the Operative Bricklayers' society delegates were carried:

OPERATIVE BRICKLAYERS' CONSOLIDATION COMMITTEE.

Top Row—J. V. Mills, A. J. Adams, B. T. Ames, J. Lane.

Bottom Row—J. Hicks, Chairman; J. Bachelor, Secretary; W. Davies.

1. That this Conference expresses its adherence to the resolutions passed by the last two Trade Union Congresses embodying the principle of amalgamating the present Trade Unions in the various industries, and therefore we, the representatives of the Building Trade Unions, consider the time is now opportune to put the principle into operation in our industry.

2. That a Committee be appointed from this Conference, to consist of one member from each society represented, to draw up a scheme to give effect to the previous resolution, such scheme to be submitted to the next Conference.

Immediately following this conference the provisional committee got to work. The decision of the conference was made known to its members, who transferred the news to the rank and file, which gave the movement the stimulus and backing that was required to make the work of the committee that had been appointed by the conference a success.

The bricklayers' consolidation committee met and instructed their delegates to the committee to move their four page leaflet as a basis for a voting paper, the same to be submitted to all the members of the unions concerned.

With slight alteration the proposal was adopted, and the adjourned conference, to which the committee reported unanimously, accepted the committee's recommendation. In order to secure a uniform voting paper, the conference requested that the parliamentary committee be allowed by the unions to issue the voting paper.

In the meantime the bricklayers' consolidation committee, recognizing that its work was in no way complete, and seeing the need for the continuation of a uniform and vigorous campaign in favor of the ideas

embodied in its leaflet, issued a syllabus of a lecture to its members, by which it hopes to encourage and enlist the support of a great number of advocates of industrial solidarity.

Encouraged by the progress made in the building industry and recognizing the need for an extension of the principles to other industries, the following resolution has been placed on the agenda of the coming trade union congress by the bricklayers' society, when, together with the aid of the report of the conferences of the building industry, it is hoped to influence the other unions to take similar steps:

"That this conference reaffirms the resolutions passed at its last two conferences Sheffield and Newcastle respectively, upon amalgamation of the present trade unions by industry, and wishes to record its appreciation of the efforts made by the parliamentary committee and the gratifying response of the various trade unions in the building industry; and urges upon the parliamentary committee to call conferences of the other unions in the various industries, with a view of completing the instructions laid down in the Newcastle resolution. Furthermore, as a means of assisting this movement, it be an instruction to the parliamentary committee to inaugurate an educational campaign in favor of amalgamation of the existing trade unions by industry."

To further assist the movement to success the provisional committee are about to issue a manifesto to urge upon the members in the unions concerned to be not only sympathetic, but to cast their votes in the direction of industrial solidarity.

Before closing, mention should be made of the committee for "amalgamation of the existing trade unions." Like the provisional committee, its chief activities are centered in London, and its army of propagandists are doing good work. It embraces all trade unionists, regardless of the industry to which they belong, and in that way I am afraid it has a tendency to become unwieldy. Nevertheless, its efforts, which are entirely voluntary, are aiming in the right direction, as their diagram will show. (See next page.)

While I do not necessarily endorse their grouping, the idea is extremely useful in

attracting and focusing the mind of the worker upon the issue.

I hope by this contribution to have proved the recent contention of Luella Twining, that "Europe is ablaze with the sentiment of industrial unionism."

It certainly proves that the British trade unionist is awakening to the fact that the old weapon of craft unionism has lost its usefulness, and that if they are to be successful combatants in the class struggle, they have got to forge a more modern weapon to fight the entrenched forces of organized capitalism.

With the growth of industrial unionism the down-trodden workers will receive first hope and inspiration and a better understanding of the magnitude of the issue that is before them.

"The coming day, the future hope,  
When right to wrong shall bow  
And hearts that have the courage mean  
To make that future NOW."

**NOTE**—How to read this Diagram. Each column represents one industry with its allotted number of Trade Unions as grouped by the Board of Trade. The dash after the top Numbers shows that we want to reduce the Numbers to one, or as near as possible. The squares and E.C. at the bottom of each column denotes one Executive Council for each industry. The large square and National Council denotes how each industry should be connected to one centre, which would have representatives of each E. C. elected to serve on that council.

The following are the Names of each each column:—(1) Building. (2) Mining and Quarrying. (3) Metal, Engineering and Shipbuilding. (4) Textile. (5) Boot and Shoe. (6) Other Clothing. (7) Railway Servants. (8) Tramways and other Land Transport. (9) Seamen, Dock and Wharf Labour. (10) Printing and Allied Trades. (11) Woodworking and Furnishing. (12) Shop Assistants. (13) Other Trades. (14) General Labour. (15) Employees of Public Authorities.

LOOKING FOR WORK IN DETROIT.

# THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

BY L. A.

**E**VER since man began to enjoy the fruits of knowledge he has had to solve the problem of moving from place to place, without the trouble of walking. He pictured in his imagination a means of unlimited individual locomotion, and was satisfied for a time that some fellow creature—man, or beast, should move him and his burdens about wheresoever he pleased. But this was not his ultimate goal. He dreamed of some means of locomotion in a distant future, when physical power should be dispensed with and mechanical power take its place. In short, he dreamed of a Horseless Age.

Not until the 13th century do we find any mention of this coming era, when Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar, predicted that "We will be able to propel carriages with incredible speed without the use of animal power." He also predicted the steamship and the flying machine.

It was Leonardo da Vinci who, in the 15th century, made some rough plans of

an auto-car. Two centuries later a Nuremberg carriage manufacturer invented a chariot going by springs and making 2,000 paces an hour.

Various other propelled vehicles were invented, but it was left to Watt to partially solve the problem, when he invented the steam engine.

With the advent of this great invention dates not only the steam carriage but all the subsequent inventions in machinery.

Progress in the automobile was not evidenced until Daimler, a German engineer, perfected the gasoline engine. He is rightly called the father of the present automobile.

In the United States the rapid progress in machinery has aided in building up a large and successful automobile industry. According to the 13th census there were 57 factories of automobiles and parts in 1899; while in 1909 there were 743, with a total number of 85,000 employes. We may safely add 30 or more factories up to date. Detroit alone produces two-thirds

## WHERE THE PRESIDENT OF AN AUTOMOBILE COMPANY LIVES.

of the total number of cars manufactured in the United States, and the output is being increased every year.

Now that the commercial car has made such rapid advances, this industry is now on a well established basis. It earns enormous profits for the stockholders, and Wall street is keenly watching its growth. Improved methods of production and the eliminating of skilled labor is also a factor in increasing dividends in this industry. Besides, the concentration into fewer and fewer hands and the standardizing of the parts that go to make up the car, are considered profitable, as it eliminates waste, both as regards competition and in experimental work. As in other large industries the trust solves these problems.

The General Motors Co. controls nearly thirty large automobile factories, and has branches all over the United States and continental Europe. It is also allied with the United States Motor Co., which in turn controls about 15 automobile factories. This latter organization is backed by Thomas F. Ryan and other Wall street gamblers. The General Motors Co., with its allied interests, can offer pleasure and commercial cars for from \$300 to \$6,000. It also manufactures electric trucks. So it bids fair to strangle other concerns or they will be compelled to merge with the trust.

The president of an automobile concern in Detroit appeared before the Senate investigating committee on trusts, complaining that a small manufacturer can not have a chance to sell his cars, owing to the advent of the Automobile Trust. The same gentleman is chairman of a committee of automobile manufacturers that filed a brief with the finance committee of the United States Senate, protesting against the reduction of the tariff on automobiles. The reason given was that old worn out lie, "To protect American labor." This brief was put into pamphlet form and distributed to the workmen in the shops. It was intended as a warning, that, should the attempted cut in the tariff take effect it would necessitate a cut in wages. (We have had enough of this dope to know that it has always been a pretext to scare the wage slaves into submission.) The gentlemen in question demonstrated this fact by cutting the wages of his slaves before the tariff on automobiles came up for discussion in the finance committee.

In this shop a man who gets a job must first pass a doctor's examination. Of course, strong men are needed to withstand the speeding up that has become an established fact in this and other shops. The premium system is being installed everywhere. It is alleged that the head "Speed

Kings," as they are called, will receive at the end of one year 35 per cent on the amount of money saved by speeding the men. In order that more work should be gotten out of the men, the machines are run on first speed. Where formerly one man attended to one machine, now in many instances he is compelled to run two and three machines. The men in all shops are at the mercy of unscrupulous slave drivers who get a bonus for time and money saved in production in their respective departments. To quote from "Shop Talks," issued weekly by an automobile corporation:

"R-C-H employes are coming through a pretty severe test right now. Since the 1913 models came out we have been kept hustling every minute getting out cars that we need, to take care of our dealers. . . . The figures on production each day are posted in various departments and they have to be reached to hold up the production end before the factory closes each night. The R-C-H plant is no place for the shirker. Some fellows have not been able to stand the gaff. They have quit, and quit cold. One morning last week a man passed Mr. Hupp, putting on his coat and hat. The president wanted to know what was the matter. 'O, a little too speedy for you,' observed the president."

This speaks for itself.

Typical of the enormous profits made in the automobile industry and the low wages paid, is a concern which sells its car for \$690, and the average labor cost per vehicle is \$90. Sometime ago there was talk of a strike in this shop, but it was skilfully averted by granting a 9-hour day to the men. In passing, let me say that, with the exception of two auto factories, the men in all others work ten hours a day.

The shop above mentioned is a real slaughter house. There are hundreds of accidents every day and the shop hospital is kept busy every minute attending to the victims of the inhuman speeding up. Hundreds quit, not being able to stand the strain, but there is always an army on hand to take their places. Wages all along the line are very low; 22 and 25 cents per hour is the prevailing scale, and there is a tendency on the part of the manufacturers to establish an average wage of 22½ cents per hour for skilled labor. Rent and other necessities of life being high, the auto workers are trying hard to stretch the dollar.

Detroit is well known as an open shop town, and the manufacturers are doing their best to keep it open. They are advertising

all over the country for men while the town is already flooded with unemployed. Not being satisfied with this scheme, in conjunction with real estate sharks and business men, they have inaugurated a yearly carnival, which they name "cadilaqua," and are advertising it all over the country. "To boom Detroit," is the intention, of course, and at the expense of the workingmen's jobs. Detroit will eventually face a serious problem as a result. Already the workers are beginning to show dissatisfaction. Many are eagerly listening to the message of Industrial Unionism and are joining the One Big Union. Craft scabbery is a dead letter to them. The manufacturers are aware of this commotion as indicated by the follow-

ing. At the front of a shop an address was delivered on Industrial Unionism by J. V. Thompson, organizer I. W. W. The general manager tried to stop the meeting but failed. The next day he gave orders that a band concert be held every noon hour in front of the shop so that the attention of the workers be diverted from agitators. Other factories are distributing leaflets to the slaves condemning "certain elements that preach discontent," at the same time telling the dollar-a-day laborer that he and the boss are brothers. But the slaves see it differently, and the time don't seem to be far distant when the auto-workers will beat the employers at their own game, under the revolutionary banner of Industrial Unionism.

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## BLANKET STIFF PHILOSOPHY

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

**T**HE SCUM PROLETARIAT IS AN EVEN MORE DANGEROUS ELEMENT THAN THE LUMPEN PROLETARIAT. IT IS A WARTISH GROWTH ON THE BODY POLITIC SOMETIMES ATTACHING ITSELF TO WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS, COMPOSED OF LAWYERS, PREACHERS, AUTHORS, LECTURERS, AND IN-

TELLECTUAL NON-PRODUCERS GENERALLY.

POVERTY IS A SOCIAL DISEASE THAT CAN BE CURED ONLY BY A GENERAL CESSATION OF WORK.

SOCIALISM IS THE MOTHER OF HUMANITY, Sired BY FEUDALISM AND DAMNED BY CAPITALISM.

CHARITY IS THE PILLAR OF POVERTY.

# BE A PARTY BUILDER

BY

ARTHUR BROOKS BAKER

**T**HE Socialist Lyceum Course is not something to be thrown at the cat. So far as personal gratification is concerned, there is much merit in throwing things. To be fiercely indignant over the wrongs of capitalism, and then coolly calculate the force of a scientific blow you're going to give it eight months hence, may be wise, but it's "against human nature." Human nature at large would rather throw the hair brush right now than use a shotgun next year.

The purpose of the Lyceum Department of the Socialist party is largely to dispel the notion that capitalism is a wicked cat and that the mission of every Socialist is to throw a bootjack at him as occasion may arise. Nothing is left to the inspiration of the moment. Lecturers are engaged, ad-

vertising is printed, contracts made with locals, routes mapped out, halls rented, dates fixed, tickets sold, all months in advance.

On account of the campaign, the lectures for this season will not begin until January, 1913, but preparations for the work are now well under way. Sixty regular speakers have been engaged, with more in reserve for emergencies. The accompanying map shows how the country has been divided into twelve circuits, based on party membership, while the engraving and list of names shows the assignment of the sixty speakers into twelve circuits of five lecturers each.

Throughout the entire Lyceum machinery there is a definiteness of plan and purpose which cannot fail to impress and

1. New England.
2. New York, New Jersey.
3. Pennsylvania.
4. Ohio, Michigan.
5. Indiana, Illinois.
6. Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri.
7. Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota.

8. New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana.
9. Washington, Oregon, Idaho.
10. California, Nebraska.
11. Oklahoma, Texas.
12. Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Arkansas and the South.

<b>1</b> William E. Duffy	W. J. Ghent	Florence Wattles	Walter Huggins	Fred Hurst
<b>2</b> Oscar Ameringer	George Willis Cooke	Ella Reeve Bloor	Emil Seidel	Geo. H. Goebel
<b>3</b> Wm. F. Barnard	N. A. Richardson	Adolph Germer	Mary O'Reilly	Wm. A. Ward
<b>4</b> Dan Hogan	Carrie W. Allen	Samuel W. Ball	Ernest C. Moore	J. E. Snyder
<b>5</b> James F. Carey	Margaret Prevey	William Bessemer	John W. Slayton	Wm. L. Garver
<b>6</b> Walter J. Millard	O. F. Branstetter	Dan A. White	Wm. E. Rodriguez	Caroline A. Lowe

7 Paul H. Castle	Geo. F. Hibner	Amy G. Edmunds	I. S. McCrillis	John W. Bennett
8 Sidney W. Motley	Lena M. Lewis	Emil Herman	Stanley B. Wilson	G. W. Boswell
9 E. W. Perrin	Robert R. Lamonte	Luella Twining	L. F. Fuller	Robert Knight
10 C. B. Hoffman	Frank Bohn	Ralph Korngold	Janet Fenimore Korngold	W. P. Collins
11 Ernest T. Behrens	Anna A. Maley	W. G. Henry	Clyde J. Wright	Fred C. Wheeler
12 Thos. N. Freeman	Max Wilk	J. L. Fitts	Harry M. McKee	Clyde A. Berry

enthusiasm all who come into contact with it. Each local is assigned an allotted task on agreed terms, these terms being exactly the same for every section of the United States—a rigidness of system which no capitalist lyceum bureau could even attempt, much less carry out. When the local has sold one hundred and eighty-five dollars' worth of Socialist books and periodical subscriptions it receives, free of cost except hall rent and incidental expense, a lecture course of five numbers. Of all book and subscription sales above \$185, the local retains a commission of 40 per cent.

Instead of the inadequate advertising usually supplied by lecturers of all kinds, Socialists being no exception, the Lyceum Department furnishes a generous assortment of dated paper, including six special leaflets for house to house distribution. An elaborate book of instructions is issued, anticipating the thousand and one little difficulties which the local comrades must meet, and pointing out how to overcome them. The result is often the transformation of a weak, puttering local into a strong, systematic band of workers.

Foremost among the carefully studied plans to make work easier for the locals is the book of subscription certificates. Here, neatly bound in a cover of red leatherette, the local lyceum worker finds an announcement of the Lyceum Course, handsomely printed on finest plate paper and attesting by several union labels that it was made by workingmen for the enjoyment of other workingmen. The announcement has been carefully written in simple language, so that even a new Socialist, unfamiliar with our literature and organization, need not be embarrassed in soliciting subscriptions. The titles of the lectures are: (1) The Socialist Challenge. (2) What is Socialism? (3) The Class Conflict. (4) The Socialist Program. (5) The Socialist Movement. These titles are briefly explained so that the average

man will understand approximately what the lecturer is to talk about. Following the explanation about the lectures are the pictures of the five speakers, with write-ups telling who they are and what they have done.

Next in the book the worker finds the fifty-cent Subscription Certificates, and to each is attached a Season Ticket for the Lyceum Course. The ticket bears the inspiring design which is reproduced on the Review cover this month. Interleaved with his ticket the worker finds a compact catalogue of Socialist books and papers, from which the purchaser may make his own selection, or, if he desires, may follow the suggestions of the comrade who sells him the Subscription Certificate.

Farther on in the book the worker finds two blank sheets, with a request to write the name and address of everybody to whom he sells a subscription, and to turn this in to the Local Secretary. Several pages of helps and suggestions follow, and in the back of the book are bound, with a perforated stub, two membership application cards, with the significant line,

**GET A MEMBER!**

This "Get a Member" epitomizes the whole Lyceum, which, while by no means a direct campaign for membership, sets before the community in the most impressive way the Socialist movement and organization and invariably results in increased membership for the locals which use it with anything resembling energy and persistence.

In fact, the spirit of the Lyceum is fully set forth in the title of its new 25-cents-a-year weekly paper, "The Party Builder."

That's what the Lyceum is—a party builder.

Thousands took part in its constructive work last year, and thousands more will participate in it this season.

Get into the sport.

Be a Party Builder.

**1,000 at a Crack.** Local Portland, Ore., does things on a big scale. When it puts in an order it keeps our shipping department busy. One thousand copies for September is their REVIEW order this time.

# THE BUTTE SOCIALISTS

BY

FRANK BOHN

**B**UTTE is a place which a Socialist worker visits and investigates with a degree of satisfaction which is simply inspiring. The Socialist administration seems to have accomplished a maximum of results under a capitalist system of government of the state and with the backward form of municipal government now obtaining everywhere in America. The work lately described in *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* by the mayor, Lewis J. Duncan has been continued with unvarying success. On July 4th, 1911, there were sixty cases of contagious diseases in Butte. On July 4th, 1912, there were but two cases. In every matter which comes before the government of the city of Butte this question is asked, "Will it benefit the working class?" And their every policy is outlined and pursued with that alone in view.

When conducting their campaigns, the Socialists of Butte have never wavered a moment in their loyalty to principle. The Socialist speakers and writers there went to the working class and said that they ought to carry the city because it would be "a step in the right direction." If they could carry the city now they could carry the state in two years. By carrying the state they would be putting a great political weapon in the hands of the industrial organized working class.

The men of the Butte Miners' Union are industrial unionists in a town which is industrially organized as is no other city on earth. These men saw the present benefits of Socialist political propaganda as a means of working class education and its future benefits in waging the class struggle with the most powerful of trusts they were keen to realize.

During a long day's tramp with Comrade Duncan along the banks of the Yellowstone river, I went with him most carefully into this whole matter of the party's work in Butte. Inevitably I came to the personal questions, "How did it happen that you, a clergyman, and near fifty years

of age when you came into the movement, should come 'clear through?'" I could understand how a keen student might forget his theology and how a strong character may overcome his individualism. "But how did you come to understand Socialism from the point of view of the industrially organized men of the Western Federation of Miners?"

"When I came into the Socialist movement," replied Duncan, "I did not come to teach and preach, but to learn and work. I went to those men and asked, 'What does Socialism mean to you? What do you wish to do with yourselves, with me and with the country?'" I did not even say that I had a point of view. I just listened and learned."

The scholarly young lawyer, Comrade Maury, now serving the Socialist Party as City Attorney, speaks in the same vein. These men have burned their bridges behind them and have avoided the mistakes both in the party and in their work as public officials which have ruined so many well-meaning professional men who have tried to be of service in the Socialist Party and failed.

The working class of Butte knows exactly what kind of Socialist propaganda and what kind of an administration they want and they got it. They didn't say, "We will refuse to employ this man Duncan because he is a preacher and this man Maury because he is a lawyer." But finding that Duncan and Maury understood the working class and the Socialist movement from the point of view of the working class, the proletarian Socialist party local of Butte said, "Duncan and Maury are able and valuable comrades in whose honesty of purpose and strength of character we have every confidence. They couldn't use us if they wanted to. We are going to use them for all they are worth." And so they do.

Another interesting public official in Butte is the City Treasurer, Comrade Clarence Smith, sometime secretary-treasurer

of the old-time American Labor Union. Different from many another labor leader, Smith left that office poor in pocket, but rich in experience. Butte comrades told me that to Smith more than any one else is due the soundness of the movement in Butte and specifically the harmony which has obtained between the industrial and political movements of the working class. Smith knew what to expect and what not to expect from the political movement. When the Socialist officials took office in Butte, the party membership had not been lead to expect that Socialism would be installed the next day. There are no disappointed Socialists in Butte. And there are no factions in the Socialist party in Butte. When the views of individuals do not obtain in the local those individuals know how to be good losers, even if they happen to be the mayor, the city attorney or the city treasurer. The Socialists of Butte know how

to run a local and how to run a city chiefly because they know how to run themselves. As late as last year these same city officials were members of an economics class, which used as a text book a work which every Socialist thinks he understands, but which very few have read—"Capital," by Karl Marx. Think of it! Real Socialist city officials meeting with the officials of the biggest and most successful labor union in the world and studying Marx's "Capital." How old fashioned and theoretical!

Thorough industrial organization, revolutionary political propaganda, study classes in Socialist economics, a kindly fraternalism and joy in the service of the movement and an unwavering faith in one another which makes factionalism impossible, unthinkable—such has been the spirit of the movement in Butte and Montana generally. Montana will be carried by the Socialist Party in 1912.

# MODERN MACHINERY AND THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

BY

ROBERT JOHNSTONE WHEELER

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INDUSTRY is progressing toward the automatic stage with such speed that unless one is actually connected with a great department of production and therefore familiar with the remarkable changes which take place almost daily, it is difficult to comprehend the rapidity with which this revolutionary factor is advancing.

There is no other single phase of our industrial development that is fraught with such revolutionary significance. The creation of the perfect automatic machine in one industry has stirred the owners of all other industries to seek a like method of production. And in the industry where, because of the nature of the process of production peculiar to that industry, a single automatic machine cannot complete the whole process, the effort is put forth to so improve the mechanical aids as to arrive at the Irreducible Minimum of Labor.

People outside of industry cannot conceive of the wonderful things being done in the great industries. Inventors are being hired by the week, just like other workmen. They are set to work on machines and their task is to so improve the machine as to remove the man who now tends it. And the inventors are doing that very thing.

In the Westinghouse Electric Company's great works in Pittsburg, 19,000 men were employed in 1907. Last year they employed 10,000. Now mark the significance of this. With 10,000 men in 1911, that in-

dustry turned out a product equal to that produced by the work of 19,000 men in 1907. The army of inventors employed by the Westinghouse Company did its work well. *Improved machinery reduced the necessary working force by almost 50 per cent in four years.*

ROBERT J. WHEELER.

In every other department of industry the same process of elimination is going on. Mechanical marvels are displacing human workers to such an extent that society, in America at least, is being hurried onward toward social revolution.

Skill is being made valueless. Craftsmanship is being abolished. Vocations are being blotted out. Men and women are cast out of occupations by machines. We are arrived at the time when machinery has become the dominant factor in the production of wealth. From now onward, fewer and fewer human beings will be needed in industry.

The Bulletin of Manufacture of the 13th Census contains this significant statement: "During the period from 1899 to 1909, the amount of primary horsepower increased much faster than the number of wage earners. In other words, each wage earner had greater assistance from mechanical power in 1909 than in 1899. The number of wage earners increased 40.4 per cent, while the primary horsepower increased 85.5 per cent," an increase in favor of machinery of over 100 per cent in the short period of ten years. In plain language it means that the human being, as a factor in wealth production, is being supplanted by the machine at a ratio of 2 to 1. The figures for the ten-year period are as follows:

	1899	1904	1899
Primary horse power.....	18,680,776	18,487,707	10,097,893
Wage earners .....	6,685,046	5,468,383	4,712,763
	Per Cent Increase.		
	1907	1904	1899-'09
Primary horse power.....	38.5	33.6	85.5
Wage earners .....	21.0	16.0	40.4

These statistics tell their own story. Increase of primary horsepower means that human labor power has become inadequate and uneconomical. Just to what degree this is true is difficult to show, but in future articles certain great industries will be studied in detail and facts pertaining to each presented illustrating the rate of displacement in each industry, due to the introduction of machinery.

Such facts as these have tremendous significance. The development to which they relate is destined to work changes in our institutions so remarkable as to be almost beyond the power of imagination to conceive.

The school is our most important social institution. Society expects the school to

lead in the work of socialization. But the school system has been, and to a great degree is yet, controlled by men whose conception of industrial development is not clear. The men who manage our educational system are not familiar with the facts of industry. They have a general knowledge of changes going on, but cannot know nor understand the significance of these changes as can those who live in the industries.

Educators, with all their efforts to understand the needs of present-day society; with all their earnestness in the great work they are doing in an endeavor to adapt the educational institutions to the demands of industry; are held and motived by a conception of the purpose of education which belongs to the hand tool era.

For the last twenty years there has been a movement gaining ground in educational circles, called the Manual Training and Industrial Education Movement. This new educational system has gained such popularity that schools designed to give training in mechanics are now being built all over the land. State governments annually appropriate large sums of money to aid in the installation of the new system. Just now there is pending before Congress the Page Bill, a bill to give immense sums of money out of the national treasury to aid the states in this direction. This is a long step in the right direction. It promises a good beginning toward giving the nation a scientific educational system. But this new system is being developed with the idea of preparing the youth for vocations *which are now being destroyed by modern machinery*.

The old vocations are passing away before the advance of modern methods. New machines often obliterate whole departments and render human skill obsolete.

As well might we build wooden warships or old fashioned locomotives as to train the youth for industrial functions which are disappearing.

Automatic machinery is here. It is developing in every industry. Wealth production by automatic machinery will become more and more a reality. Scientists, inventors and efficiency engineers are all working toward that end. From time to time perfect automatic machines will be

brought out; productive processes will be improved until standardization of those processes is accomplished; "efficiency in management" will give industry the "Irreducible Minimum" of labor. The automatic machine, the standard process and the application of scientific systems in management, will enable the world to do all the necessary work without the expenditure of much human labor.

These ideas are not born of theories in the mind of the writer. They are based upon tendencies now working in modern industry. Any person with an open mind who will spend one month in study of the facts will come to similar conclusions. The man who doubts that the ideas set forth in this writing are sound, has only to investigate to be convinced.

Out of all this development must come a new and better economic system. All these wonderful machines and processes and systems must bring blessings to the whole race. Industry is giving the world the means by which poverty, with its attendant evils, may be abolished. Society, as yet, cannot comprehend the marvelous thing. But it is awakening. Men are coming to understand that the system of wealth production and distribution which we call capitalism, having guided the world while these wonders were developing, must now give away to a newer system, a system which will organize the productive and distributive machinery of the world so as to enable all people to enjoy the good that these things make possible.

What of the future of industrial education? The Manual Training and Industrial School, as we know it in operation, is trying to promote industrial efficiency. The youth are being taught the principles of natural science. Also they are training for vocations in life. In the industrial schools craftsmanship is taught.

The economic force back of the new educational movement is the demand for efficiency in the industries, particularly the industries where machinery is not a preponderating factor as yet. The clamor for men who have technical training as well as skill in the use of tools urges the development of the new schools.

We have had the new institutions with us for a period sufficiently long to study

results. This is what we find. The youth comes from the school into the shop. He has a good scientific education. All the mechanical principles are as familiar to him as are the principles of mathematics. No matter what task he may be given to do, he is impelled by his training to do it in the easiest, most economical and most efficient manner. He cannot help but seek to improve the machine or the process with which he may be working. He has mastered the arts of draughtsmanship and design as well as the art of tool using. Ideas come to him and he easily puts them into concrete form. Therefore we find a wonderful advance in machine improvement and invention wherever the product of the industrial school is employed in industry. Thus the new school itself is helping to destroy the economic function for which it was created. The youth trained to become a finished craftsman, goes into industry and uses his scientific knowledge to develop machines which destroy craftsmanship.

It is not contended that craftsmanship will not be needed in the future, but that *this need is decreasing as machines improve.*

The new school is become a vital force in society. Its function is to establish in the minds of the youth a fundamental basis for correct thinking. It will teach science from the primary grade to the college. Children trained in the new school will not tolerate superstitious ideas; will not accept as knowledge anything which cannot be verified; will become implacable foes of ignorance and ardent followers of truth.

No other institution in society can do the work demanded of the school. While schools were wholly dominated by theological influences, science could not be freely taught. But now that material influence is in control (that is to say, commercial influence), science is not hampered. The new school must teach the naked truth about everything, because industry will tolerate no mistakes. It demands proof for everything and the proof must be concrete, in the form of engines and dynamos and other instruments of production.

The "Socialization of Humanity" is within sight. The new school is to be the means of bringing it about. When another

generation shall have had training in science which the new school alone can give, rapid social progress may be expected. Having the means of producing abundant wealth, society will organize wealth production so as to make sure that the physical needs of humanity will be provided for. The new system of education will retain its economic function to whatever degree may be necessary as industrial development proceeds. In time it will expand until it is entrusted with the whole work of training youth for life.

Give the children scientific training and

not only will they be ready to perform well whatever work society may demand of them, but they will so order their mode of living as to become free from ordinary forms of diseases; from unclean, selfish, lowering ambitions.

Economic security established; scientific training provided; then will it be possible to set about race improvement. The immoralities of the present order—its social evils, are caused by poverty and ignorance. Modern machinery will abolish the one and the industrial school of the future will supplant the other with enlightenment.

## AS TO KEIR HARDIE

BY

WILFRID GRIBBLE

**I** WRITE in support of Haywood's opposition to Keir Hardie being invited to tour this country under the auspices of the Socialist Party of America.

Of course, I recognize that Hardie would be a good "drawing card." That is all the "leaders" and "intellectuals" seem to think about. Get the crowds, get the cash, and let the education of the workers to their class interests go to hell.

The Socialist Party of the states affirms the class struggle, which Hardie both affirms and denies, sometimes in the same sentence. Read these gems of thought culled from an article written by Keir Hardie early in 1904, entitled "An Indictment of the Class War."

"For my own part I have always maintained that to claim for the Socialist movement that it is a 'class' war, dependent for its success upon the 'class' consciousness of one section of the community, is doing Socialism an injustice and indefinitely postponing its triumph. It is, in fact, lowering it to the level of a mere faction fight."

Then again in the same article:

"Now, it is not disputed that there is a conflict of interests between those who own property and those who work for wages. The tenant and his landlord and the worker and his employer have interests which lead to inevitable conflict and antagonism, and the object of Socialism is the removal of the causes which produce this antagonism."

Of course, "antagonism" is not "war!"

The unconscious humorist Hardie also writes in the same article: "The working class is not a class; it is the nation."

How does Keir Hardie account for the *working* CLASS unless there is an *idle* CLASS for it to be *classed* with?

Again in this precious article of this *eminent* Socialist (?): "Socialism will come, not by a war of classes, but by economic circumstances forcing the proletariat into a revolt, which will absorb the middle class and thus wipe out classes altogether."

A "revolt" is not a "war," of course:

What beautiful phraseology, and how impressive to those who have never studied Socialism, but to those who have, how pat-

ent it is that the writer of such is either ignorant or treacherous, or both. This writer thinks both. Why? Because Keir Hardie says he learnt his Socialism (?) from the Bible and Shakespeare.

*Such a man must be ignorant.*

Because he affirmed the class war at the International Socialist Congress, and immediately on returning to England denied it.

*Such a man must be treacherous.*

I saw Keir Hardie a few years ago in Toronto and he told me that "there was a class war, but it was not expressed by the Socialist movement, but by the trade unions (ye gods!); that the Socialist movement was not a class movement, because there were other than workers in it; that the *labor* members of parliament in Britain

were *run* as labor men, but *returned* as Socialists." (How ingenious!)

*The very next day* he was interviewed by Comrade Weston Wrigley, who was that day reporting a banquet given by the Canadian Club (the swellest club in Toronto) to Keir Hardie, and on being questioned as to the class struggle, Hardie pettishly said: "There is *no* class struggle; you people in Canada and the States are spoiling the movement by insisting on it." This article is long enough now. I have cited enough facts, which I can prove by witnesses, but if necessary can cite many more.

Go to, Keir Hardie; the "leaders" and "intellectuals" may want you this side, but the revolutionists don't; but if you do come—you may depend upon it—you will be put through the mill, as we have too many of your sort this side already.

The enemy who comes to us with open visor we face with a smile; to set our foot upon his neck is mere play for us. The stupidly brutal acts of violence of police politicians, the outrages of anti-socialist laws, the anti-revolution laws, penitentiary bills—these only arouse feelings of pitying contempt; the enemy, however, that reaches out the hand to us for a political alliance, and introduces himself upon us as a friend and brother—*him and him alone have we to fear.*

Our fortress can withstand every assault—it can not be stormed nor taken from us by siege—it can only fall *when we ourselves open the doors to the enemy and take him into our ranks as a fellow comrade.* Growing out of the class struggle, our party rests upon the class struggle as a condition of its existence. Through and with that struggle the party is unconquerable; without it the party is lost, for it will have lost the source of its strength. Whoever fails to understand this or thinks that the class struggle is a dead issue, or that class antagonisms are gradually being effaced, stands upon the basis of bourgeois philosophy.  
—Wilhelm Liebknecht.

# EDITORIAL

## What the Review Stands For

**N**EVER in all the history of the world was the outlook for the disinherited workers so bright as in this year 1912. That is because there were never signs of so widespread, so intelligent and so determined a revolt as can be plainly seen today. Here in the United States the Socialist Party stands in the forefront of that revolt. We of **THE REVIEW**, working within and through the Socialist Party, have a definite message which we try to voice from month to month. Usually we connect what we have to say with the passing events of the month, and only those who read our pages continuously understand our position as a whole. This month's issue will reach many new readers. For their benefit, and especially for those who may have been misled by the way in which our opponents have stated our position, we shall now try to make it clear.

### I. Modern Slavery.

A vast majority of the American people today are slaves in everything but name. They work to the limit of their strength when they can find a master. For their labor they receive barely a living. By this labor they produce five times as much as comes back to them in wages. Four-fifths of their product is appropriated in various ways by the capitalist class. Part of it is constantly used to enlarge and improve the machinery of production which the capitalists own. As this machinery becomes more efficient, and as the daily product of each laborer becomes greater, an ever larger proportion of this product is taken by the capitalist, and the relative position of the laborer grows worse and worse.

### 2. Revolutionists and Tories.

This state of things is very much to the advantage of the capitalists. Naturally it seems right to them. They and all whom they can influence through churches, schools, newspapers and other means for shaping "public opinion" are defenders of this system of modern slavery. Every act which makes the system more stable and secure seems "good" and "moral" to the

capitalists and their followers. Here in America until lately nearly every wage-worker expected to become a capitalist himself, and therefore accepted capitalist ideas without question. Now, however, class lines are being more closely drawn. The children of capitalists become capitalists, the children of wage-workers become wage-workers. And the wage-workers are developing a morality of their own, in which respect for property plays no part. The more intelligent wage-workers, among whom this new morality is taking shape, we call revolutionists; the capitalists and their allies, who are resisting necessary changes in the structure of society, may be called tories.

### 3. The Class Struggle.

The struggle between these social classes is the supreme fact of the age in which we live. Ever since the dawn of written history, the majority have toiled in poverty that a privileged few might live in luxury from their unpaid labor. Without this slavery, social progress might not have been possible. But, however, that may be, the productivity of labor has increased so wonderfully that comfort and even luxury for all is easily possible. The one obstacle to a happy life for all is the rule of the capitalist class. Therefore this class must be overthrown. As a class it must be destroyed. To abolish the capitalist class is the historic mission of the working class.

### 4. Socialist Tactics.

So far nearly every Socialist will agree with what has been said. We now come to the points on which there are sharp differences of opinion among Socialists.

We hold that the ultimate aim of the Socialist Party is or should be to educate and organize the working class for the complete overthrow of capitalism.

As one means to this end, we believe that the Socialist Party should whenever possible nominate candidates for office at every national, state and municipal election, and make every effort to increase the vote as well as the membership of the party.

We do not believe that the revolutionary principles of the party should ever be concealed or obscured for the purpose of winning the votes of people not in sympathy with our ultimate aim.

We believe that the vote of the party should be an accurate index of the number of convinced revolutionists, and that to this end every effort should be made to inform wage-workers and sympathizers as clearly as possible regarding the principles and the ultimate aims of the Socialist Party.

We favor the reforms demanded in the National Platform of the Socialist Party, since they would bring some incidental benefit to the working class. We hold, however, that most of these reforms will prove even more beneficial to the capitalist class, and we expect to see many of them enacted by one of the old parties or some new reform party. We, therefore, deprecate undue emphasis of these reforms in our propaganda, since the political and economic developments of the near future will probably make them out of date.

We call attention to the fact that the political structure of the United States is such as to make it almost impossible for our elected officials to accomplish much in office that will greatly assist the working class in its struggle against the capitalist class; nevertheless we favor electing as many officials as possible and using their

power to the fullest extent that may prove practicable.

We see that the principal battlefields of the Social Revolution must be in the shops, mines, factories and fields, and we rejoice that the Socialist platform explicitly urges economic as well as political action.

"Direct Action," as we understand it, is neither more nor less than economic action. We have never advocated an appeal to physical force, since the capitalists control the fighting machinery as well as the machinery of production. We hold, however, that the question of tactics in the economic struggle is one for the unions to decide and that the Socialist Party can only make itself ridiculous by attempting to meddle with it.

We hold that the logic of events is making the industrial form of organization absolutely necessary for laborers making a fight against the great capitalists for higher wages and better working conditions. The anti-Socialist craft unions are rapidly disappearing or becoming revolutionary, and we expect the reorganized revolutionary unions to become the greatest factor in destroying capitalism.

Meanwhile, we regard the Socialist Party with its propaganda and educational work, as the most important revolutionary force now in the field, and we urge every friend of THE REVIEW to work through it and help make it more completely representative of the working class.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**Italy. The Socialist Reform Party.**—The inevitable has happened at last. A large group of reformists, the so-called "rights", have withdrawn from the Socialist Party of Italy and formed a new organization. As a result, thirteen Socialist deputies to the national parliament have resigned their seats and a large number of municipalities, including Rome, are disorganized by reason of the number of resignations. The Socialist Party loses some thousands of members. Yet those who are informed with regard to Italian conditions see in the "split" no misfortune.

For years the movement of the Italian working-class has been crippled by the divisions within the Socialist Party. There were, as there are always, two main divisions, those of revolutionists and reformists; but within these were many subdivisions, each with more or less clearly defined principles and organizations. At party conventions there were always the old conflicts, and in party activity either indecision or opposing and mutually disregarding action on the part of the various groups. So the party has not grown. During the past year, as was shown by the official report at the convention just held at Reggio Emilia, it has lost 2,000 members. Now, it is hoped, the end of the period of bitter internal conflict has been reached. The Italian working-class is filled with the spirit of solidarity, and with a united party there is no apparent reason why its magnificent spirit should not be organized for socialism.

The action of the convention was a foregone conclusion. The Socialist group in parliament has not shown itself submissive to the party mandates. It has not opposed the war against Turkey with any degree of unanimity or energy. When an appropriation bill for military purposes was to be voted upon it was absent. Bissolati, the leader of it, did not accept a post in the ministry, but he has since said that he was sorry he did

not do so. The "right" reformists have consistently defended their course of action as the logical one for Socialists who believe in reform. The government of a democratic state, they hold, can as well be the servant of the proletariat as of the capitalists. Any reform brought about through compromise or bargain, they argue, is a step toward this end and is therefore an advance toward socialism. Since the government is not necessarily capitalistic, the entrance of a Socialist into the cabinet means just that much power for the working-class and that much progress in the direction of working-class rule.

This view of Socialist tactics has repelled the majority of Socialists. Even many of the reformists, Comrade Turati for example, have disavowed and denounced it. To be sure the theories of these latter, the "left" reformists, do not differ in kind from those of the "right". But there is a vast difference in degree. The "lefts" believe that under certain circumstances it may be right to enter into election agreements with one of the other parties or do a little bargaining in parliament to push through a reform measure. The "rights" were, in actual practice, so eager to forward their pet electoral reform bill that they either supported or failed to oppose a murderous predatory war. They followed their reformist principles so far that they forgot absolutely the interests of the working-class and the principles of international Socialism. This fact cut them off from the sympathy and support of the majority of the members of the Italian Socialist party.

The formal action which resulted in the formation of the new party was the passage of a motion to expel from the party four of the reformist members of parliament. In connection with the report of the parliamentary group Comrade Mussolini moved that Bissolati, Bonomi, and Gabrini be expelled for congratulating the King on his escape at the

time of the recent attempt to assassinate him, and like action be taken with regard to Podrecca on account of his support of the Turkish war. Of course it is to be taken for granted that the supporters of this motion really had in mind, not only the specific charges mentioned, but all the theories and activities of the men in question. The motion received the votes of delegates representing 12,566 members. The support of 8,883 members were divided between two motions which merely censured the four comrades in various ways and directed them to submit to party discipline in the future. The votes of 2,072 members were withheld. These three figures are held to represent the strength, respectively, of the revolutionists, the "left" reformists, and the "right" reformists. After the balloting all of the "rights" declared that they would withdraw from the party along with the four who had been expelled. They met and formed the new party almost immediately. As soon as possible they will start a daily paper. In the meantime all of their members who hold offices as Socialists have resigned and declared their intention of running again for their old offices as representatives of the Socialist Reform party, as the new organization is called.

The Italian Socialist party has, of course, a tremendous task to perform. Districts which it has controlled for years will have to be fought for anew. The Socialist group in parliament will, no doubt, be considerably cut down. But if the party can have internal peace and a renewed revolutionary spirit, the losses will be more than made up in the near future.

**Belgium. The Socialist Party and a General Strike.**—The Socialist party of Belgium is about to make one of the most interesting experiments in the history of working-class politics. The victory of the Clericals in the elections of June 2 brought the Socialists face to face with a situation not unlike that which confronts our comrades in Prussia. Within the old electoral system, which gives to many of them only a third of a vote, they find it impossible to secure a majority over the parties of reaction. Campaigns of education are fruitless; the

majority has no means of bringing its power to bear on the legislative bodies. In the face of this situation the Socialists of Prussia have simply gone on making gigantic demonstrations and improving their work of agitation in all directions. The Belgians are not so peacefully inclined. This was proved in the first place by the strikes which broke out immediately after the result of the election was announced. It was only through strenuous efforts of the Socialist executive that more serious trouble was averted at that time. And as soon as the will of the workers had time to express itself it was evident that everywhere they favored the calling of a general strike. So a congress of the Socialist party and other interested organizations was called for June 30 at Brussels.

Nearly 1,600 delegates met and spent a day in earnest discussion. Two resolutions were discussed. The first was that of the Executive Committee of the party: It provided for the constitution of a strike committee representing the party, the labor federations and the co-operative associations, and the careful preparation for a strike under the supervision of this committee. The second, presented by Comrade Destree, spokesman for the Federation of Charleroi, ordered the calling of a strike at the time of the special session of parliament in the month of July. The debate was heated but carried on in a spirit indicative of underlying unity of purpose. Comrade Vandervelde, for the Executive Committee, maintained that the strike, to be successful, must be extensive, peaceful, and of long duration. Such a strike, he argued, cannot be brought about overnight. Comrade Destree answered that postponement would fritter away the magnificent fighting spirit which gave evidence of itself in the spontaneous uprisings which occurred early in June. Finally a compromise resolution was introduced and carried unanimously. It provides for the designation of the large strike committee mentioned above and directs that the strike be not declared earlier than the meeting of parliament in regular session in November. The choice of date is to rest absolutely in the hands of the strike committee, with the pro-

vision that a moment shall be selected when the action of the parliamentary majority will give meaning and enthusiasm to the movement. The Socialist deputies are to prepare a resolution looking toward the introduction of a modern electoral law and do their utmost to secure its adoption. It is generally supposed that after they have exhausted parliamentary means to secure their end the strike will be called.

The interesting feature of this situation is not that there is to be a general strike, but that the general strike is being arranged by a political party. The party was organized to operate upon the political field, but it now finds itself up a blind alley. For the present its political activity can lead to nothing: so it resorts to the economic weapon; it starts a movement for the organization of a general strike. Whether it succeeds or fails in the use of its unusual weapon, its efforts will be watched with deepest interest by Socialists of other lands.

**France. The Maritime Strike.**—The strike of French sailors is still on. In one or two of the smaller ports men have gone back to work. In some cases they have capitulated; in others their demands have been granted. But in the chief ports, such as Havre and Marseilles, the strikers are standing firm. At Dunkirk the government set 400 troops to unload vessels which had been deserted by the regular dockers. In addition a strike-breaking concern known as "The Right to Work" was hired to defend non-union men and stir up trouble. It succeeded. The troops fired on the strikers and wounded eight of them. This event served to close the ranks of strikers in other towns.

Many vessels are lying idle in all the ports of France. Others are putting to sea with short crews of inexperienced men. The companies show no sign of capitulating. It is interesting to note that the concerns receiving subventions from the government are more obdurate than any others. It is evident that in every way possible the government is trying to break the strike.

**France. Herve at Liberty.**—On July 16 the French ministry decided to set at

liberty Gustave Hervé and five others who have been held in prison for crimes similar to his. Hervé, it will be remembered, was cast into prison something over two years ago for denouncing the proceedings of the government in the case of a certain Liabeuf. Liabeuf was found guilty of murdering a policeman and sentenced to death. Hervé investigated the case and found that the condemned was a young workingman who had been hounded by the police on one pretext or another until he committed murder in revenge. In an editorial published in *La Guerre Sociale* he denounced the police and called the execution a murder. For this he was sentenced to four years in prison. Now the government, without any apparent reason, has set him free. With as little reason a large number of other prisoners are kept behind the bars.

**A Revolutionary Mayor.**—The Socialist mayor of Brest, Hyppolyte Masson, made himself famous on July 14, the national holiday of the French. Brest is one of the great centers of French militarism, and there the national fête day is celebrated with a great military and naval review. What were the Mayor and his colleagues in the municipal council to do? Neither they nor the great majority of the people of Brest wished to make a demonstration for militarism. Yet you could hardly expect a French population to stay away from a celebration.

The Socialist Mayor got out of the difficulty nicely. He had the walls of the city placarded with official posters, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," and all. But the text of these official posters was wonderful to read. In it the Mayor explained that he and his Socialist supporters had nothing against the soldiers, that the soldiers are sons and brothers of the working people, that the nation suffers under its load of military burdens, etc., etc.—all quite in the style of a Socialist platform. Toward the end occurred this passage, notable in a public document: "And our internationalism, far from wishing to betray France to a foreign power, prepares, in coöperation with the Socialists of England, Germany and other countries, for the establishment of the United States of Europe, in which all the na-

tions, reconciled under the red flag of the international, may at last, each according to its own natural character, work out its ideal of social justice." And the whole concludes with an appeal to the soldiers not to forget their duty to the people in case the workers are driven to revolt.

Having made this declaration to the soldiers and to the world, the Socialist Mayor of Brest, followed by his people, went to see the maneuvers on the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. In this case there would seem to be no doubt about the desirability of having a Socialist municipal government.

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SUNDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST MEETINGS, AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND.

Comrade Scott Bennett, Lecturer.

# NEWS AND VIEWS

## Statement of a Delegate on the Barnes Case

BY

MARGUERITE PREVEY

AVE read most of the articles both for and against the recall of J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager. This morning I received marked copy of the *National Socialist* calling for a defense fund to fight the Barnes case. In the same issue there appears an article by Victor Berger in which he calls all those who differ with him Anarchists, Free Lovers, and Eugene V. Debs an unqualified egotist. Now Comrades, calling names is no argument; that is only the refuge of people who have something to hide, and the something to hide in this case is the evidence taken in the infamous Barnes case, both at the hearing before the Investigating Committee, elected by the National Committee over a year ago and again at the hearing before the National Executive Committee at Chicago last August, with the result that J. Mahlon Barnes resigned as National Secretary, and his resignation was accepted by the National Executive Committee. Comrades, if the evidence taken in this case was such that Barnes could no longer be retained as National Secretary with credit to the party, how comes it that he should now be retained as an official?

I submit that the National Committee voted upon the report of the Investigating Committee without hearing or receiving copies of the evidence taken at that time. I was present at the trial held in Chicago last August and heard the evidence taken before the National Executive Committee and know something about the case. And it was because I did know something about it, that I protested at Indianapolis against the selection of Barnes as Campaign Manager and also against the re-opening of the case. If the other delegates had listened to the evidence taken at the trial, I know he never would have received enough votes to elect him.

I stated in my speech objecting to Barnes, that with Barnes as Campaign Manager, we could not carry on a unified and vigorous campaign; the present turmoil in the party proves I was correct.

If any one can be accused of disrupting or aiming to disrupt the party, it is Morris Hillquitt, who deliberately opened the Barnes case by stating that "we owed Barnes reparation," etc. This case had already caused dissension in the party and has cost the party an enormous sum of money for Special Committees, witnesses, etc., and also the valuable time of our National Executive Committee, their railroad fare, hotel bills, and per diem, while the party paid it all.

Comrades, this is not a question of political versus direct action. The question before the party members is: "Is it to the best interest of your party to continue J. Mahlon Barnes as Campaign Manager?" Don't permit any one to be-fog the issue. Let us have the evidence; calling names won't settle the question.

I trust the members of the National Committee will take immediate action and have the evidence printed so the members may know what it is all about.

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**This Thing Must Be Settled.**—Four members of the National Executive Committee held up the Branon, Tex., referendum in regard to the Barnes case by another trick typical of the reactionary type of mind, which believes that a mass movement or a popular demand can be stayed or defeated by a little manipulation. Voting on the disposition of the Barnes affair was already well under way when Morris Hillquit suddenly made a motion that the Branon referendum be officially investigated and that voting be suspended until a report could be made to a special session of the N. E. C. Spargo, Berger and Harriman supported this motion, Haywood opposing it, and Irvine and O'Hare not voting. Thus will the party be put to additional heavy expense in putting out the referendums initiated by Locals Portsmouth, O., or Poplar Bluffs, Mo., and Heaven knows Barnes has already been of enough expense to the party. Thus the

majority members of the N. E. C. bid defiance to that large section of the party membership which has demanded Barnes' recall, since there is absolutely nothing in the party constitution that allows the National Executive Committee either to initiate or suspend a party referendum, no matter on what grounds. Thus the National Executive Committee arbitrarily suspends a referendum, just as the Committee on Constitution arbitrarily took it upon itself to propose the election of a campaign manager at the Indianapolis convention in the first place. As National Secretary Work has already pointed out, the referendum demanding Barnes' recall is "legal even if the Branch letter should prove to be fraudulent. See Article 11 of Constitution. The fact that two other proposals received the required number makes it doubly so. Besides, Barnes tells me that he will not question its legality." But Barnes is a friend and ally of Hillquit, Spargo, Berger and Harriman; therefore they have decided that he shall be kept on the job at all costs. They seem perfectly willing to permit the party to be rent with dissension before they will allow a member of their machine to be ousted from his job, which for some unknown reason pays more even than that of the national secretary.

The REVIEW in its July issue charged that Barnes was shoved upon the party as campaign manager by trickery. Since that time there have been various elaborate explanations and statements on the part of Hillquit and his allies. The official minutes of the National Convention have been corrected and Hillquit now contends they prove his assertion that he made the nomination of Barnes as an individual. But even the plausible Hillquit cannot deny the damning fact that in the second sentence of his nominating speech at Indianapolis, as quoted by himself in his own personal statement (See page 164 of the August REVIEW) he said: "I wish to say that my colleagues on the National Executive Committee and on the several preceding committees are UNANIMOUS in the opinion that the party has very few men, if any men, as efficient, as painstaking, as devoted, and on the whole, as fit for the position as Comrade Barnes."

This nominating speech was made, be it noted, despite the rule adopted at the opening of the convention that no nominating speeches should be made. Not even the speaker who named Debs for the presidential nomination was allowed to say a half a dozen words in his behalf.

The REVIEW repeats its original charge: that Morris Hillquit deliberately misled the delegates at Indianapolis into thinking that the National Executive Committee and other committees had already had the matter of Barnes for campaign manager under discussion and had approved of him for the job, whereas at the next meeting of the N. E. C. two members went on record with the statements that the matter of Barnes as campaign manager had never been discussed in their presence.

Are Hillquit and his colleagues afraid to let the matter go before the party member-

ship for settlement? It would seem so, judging by the motion to suspend the voting. But the case cannot be decided in any such way. In the words of Debs, "we may indulge in vain regrets but we cannot escape the issue. It will not down and its demoralizing effect is already but too apparent upon the national campaign."

For his part in urging that the Barnes case be submitted to the party membership for decision, Comrade Debs seems to have displeased the machine that has grown up in our officialdom very, very much. Through his official paper at Washington Congressman Berger informs us that "many intelligent Socialists have long known that Gene suffers from an unduly exaggerated ego." If such is the case Comrade Berger and his other "intelligent Socialists" ought to have informed the more ignorant previous to the national convention so that proper measures could have been taken to prevent the nomination of Debs for the presidency—for the fourth time. The same organ, in speaking of Debs editorially, prophesies that "after the 5th of November some plain words will be addressed to him." When this threat is carried out and those "plain words" are addressed to our Gene we trust he will simply lay them before his fellow members of the Socialist party. Unless we are greatly mistaken, they will make answer for him and that quickly.

The truth is that there has grown up in the Socialist party in recent years an official machine—a machine that looks upon the Socialist party as an organization merely for the playing of opportunist politics with a working-class label attached to it. It is this machine or its supporters who actually barred Debs from making propaganda speeches in California because he is an uncompromising advocate of revolutionary Socialism. It is this machine which, by the gum-shoe methods of the old party politicians, sought to prevent the nomination of Debs at Indianapolis. It is this machine which is now trying its utmost to becloud the issue by identifying the demand for the recall of Barnes with anarchy, disruption, smallpox, hay fever, blood, murder, chilblains and sudden death. It is this machine which is now determined to keep Barnes, who belongs to it, in an official position at all costs. But democracy in the Socialist party must be preserved, even if it has to be fought for. The Barnes case must be settled, not by intriguers on the National Executive Committee, but by the vote of the party membership.

Meanwhile let us not forget, as we seem to be in danger of forgetting, that the controversy between party members is absorbing energy which is urgently needed in the work of Socialist education and propaganda. Let us vote promptly on the Barnes case and drop the matter. Next May, when the reorganized National Committee meets, will be the time to settle questions of tactics. The next ten weeks are the one time in four years when American wage-workers are most likely to listen to our message. We have been wasting time; let us make up for lost time now.

**From Gustavus Myers.** It is with profound regret that we have read a communication from Comrade Gustavus Myers describing the action taken by Local New York against him. It seems that some three years ago Comrade Myers had a personal altercation in his local. This has now been made the basis for his suspension. Comrade Myers states that the real cause of his suspension has been the strong position he has taken with regard to party tactics. While the REVIEW cannot give space to charges made by any member against his local we wish to draw attention to the larger significance of this matter. The very last thing which the membership must permit at the present time is the persecution of comrades. Let everybody speak his mind and let the majority realize that freedom of speech is the most fundamental civilized right we possess. No one, no matter what his views may be, should leave the party because his opinions do not prevail, and no one should be expelled from the party because of his opinions so long as they consist with the principles and purposes of the Socialist party. In the case of Comrade Myers we are certain that a majority of the members of Local New York will see that justice is done if the matter be laid before them properly. When we all come to place the interests of the movement above all personal considerations whatsoever, the progress of the party will not be endangered by any arguments, however serious and intense they may become.

**Sure.** "My standing order reads for 20 copies of the REVIEW. Please make it 25 copies until further notice."—Adam Hill, Newsdealer, Everett, Wash.

**From Australasian Labor Federation, Brisbane District Council.** Dear Comrade.—With intense fraternal interest, the members of above council have learned from that invaluable magazine, "INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW," of the great battle, fought and won, by the I. W. W. in Lawrence, Mass., U. S. A., against the great cotton and woolen octopus. In view of the foregoing, I have on behalf of this body, representatives of Queensland unionists, to offer you heartfelt congratulations on the magnificent fight you put up, on behalf of our World wide movement, on that memorable occasion; further, to hope that such a victory will stimulate those who took part to, if possible, greater effort in the future, and to those workers who have been blind to their class interests in the past to become class conscious and join with their comrades in the fight for economic freedom.

I have to mention that nothing was seen in the capitalistic press here of the good fight you were putting up, obviously for the reason that the greatest industrial upheaval that ever was seen in Brisbane was taking place at the same time, and to know that you were fighting "the one common enemy" with success would have been good cheer for us. We were fighting to save the Tramway union, and in doing so we had to tackle the Queensland State Government, with police, special police,

mostly beer bums, thieves, thugs and other parasites. Again offering you our heartfelt thanks, and success to the one big union, for and on behalf of the above council, I am, dear comrade,

Yours faithfully,  
JOHN A. MOIR, Secretary.

**Protest by United Mine Workers.** Whereas, Joseph J. Ettor and A. Giovannitti have been imprisoned for being accessories before the fact in the killing of a striker at Lawrence, Mass., and

Whereas, these men have proven beyond the shadow of a doubt by reliable witnesses that they were not near the scene of said crime when committed, and further that they could have no possible motive in contributing to the murder of one of their fellow strikers, and

Whereas, it is evident that the mill owners in Lawrence, Mass., and the enemies of freedom and progress elsewhere, are desirous of wreaking vengeance upon these men because of their activity in the recent Lawrence strike, and because of the success of said strike in promoting better wages and working conditions for the enslaved mill operatives of Lawrence, Mass., therefore be it

Resolved, by the Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America, representing 300,000 coal miners, that we protest against the false imprisonment of these men who are held without bail, and request that they be given an immediate trial, when we feel satisfied the conspiracy against the lives of these men will be fully exposed. And be it further

Resolved, that we send a copy of this resolution to the Governor of Massachusetts, and that a copy be also given to the press.

FRANK J. HAYES,  
PAUL J. PAULSON,  
THOS. HAGGERTY,  
Committee.

**Comrade Cothran,** secretary of the local in darkest San Diego, is among those who increased his order for August REVIEWS.

**Best Yet.** "Enclosed find money order for \$2.00 for which send me 10 copies of the REVIEW each month. The REVIEW is the best Socialist publication yet and is making good strikes." On with the REVIEW!—Comrade Lane, California.

**In Demand in New Zealand.** "Please send us another bundle of REVIEWS. Two dozen copies for 12 months, for which please find money order enclosed."—Comrade Whyte, Christchurch, New Zealand.

**Micrometer, No. 8,** is another lodge of the Brotherhood of Machinists in Brooklyn that orders a bundle of REVIEWS for its members. The number of labor organizations which take the REVIEW for its educational value is steadily increasing. They say they like the REVIEW because it discusses the Socialism of the shop as well as the platform.

**The Only One.** "Your magazine is the only paper I and my comrades care to read."—Comrade Podersen, Iowa.



**No Yellow Streak in Haywood.** Editor REVIEW: Being a constant reader of the REVIEW, the fighting magazine of the working class, and desirous of meeting the uncompromising invincible Haywood, who seems to be a thorn in the side of some of our intellectual and professional reform Socialists, I purchased a ticket to the Haywood lectures held in Norfolk and Portsmouth. A large crowd was in attendance to hear the indomitable Haywood, who dares to speak what he thinks upon the class struggle. No chloroform was used.

He is one of our boys; and oh, for a hundred more Haywoods in the Socialist party. He was there with the biscuits, and he fired them red hot out of the oven, the audience caught them on the fly and yelled for more, and as his torrents of molten eloquence rolled forth in an incandescent flood the crowd drank in every word as the dry desert sand drinks in the dews of heaven, and they went home irrigated and refreshed. If any adverse element was there it disappeared before the intrepid onslaught of Haywood's eloquence and logic. It was engulfed and disappeared beneath the surface of oblivion without leaving even the distinction of a ripple.

There are some persons who can solve the perplexities of life with an arbitrary decision. They are immune from conscientious scruples and impervious to adverse criticism. They see only the obstacles that block their progress, and they sweep it aside with a ruthless disregard as to whom it may bruise or maim. This is typical of the beast of the jungle when it fastens upon its helpless prey. They are the individualists who, under present conditions, are capable of achievement, and whom society glorifies.

There are others who look beyond the obstacles of their own success. Bill's experience in the great class conflict permits him to survey the field for long distances of time and space. He sees the roads choked with weary toilers, with disheartened men and tired women, with wan little children robbed of the sunlight and fresh air, of their health and their childhood, their growth and their future manhood. He sees the monstrous injustice of social conditions that crush the weak and helpless in order to exalt the strong and vicious. He sees the tear stained faces and aching hearts, strong men abandoning the struggle in despair, weak women continuing against insurmountable odds, he hears the agonizing shrieks of the myriad toilers who are daily caught in the iron fangs of resistanceless machinery, their bones mangled and crushed, their flesh lacerated and torn, and their bleeding, quivering bodies cast on the scrap heap without any ado—in order that the few may achieve success the great mass are trampled upon with a callous indifference, their mute appeal and supplicating prayers falling upon stony hearts.

Bill says what he thinks and thinks what he says. He has no time to throw away in order that Socialism may appear "respect-

able," and cheap respectability at that. Long live Comrade Haywood.

Yours for the revolution,

WILLIAM GATH,

3603 Huntington Avenue,

July 29, 1912.

Newport News, Va.

Hamilton, Ont., is one of the latest Canadian locals to come in with an order for a monthly bundle of REVIEWS. The Canadian comrades as a whole care little for anything but revolutionary Socialism. The literature they order is that dealing with sound Marxian economics and "Value, Price and Profit" is a great favorite on the other side of the border. They are laying a foundation for a sound revolutionary movement in Canada, the results of which are bound to show in the near future.

**Won't Miss It.** "If you will notify me so I can renew my sub, without missing a copy of the REVIEW I will thank you very much, as I do not want to miss your most valuable fighting magazine."—Comrade Gordon, Indiana.

**From a Veteran.** "I send you \$1 for the REVIEW and some Debs and Seidel postcards. About seven years ago I joined the Socialist army for life and until the war is over I am on the firing line. I am 64 years old. They have nominated me for county and probate judge in this county."—Comrade Bundren, Arkansas.

**In One Delivery** of mail arrives 20 subscriptions at the special rate of four for 6 months at \$1 from Comrade Johnsen, of Ohio; Weaver, of Kansas; Taylor, of Minnesota; Loliger, of Pennsylvania, and Brogan, of Idaho. This offer is good until election day.

**From the Elyria Reds.** Local Elyria is always on the firing line. The latest report comes from Elizabeth Flynn, which tells of a splendid Ettor Giovannitti protest meeting addressed by her on Wednesday, August 7th, and arranged by the Socialists and I. W. W. locals. Over \$25.00 was taken in from the sale of a small red card which bore the following inscription:

"This is to certify that the bearer has contributed 10 cents to PREVENT THE LEGAL MURDER OF JOSEPH ETTOR and ARTURO GIOVANNITTI, who offered their lives for the Lawrence strikers, thereby entitling him to membership in Humanity's "LEGION OF HONOR." The local papers carried a half column front page story of the meeting.

If the Socialist party had more locals like Elyria we would soon put the capitalist system out of business.

**Local Kings Co., N. Y., Br. 1.** Enclosed you will find check for eight (8) dollars for which please send 2,000 copies of "The Shrinking Dollar."

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The following resolutions were adopted by Local Toledo, Sunday afternoon, August 4th. To the Members of the National Executive Committee and the National Campaign Committee:

Whereas, J. Keir Hardie is not a member of the British Socialist Party and

Whereas, he was elected to Parliament on the Independent Labor Party ticket and

Whereas, Keir Hardie voted for a measure to give women property-holders in England the ballot, which is contrary to the position of the International Socialist Party which stands for unrestricted suffrage for women, and

Whereas, J. Keir Hardie did not raise his voice in protest when Victor Grayson, the only Socialist who ever sat in the British Parliament, was ousted from that body because he dared to represent the unemployed,

Whereas, it is a well-known fact that Keir Hardie is not a revolutionist but a political trader, and

Whereas, he can only be brought to this country at a great expense to our party and in the light of the fact that we have speakers in this country who unequivocally stand for and talk the principles of Revolutionary Socialism and the class struggle, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Toledo Socialist Party, in general party meeting assembled, that we protest against the action of the National Executive Committee and National Campaign Committee in deciding to bring Keir Hardie to this country and route him and that we call upon these committees to reconsider their action and cancel the engagement.

Be it resolved that a copy of these resolutions be printed in the September National Bulletin.

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To the Officers and Members of Delaware County Local S. P. of Pennsylvania: Whereas, Morton Branch has received from your secretary, One Day Wage Fund Cards purporting to come from a person giving his name as J. Mahlon Barnes and claiming to be "National Campaign Manager," and

Whereas, we have never been allowed to nominate or take part in electing any such officer . . . Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, as members of Morton Branch, Delaware County, Local S. P. of Pennsylvania, solemnly protest against J. Mahlon Barnes, or any other man or set of men, assuming the authority to collect and disburse moneys in the name of the Socialist party of America without the consent of the members of that party as expressed by a referendum vote.—Albert Vernon, Chairman; A. S. Foss, Recording Secretary.

Socialists of Delaware County, Pennsylvania, in convention assembled this date at Morton, Pa., do adopt the following:

Whereas, the National Convention have created a campaign committee and a campaign manager and named the incumbent, and said action concurred in by the National Executive Committee without submitting the same to a referendum vote of the party;

Therefore, Be it Resolved, That this convention condemn the action of the National Executive Committee.

And be it Further Resolved, That we demand the recall of the said incumbent and the submitting of the whole question to a referendum vote.

A. J. VERNON, Chairman,  
FRANK GREENWOOD,  
ERNEST C. MAGNIER, Secty.

Comrade Brundage, of Washington, orders a bundle of REVIEWS and says he is putting them on the news-stands. Quite a number of comrades are trying this plan of getting the biggest Socialist monthly before the general reading public and express themselves as surprised and pleased at the results.

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Local Richmond, Va. Find enclosed P. O. Money Order for \$4.00 for which mail at once 350 "Breaking Up the Home," 350 "What to Read on Socialism," 300 "The Shrinking Dollar."

I read Mrs. Marcy's pamphlet when it was printed in the REVIEW, it is fine and true to life, being nearly sixty-eight years of age, I remember well many of the conditions prevailing over half a century ago and can therefore appreciate it. Comrade Kerr's pamphlet is about the slickest thing I know of, combining, as it does, good, sound propaganda matter with the best advertising scheme conceivable.—Jno. T. Chappell.

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**Form Industrial Union.** The Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers in Chicago have formed a local of the Industrial Workers of the World. For six years the carriage and wagon workers in Chicago have been without an organization. The working conditions in the shops here are a disgrace to humanity—long hours, low wages, hard work and unspeakable sanitary conditions. In the last part of April, I wrote an appeal to the workers in our trade. This appeal was sent to the Chicago Daily World, but was not printed. Instead of publishing it and advertising our meeting, they boomed the Federation of Labor and helped to get another carriage and wagon workers' union started under the A. F. of L. But we are aspiring and hopeful. To the members of our union the philosophy of Industrial Unionism appears as a bright star of hope in the black sky of wage slavery. William Petersen, 2075 N. Western avenue, Chicago.

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## Mother Jones

*The*  
**INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

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**VOL. XIII**

**OCTOBER, 1912**

**No. 4**

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# **The Battling Miners of West Virginia**

**By EDWARD H. KINTZER**

**Socialist Candidate for State Auditor of West Virginia.**

**W**EST VIRGINIA is living under martial law in the mining war that has been raging in that state for several years. Mother Jones, the veteran of many labor battles, is the central and inspiring figure. In her eightieth year she is today leading the fight in the strike, which started last April. In her characteristic way, she has more than once defied the military authorities who are making and executing the mine-owner-made laws. When informed that the militia were endeavoring to ar-

rest her for what they called inflammatory speeches, she said: "If they want the chance, I will give it to them. I'd just as soon sleep in a guard house as in a hotel."

At Pratt and Holly Grove Junction guard houses are being filled with miners for the slightest offenses. The militia has taken control, making and executing the laws without regard for the civil code, in all favor to the mine owners, just as have the judicial courts since Capitalism has ruled in the mining industry.

### Martial Law Welcomed.

Fierce were the conflicts of 1897 when Eugene V. Debs led the striking miners in the Fairmont district and in 1902, when Mother Jones played a prominent part in that great strike. But never before has any part of the state been under martial law.

When it came it was welcomed by the strikers, for they had suffered such outrages at the hands of a private army in the employ of the coal barons that anything was preferable—even death—to a continuation of the horrors they had perpetrated.

Governor Glasscock appointed a commission to "examine" into the private army system and the wages and working conditions of the miners. The United Mine Workers demanded that the intense over-capitalization of the companies also be considered.

Later the governor issued a proclamation, ordering the mine guards and the strikers to lay down their arms. This was resented by the strikers who claimed that if they obeyed this order the guards would not and they would be helpless before armed thugs. In reply to this proclamation Mother Jones led 10,000 miners to Charleston, where they demanded that the governor order the mine guards out of the region. She declared that he would be to blame for any trouble that might follow if the guards were not sent away. So horrible had been the acts of the guards that the miners were ready to kill on sight.

America has no better example of the conflict between the two important economic classes than this one in the Kanawah coal mining district. Here Capitalism has mocked the sentiment of the founders of the state and by force of a private army abrogated the constitution this new state adopted. Born in the stress of a civil conflict over a question of bondage, the native coal miners of West Virginia have never learned to submit tamely to an interference with their liberties.

And yet no people have been more thoroughly exploited than the workers of West Virginia. Mine workers that have been on strike since April are desperate over their frightful condition of starva-

tion and disease. Yet every one is loyal and will die rather than submit to the mine guards.

### Mine Guards Cause War.

Who are these mine guards? Thugs, assassins, brutes in human guise, traitors, rapists, the lowest form of man. For several years the coal barons of West Virginia have tried to break the union of the miners and prevent further organization by establishing a private armed force of mercenaries. They succeeded only in preventing additional organization, not in crushing what was in existence. Nor could they destroy the solidarity of these fighters. No armament, no guards, nor their unbearable tactics could destroy the spirit of revolt among these miners. It only fanned the flame as was evidenced by the battle at Mucklow.

When forbearance ceased to be a virtue these miners purchased rifles and ammunition. Secretly and openly, too, these arms were acquired. Not worn out and unserviceable guns, but modern rifles that would shoot straight to the aim. Any unusual disturbance, such as the discharge of firearms and cries of distress would be reason for taking these guns from their hiding places, and away these minutemen would march through the night to learn the cause of the uproar.

On the morning of July 25, more than 2,000 miners congregated at Holly Grove. They declared that they could no longer suffer the outrages of the guards. They planned march by stealth up Paint Creek under cover of darkness, going through the brush to Mucklow. Their objective point was the rendezvous of the murderous army. They discovered them in the tippie house, where they had fortified themselves by machine and gatling guns. So close did the miners come to the tippie that they could hear the swearing and commotion over the gambling games. How to get all at once was the question. A quick decision was made. Knowing the force of runaway loaded coal cars, it was planned to release a few that were standing on the incline for the morning's dump.

Away they were started down the track at a tremendous rate. Above the noise

## MOTHER JONES SPEAKING AT STRIKE MEETING ON THE LEVEE—CHARLESTON.

of loud talking came the din of something doing. Their knowledge of surface work at the mines suggested the feat. Hurrying to the switch the track was set to derail the cars. This was done just in time to save the lives of the guards. Out through the side of the tippie shot two loaded cars that left nothing in their wake.

This was the signal for the battle. A few of the mine guards who rushed out to learn the cause of the damage moistened the dusty platform with their blood. Any light was the target for the miners who had gone behind boulders and trees on the hillside where they were comparatively safe while shooting.

All during the night the valley was kept flashing with shooting and roaring of rifles and machine guns. All Friday and Friday night the situation remained the same. More than a dozen men were shot

to death and a score or more wounded. What the outcome would have been had not several companies of militia arrived to put an end to the fighting is a matter for conjecture. Despised as are the militia when called for breaking a strike, they were welcomed by the miners. It is said that the battle was started to secure the presence of the militia and the withdrawal of the guards.

Continuing critical situations between miners and mine guards brought the substitution of civil for martial law. The military court is disposing of cases with rapidity that suggests a terrible bias and rancor. The findings by the court in fifteen different cases have been sealed and sent to Governor William E. Glasscock for approval. Glasscock was aspirant for vice-president of the Bull Doze party, one of the "seven little governors" who started the Roosevelt boom.

Will the men get justice from this half-baked faker? No, indeed. He, like the original Bull Dozer, is only a vote catcher. He is playing for political preferment, and since economic and political power are synonymous, he is with the capitalist class who "made" him governor.

What the working class think of Glasscock is exemplified in a resolution in the Socialist Party Convention, adopted at Charleston, within the shadow of the Capitol building, condemning him for being false to his oath of office.

#### Guards are Responsible.

The strike which started last April is the outcome of the treachery of the coal barons. At the Cleveland joint conference of operators and miners an agreement was reached providing 5.26 per cent advance in wages. When the agreement between the operators and miners of the Kanawha district was made it was based upon an advance of one-half of this wage increase. When the miners arrived for work they were informed that no advance would be granted. A strike followed although the unions had but few of these men as members. There was a solidarity shown that was complete even though no rations were in sight while the strike lasted.

Ask any coal miner in the strike district on Paint and Cabin creeks what caused the feud now in operation, and invariably the reply will be "the mine guards." Further questioning will bring the statement that "they are the governor's Bull pups."

The mine guards go armed with Winchester rifles, and the depredations they practice are intolerable. Recruited by the Baldwin-Felt's private detective agency of Staunton, Virginia, they are the usual type of men that undertake such damnable work. Most of them have criminal records. They are seasoned for strong arm methods, which are used upon the women. They furnish an illustration of how the capitalists have the workers divided so that they are either gagged by production or starvation, or else employed in opposing the organization and triumph of their class, by serving in private detective and military forces.

The leader of the guards, Ernest Gou-

jot, is a murderer. He was one of a gang that shot to death three women, seven children and twenty men in the West Virginia strike of 1902. He was paroled from the State penitentiary. While killing he was serving the capitalists; therefore they operated the political offices to allow him to escape the law. After having been paroled he joined the Baldwin murdering association, and since the introduction of the guard system he has been working diabolical schemes upon the toilers and their families.

#### Cruelty of Guards.

On one occasion, while making the rounds of evicting families of miners who refused to work for the company, under conditions no chattel slave owner would hazard upon private property, Goujot and his gang came to Tony Seviller's cabin. Mrs. Seviller was in bed. She was about to become a mother. Handling her roughly the guards ordered her out. She pleaded to stay. "My God! can't you see I'm sick? Let me stay until my baby is born."

"I don't give a damn," shouted Ernest Goujot, ordering his men to evict her from the shack of a home.

A short time afterward the baby, condemned to life, saw the light of a day through rents in an improvised tent in which there was no preparation for the stranger's arrival and no sanitary and medical attention for the mother.

Evictions without notice from places that are dignified by being called shacks has been the cause of much bitter feeling against the guards; particularly for the manner in which the miners' scant belongings were thrown through windows and doors. Whatever of value could be easily taken away was appropriated by these curs.

Hundreds of families have thus been evicted without statutory requirement, without a moment's notice to vacate the hovels owned by the mine companies. They are living in tents in the open fields, where the mortality from contagious disease due to having no sewerage and from the burning heat is appalling. Here the women are easy prey for the ravishing guards.

Everything in the mining camps is

## A TYPICAL COAL TIPPLE.

owned by the mine companies, houses, lands, stores, highways, schools and every approach to these; even the use of the postoffice has been denied the strikers. Where mail is not withheld there is a strict censorship. The mails are opened to learn their contents. Especially are Socialist periodicals withheld from these men.

The use of churches which stand on "company property" are denied the strikers. At Mucklow the guards took ad-

vantage of a funeral being held to evict without resistance the bereaved family and friends in attendance at this sad rite. The guards had made the rounds and arrived at the church as the body of Mrs. Robinson was being carried out.

"This church belongs to the company. You won't have any more funerals here," a guard shouted.

Returning home these people found their belongings scattered, battered and broken, lying outside of the houses. That night they camped in an open field where they are still living, hoping the guards will be driven away.

To prevent children of miners using a little church for Sunday school the mine guards stationed a machine gun with its forbidding mouth directed toward the door. When the children arrived they became frightened and ran to tell their teacher what they saw. Miss Winfrey came with them to the church.

"Please take the gun away until after Sunday school," she begged of the guards.

"You folks ain't got any right to come here," was the reply. That church has not been used since.

These are but a few instances of the mine guard's deviltry among the women and children. Others of outrage and rape might be recited but are too shocking in detail to enumerate.

While the two-day battle at Mucklow was raging, additional mine guards were rushed to Holly Grove, where the families of the miners were living in tents. The guards attacked these women and children, driving them into the waters of Paint creek and off into the woods. Thus with the tactic of the savage, they hoped to decoy the men to the defense of their families from their stronghold on the mountainside at Mucklow.

#### Send the Politicians Here.

In this situation the pure and simple politicians could learn a lesson in tactics. It is one of the unusual conditions in America's industrial wars, in which are engaged men who understand the importance of political action, but who feel how hopelessly lost they would be to depend solely upon this in the present crisis. Many of these strikers are members of the Socialist party. To suggest to them that sabotage or other than political acts or taking a timely vacation from work would exclude them from the sacred circle where politics is crowned king, would cause them to question your sanity.

Nor are the miners alone in this fight. There is a bond of sympathy between workers in the region that is worthy of note. It is an example of the class consciousness that is permeating industry all over the world.

The railroaders who haul the mine guards understand that they (the mine guards) are not spying upon them; that it is the miners who are being hounded, but their hatred for the guards has precipitated several fatalities.

Dead bodies of two guards were found under a structural steel bridge, apparently having fallen while walking the ties. Yet it is the boast of train crews that they loathe these human bloodhounds. Numer-

## GUARDS BARRING MINERS FROM MEETING IN "OUR OWN" CAPITOL BUILDING.

ous such circumstances have come to light.

The favorite position of the guards while traveling the coal region is to perch themselves on the pilot of the engine. On one occasion three guards boarded the pilot. The engineer of the freight train was particularly hostile to them. He opened wide the throttle and went at a speed that none of his crew knew the

train to make before. But they understood. Anything that could happen was welcome. Sharp curves had no terrors for the engineer. What this mad race meant might only be guessed at. Whether or not what happened was by design or accident, all the miners and most of the railroaders considered it more than just. Rounding a curve, with the complacency of the guards taxed to the utmost, the

strain upon the crew being unusual, a cow attempted to cross the track. The guards say there was plenty of time to slow down and allow her to cross. The engineer declared that it was impossible unless he unbuckled his train. Result: Before the bovine could wink her tranquil eye she was unrecognizable, with quantities of her blood, hair and what-not covering the three guardsmen, who were otherwise unharmed. A hasty bath in a nearby creek restored the appearance of the guards, and with knowing winks among the crew, the train moved on.

### Politics Preempted.

Only those who understand the industrial conditions of West Virginia, particularly among the miners, where organization is less than in other states, and where working conditions are so bad and the pay so small that they are used to break coal strikes in other sections of the country, can appreciate the plight of the miners.

The politics of the state are completely under the domination of Democratic ex-Senator Henry Gassaway Davis and the present senators, Watson and Chilton. Watson resigned the presidency of the Consolidation Coal Company, the largest producer in West Virginia, to become a senator. Chilton is a corporation lawyer and mine owner. The recent petition signed by citizens and presented to the senate, charging both Watson and Chilton with purchasing their seats, is the beginning of a case that promises even greater exposures than the Lorimer scandal.

The Republicans, until losing control in 1910, were the dominant political party. The late Senator Stephen B. Elkins, son-in-law of Democratic Boss Henry Gassaway Davis, was the Republican boss. Politics with such men is no hobby. It is a business. Their interests needed protection. When the son-in-law lost, the father-in-law won. When Senator Elkins died the first action of the West Virginia legislature was to proclaim his son, Davis Elkins, senator for the unexpired term.

When one is correctly informed of the conditions, the wonder grows that these miners can restrain themselves as they

have. But the answer is: Socialist agitation and competent leadership.

Harold W. Houston, the most prominent Socialist in West Virginia, State Secretary of the Socialist party, has been engaged as attorney for the miners. Called into this industrial fight after having been nominated for governor, Houston tendered his resignation to assist labor's cause. He was the nominee for governor in 1908, and is an able fighter in the ranks of the working class, having won distinction through many engagements on the stump and in legal action.

That he understands working class tactics none but his opponents will deny. He is a real "red." When called upon for a speech in convention following his nomination for governor, Houston struck a chord of revolutionary thought that is still vibrating, and has assisted the miners in their present crisis in keeping them free from compromise and political entanglements. His maiden speech in this campaign was on industrial unionism,

FLASHLIGHT OF MOTHER JONES ADDRESSING—PROTESTING AGAINST THE GUARD SYSTEM.  
A MONSTER MASS MEETING AT COURT HOUSE

pointing out the fallacy of craft unionism. He made it clear that he was not bidding for the votes of union men that do not know the position of industrial Socialists. Nor did he ask the workers to hold in awe capitalist-made laws.

"Having been behind the scenes," as he expressed it, "when the 'sacred' laws of our land were being twisted to suit the occasion, I can have little respect for capitalist-made law." He particularly referred to the judge-made law that is invoked in nearly every strike.

Having proved his fidelity and worth as a fighter the miners insisted that he accept the nomination for prosecuting attorney of Kanawah county. They argued that in such capacity he could serve them best.

"Deluded people," some may say, "they will be counted out of a majority." Not so. The workers understand the situation and are preparing for such an emergency. Watchers will be stationed at

the polls. If any treachery is detected a signal will bring an armed force of miners to demand their rights in no uncertain terms. They are prepared to carry the election and secure the political powers of the county in which the state capital is located.

Since Mother Jones has been among the workers in the strike district, speaking to them on the necessity of organization for concerted action, the atmosphere is clearing and the hope of the toilers is increasing. Recently, while speaking to an immense audience, she said: "We feel tht the time is near at hand when the red flag of Socialism will float triumphantly over the citadel of capitalism. When that day comes the working people will no longer have to beg a job of some boss, for all will collectively own the means of production and distribution, which will insure for one and all the way to get the necessities and luxuries of life."

# DEBS' SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE

“IT IS with a full sense of the responsibility it imposes and the service it exacts that I accept the nomination for president tendered to me by the Socialist party of the United States. Personally I did not wish the nomination. It came to me unsought. It came as summons to service and not as a personal honor.

“Every true member of the Socialist party is at the party's service. The confidence of his comrades is to him a sacred trust and their collective will the party's law.

“My chief concern as a presidential candidate is that I shall serve well the party, and the class and the cause the party represents.

## SOCIALIST PARTY DIFFERENT.

“The Socialist party is fundamentally different from all other parties. It came in the process of evolution and grows with the growth of the forces which created it. Its spirit is militant and its aim revolutionary. It expresses in political terms the aspiration of the working class to freedom and to a larger and fuller life than they have yet known.

“The world's workers have always been and still are the world's slaves. They have borne all the burdens of the race and built all the monuments along the track of civilization; they have produced all the world's wealth and supported all the world's governments. They have conquered all things but their own freedom. They are still the subject class in every nation on earth and the chief function of every government is to keep them at the mercy of their masters.

“The workers in the mills and factories, in the mines and on the farms and railways never had a party of their own until the Socialist party was organized. They divided their votes between the parties of their masters. They did not realize that they were using their ballots to forge their own fetters.

“But the awakening came. It was bound to come. Class rule became more and more oppressive and wage slavery more and more galling. The eyes of the workers began to open. They began to see the cause of the misery they had dumbly suffered so many years. It dawned upon them that society was divided into two classes—capitalists and workers, exploiters and producers; that the capitalists, while comparatively few, owned the nation and controlled the government; that the courts and the soldiers were at their command, and that the workers, while in a great majority, were in slavish subjection.

“When they ventured to protest they were discharged and found themselves blacklisted; when they went out on strike they were suppressed by the soldiers and sent to jail.

"They looked about them and saw a land of wonderful resources; they saw the productive machinery made by their own hands and the vast wealth produced by their own labor, in the shadow of which their wives and children were perishing in the skeleton clutch of famine.

BEGAN TO THINK.

"The very suffering they were forced to endure quickened their senses. They began to think. A new light dawned upon their dark skies. They rubbed the age-long sleep from their eyes. They had long felt the brutalizing effect of class rule; now they saw the cause of it. Slowly but steadily they became class-conscious. They said, 'We are brothers, we are comrades,' and they saw themselves multiplied by millions. They caught the prophetic battle-cry of Karl Marx, the world's greatest labor leader, the inspired evangel of working-class emancipation, 'Workers of all countries, unite!'

"And now, behold! The international Socialist movement spreads out over all the nations of the earth. The world's workers are aroused at last. They are no longer on their knees; their bowed bodies are now erect. Despair has given way to hope, weakness to strength, fear to courage. They no longer cringe and supplicate; they hold up their heads and command. They have ceased to fear their masters and have learned to trust themselves.

"And this is how the Socialist party came to be born. It was quickened into life in the bitter struggle of the world's enslaved workers. It expresses their collective determination to break their fetters and emancipate themselves and the race.

"Is it strange that the workers are loyal to such a party, that they proudly stand beneath its blazing banners and fearlessly proclaim its conquering principles? It is the one party of their class, born of their agony and baptized in the blood of their countless brethren who perished in the struggle to give it birth.

"Hail to this great party of the toiling millions whose battle-cry is heard around the world!

DOESN'T PLEAD FOR VOTES.

"We do not plead for votes; the workers give them freely the hour they understand.

"But we need to destroy the prejudice that still exists and dispel the darkness that still prevails in the working class world. We need the clear light of sound education and the conquering power of economic and political organization.

"Before the unified hosts of labor all the despotic governments on earth are powerless and all resistance vain. Before their onward march all ruling classes disappear and all slavery vanishes forever.

"The appeal of the Socialist party is to all the useful people of the nation, all who work with brain and muscle to produce the nation's wealth and who promote its progress and conserve its civilization.

"Only they who bear its burdens may rightfully enjoy the blessings of civilized society.

"There are no boundary lines to separate race from race, sex from sex or creed from creed in the Socialist party. The common rights of all are equally recognized.

"Every human being is entitled to sunlight and air, to what his labor produces, and to an equal chance with every other human being to unfold and ripen and give to the world the riches of his mind and soul.

"Economic slavery is the world's greatest curse today. Poverty and misery, prostitution, insanity and crime are its inevitable results.

"The Socialist party is the one party which stands squarely and uncompromisingly for the abolition of industrial slavery; the one party pledged in every fibre of its being to the economic freedom of all the people.

"So long as the nation's resources and productive and distributive machinery are the private property of a privileged class the masses will be at their mercy, poverty will be their lot and life will be shorn of all that raises it above the brute level.

#### NEW PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

"The infallible test of a political party is the private ownership of the sources of wealth and the means of life. Apply that test to the republican, democratic and progressive parties and upon that basic, fundamental issue you will find them essentially one and the same. They differ according to the conflicting interests of the privileged classes, but at bottom they are alike and stand for capitalist class rule and working class slavery.

"The new Progressive party is a party of progressive capitalism. It is lavishly financed and shrewdly advertised. But it stands for the rule of capitalism all the same.

"When the owners of the trusts finance a party to put themselves out of business; when they turn over their wealth to the people from whom they stole it and go to work for a living, it will be time enough to consider the merits of the Roosevelt Progressive party.

"One question is sufficient to determine the true status of all these parties. Do they want the workers to own the tools they work with, control their own jobs and secure to themselves the wealth they produce? Certainly not. That is utterly ridiculous and impossible from their point of view.

"The Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties all stand for the private ownership by the capitalists of the productive machinery used by the workers, so that the capitalists can continue to filch the wealth produced by the workers.

"The Socialist party is the only party which declares that the tools of labor belong to labor and that the wealth produced by the working class belong to the working class.

"Intelligent workingmen are no longer deceived. They know that the struggle in which the world is engaged today is a class struggle and that in this struggle the workers can never win by giving their votes to capitalist parties. They have tried this for many years and it has always produced the same result to them.

"The class of privilege and pelf has had the world by the throat and the working class beneath its iron-shod hoofs long enough. The magic word of freedom is ringing through the nation and the spirit of intelligent revolt is finding expression in every land beneath the sun.

"The solidarity of the working class is the salient force in the social transformation of which we behold the signs upon every hand. Nearer and nearer they are being drawn together in the bonds of unionism; clearer and clearer becomes their collective vision; greater and greater the power that throbs within them.

#### HOSTS OF FREEDOM.

"They are the twentieth century hosts of freedom who are to destroy all despotisms, topple over all thrones, seize all sceptres of authority and hold them in their own strong hands, tear up all privilege by the roots, and consecrate the earth and all its fullness to the joy and service of all humanity.

"It is vain to hope for material relief upon the prevailing system of capitalism. All the reforms that are proposed by the three capitalist parties, even if carried out in good faith, would still leave the working class in industrial slavery.

"The working class will never be emancipated by the grace of the capitalist class, but only by overthrowing that class.

"The power to emancipate itself is inherent in the working class, and this power must be developed through sound education and applied through sound organization.

"It is as foolish and self-destructive for workirgmen to turn to Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties on election day as it would be for them to turn to the Manufacturers' Association and the Citizens' Alliance when they are striking against starvation wages.

"The capitalist class is organized economically and politically to keep the working class in subjection and perpetuate its power as a ruling class. They do not support a working class union nor a working class party. They are not so foolish. They wisely look out for themselves.

"The capitalist class despise a working class party. Why should the working class give their support to a capitalist class party?

"Capitalist misrule under which workingmen suffer slavery and the most galling injustice exists only because it has workingmen's support. Withdraw that support and capitalism is dead.

"The capitalists can enslave and rob the workers only by the consent of the workers when they cast their ballots on election day.

"Every vote cast for a capitalist party, whatever its name, is a vote for wage-slavery, for poverty and degradation.

"Every vote cast for the Socialist party, the workers' own party, is a vote for emancipation.

"We appeal to the workers and to all who sympathize with them to make their power felt in this campaign. Never before has there been so great an opportunity to strike an effective blow for freedom.

**"CAPITALISM DOOMED."**

"Capitalism is rushing blindly to its impending doom. All the signs portend the inevitable breakdown of the existing order. Deep-seated discontent has seized upon the masses. They must indeed be deaf who do not hear the mutterings of the approaching storm.

"Poverty, high prices, unemployment, child slavery, widespread misery and haggard want in a land bursting with abundance; prostitution and insanity, suicide and crime, these in solemn numbers tell the tragic story of capitalism's saturnalia of blood and tears and shame as its end draws near.

"It is to abolish this monstrous system and the misery and crime which flow from it in a direful and threatening stream that the Socialist party was organized and now makes its appeal to the intelligence and conscience of the people. Social reorganization is the imperative demand of this world-wide revolutionary movement.

"The Socialist party's mission is not only to destroy capitalist despotism but to establish industrial and social democracy. To this end the workers are steadily organizing and fitting themselves for the day when they shall take control of the people's industries and when the right to work shall be as inviolate as the right to breathe the breath of life.

"Standing as it does for the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery, for the equal rights and opportunities of all men and all women, for the abolition of child labor and the conservation of all childhood, for social self-rule and the equal freedom of all, the Socialist party is the party of progress, the party of the future, and its triumph will signalize the birth of a new civilization and the dawn of a happier day for all humanity."

#### BREEN'S PLACE OF BUSINESS.

**T**HE McNamara brothers, workingmen, planted dynamite and drew a life term for it.

John J. Breen, a respectable undertaker, planted dynamite and drew a fine of \$500.

The Lawrence and Boston capitalists who instigated the plot, are allowed to roam the streets at will.

Ettor and Giovannitti, workingmen, have been in jail for eight months.

But it is not true to say that "there is one law for the rich and another for the poor." There is simply no law at all for the rich—its whole force is held in readiness to fall like a ton of brick on the poor at the proper time.

The great Lawrence strike began on January 11, 1912. After the first commotion a monotonous lull followed in which nothing of importance occurred but during which everybody's nerves were tense. Suddenly the Boston newspapers, led by that sheet of infamy, William Randolph Hearst's Boston *American*, began to ap-

pear with hints, innuendoes and intimations that the strikers were importing large quantities of dynamite into Lawrence. Headlines continued to become bigger and blacker till finally almost at noon on January 20, respectable residents of Lawrence were appalled by the hideous news that large gobs of the deadly explosives had been "found" scattered all over Lawrence. One batch was "discovered" in a house occupied by a Syrian tailor, another in a shoe shop next door to a printery operated by a friend of Joseph J. Ettor, who up to that time had been the most conspicuous figure in the strike, and a third had been uncovered in a sandbank on the edge of St. Mary's cemetery.

Almost simultaneously with the awful discovery, the Hearst paper appeared on the streets of Lawrence containing a detailed account of the find—and this despite the fact that the paper is printed in Boston and commonly takes two hours to reach Lawrence. I am told that a car-

load of these murderous sheets was waiting for "release" at the Lawrence depot, but I will not vouch for this story. It may have been simply enterprising journalism.

There was a slight hitch in the finding of the last. The police and detectives dug all around the edge of the cemetery, but came back to town and reported they could uncover nothing. But a man named John Breen, an undertaker by occupation, a politician by his own fault, and a son of a former mayor because he couldn't help it, who had interested himself in the case from patriotic motives, was able to give the police such valuable suggestions, including a diagram of the cemetery plot, that they were able to go right back and find the dynamite. This made 28 sticks in all—enough to blow up any number of houses and kill scores of people.

Two days later a gang of rough-necks arrived on a late train from Boston. They were disguised as "Italians" and announced that they were going to clean house with the mill officials. Street "riots" began coincident with their appearance.

On the last train from Boston Sunday night, the 28th, another load of the same gentry arrived, making loud threats of putting the mills on the bum, etc.

On the evening of the next day the street disturbance occurred in which Anna Lo Pizzo, the girl striker, was shot and killed. Witnesses have testified that the fatal shot was fired by Policeman Oscar Benoit, who is now special officer in Judge Mahoney's police court in Lawrence. Benoit is an old dunderhead and there is a story abroad to the effect that it was the original intention of the metropolitan police, the "gray wolves" whose ferocity far surpassed that of the local police, to have Benoit shot or otherwise injured in order to have a pretext to arrest Ettore and Giovannitti, whose influence over the militant Italian workers the mill owners greatly feared. However, if this was the plan it went wrong. Instead this obscure working girl, unknown to Ettore and Giovannitti, who were speaking in another part of town at the time, was the victim of the gun-men, and Benoit, to show how hard he was pressed by the

"mob," had to have a slight flesh cut inflicted on himself.

Despite the fact that here was a disturbance that had ended fatally, the police made not a single arrest at the time, but waited till midnight of the next day, when no strikers were around, to arrest Ettore and Giovannitti on a charge of being accessories before the fact of murder in that they "did incite, procure and counsel or command" some unknown person to kill Anna Lo Pizzo! It later becoming necessary to have a principal whom to charge with murder, they arrested poor, obscure Salvatore Caruso, who for several months has sat in his cell in the Lawrence jail pondering what it is all about.

There followed the fatal bayonetting of John Ramy, the Syrian boy, the beating up of women at the Lawrence station when the children were about to be sent away, and finally the ending of the strike on March 14.

Meantime John Breen had been arrested on a charge of planting the dynamite.

URBAN DI PRATO, THE SHOEMAKER IN WHOSE SHOP A BUNDLE OF DYNAMITE WAS "FOUND."

## LOT IN ST. MARY'S CEMETERY WHERE THE THIRD LOT OF DYNAMITE WAS UNCOVERED.

mite and the case was so plain that the authorities had to convict him in order to show "the impartiality of the law." He was fined \$500, which was nearly all he got for the job, though he is said to have complained to his friends that he was promised \$5,000.

Lawrence then tried to forget about the dynamite plant and had almost succeeded in doing so when the last week in August there came the sensational news of the suicide of Ernest W. Pitman, the mill contractor of Andover, just after being summoned before District Attorney Pelletier, of Boston, to tell what he knew of the dynamite job. This was followed by the indictment of William M. Wood, head of the American Woolen Company, together with F. F. Atteaux, a dealer in mill supplies, and Dennis Collins, a dog fancier. Collins is said to have confessed that he actually brought the dynamite to Lawrence and planted one bunch of it, being paid \$50 for his trouble.

Now what was it that Pitman knew and dreaded to tell that caused him to blow his brains out? What sort of pressure was

brought to bear on him that forced him into the affair anyhow? It is practically certain that the real inside of this black and infamous plot, and the names of all the rich men who were involved in it, will never be known. It is not likely that Wood, of course, will ever be convicted and punished, though one or two of the minor individuals involved may be.

Who originated the dynamite plot anyhow and set the wheels in motion? That is something else that may never be made public but unless I am mistaken the job can be traced pretty close back to the head offices of the Wool Trust.

William M. Wood has in his employ a certain political agent whose business it is to keep the boys in Lawrence lined up on the right side. For example, one Joseph Lofthouse, a former official of the Central Labor Union in Lawrence, has been recently cruising around the cotton mills of New England, dropping a word here and there to the effect that all mill workers must boost for a high tariff on wool and cotton goods, else their wages may have to be cut. Lofthouse dropped

out of sight when a rival politician exhibited a check cashed by Lofthouse which bore the name of the American Woolen Company, William M. Wood, president.

This agent was a great friend of a certain reporter for a notorious capitalist newspaper, also of John Breen, whose undertaking establishment is a favorite loafing place for politicians of the cheap variety. The three were having a friendly chat one day during the strike when the reporter declared that things were getting slow and it was time to "start something." The McNamara case was still fresh in the public mind and it didn't take the trio long to decide that a little dynamite judiciously placed would be a fine thing, both for the mill owners and for newspaper headlines. The political agent lost no time in visiting the head offices in Boston. The rest is history.

The recent exposures, of course, have been joyfully greeted by those working for the release of Ettor and Giovannitti. They have made it plain that the dynamite job was not only framed-up for the purpose of discrediting the strikers, but for the purpose of "getting something on" these two men, and that having failed, the street riot was staged with the same end in view. It looks as if the trial, which is set for September 30, must result in the defeat of the plans of the mill owners and their legal lackeys to put these two young agitators in the electric chair.

But the workers of Lawrence are not going to put their faith in any alleged fairness of the courts or impartiality of justice. Too often have they seen how that sort of thing works out. They intend to call the attention of the mill owners to their desires by touching them on a very sensitive spot—that inhabited by the pocketbook. Tell your lawyers and courts to free Ettor and Giovannitti or we'll stop work, is their demand.

It is remarkable to see what effect the first hint of a general strike has had. Its stimulating effect has been wonderful. The mills here have orders ahead until January next and the last thing they want just now is an interruption in production. But that they will get it seems certain unless they make it mighty plain

SYRIAN HOUSE ON OAK STREET WHERE UNDERTAKER CONFESSED HE HID SEVERAL STICKS OF DYNAMITE.

that Ettor and Giovannitti are to be freed.

Lawrence isn't what it was. You will understand that when the Socialist party members there tell you that before the big strike they had about 17 members, couldn't get a crowd at a street meeting, and had to give their literature away. Now they have nearly 300 members, can get a crowd of a thousand to a meeting and sell their literature like lemonade on a hot day. The I. W. W. has 10,000 members where it had 600 before.

And finally it ought to be repeated again and again that no labor, Socialist or radical organization should fail to get in this fight by sending their contributions to William Yates, Central building, Lawrence, Mass. **If the prosecution wins and Ettor and Giovannitti are convicted, then a precedent will be set by which any speaker whose remarks are followed by any unrelated disturbance in any part of the city in which he appears, can be convicted and given the extreme penalty.** That is why Ettor and Giovannitti are fighting the battle of the whole working class, regardless of organization or affiliation.

# WALL STREET AND THE ELECTION

By JOHN D.

**W**ALL Street has already elected Woodrow Wilson as president of the United States. Financiers pick him as a winner because it is generally understood that J. P. Morgan will vote for him. Morgan has never picked a loser as far as Wall Street can remember, and at the present time the betting commissioners in the street are trying to place a great deal of money on the governor from New Jersey. Besides Morgan, Jacob H. Schiff, the head of the international banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Company, will vote for Mr. Wilson, as will James Speyer, whose interests in Mexico are very extensive. Mr. Speyer practically controls the railroads of that country and believes that the election of Mr. Wilson is a splendid thing for his investments. Samuel Rea, vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, is also a supporter of Wilson, and William E. Corey, former president of the United States Steel Corporation, will also vote for Mr. Wilson. The National City Bank crowd, which means Rockefeller, is divided. Some of the officials will vote for Taft, and some for Wilson, but none of them are interested in Teddy's candidacy.

On the other hand, Roosevelt is not without his supporters in the financial district, and aside from George W. Perkins, his campaign manager, Judge E. H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation; Otto H. Kahn, Schiff's partner, and Ansel Oppenheim, of Chicago, who represents big railway interests, are all in favor of the Bull Moose candidate. The latter, in an interview a few days ago, said:

"The wild wave of Socialism in this country has got to stop. It is an attempt to do today what is only done by the slow law of evolution. Signs are not wanting in both hemispheres that things have gone ahead too fast. What twenty years ago was looked on as radical Socialism is

actually here today, but the reaction is setting in."

Perkins says that he is supporting Roosevelt for the reason that he wants to give his children a decent country to grow up in.

Taft will receive the support of the old line conservatives in Wall Street, but no money. Last month William Barnes, Jr., chairman of the Republican State Committee of New York, sent out letters asking for funds for the Taft campaign to Wall Street bankers, but it is understood that his returns are of a shoestring character.

Regarding the Socialist party financiers are strongly of the opinion that Roosevelt's candidacy will take thousands of votes away from Eugene V. Debs, their standard bearer. As a matter of fact, they say that everything that Debs stands for Teddy will, on paper, and that he has the American people buffaloed to where they believe he is the only truthful man in the country. Perkins told the writer that the Bull Moose program was to take up the high cost of living for a campaign argument and to pound away on the tariff in order to educate the people to a realization of how protection works to the interests of the manufacturer and to the detriment of the consumer. He cited the American Woolen Company as an illustration of what the tariff means in this country, and believes that his program is a winning one.

All in all, this is the first time that Wall Street has been divided in the way it is this year, and while it is true that no matter whether Wilson, Taft or Roosevelt wins, Wall Street knows that it wins anyway. The street is looking for a big business boom following a big crop yield, and really at the bottom is indifferent to the outcome of the campaign next November.

and coal industries  
it is supposed to be

FLASHLIGHT OF FREE SPEECH MEETING.

continually boiling and sputtering, and when these manifestations are not apparent many think that the city is asleep.

The first indication in a long time of any outward animation was brought about by the Free Speech Fight. The cause is not definitely known. Some have ascribed it to the Flinn Machine, that notorious political organization of machine politics, which even in Pennsylvania is malodorous. Others ascribe it to the Catholic church, and because of certain circumstances in the immediate neighborhood of the Free Speech Fight there seems at first blush to be some

party holding their  
meetings at Kelly  
street and Home-

wood avenue in the city of Pittsburgh is merely one of the significant details of the whole situation.

Those who live outside of the city and know of Pittsburgh by report must necessarily get many erroneous impressions of it. Pittsburgh is a gigantic workshop where the greatest number employed are unskilled. Craft unionism, although it makes a pretense of being strong in the community is in truth very weak. The mining industry which is supposedly organized under the American Federation of Labor is not a craft union at all. The essential character of Craft Unionism in

The eleven men and nine women who suffered imprisonment for being Socialists and maintaining they had a constitutional right of free speech.

this industry is lacking because it is not an organization based upon the skill of the workers employed. In the steel mills the greatest number are unskilled. In the Westinghouse industries the vast majority are actually unskilled workers. In addition to these facts the Homestead Strike of 1893 gave to labor of the Pittsburgh district such a severe blow that it seemed hardly possible that labor would ever again be able to hold up its head and battle with capital.

The great industrial establishments in Pittsburgh although they proclaim in and out of season their unalterable and undying love for the American nevertheless have in practice the seemingly inconsistent habit of employing the "Hunky." The mines of the Pittsburgh district are operated by "Hunkies." The mills of the Pittsburgh district are operated by "Hunkies," and most of these "Hunkies" are not citizens and have no vote. This apparent sleep of Pittsburgh is not a sleep at all although these workers cannot

make big displays by electing Socialists to office.

The Pittsburgh Free Speech Fight has a more profound significance therefore than we would think at first blush. Homewood is one of the residential districts of the Westinghouse industries. It is a peculiarly militant district. The branch of the Socialist party at this point is known as the most revolutionary in Allegheny county and their meetings on the streets have been along industrial lines. As long as they confined themselves to the discussion of politics it seems that they were not molested but as soon the character of the subjects discussed, changed, the authorities discovered that it was high time for them to put a stop to the whole business. They found no difficulty whatsoever in "cooking up" an excuse. It was no difficult matter to persuade or intimidate a few weak-kneed business men to make affidavit that their business was being interfered with and scarcely any pretext at all was needed. With the complaints of these business men in their

pockets they felt justified in refusing the speakers a permit for the corner of Homewood avenue and Kelly street in the city of Pittsburgh.

Free Speech is a valuable asset. To be deprived of it means that secret methods must be employed and the latter are hardly ever successful. It goes without saying that it is well nigh impossible to carry on an effective propaganda when the power of granting or refusing a permit to speak on the street is left to the discretion of a police official who may object to the cut of your coat or the color of your necktie. This is apparently what has happened in the city of Pittsburgh. They do not like the distinctively "red necktie" that was being worn by those who spoke at the corner of Homewood and Kelly.

Meetings had been held on this same corner for three years without any very strenuous objections being raised, but a very strong wave of industrialism has been passing over the city and many of the "red necktie" wearers of Homewood were stricken with the revolutionary fever and once having been stricken they proposed to contaminate and infect everyone who came in contact with them. Our overzealous and solicitous police officials, the preservers of the peace, health and morals of the community, immediately proceeded to place a strict quarantine and insisted that no meetings could be held in any populous section because perchance this contagious might spread and do irreparable damage. They were told to go to Kelly and Lang avenue, where not even as many as five people pass in as many hours.

The first hostilities broke out on August 3d last, when Comrades Merrick and McGuire were arrested for speaking with a permit. The quarantine was already on but unknown to the comrades, and they proceeded to talk Socialism, for which disobedience they were arrested and fined. Immediately after this the permit was revoked. The ardor and enthusiasm of the comrades did not abate in the least. They concluded after deliberation that they would hold a meeting at the corner of Kelly and Homewood despite the failure to procure a permit. They had met

#### IN JAIL.

at this place for three years and felt that if it were lawful to meet for three years it was lawful to meet for three years and one week. But the police officials thought otherwise and the comrades not having the "legal and holy" permit were arrested to the number of twenty. At this meeting, on August 3d, there were approximately ten thousand people in this quiet residential district of Pittsburgh. They came there to protest against the action of the police department; to protest against industrial slavery; to protest against capitalism; to protest against tyranny. They did not protest boisterously or loudly or profanely, but rather silently and with a grim determination. They employed that great weapon of Passive Resistance. They gave the police department no excuse for arresting anybody, but the police, "eternally vigilant," "preservers of the peace and tranquility of the community," did their "sworn and bounden duty." Nine girls and women and eleven men were lodged in a cell room. The next morning they appeared before Police Magistrate Fred Goettmann and were all discharged. The magistrate told them that they could meet without a permit, for which breach of obedience

## THE NINE WHO WENT TO JAIL.

The top row—Marie Lehmer, Edna Wheeler, Alice Wills, Dora Levitt, Elizabeth Hobe.  
 Lower row—Celia Lipschitz, Anna Goldenberg, Jenny Sapter, Agnes McAllister.

it is rumored this magistrate was removed to a different part of the city.

The comrades, still undaunted, decided to meet on the 10th of August and this was the memorable day of the Free Speech Fight in Pittsburgh. It is estimated that there were fifteen thousand people on the streets on this night. The order preserved was well nigh perfect. Some of the police had surrounded the speakers' box and as Comrade Mervis, the speaker of the evening, was mounting the stand, he was arrested. Forty-four others were arrested with him. All told there were thirty-eight men and seven women arrested that night. In the six cells of the cell room at the Frankstown avenue station there were eighty-one men, from eleven to fifteen in each cell room. It is hardly necessary to describe the conditions of this cell room. The men could neither sit nor lie down. The odors of drunken, filthy men were intensified by the complete lack of ventilation, for the turnkeys, fearing lest the men would jump out of the windows,

notwithstanding steel bars were in their way, closed all the windows.

The raid of the police was marked by several dramatic scenes that really mark the events as historical. One of these occurrences was when an automobile was brought into service suddenly and a man with a megaphone was rushed through the crowd unexpectedly and announcements made before the police realized what was being done. As a result the crowd was quickly gotten onto a vacant lot to the discomfiture of the police.

Another moment and perhaps the most dramatic of all was when, while the mounted police thought they had guarded off a block of the street, suddenly there appeared in the middle of this block from an alley a Socialist band led by a slender girl, Elizabeth Hobe, who was waving a red flag as they marched right down through this square. It did not stop playing until the players were placed under arrest and taken to the depot. As the train pulled out the tenor drummer stood on the rear platform and drummed the

Marseillaise in ridicule to the chagrin of the police.

One of the pathetic and inspiring events was when Mrs. McAllister, a woman 52 years of age and of frail health, refused to accept a forfeit which would result in her release on the night of her arrest. She refused this and insisted on remaining all night as a protest against the conduct of the police.

The girls who have been especially trained in literature hustling seized upon the assembling of these thousands to go along the street and sell JUSTICE on the street and sub-cards instead of marching in a procession.

Another view of the picture, the most inspiring, which should not be forgotten is the two hundred, perspiring, angry, foot policemen, led by their superior

officer like automatons, walking here and there, following the crowd, unable to arrest anybody for want of provocation. Then there was the beautiful awe inspiring spectacle of thirty mounted policemen filling the street from curb to curb riding through a peaceable crowd pushing them on to the sidewalks and against the buildings. The question comes to our minds, why all this expenditure of money on the part of the officials of the city of Pittsburgh? Why this terrible engine of oppression brought into play? Why was a peaceable residential district turned into a "busy metropolis"?

The fight at this writing is still going on. An appeal has been taken from the decision of the magistrate who fined Comrade Mervis twenty-five dollars for speaking without a permit. In the meantime

the police officials feeling unequal to the task went into court and the court granted an injunction restraining all persons from speaking at the corner of Kelly street and Homewood avenue. That most pernicious instrument of capitalist law, the injunction, figures again in the struggles of the working class. When the capitalist has exhausted all his efforts along legal lines he resorts to that most potent, certain and speedy weapon, the injunction, and our judges have not been notoriously guilty of refusing to issue it when asked by the capitalist to be used against the workers. The fight is not in the courts, for the workers are not deterred by any decision rendered against them.

Primarily it is the purpose of the conscious worker to enlist the cooperation of the other workers and secondly to enlist the sympathy of all liberal minded persons. A great wave of public sentiment in a community, a great demonstration of protest is very much more effective than a court decision, and even

though the courts of Allegheny county and the state of Pennsylvania decide against the workers, they have not lost, for they have succeeded in arousing a storm of protest, have succeeded in doing such effective propaganda work by the Free Speech Fight that we can not estimate its value.

They have established a significant precedent and an arbitrary police official will think twice in the future before attempting to discriminate against the revolutionists. He will know that he has a bigger job on hand than he bagained for. More than this, it has shown to many workers the value of Mass Action, the value of Passive Resistance and the necessity for organization among the workers along all lines.

Pittsburgh has not been a particular star in the political firmament, but things are brewing here. Revolt, real industrial revolt is in the air. The Pittsburgh politician has promised many things and has never fulfilled a single promise.

The woods are full of Revolutionary Socialists and Industrial Unionists and the Free Speech Fight is merely a skirmish in the Industrial Revolt about to follow. I am satisfied that had Homewood remained a political center and not become a hot bed of industrial unionism that the trouble never would have occurred. Industrial organization is going on all the time in the Pittsburgh district rapidly enough to bring all the forces of capitalism into play against the revolutionary workers. The working class can under no circumstance lose, for in struggles like this, the worker learns what strength he possesses, who are opposed to him and what measures will be taken to injure, oppress and if necessary exterminate him.

Just at the time when public opinion was at its highest pitch in Pittsburgh over this fight Bill Haywood came into the Pittsburgh district and on Sunday, August 25th, there was a giant Ettore Giovanitti protest meeting at Kennywood Park which was attended by at least 15,000 people. The weather was ideal and the grounds overlooked the great Steel

PART OF THE CROWD AT KENNYWOOD PARK.

Trust plants of the Edgar Thompson steel pany at Rankin, on the opposite bank of  
plant and American Steel & Wire Com- the Monongahela and in the distance the

historic battleground of labor—Homestead. This great auditorium in the midst of these industrial plants was the ideal place for the discussion of the latest development of industrialism. Haywood spoke twice and his speeches were most

remarkable and made such a deep impression upon the audiences that the moral effect will be felt for years and quite possibly the suggestions made there will shortly result in a great general strike throughout the Pittsburgh district.

## "HIS HONOR" GETS HIS

The following is a stenographic report of Jack Whyte's speech before Judge Sloan, of the superior court of San Diego County, California, on being asked: "Why sentence should not be passed." He was fined six months and is now at San Diego County jail on a bread and water diet. He is a member of Local 13, I. W. W., and was arrested on a conspiracy charge in the recent San Diego Free Speech Fight.

**T**HERE are only a few words that I care to say and this court will not mistake them for a legal argument, for I am not acquainted with the phraseology of the bar nor the language common to the court room.

There are two points which I want to touch upon—the indictment itself and the misstatement of the prosecuting attorney. The indictment reads, "The People of the State of California against J. W. Wright and Others." It's a hideous lie. The people in this court room know that it is a lie; the court itself knows that it is a lie, and I know that it is a lie. If the people of the state are to blame for this persecution, then the people are to blame for the murder of Michael Hoy and the assassination of Joseph Mikolasek. They are to blame and responsible for every bruise, every insult and injury inflicted upon the members of the working class by the vigilantes of this city. The people deny it and have so emphatically denied it that Governor Johnson sent Harris Weinstock down here to make an investigation and clear the reputation of the people of the state of California from the odor that you would attach to it. You cowards throw the blame upon the people, but I know who is to blame and I name them—it is Spreckles and his partners in business and this court is the lackey and lickspittle of that class, defending the property of that class against the advancing horde of starving American workers.

The prosecuting attorney, in his plea to the jury, accused me of saying on a public platform at a public meeting, "To hell with the courts, we know what justice is." He told a great truth when he lied, for if he had searched the innermost recesses of my mind he could have found that thought, never expressed by me before, but which I express now, "To hell with your courts, I know what justice is," for I have sat in your court room day after day and have seen members of my class pass before this, the so-called bar of justice. I have seen you, Judge Sloane, and others of your kind, send them to prison because they dared to infringe upon the sacred rights of property. You have become blind and deaf to the rights of man to pursue life and happiness, and you have crushed those rights so that the sacred right of property shall be preserved. Then you tell me to respect the law. I do not. I did violate the law, as I will violate every one of your laws and still come before you and say, "To hell with the courts," because I believe that my right to life is far more sacred than the sacred right of property that you and your kind so ably defend.

I do not tell you this in the expectation of getting justice, but to show my contempt for the whole machinery of law and justice as represented by this and every other court. The prosecutor lied, but I will accept his lie as a truth and say again so that you, Judge Sloane, may not be mistaken as to my attitude, "To hell with your courts, I know what justice is."



# Mayor Duncan of Butte Replies to Catholic Bishop



**T**HE Right Rev. John P. Carroll, D. D., bishop of the diocese of Helena, has been functioning again as economic and political instructor to the working class in general, and to members of labor organizations in particular. This time he has appeared in Chicago before the convention of the A. O. H. The *Chicago Tribune* of July 22 gives over two columns of space to quotations from his address.

As a spiritual adviser and an instructor in religion the reverend gentleman may be entirely competent, but the report of his Chicago address proves him to be a bungling novice and wholly incompetent to instruct anybody in economic and political science. This address consists of warnings against something which Bishop Carroll is pleased to call socialism. But his assertions concerning the tenets of socialism are so wide of the mark, so erroneous, so ill understood and so ignorantly stated that the whole address amounts, in fact, to a warning against something that is not socialism; something that has no existence, in fact, outside the minds of a few people equally as ill-informed and prejudiced as himself.

As a theologian the bishop quite properly predicated his opening remarks on a Bible quotation to prove that with "the fall of man" God placed a curse on labor. The deity is represented as saying to Adam, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread until thou return to the

earth out of which thou wast taken." Not being a theologian, the editor of the *Butte Socialist* will not venture to dispute with the bishop concerning the fact of such a curse having been pronounced by God, though we are quite curious to know in what language God spoke to Adam; who was on hand besides Adam at the time to report the conversation, and by what rule of construction, or by what standard of justice the bishop makes a curse pronounced upon one man for a personal disobedience apply to all mankind for all time. But as students of economics we do challenge the bishop's interpretation of that alleged curse. We challenge him to prove by facts that the curse is operating today upon all men. Where is the evidence that the curse is working in the case of Mr. Carnegie, or Mr. Rockefeller, or the grandchildren of Marshall Field? These persons and all their class are eating their bread in the sweat, not of their own faces, but of the faces of hundreds of thousands of underpaid men, of anxious, starving women and of physically and spiritually deformed and joyless children. In the sweat of whose faces, let the bishop show us, are the wealthy stockholders of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company eating their bread? Certainly not in the sweat of their own faces; for they have not lifted a shovel, or whipped a drill, or fired a blast, or moved a pound of copper ore in the properties out of the earnings of which their dividends come.

It was the sweat of the men who work in and about those mines, the sweat of their hard-working women folk and little children in their working class homes; the sweat of the hard battle against poverty that is carried on in every working class home in Butte. That is the sweat in which the bread, the superior cuts of meat, the finest fruits, the choicest viands of every description that are spread on the tables of these dividend-getting stockholders of the A. C. M. Company are eaten every day. Why does the alleged curse always fall on the wage earners and never on the stockholders? When Bishop Carroll shall have learned to answer that question truthfully, he will have learned the first lesson in economics. And this is an economic question, not a theological one; it demands an economic answer. As a professed student of political economy, the bishop is challenged to answer it.

#### Facts in Labor History.

The bishop is off in his historical facts also. For example, he says that under paganism there was no labor trouble. We might, were we a theologian, remind the right reverend of an uprising of slaves in Egypt when, under the leadership of one Moses, several thousands threw off the yoke of bondage and won their emancipation. We might also remind him of the revolt of the working class against their tyrannical taskmasters when Rehoboam succeeded King Solomon; a revolt that resulted in the formation of a new kingdom. But not to go into biblical history, we beg to remind the bishop of the agrarian revolt in Rome under the Gracchi, and of the Roman slaves under the leadership of Spartacus; all of these were labor troubles that bore the same relation to the social and political conditions of their respective times and places that the labor troubles of today bear to modern society.

An instructor of the working class in the twentieth century, especially a self-appointed one, should be more accurate in his references to working class history than the bishop appears to be. The working class of today is more apt to be well informed on such matters than are the superficially informed clergy, and

careless statements of fact are liable to be challenged by men relatively unlettered.

The bishop makes another slip when he speaks of the mediaeval trade guilds as the creation of the church. They were the creation of the workers of that time and were the direct result of the economic necessities of that period. They bear no relation whatever to the labor unions of today. We beg to refer the bishop for further and more accurate information to the great work by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "The History of Trade Unionism," and to Thorold Rogers' "Six Centuries of Work and Wages."

#### The Bishop's Straw Man.

Speaking of and for "the church," Bishop Carroll says "She admits the greed of capitalists is responsible for many of the ills that afflict the laboring man, but she knows that to destroy capital itself and all productive property would do irreparable harm to the laboring man himself." That is nice of the church! What would any sensible workingman think of the intelligence of any socialist who should say, "I admit that the stealing of food out of any miner's dinner pail is a hardship on that miner, but I know that to destroy the engines at the Leonard mine would throw hundreds of workingmen out of a job?" He would say that socialist had said a very silly thing; a flat, pointless platitude that meant nothing. He would be right. And that is precisely what Bishop Carroll has said in the sentence quoted. Granting it to be true that the greed of capitalists works a hardship, what in God's name has that to do with the destruction of all productive property and the hardships that such a mad act would work? The bishop, when he uttered that senseless sentence, was up to a trick too commonly practiced by clergymen and Mr. Roosevelt, and demagogues generally. He was practicing sophistry. He was putting words together and ideas together that sounded as though there was a sequence of thought when, in fact, there was no sequence, but the effect of which would be to convey the impression to his audience that what socialists propose is to revenge the ills which greedy capitalists

inflict upon the working class, by destroying capital and all productive property.

Now, either Bishop Carroll knows better than that, or he does not know better. If he knows better than the false impression that sentence was designed to produce, then he is just a plain, common demagogue and a deliberate practitioner of deception; if he does not know any better, then he is too ignorant to be the safe counsellor of men that he purports to be.

### Will Not Destroy.

Socialism does not, in the first place, blame capitalists or capitalists' greed for the economic and social ills that afflict the working class. Socialism blames the system of capitalism, the system of private ownership of the necessary means of producing and distributing the wealth of society, for the economic and social ills that afflict us all. That system, according to socialism, inevitably creates the very greed which the bishop admits to be socially injurious. In the next place, Socialism does not propose the destruction of capital and all productive property. On the contrary, it proposes to conserve all existent capital—and capital is nothing whatever except productive property—and to add to that more and greater productive property than the system of private ownership of capital could possibly make profitable to its owners. The bishop is challenged to cite one standard Socialist authority in which is advocated the destruction of "capital and all productive property." He is challenged to quote from any platform or other authoritative utterance of the Socialist party, in this or any other country, that advocates such destruction. If there is in any of these any such advocacy the bishop should be able to quote it and state where his quotation may be verified. If he cannot do this, he should publicly apologize to the A. O. H. for having tried to deceive the delegates in the convention at Chicago.

The next point in his address is a gem. It is a perfect Lu-Lu of an argument and we give it in his own words:

"First of all, Socialism is economically unsound. It destroys the right of private

ownership, or, at least, limits it to consumptive goods, such as food, clothing and shelter, and it would transfer to the community or the state the ownership of land, capital and all the instruments of production and distribution.

"Who does not see that such a theory would make the life of the laboring man unbearable and deprive him of what justly belongs to him? Who would work in the field, in the factory, and the mine, if his surplus earnings were confiscated by the state? Where would be the incentive to toil, if one were not permitted to accumulate capital and make it productive?"

### Another Bogey.

Inaccurate again! Socialism advocates the collective ownership only of such means of social production and distribution as have become socially necessary. For example, power looms have become the socially necessary means of the production of cloth. Socialism would have them collectively owned. But it does not follow and Socialism does not teach that my wife may not privately own her sewing machine. On the contrary, she may own her sewing machine and use it productively in any way she chooses for her own comfort and that of her family. She may use it, if she chooses, to do sewing for her neighbors. She may, if she chooses, have a spinning wheel and a loom and spin and weave all the cloth we need for our family or that we wish to give to our friends. But, if with the collectively owned looms and sewing machines that under Socialism will be available, she can obtain the cloth we need and the finished garments we need for our own use or for our gifts of friendship and charity, and get them at the cost of production, and get better cloth and garments than she and I could possibly make with the loom and the sewing machine in our little home, what object would it be to her or to me to own a loom or a sewing machine? We might keep the sewing machine for a while, just as grandmother kept her old spinning wheel and lace pillow, as relics, but the co-operative industry with its perfected machinery, its cheaper products, its improved quality of commodities, would, in time, make the private ownership of even a sewing ma-

chine ridiculous from an economic or utilitarian point of view. By the way, where are those knitting needles that mother used to click so industriously, making our socks and mittens? Why, they are down in Connecticut somewhere, built into colossal knitting machines that can knit thousands of socks in the time mother used to take knitting one.

These are examples of the ways in which Socialism proposes to do away with the private ownership of capital. No policeman will take your machine out of your house. The state owned and democratically controlled factory will produce and deliver at cost the goods that your machine and your labor can make—and better goods, too—and you will voluntarily throw the machine out on the scrap heap and will run down to the factory and swap a few hours of your labor for the goods you need for family uses.

Now, when you understand this proposition of socialism and what the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution really means to the working class, don't you see what "bunk" is all the bishop's tommyrot about the unbearable life of the workingman and his deprivations under Socialism? It would be an awful tyranny, wouldn't it, to live in a society where, instead of having to pay a profit to the owner of the woolen mill, to the owner of the railroad, to the owner of the wholesale house and to the owner of Hennessy's store for every hand-me-down shoddy suit you need for yourself or the kids, you could get them at the actual cost of the materials and the making and delivery of them to you, and pay for them by doing as much of your kind of labor as shall be equal to that cost? Gee! how you would suffer, if you didn't have to pay all those profits besides the cost as you do now!

### "Surplus Earnings" Versus Surplus Value.

Then think of a bishop, who professes to know enough about political economy to be an instructor of workingmen, talking to them about the confiscation of their "surplus earnings" by the state! Workingmen get no surplus earnings, and they all know it. All they get is wages—the market price of their labor

power. But their labor power applied to privately owned machines (capital) creates a "surplus value," which is very different from surplus earnings. This surplus value is what the product which their labor power creates is worth after the cost of the raw material and all the costs of production, including wages, have been deducted, or paid. But the workers do not get any of this surplus. Who does get it? Why, bless the good bishop's smooth brain, the capitalist owners of the machines get it. Socialism teaches you that the workers create this surplus value and should have it for themselves. Socialism would give to the workers the full social value which their labors create. Socialism teaches that under the capitalist system this value is confiscated from the workers by the capitalist owners of the machines. The Socialist state would confiscate nothing from the workers. On the contrary it would stop the present confiscation by the capitalists and restore these confiscated values to the workers who create them. You see how little the bishop really knows about this subject. It is either that he is ignorant of it, or else that he is deceiving you. In either case he is not a teacher to be depended on for economic truth, however wise and good and dependable he may be as a spiritual teacher.

Instead of the unendurable tyranny the bishop represents it, the Socialist commonwealth would be the workingman's own world. Instead of reducing him to a brute, it would open to him, for the first time in history, the free opportunity for the complete development of all those human powers which distinguish man from the brute. It is the present system that is brutalizing the working class. It is the present system which is holding him in bondage, not to a crib, but to machines that fill the crib of his master. All this system gives any workingman is wages—just enough for his necessities of life. Anything more than that he enjoys is taken out of his own comforts or that of his family. The Socialist state, by freeing him from economic masters, will make him the owner of an undivided interest in every necessary tool of production in this country. He will have no

state lording it over him like a boss, because he himself will be one of the owners and with an equal voice with every other in the conduct of the industrial affairs of the nation. It isn't much of a hardship, is it, to be fed at a master's crib when you yourself are the master? Not nearly so hard as it is now to go hungry because you cannot find a master who will hire you and give you a chance to buy what you need to satisfy your hunger? Not nearly so hard as it is now when, even if you find a master to employ you, all that your labor creates above what you receive in wages goes to fill the crib of the master so full of grub that he cannot eat it all and has to waste it in order to get rid of it, while you can scarcely make ends meet, and often have to send little John and Mary off to school with their little stomachs only half satisfied?

Being the workingman's own society, a society in which there could and would be no master class, but only one class, and that a working class, it is self-evident that the citizens of that industrial democracy would not create a political power to tyrannize over them. They are tyrannized over today by the state, because the state, in capitalist society, was created by the master class for the benefit of the master class. It is the political tool by which the masters of the means of the production and distribution of wealth (social necessities) hold the workers in subjection and are able to keep them from having and enjoying the fruits of their labors.

### **Socialism a Free Society.**

When the workers come to understand this, they will take this political tool into their own hands, change its character from a political government to an administrative one, change the laws which sanction the oppressions practiced by the masters upon the workers, change the ownership of the means of production and distribution from private to public ownership, abolish social classes and class rule and set up a real democracy. You see how absurd is the bishop's notion that such a state would be a tyranny. It would be precisely the kind of state that the majority of workers decided it

should be. And if they made a mistake at any time, they would correct it as soon as discovered. Would a people, a free people, economically free so that their means of living were certain and constant, and politically free, so that they could make and unmake the laws as their circumstances should require—would such a people tyrannize over themselves? It is absurd to even suggest it. Yet that is the absurd thing the bishop would have you believe that the Socialist state would do.

The "outbursts of indignation" of which the bishop accuses Socialists are not treasonable, as he says they are; and they are not directly against government per se. Our indignation is against the uses made of government by the master class. Our criticisms of the constitution, the laws, the courts and the entire political machinery of modern society are based on the character these all have taken as the political tools of the master class. Socialists are devoted to the principles of liberty, of justice, of democracy upon which this government was founded, but we see that the machinery of government, in the hands of the master class, has been used to violate all those principles and is today prostituted to the subversion of liberty for workers and justice for workers, and to the utter overthrow of everything pertaining to democracy. From the standpoint of the master class, and of the bishop who evidently likes what the master class is doing, we Socialists must appear to be treasonable. But to be treasonable one must be traitor to the principles on which the country is founded, and for which it professes to stand. The master class are the real traitors in the United States today, they and their followers and apologists; not the Socialists.

### **Capitalist "Equality."**

The bishop says we have equality of opportunity in this country today. The Socialists say we have not equality of opportunity. It is a question of fact. The Socialist is willing to put it to the test of working class experience. For example: Yesterday two boys were born into the world. One was born in the New York home of a master whose income is a million dollars a year; the other in the home

of a Butte workingman whose income is one thousand dollars a year. Now, let the bishop show you that this working class baby has an equal opportunity with that master's baby to plenty of good wholesome food; to plenty of care and sunshine and fresh air; to protection against accident; to a thorough education; to the cultivation of refined and cultured tastes; to a good start in business or professional life; to the making of a living; to the securing of a wife, the making of a home and the rearing of healthy and socially useful offspring. If he can prove this equality of opportunity exists for those two boys, his case is proven. If he cannot prove it, his case is lost. He cannot prove it, and every thinking man knows he cannot. Equality of opportunity is impossible under capitalism. Socialism offers to the workingman the only program by which we can get a society where there will be real equality of opportunity. It does not ask, it does not advocate and it does not want any other kind of equality. It disowns the dead level equality which Bishop Carroll attributes to it. If Bishop Carroll does not know this, he is too ignorant about Socialism to be anybody's instructor on that subject; if he does know this, then he is a deceitful and unreliable instructor on that subject.

Equally unreliable, and for the same reasons, is the bishop in what he says Socialism would do for the home. Socialism would not destroy the home. Capitalism is destroying homes by the thousands every day.

### Who Destroys the Home?

Is it going to destroy the homes of people if we have a society in which no man need be out of a job? Is it going to destroy homes, if the fear of poverty never need enter the doors? Is it going to destroy homes, if the girls and boys are never to be forced into hard labor early in life, but are to have every opportunity to acquire a thorough education and to fit themselves for useful labor to which their tastes and abilities adapt them? Is it going to destroy a home, if the mother never will have to leave her babies uncared for while she goes out to earn the living? Is it going to destroy

the home, if when a worker is injured or killed, the state will compensate the family for the loss and see that the widows and orphans do not lack the necessities of physical and intellectual life? Is it going to destroy homes, when the workers receive the full social value of their labor? Is it going to destroy the home when no woman will have to get married merely for support, and no man will have to get married merely to get a cheap housekeeper and nurse? Is it going to destroy homes, when a man and woman economically self-sustaining can meet as equals, associate together in clean, pure, wholesome, and in beautiful and refined surroundings, learn to know their mutuality in tastes and ambitions, and grow to love each other and really desire to live together as life mates and as helpers and inspirers of one another?

### Tommyrot.

It is nonsense to say that the establishment of such social conditions would destroy homes. Yet it is just such conditions that Socialism seeks to establish and will establish just as soon as the working class stops listening to such tommyrot as Bishop Carroll gives them, and begins to listen seriously to Socialists, to read up on Socialism, and to learn that it is in the power of the working class to get such a society just as soon as they learn to act together.

Yes, that will be revolution, as the bishop says. But when, in the United States, did it become unsocial, unlawful and an occasion of reproach to advocate revolution? This nation was born in revolution. Its professed principles of liberty, justice and democracy are revolutionary principles. Why should it not again throw off the tyranny of class rule, reaffirm its principles with sincere revolutionary conviction, and refashion its laws and institutions to adapt them to the twentieth century and to the security and preservation of the liberties, the equities and the democratic equalities of its people? This is what Socialists want to do, and instead of this purpose being, as the bishop says, "opposed to the Declaration of Independence," it is directly in accord with that revolutionary document. Read it and see for yourself.

**Religion and Socialism.**

And finally about Socialism and the church. Socialism is not an enemy to the church or to religion. It leaves that subject alone—prefers to do so believing it to be a matter for individual determination. But when the church in the name of religion gets out of that field and into our chosen field of economic and political science, and begins to misrepresent the teachings of Socialism, and to hand out

to the working class economic and political teachings that are false and that have a tendency to keep the workers in ignorance and thus to hinder the day of their emancipation, then, indeed, the Socialists will and do fight back—as we are fighting Bishop Carroll's address. But this is not fighting religion or the church. It is fighting economic and political error and falsehood. If the church will foster such teachings—well, so much the worse for the church.

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# RESOLUTION AGAINST WAR BY HAYWOOD

**A** WAR with Mexico seems imminent. The United States troops have been at the border for months waiting for a pretext to begin the blood-letting.

The working people of the two countries are about to be driven to butcher one another in the interest of a handful of capitalists, oil magnates and owners of railroads, mines, ranches and franchises.

Now is the time for Socialists to act. The Socialists of England and other nations are at this moment voting on a motion proposed by the English and French delegates at the last international congress, calling for a general strike, especially of railroad employes and the producers of military supplies, in the case of a declaration of war. The motion will undoubtedly be carried, and the Socialists of this country cannot afford to wait until the final decision has been reached. Our time to act is now.

This general strike may require some time for its preparation. Immediate action is also possible. The Socialist Party should at once declare that any of its members who enlist either for this or any other threatening war, such as the impending attack on Nicaragua, ceases by that act to be a member of the Socialist party.

This action is demanded not only by the danger of fratricidal butchery but also by our duty to come, however late, to the aid of our brother revolutionists in Mexico—who might be in a far better position today if the Socialist Party had not steadily refused to do its duty in this regard up to the present time.

We hereby call upon the membership of the Socialist party and the working class generally to take immediate steps to prevent war with Mexico.

(This resolution is being voted on by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party as we go to press.)

THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVEN CAR MEN WHO STRUCK FOR THE REINSTATEMENT

## THE CLASS WAR

BY WILLIAM S.

**T**HE street car workers revolt in city ruled by the Steel Trust. The masters of Duluth, Minn., have sowed a tempest and now they reap the whirlwind.

Beginning back in 1907 the Western Federation of Miners was driven out of the iron ranges. The same winter the Building Trades were whipped to a standstill by the Real Estate dealers and the Builders' Exchange. Since then union after union has fought its last fight and

gone to pieces. The leather workers, switchmen, bakers, tile-setters, dock-workers and others all crumbled under the fierce attacks of the Duluth Business Men's Association.

Beginning last spring and following a summer's revolutionary agitation led by Tom J. Lewis of Portland, Ore., the street car men have grown restless and a strike vote was taken in the Twin Ports. The effort was bungled in the usual A. F. of L. fashion and a promised fight fell

OF THE NINE MEN WHO WERE FIRED FOR ATTENDING A UNION MEETING.

# IN DULUTH TOWNE

through on a promised raise of 10 per cent for all employes who had served over six months.

The middle of July saw a dock workers' union organized among the freight handlers. A strike was pulled off and in spite of imported strike breakers the men secured a raise in wages and better working conditions, but the union fell to pieces.

On September 7th over 400 Finns, Belgians, Scandinavians and Poles walked

off the Great Northern ore docks at Allouez Bay, across from Duluth. They were out three days and won their strike for better wages and working conditions.

Like a thunder clap from a clear sky the staid and stable Duluthians awoke Monday morning, September 7th, and found no street cars to haul them down to their jobs.

A few evenings before the strike was called, Ralph Wellington, claim agent, and David Wright, line foreman, in-

vaded the private residence of Alex Peterson, where a meeting of the newly organized street car workers was in progress. These spotters turned into the company the names of nine workers who were fired on Sunday night.

The street car workers demanded their re-instatement and recognition of their union with a ten hour day, and ten walked out. By night 107 had joined them and strike breakers had arrived from Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Duluth is divided into two parts by an enormous point of rocks. The car barns are west about twenty blocks, in a business district, which is also populated by thousands of workers. The majority of these are Scandinavians, hardworking, sober and slow to wrath. However, on Monday evening, September 9th, three thousand working people in this district woke up from their seeming lethargy and proceeded to smash the transportation system. The attack came with such suddenness that it paralyzed the street car officials. Cars were derailed, scabs were shown the error of their ways and the fear of God was put in their hearts.

Tuesday night the workers were on the job stronger than ever. Police were powerless and Chief Troyer threw up the sponge. A few "rioters" were jailed and bound over to the grand jury. Wednesday night, September 11th, the workers boarded the cars and refused to pay fares. This was sabotage on the scabs, as they received \$4.00 a day and all over \$10.00 in fares. Plain clothes men were everywhere with their black jacks.

Not a striker has been arrested for violence. All damage to property and violence to persons has been done by a sympathetic company. On this night cars were all in the barns by seven o'clock while five thousand working people paraded the west end and not a car rolled along the rails and Duluth is considered the best street car town in the world for its size. The Socialists held the largest street meeting ever assembled on a Duluth street corner and Comrade William E. Towne made the class struggle clear.

The strikers are willing to arbitrate but not. Warren says, "Nothing doing."

Business men are feeling very much hurt because their bank deposits are dwindling. Police seem to be in sympathy with the strikers. Governor Eberhart is out for re-election and cannot see why the militia is needed. Sheriff Menning is also out for re-election and deputies are scarce. Working men have been requested by their bosses to act as deputies but there is nothing doing.

The Superior street car men went out in sympathy and the Twin Cities are on the way.

Billy McWewen, secretary of the State Federation, who "settled" a street car strike in '99 and who had until lately been favored with political appointment, is working overtime trying to "get right" on this strike.

On Thursday afternoon a meeting of business men, mayors and councilmen forced their resolution demanding that all the old men be put back to work and that the matter be arbitrated. Business men are angry at Warren for refusing to meet his men and steps are being taken to

have him fired. Mayor Konkel of Superior, Wis., vows that if the company refuses to arbitrate the city itself will step in and run the car line. Mr. Warren refused to meet the committee of strikers, business men and councilmen.

The Socialist alderman, P. G. Phillips, opposed the arbitration resolution on the ground that it did not protect the men. He was howled and hooted at but held the floor and compelled a hearing.

All attempts have failed to get the men together; the Des Moines, Iowa, proposition will be tried, that is, the courts will interfere, restrain everybody from fighting or striking, take the management of affairs out of the company's hands, and order the men back to work.

Then the court will "order" the parties to arbitrate; again a strike will be "settled" and again the workers will be denied a chance to speak for themselves and deal with the boss direct.

Never before has such class consciousness been manifested in Duluth and while the workers will not gain much if anything, nevertheless the education, experience and class solidarity that has developed and awakened will never be forgotten. Another summer of agitation and the field will be rotten ripe for a revolutionary working class organization backed by class conscious political parties.

And this strike, mark you, may be won, not by strikers, but by the "direct action" of 5,000 sympathizers.

## THE SIMPLICITY OF SOCIALISM

BY

GUY McCLUNG

**S**Ocialism is not hard either to explain or understand.

Here is the situation: The world's people belong to or support one of the two great classes, capitalists or workers.

What have we got? Nothing. What have they got? Everything.

Now we want it. Simple, isn't it?

We demand all they've got. Why? Because they have stolen it from us. We are the disinherited of the earth and we are getting ready to take back what belongs to us. We have waked up to the fact that the few have no right to enjoy all the good things of life while the many live in want and die in misery. We have discovered that we are running a race in which they have a hundred yards start; we have entered a contest in which they have the upper hand; we are sitting around a table on which the cards are stacked; we are playing a game for which they have made the rules.

They told us in the beginning that there was a chance for all. Now we know that they lied.

We have become wise to the fact that we are the victims, the suckers, the fall-guys, in the greatest bunco game ever

invented. We put all we had into it—our health, our hopes, our strength and power to labor—but everything went merely to make them richer and stronger. The result is that they are the owners of everything that makes life worth living.

We want it back. Now how are we going to get it?

Ask them for it? They would hand us the laugh.

Buy it from them? It never belonged to them in the first place—no, we are going to take it.

Take it how? By force? No, not necessarily. By bullets? We are not so foolish. We have the power already. We far outnumber them and our brains, when used, are as good as theirs. Therefore, we will organize our power and use our brains in our own behalf hereafter instead of theirs. When the workers are once solidly united the system by which the capitalists daily rob us of the fruits of our toil will simply fall of its own weight. There will be nothing under it to support it any longer and each man will then own his job and retain for himself the value of his product.

# History, Mexico, and American Capitalism

By HERBERT STURGES

THE Civil War was a war of conquest, of reconquest of the seceded states. The capitalists seemed to feel that it was necessary for them to own the government of the southern states. They could best carry on business in the whole country by owning the government of all parts of the nation. Commerce, consisting of communication and transportation, would have been greatly handicapped for the northern capitalists by the hostile southern Confederacy. While, on the contrary, commerce with the south would be facilitated by having the southern states all under the sway of the central government at Washington. In support of this purpose they held to the theory of strong powers of the central government, as against the theory of state-rights held by the democrats of the south, and worked up the sentiment of the north with such catch-phrases as "The Union forever," "The United States, one and indivisible," while, as a matter of strict constitutional interpretation, the contention of state rights was correct, and they had every legal right to secede if they wanted to. But in the face of the economic necessity of the capitalist class, which also represented the interests of real progress, the constitutional principles were as nothing.

Under these circumstances it was necessary to compel the submission of the southern states, and this had to be done by war. Whenever war becomes necessary for the capitalists the constitutional guarantees of life and property are also vain, and the sacrifice of life and property was accordingly made on the altar of Mammon. Not that this was really all "wrong." If we had been in the place of the capitalists, or of Lincoln their representative and servant, or of those who accepted the war-principle of the preservation of the Union at any cost, we too would have sounded the battle cry and fought and prayed for vic-

tory. Moreover, few of us would have been abolitionists; it is pure nonsense to think that we would have been. But when, in the course of the war, it became possible to seriously injure the southern cause by denying the legal recognition of the Federal States to the fundamental economic institution of the Confederacy, it was inevitable that there should issue a Proclamation of Emancipation. Under those circumstances, we too would have quickly changed our notions of the justice and expediency of chattel slavery. The north simply could not afford to continue to recognize this institution which was of no benefit to it, but which was the one strength of their southern opponents. So the humanitarian ideas and ideals of the abolition itself finally triumphed because of the economic necessity of the northern capitalists, taking the form of a war with the southern states in which the Emancipation of the slaves was an inevitable war move.

The fundamental reason for the Civil War was, therefore, the economic need of having one government in the country. This took the ideal form of Unionism, the idea of "preserving the Union" and of abolition of chattel slavery.

To one who understands the materialistic interpretation of past history, and especially of the recent history of his own country, there can be no question as to the real motives underlying the present moves of our capitalist government. The struggle now is not between two classes geographically separated, one industrial and one agricultural, but between hostile groups of American capitalists, and finally between hostile groups of capitalists lined up more or less solidly in two camps throughout the whole civilized world. This is at any rate the tendency in present financial history, and the unmistakable trend of events is in this direction.

It was the great service of Thomas Lawson to expose to an eagerly listening

world of Americans the workings and ramifications of the System. It took Lawson, the disgruntled insider, to do this. Today, partly as a direct result of the big muck-raking campaign, the System is regulated and slightly handicapped from free operation. But aside from these comparatively meager restrictions, it is still in full control in the business world, and in the government, except as it is opposed by its younger rival, the steel trust and its allies. When Morgan organized the steel industry he realized far more than the previous owners, Carnegie, for instance, what a big plum he had in his power. Standard Oil, and the rest of the Big System had unfortunately neglected this field of operations, and this oversight will cost them dear before the contest is ended. Next to the agricultural industry (as it is now becoming more and more proper to call it), the steel industry is the most important and the most fundamental. Founded directly upon these is the transportation system of railroads, which is in quantity of almost equal importance. Standard Oil had not neglected the railroads. But it had forgotten the steel industry. Morgan saw his chance. And, having one of two great fundamental industries of the country increasingly in his power, he considered that he would gain far more in the long run by remaining independent of the System than by cooperating with it and amalgamating with it. So the System has never been able to absorb the steel industry. Having the steel industry increasingly in his control, it was a simple matter comparatively for Morgan to build up a System of his own, "System Number Two" we should call it. Railroads can always be built; or even bought outright from dissatisfied investors and made to pay by good management. The Hill railroads belong in System Number Two. This gives number two a strong grip on the growing west and northwest. Being younger and weaker, number two has been compelled to be more energetic and more progressive. It has inaugurated in the steel industry of this country the most efficient system of exploitation the world has ever seen. American workmen were too independent, had too high a standard of

living, and had a troublesome way of organizing themselves. The Morgan system had to make money, and they had to make it fast. Standard Oil was well entrenched financially, and has never felt the economic urge as the steel trust has felt it. Necessity was the mother of invention, and the result is the present enormously efficient profit-making machinery of the steel industry, with its tremendously overworked foreign labor.

The policy of independence carried out by System Number Two has not prevented their co-operation here and there with Number One. But in general, and for the most part, the attitude of the weaker organization towards the stronger has been one of hostility, the polite and nevertheless strenuous hostility of modern business. This comes out more especially in the struggle for foreign markets and for opportunities for exploitative investments in foreign lands. This struggle for foreign privileges of the two kinds mentioned necessarily takes a political form and is thus brought out before the public. The conflict for economic opportunity has never come to a sharper issue between the two hostile groups of big business than in the present fight for the spoils of Mexico. System number one, with all its conservative practices, seems to have had the advantage over number two in the former Diaz administration of Mexico. That was to have been expected, since number one was well entrenched everywhere, and had apparently everything its own way for a while on the American continent. But Standard Oil was not smart enough to keep a careful watch over her prerogatives in Mexico. Morgan, for at least the second time, saw his big chance. The spirit of unrest in Mexico (and we well know the reasons for this and the seriousness of the situation for the exploited Mexicans), this dissatisfaction was quietly seized upon by the Morgan-Hill interests and aided and abetted in the successful Madero Revolution. It is hardly necessary to say that the aid of the government at Washington was eagerly sought by both sides in this conflict, by Standard Oil, which realized, when it was too late, that it had been taken off its guard and was in danger

of losing the advantages of a government in Mexico favorable to its interests, and by steel, which wanted to assure its victory by American intervention favorable to the establishment of a new regime. Morgan did his best to persuade Taft that the Madero revolution if successful would be more stable and more favorable to American interests in general in Mexico than the despotism of Diaz. If Roosevelt had been in the presidency, there can be scarcely any doubt that he would early have yielded to the solicitations of his friend Morgan, and given the help asked for. Taft was also begged for help by Standard Oil. Troops were sent to the border, but either the divergence of advice and the conflicting opinion of his friends as to what should be the aim of the proposed intervention or protest made by the working class against intervention, either or both of these effectually prevented intervention. Left to itself, the revolution in Mexico, appealing as it did to the working class there, and to all those who had been dissatisfied with the previous regime, ultimately succeeded. With the capitalist Madero in the seat of state, Morgan had little to regret.

But almost instantaneously events showed that the Madero administration could not be stable. That one desideratum of all the capitalists, a stable government, had not yet been provided for Mexico. System Number One, knowing that it had the real preponderance of financial strength, could not remain contented with the status quo of an administration in Mexico favorable to their rivals, System Number Two. The working class of Mexico found that their lot was not appreciably alleviated by the readjustment of things down at the capital. (We Socialists who are also industrial workers, "Reds," know that it can never be done by mere political rearrangements, even when in full sympathy with the workers.) The Madero administration was still a capitalist administration, and the veritably revolutionary elements of the Mexican revolution remained revolutionary.

System Number Two was satisfied, and wanted to have the forcible suppression

of the Orozco Revolution. This desire was shared by the capitalists who wanted to let things alone, not caring to change. But the pressure of the desultory conflict began to disturb everybody. The Mexican government was apparently unable to cope with the guerilla warriors of Orozco. The chance for Number One to recoup its recent losses was too good to be missed. This was to be done NOT BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW MEXICAN ADMINISTRATION, BUT BY THE EXTENSION OF AMERICAN POWER OVER MEXICO. The economic and political control of the United States is definitely in the hands of System Number One. It controlled the Republican National Committee, the real political government at convention time, and through it nominated its man Taft for the presidency on the hitherto successful Republican ticket. It controlled the Democratic convention, and put out a second platform and a second ticket, which if not quite what they would have preferred, was the best they could do, and the only way of appealing to popular votes. Neither platform has the least suggestion of taking the actual power of government away from national committees and houses of congress and legislatures, all of which are largely in the power of System Number One at the present time and will remain in their power as long as they have the preponderant economic strength of the country, or until the adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall in national politics. System Number One's control over the national government is assured whichever of the old party candidates is elected, and whichever of the old party platforms is adopted by the country. Under these circumstances the establishment of American Suzerainty over Mexico could only mean the establishment of the preferential privilege of System Number One over System Number Two in their fight for the Mexican market, and especially for Mexican exploitative investments, the right to exploit Mexican natural resources and Mexican labor. The financial powers that be, therefore, favor intervention.

The steel trust, ably generalised by

Morgan and his field lieutenant, Perkins, is responsible for the Men and Religions forward movement, the recent Politics Forward movement, and hopes sooner or later to obtain the support of the middle classes. By obtaining the aid of the small capitalists and artisans, the steel trust expects to gain political power in the United States and by a judicious use of this power to gain ultimately the upper hand in its conflict for economic supremacy. This is probably a forlorn hope. The middle class is itself so rapidly losing ground that any hopes based on its aid are vain. IF IT WERE POSSIBLE FOR THE STEEL TRUST TO CONTINUE AND DEVELOP ITS PRESENT ECONOMIC POLICY OF MAXIMUM EFFICIENCY, THAT IS OF MAXIMUM EXPLOITATION OF LABOR, WHILE SYSTEM NUMBER ONE CONTINUED TO EMPLOY A LESS EFFICIENT METHOD, THE TIME WOULD COME WHEN SYSTEM NUMBER TWO WOULD WIN. But the one thing which prevents this is the attitude of labor towards its maximum exploitation. Industrial unionism, whether under that name or under the name and auspices of the American Federation, and Socialism are the two things that stand in the way of the continuance of this maximum efficiency method. It seems very unlikely that system number two can ever win in the struggle for economic supremacy or for its reflex, political control. This being true, System Number One is assured of reaping the fruits of United States control over Mexico. The end and goal of their efforts will doubtless be the complete absorption of Mexico by America. This consummation of political amalgamation will, however, probably remain for International Socialism to accomplish. The most that Standard Oil, acting through its agent, the American government, can expect to do at this time is to establish and guarantee a stable government in Mexico under the suzerainty of the United States. This is the logical aim of American intervention in Mexico. We do not mean to imply that it is either right or wrong; it is simply inevitable. Now that the Mexicans have shown that they cannot settle

down peaceably to a capitalist government of their own, and that this capitalist government is unable to suppress armed insurrections of the discontented, the maintainance of the fairly peaceable state of affairs necessary to capitalist industry and commerce in Mexico requires the forcible intervention of a strong capitalist government. Socialist protest may serve to mitigate the horrors of war, and to induce less severity against the conquered prisoners. But no amount of working-class protest can prevent the intervention itself. This intervention is seen to have economic reasons behind it, and to be part of a complex economic struggle.

The capitalist class as a whole is still doing the actual work of the world. The conflict of one portion of the capitalist class with another is still the vitally effective class struggle which is making for actual economic progress. As one situation after another in this conflict within the capitalist class comes up for solution, one side or the other must more and more appeal for aid to the lower classes, making concessions to the lower classes in return, which will strengthen the latter in their ultimate class struggle with the former. The use of the natural resources of Mexico for the benefit of Mexicans is an end to look forward to. It will come as a result of the final class struggle, between the owners and the workers. Meanwhile Mexico undoubtedly needs industrial development, and the only ones who seem able and ready to manage this successfully, taking into consideration the whole world situation, are the capitalists of the United States. They are bound to make their terms as to the political conditions under which they will undertake this development, as well as to the profits and dividends which they will exact in payment of their managerial services. Socialists can only regret that the working class is not organized either in America or in Mexico to the extent of being able to take charge of this work and do it for the least possible expense to the actual workers of Mexico. But the fact is that we are not sufficiently organized to do this, and must leave it to the capitalists.

The lesson of the present situation in regard to Mexico is the same old lesson.

The working-class must organize, politically and industrially, in America and throughout the world. "An injury to one is an injury to all." A benefit to one is a benefit to all. Sooner or later the iden-

tity of interests of all actual workers, whether with hand or brain, in direct opposition to the interests of all owners and investors, will result in the economic and political solidarity of the working class.

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A PILE OF WHEAT BAGS ON A RAILROAD STATION PLATFORM ACCUMULATED DURING THE STRIKE ON THE RAILWAY.

# FARM LABORERS IN THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

BY

ERNESTO F. DREDENOV

**A**RGENTINA is situated in the southernmost part of South America and has an area of about one-third that of the United States or equal to the part that lies east of the Mississippi.

It is a comparatively young country, and in a state of rapid development. The population counts now about 7½ millions, and a first-class railroad system of 20,000 miles opens up a large part of the country for intensive agricultural cultivation.

The main object of these lines is to refute the wildly exaggerated statements of some bourgeois travelers or paid agents and newspapers as to the condition of

labor and the opportunities for workers and small farmers here.

Descriptive books about foreign countries are never written by workmen, but by travelers in the "observation car." Besides, book writing costs a lot of money and time, of both of which a workman cannot afford to spend much. Consequently, books of that kind are never made from a worker's viewpoint. They are therefore sophistical and misleading to him. Much more so when a gentleman of leisure undertakes to write about working conditions.

It certainly is not necessary to work in

a mine or steel mill in order to know that they require hard and unhealthy labor, nor is it difficult to know that structural work or engine driving are dangerous and responsible jobs.

But as soon as anyone tells you a certain job is easy or healthy or well paid for without himself having done the work in question, be sure that he is either a paid agent or he doesn't know what he is talking about.

Take the following case:

A good many of the harvest hands leave this country as soon as the harvest is over and come back the next year again.

A bourgeois economist will tell you that these men made such a lot of money that they can go back home and have a jolly time for the rest of the year or buy some land for the money so quickly made.

But how different this is from the truth. Those farm laborers are simply forced to leave the country till the next year in order to get work. Can anyone tell what hundreds of thousands of harvest-helpers are to do when the harvest is over in a country where there are few manufacturing industries?

Every one knows that the farmer who grows cereals has no use the rest of the year for the help he needs during the few days of the harvest.

According to another great advertisement, every immigrant has free lodging and nourishment for five days and then free railroad transportation for one time to the place of work.

How well that sounds! what does a man want more than work to start with in a new country!

But how treacherous this lie is in reality. Here is the origin of this generosity: Being a new country the big land owners looked to older ones to learn the science of obtaining cheap labor and noticed that the western farmers of the United States had a lot of trouble to get their labor as cheap as they wanted it. They also found out that the speculators in labor in the West had to pay the eastern newspapers to print articles claiming that 50,000 more farm hands were needed for harvesting, even when there were already 50,000 too many.

To do the same thing again wouldn't have been learning from the past, so the

"lords of the land" charged "their" government with securing cheap and sufficient human working power for them.

When the harvest starts and the workers are not willing to accept the low wages of the employers, the latter simply write to the Immigration Department and soon have any number of men they may want.

The newcomers who often don't know the language, nor the conditions, and who are mostly penniless, are forced to accept the offers of the employers. After a few days, when the work is over, who tells them where to find another job in the endless Pampa? When they see what it costs to live, it will be clear to them that they sold their muscle power too cheap. They soon find out that the free railroad fare works against them as soon as they have made use of that privilege.

And what are they going to do when the harvest is over altogether? Those who have money go back to their mountains in Spain or Italy to live a simple life during a few months; others work during the winter just for their keep or on railroad constructing. By far the greater part are forced to tramp over the country during the winter months.

Sometimes the clamors of the landowners and newspapers are so loud and persistent that more hands were needed for the harvest and that fabulous wages are paid in some particular railroad crossing, that thousands of workers accumulate there while only a few hundreds are needed. Whole freight trains are loaded with them in order to "get the move on."

It also happens that immigrants are sent far away to the frontier of Chile or Brazil where there is no work at all, simply to make room in the immigration hotel.

All in all that free transportation must be considered as a national strike-breaking institution.

As to the harvest work itself, it is hard here as always; to that add poor food, the great heat and bad water which can only be taken together with whisky. It is a kind of an alkaline water such as prevails in some places in North and South Dakota, which Argentina resembles very much.

The farm hands get up with the sun or even before, and start to work without

## GRAIN ELEVATORS IN THE PORT OF BUENOS AIRES.

breakfast until about 9 o'clock when they get yerba mate (a kind of a tea) and galleta (biscuit) which is as hard as a stone. At mid-day they have a piece of meat cooked with rice. At four o'clock yerba mate, and again after sun-down once more cooked meat with rice. True to the tradition of the Pampa they sleep upon the ground they till.

The wages range from \$1 to \$2, and very seldom as high as \$2.50 during the harvest. During the winter months one is glad to find a job at \$12 a month. In the cities the workers are better off, the craftsmen and their helpers work only eight hours a day.

Taking all into consideration it might be summed up with the words: "If the United States are bad, Argentina is worse," and free railroad fare is one of the principal reasons. It keeps an army of unemployed to hold down wages.

As to the chances for the small farmer, one of the best opportunities he can get, is to make half part with a landowner which means that the latter gives the land and the former all the rest: horses, plows and other implements, the seed and hay; also they bring in the harvest.

That sounds fair, doesn't it?

But when one remembers that there is one good harvest against seven very bad, bad or fair ones it looks quite different. There is always something else that plays against the small farmer who grows only one kind of cereal. One year it is too wet, then too dry; then the locusts come,

or a pampero (sandstorm) covers or cuts the young plants. A few minutes of sunshine after a fog destroy their hopes for the whole year. If nothing happened and the wheat or oats are nearly ripe, a hailstorm may destroy a part or all of the harvest. The unsettled weather conditions in Argentina make small farming a gamble with one chance against seven.

As the property of small farmers usually is invested in his horses and implements the landowner gladly advances seed and money during the year. If the first year has been a failure and the tenant doesn't find the scheme advantageous, the landowner gladly ties him up by making the loans he may need on horses, etc.

The landowner may advance money the second and even the third year, and if this brings good harvest, the owner gets back all his advancements and then takes half part with the renter for whom doesn't remain much to pay for his three years' work and trouble. The renter takes all the risks and work and the owner all the rest. What does the landowner lose after a bad year? Nothing. On the contrary, the ground of his land has been worked over and has been manured with the seed for which the renter must pay.

If a renter is lucky enough to have a good and fair harvest in succession he makes a good piece of money and perhaps the foundation of his fortune; but it might also be that five years later he may be poorer than when he started.

A farm of 1,500 to 2,000 acres that

makes it possible to do mixed farming and cattle breeding will bring good returns, but 2,000 acres costs a lot of money even in Argentina.

And the moral of this story is, that it is useless in the twentieth century when capitalism is everywhere, to try to escape the capitalist claw; furthermore, today with the easy and cheap means of transportation it will not take long to overflow any labor market where fair wages are paid. The ocean trip from Europe to South America costs only about \$25.

So don't try to change conditions by changing nations, but stay where you are and work for the revolution.

Here are a few words about the recent strike of the engineers and firemen of the Argentine railroads which ended in a failure for the men.

"La Fraternidad" (brotherhood) as a craft union took recourse to craft union tactics. The "bosses" seemed to believe they could get something out of the com-

panies without fighting hard. They tried to compromise and come to an agreement without strike. The companies, of course, like nothing more than to compromise and hold conferences with the "leaders."

Their managers compromised so well and so long that they were better organized for the strike than the working men.

They hired strikebreakers beforehand and paid them without work for several weeks; transferred the natural organizers of the men out of their sphere of influence into another district; in short arranged a regular strike service.

Then the companies broke off the conference and the strike was declared the 4th of January, 1912.

The big bulk of goods accumulated on the stations, but the regular passengers and small goods service could be handled and so the bosses saved the situation.

It is clear that this is not the right way to fight and to conduct a strike and that the men had to lose. From craft-union tactics one can only expect craft-union results.

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## THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE SOCIAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED

By Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, First President of Chinese Republic

(Translated for the Review from *Le Mouvement Socialiste*)

**T**HE Republic is established in China, and although I have resigned the office of provisional president, that does not mean that I shall cease working for the cause. More important affairs than the duties of my first office now demand attention.

China has been subject to the Manchus for 270 years. During this period there have been many attempts at regaining its independence. Fifty years ago the Tai Ping revolution was one of these attempts, but that was merely a race revolution, Chinese against Manchu. Had it succeeded, the country would have remained under an autocratic government.

Some years ago, a few of us met in Japan and formed the Chinese Revolutionary Society. At that time we adopted three great principles.

1. Supremacy of the Chinese race.
2. Government of the people by the people.
3. Supremacy of the people in the production of wealth.

The first two principles have been realized by the abdication of the Manchu dynasty. We must now realize the Economic Revolution. That subject is the topic of general discussion today, but a majority of the Chinese people fail to understand the meaning of the term. They

suppose the aim of the regeneration of China is to make it a powerful nation, equal to the great nations of the west.

Such is not the aim of our efforts. There are today no nations richer than England and America; there is no nation more enlightened than France. England is a constitutional monarchy, France and the United States are republics, but the gulf between rich and poor in these countries is too vast, and ideas of revolution haunt the brains of their citizens. If a social revolution is not accomplished, the majority will remain cut off from joy and the good things of life. Today, this happiness is reserved for a few capitalists.

The mass of the workers continue to suffer bitterly and can not rest content. Race revolutions and political revolutions are easy to accomplish, but the social revolution is more difficult.

Only a people of great achievement is capable of bringing about a social revolution.

Some will say: Thus far your revolution has been a success, why not be satisfied and wait? Why seek to accomplish what England and America, with all their wealth and all their science, have neglected until now to attempt? That would be poor policy, for in England and America civilization is advanced and industry is in process of transformation; there it is difficult to bring about a social revolution. We have not yet reached that point in China; for us a social revolution is relatively easy; we are in a position to anticipate the coming of the capitalist system. In capitalist countries, the established interests are solidly defended and it is hard to dislodge them. In China there are neither capitalists nor established interests, hence revolution is relatively easy.

I am frequently asked whether such a revolution will require the use of military force. I answer yes, for England and America; no for China. The strike of the English miners proves my assertion, and yet that is not a revolution, but simply a desire expressed by the people to obtain possession of the sources of public wealth, and it appears that force alone can realize that aim.

It may be that the social revolution will

be difficult to realize, but the hour is near when it will become an accomplished fact, and we can not foretell the desperate means and the danger for the state that its realization will involve.

If at the outset of the career of our Chinese Republic, we do not take thought to defend ourselves against the establishment of capitalism, then in the very near future a new despotism, a hundred times more terrible than that of the Manchu dynasty, awaits us, and rivers of blood will be required for our deliverance.

One point especially demands all our attention. It will be necessary to change all titles to landed property. That is an indispensable corollary of the Revolution. Formerly the landed proprietors paid taxes on the area of their land divided into three classes—good, medium, and poor. In future, it will be necessary to figure the tax on the land value, since the quality of the land varies less uniformly than is assumed in this division into three classes.

I do not know how much the value of real estate at Nankin differs from that on the Bund, the great street of Shanghai, but if we employed the old method, we could not arrive at an equitable valuation. It would be preferable to tax the land value, poor lands paying little, lands of great value paying much. The lands of great value belong to rich people, and there would be no oppression in putting a high tax on them. The lands of the least value are the property of poor populations inhabiting remote districts, and they ought to be subjected to very light taxes. Today the land on the Bund and the farm pay the same tax. That is an injustice. To abolish it, the tax must be figured on the land value. The value of building lots in Shanghai has increased ten thousand fold in a hundred years. China is on the eve of an immense industrial development; an imposing business will be created, and in fifty years we shall have many Shanghais. Let us be wise enough to foresee the future, and let us decide today that the increased value of real estate shall be acquired by the people who have created it, and not by the private capitalists whom chance has made landed proprietors.

NORTHWEST VIEW OF UTAH COPPER MINE, SHOWING UPPER PART OF WORKING EDGE OF PIT.

# Bingham Canyon

## BY W. G. HENRY

(Photos from Tom Quayle, Park City, Utah.)

**S**INCE reading Frank Bohn's article on Butte, the great copper camp, it has been on my route to visit the "Little Kingdom of Copper," Bingham Canyon, Utah. Comrade Bohn has interestingly described the benefits accruing to the worker through their political and industrial organization in Butte. The main purpose of this article will be to show the contempt, the poverty, the disregard of their lives and welfare in which the workers in the same industry are held by their masters because of a lack of industrial and political organization here.

Bingham Canyon is twenty-five miles from Salt Lake City in what is known as the West Mountain District. In the camp are living perhaps 2,500 people. Within a radius of three miles from the post-

office 5,000 men are working in and about the mines. It is an open shop camp. Greeks, Italians, Slavonians, Finns and Hungarians with a sprinkling of English speaking workers are employed. Of course the mine owners see to it that the fires of race antagonism are continually replenished. The Finns dislike the Greeks, the Greeks look askance at the Slavonians, the Slavonians are distrustful of the Americans and the Americans proudly flout the whole batch of "ignorant foreigners" and stand on their American birthright and supremacy. But be it known that Greek, Italian, Slavonian or American each and every man, of whatever race, gets precisely the same pay here for the same work. There is no race

supremacy on the payroll of the companies in Bingham.

The day here consists of eight hours for men working underground—and it is every bit of eight hours and for outside men—the great majority are outside men in this camp—the day is ten hours. The wages are: Common labor, \$2.00; muckers, \$2.50 to \$3.00; machine helpers, \$3.65; machine men, \$4.00 per day. The principal mining interest is the Utah Copper Company, employing about 3,000 men. Average board costs one dollar per day. The cost of living is higher than Butte, the hours longer and the wages lower. Copper is now quoted at 17 to 18 cents per pound, yet the scale of wages in Bingham remains the same as when copper brought nine cents a pound. But what can the workers expect when they are unorganized? Some of the wise ones are predicting that if copper goes higher the companies will voluntarily grant a twenty-five cent increase—merely to lull the slaves into repose.

There is another side to all this, of course. In order to grasp the situation in all its bearings let us put on capitalist spectacles and get the "business" viewpoint of Bingham. Along with their spectacles we'll take the capitalists' own statements. In the Salt Lake Tribune of August 8th the Utah Copper Company publishes its statement for the quarter ending June 30, 1912, from which I quote the following:

The Utah Copper Company on Wednesday released the report for the quarter ending June 30, 1912, and from the details of the same that came west during the afternoon it is evident that this famous premier copper producer of Utah and all the country has eclipsed all previous records, striking during the period a splendid gait by virtue of increased copper production and increased market prices for the metal.

During the quarter the company produced 28,372,038 pounds of copper, an increase of 3,442,488 pounds over the previous quarter, the cost of producing the metal being 2.127 per pound, against 8.62 cents during the previous period. The company received for its metal an average of 16.43 cents per pound.

Now carefully remove the bifocals of the master class and keep your working class eyes wide open. It is not alone in the fact of low wages and colossal profits nor in the pitting of race against race, nor yet in the brutalizing of these workers that the tragedy of capitalism becomes abysmal, but it is the toll of human life in the production of the profits required by these copper kings and barons that is appalling, almost unbelievable.

Comrade Bohn informs us that in Butte last year forty-seven miners were killed at their work. What would the miners of Butte, what would you say about a locality employing only 5,000 men in which last year 440 men were killed during their work? But then remember the workers in Butte are industrially and politically organized, while in Bingham they are not. These killings are so common that they excite no comment whatever. Their frequency has brutalized the working class along with their masters.

"Oh, yes' they bump 'em off every day," my workingman friend replied when I touched on the subject. "More than one a day goes over in this camp, mostly foreigners and of course they don't count. How many are crippled? I doubt if God knows.. See this fellow coming down the road minus an arm? That arm has been off less than thirty days. See that fellow over there on crutches? Rock fell on his foot last week. Oh, what's the use? You can see 'em everywhere. I only know the history of the Americans' accidents. I don't pay any attention to these foreigners and they are the main ones who get hurt. There's no kind of record kept of accidents."

While my friend and I conversed we toiled up the narrow canyon—he on his way to the night's work, I to see and hear what might be of interest. My sight of the crippled and outworn soldiers of industry was disturbed by the sound of the prolonged boom! boom! of blasts in the struggle of men against Nature. Far up the towering mountain side were the forts, the batteries and the soldiers to be used in case of any industrial disturbances. Below in the narrow gulch were the killed and crippled heroes of the army of Labor, while far from danger in their

## MINERS AT WORK.

clubs and hotels smugly and contentedly lolled the commanders of this army—the so-called captains of industry.

There is no law in Utah requiring corner's investigations of mine fatalities. An attempt was made in the last legislature to enact such law, but Governor Spry vetoed it after it had passed both houses. This nimble jumping-jack of the mine owners (Spry Bill) explained his conduct by saying such a law is unnecessary as mine accidents are rare and this law would entail needless expense upon the state and **open up avenues for reckless damage suits against the corporations.** Militant workers give this spry sprig of capitalism credit for his bold, bald frankness.

The property of the Utah Copper Company cannot rightfully be called a mine nor can its operations be called mining, at least not as mining is generally understood. Its property is a mountain and its operations consist in blasting down that mountain, loading it into a railroad train and shipping it to the smelter, there to be transformed by a certain process into copper and by a certain other process into gold. This "mine" is inverted, the apex being the top of the mountain, the various levels are marked by a regulation railroad on which are operated freight trains, hauling away the rock. Every hour of the twenty-four, every day of the year, machine drills are piercing holes in this mountain side, dynamite is tearing

greater caves and loosening up vast quantities of ore. Steam shovels load this ore into box cars at the rate of one car of sixty tons in five minutes. That's going some and you'll have to go some more to find a mine to beat this one in production and methods. Experts claim that this "mine" has \$200,000,000 worth of ore in sight.

From a "business" viewpoint Bingham is certainly a paradise; from the worker's viewpoint it is—hell.

But the light is breaking. The Sleeping Giant in Bingham is beginning to stir in his slumbers. Slowly but surely the "muckers" who produce the copper are having it burned into their brains that they are getting the worst of the bargain and that somebody is somehow getting the best of them. Mass meetings have been called of the workers in and about the mines. Hundreds of workers have responded. Race prejudice is beginning to break down and a glimmer of class solidarity is apparent. "One union for all the workers in and about the mines" is the slogan in Bingham and the future looks bright for the toilers. As I close this article I learn that the mine owners have granted a raise of twenty-five cents per day to all underground men. This is a pittance and will not suffice. But if the least organized can gain such an increase without actual struggle, what could not a powerful organization of the workers in Bingham do? Wait! We shall see!

# IN THE NAVY

The Other Side  
of the Paper

BY

MARION  
WRIGH'

**I**N THE argot of the sailor the injustices, hardships and humiliations which fall to him are things which were duly written on "The Other Side of the Paper," and which were, for obvious reasons, concealed at the time of his enlistment. Often a complaint in the navy is met with the jeer: "Why didn't you read the other side of the paper before you put your name to it?" This refers to the shipping articles which are signed by the recruit and which bear on their face nothing that could by any stretch of the imagination be construed to cover some of the realities of life on board a warship.

One of the first jokers hidden in the articles pertains to the matter of pay. A young man fresh from the shop with his card as machinist may enlist in the navy as machinist's mate, second class, with the rank of petty officer. His pay is about \$44 a month, and the stipulation is that he is to serve four years unless sooner discharged by proper authority. His obligation consists in swearing to support the Constitution of the United States against ALL enemies and to obey all lawful orders of

his superiors. (If a man is found to be a Socialist after enlisting in the navy the word "Socialist" is written in red ink opposite his name on the enlistment record.) In return for his services he is to receive board, bed and medical attention free, a \$60 outfit of clothing and \$44 a month. But the "other side" turns up even before he gets his uniform.

In 1911 a paymaster and his two assistants were sent from the Mare Island navy yard to San Quentin penitentiary for embezzling clothing from green recruits. This had been going on for years, but at last got too strong for the old graft system. It is safe to say that 50 per cent of newly enlisted men are cheated out of from five to ten dollars worth of clothing on their first outfit. These articles are charged to the recruit and afterwards sold by the issuing officers to clothing stores which make a specialty of "Genuine Navy Goods." And let it be said to the credit of the dry goods men that their claims as to the nature of their goods are entirely correct.

Then comes the matter of pay. The recruit cannot draw his first month's wages. This money is held on the books until the end of his enlistment. This is somewhat of a jolt, but he is told that this procedure is necessary to "protect the government" in case of desertion. Then twenty cents a month is deducted for hospital fees although he was promised "free" medical attention. For a slight infraction of the numerous rules and "don'ts" a deck-court, composed of only one officer can fine the sailor from one to twenty dollars which is deducted from his next pay. A summary court martial composed of three officers may fine him his entire pay for three months in addition to confinement in the ship's prison. And although the United States government has agreed to pay him \$44 a month for four years unless sooner DISCHARGED by proper authority, the court may reduce his rank and pay to that of fireman, and still lower. Instead of discharging the man as per the articles, he is sent to the fire room or coal bunkers and compelled to serve at a lower rank and pay. Should he refuse to stand for this violation of contract and desert, a reward is offered for his capture. He has "dishonored his flag and country," and if apprehended is sentenced to a long term in prison.

"Pay day" is a perpetual thorn in the side of the navy man. He receives what money may remain due him at the will and pleasure of the captain and the leisure of the paymaster, although orders are issued from Washington to pay the men regularly once a month. These orders, like many others, are entirely disregarded by the captains. It is an old navy custom to pay on December 23, for that month so the men will have an opportunity to buy Christmas presents and send money to their families. But commanders of ships and sometimes of an entire fleet hold up the Christmas pay for no other reason than that of the section foreman who had his men lift a handcar off the track and set it back again half a dozen times, just to "show them who was boss."

Not long ago a fleet commander held up the Christmas pay day until a storm of protest went up from the business men of the town where the fleet was lying. They sent a protest to their representatives in Washington and an order came to pay the men at once. But the commander still held out, claiming that there had been delay in transmitting the treasury check for the money. Bankers of the town then immediately offered to advance the money and the officer, very much chagrined, was forced to pay his men. He seemed furious that the men were to have a happy Christmas.

About 35 cents a day is allowed for every sailor's rations, and this fund offers a tempting field for graft to the officers in

charge. While not all officials of this department are dishonest, the enlisted men are absolutely at the mercy of any pay officer if he chooses to graft. Food is supplied to the ships by (supposedly) competing firms. Definite specifications are laid down as to the quality of the provisions furnished. For instance, beef is required to be from the carcass of the male animal of about one year old, with the usual requirements as to being fresh, free from disease, etc. However, many contractors deliver to navy ships only meat that is unfit to sell in the open market. On many ships when liver, corned beef, or hamburger steak is served the men scarcely touch it. The odor is enough to drive them from the tables. It is perfectly plain that the officers who receive, inspect and have this inferior food served to the men, do not overlook the lawful requirements "for their health." The same conditions apply to fresh vegetables, fruits, and other perishable goods.

However rotten conditions may be there is no recourse for the men. A complaint is not only useless, but dangerous. There is a story in the navy of a man who took a bowl of coffee to the captain to complain for his mess of its quality. The captain sampled a spoonful and exclaimed: "That is excellent soup!" and punished the man for "making childish complaints."

Ships on foreign stations are often termed "mad houses" by their crews on account of the poor food and harsh treatment. So far from home the officers may practice any

#### A TORPEDO BOAT DESTROYER.

Life on Board Vessels of This Class Is so Dirty, Hot and Crowded as to Be Almost Unbearable. Every Year There Is a Fatal Boiler Room Explosion on Some Destroyer.

## ON THE RIVER GUNBOATS IN CHINA.

Here Men Lie for Three or Four Years, Absolutely Cut Off From Civilization, Half Fed and Wholly Abused, "Seeing the World," and Cursing the Day That Brought Them to a Recruiting Office.

form of savagery at will, knowing that the men are helpless.

While the battleship fleet was preparing for its cruise around the world thousands of young men were landed by the recruiting officers with wonderful stories of "Seeing the World." They were not told that men were wanted to PUSH THE SHIPS AROUND THE WORLD. Horrors of the fire rooms and coal bunkers were not mentioned. On a fleet of small vessels of the torpedo boat class that came around the horn, terrible suffering was experienced by their crews while in the tropics. These vessels are very small and being designed for great speed their engines, boilers and coal bunkers take up most of the space. Comfortable quarters are provided for the three officers and there is scant room left for the crew of seventy men. When steaming, heat from the fires render their decks blistering hot, the broiling sun overhead makes life unbearable for the men crowded together like a gang of Russian exiles.

One of these vessels was commanded by a lieutenant who is known by every man who served him as a monster. His crew was driven to desperation and at one time a mutiny was averted only by the fleet commander taking charge of the ship. This officer had his fire room force placed in

chains when they came off watch from before the fires. They washed the sweat and grim from their bodies under a hose with irons on their wrists and ankles; climbed into their narrow, dirty bunks still ironed, and were unchained only to go on the furnace doors again. This fiendish treatment was kept up for several days because the officer imagined his men were "bucking" him. Then he carried his cruelty to refined stages by placing awnings over the part of the ship occupied by the officers and leaving the rest exposed to the blazing sun. For days the vessel steamed with the wind and the burning cinders and hot soot from her funnels settled down on her decks forcing the men back into their stifling, breathless quarters. A few, bold enough to venture under the spread awnings, were told to "*Get out! you are too near the officers!*"

Medical attention on these vessels was restricted to a small medicine box. One surgeon was assigned to the entire fleet and often a boat would steam for days alone. A fireman died on this cruise under circumstances so revolting that the doctor who attended him was dismissed from the navy. Medical attention is given at the "leisure" of the doctors.

That the "Seeing the World" promise was bitter bait thousands of suckers learned

before they finished. Many of the men never set foot on shore except to carry a heavy rifle through the streets to be stared at, marching for miles in the heat and dust without anything to eat or drink and then returning to the ship.

When going into port if a man is entitled to shore leave and any officer on board happens to "not like his looks," he can have the man placed on report for any reason and keep him on board. Or he can tip the officer of the deck to "get" the man. There are a thousand and one reasons for the

officer of the deck sending a man forward just when he is all ready to step into the boat to go ashore. Shoes not shined well enough; not shaved closely enough; clothes not brushed; non-regulation hat; collar of jumper half inch too wide—anything, everything to "get" the man and show him who is boss.

Before a young man signs away his body and soul to the naval authorities he should ask the recruiting officer to allow him to examine the OTHER SIDE OF THE PAPER.

## UNITED STATES NAVY

### Recruiting Station

Pittsburg, Pa.

TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Gentlemen: I have read your article in the September issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW entitled "Fresh Bait—Ware Suckers," by Marion Wright, purporting to give a statement of the inability of the United States Navy to secure recruits. This article was evidently written by a woman, although the name "Marion" is occasionally used by the opposite sex. If a woman, she has no actual knowledge of what she writes, and if a man, he is willfully distorting facts.

I am not a commissioned officer of the navy. I did not receive my education at the "Snob Factory at Annapolis," as your article terms the United States Naval Academy. True, I am a petty officer—a little higher than a seaman—and what must be more damning of all in the eyes of the writer of your article, I am on recruiting duty in Pittsburg, Pa. I can, therefore, speak from the actual experience of an enlisted man of the life in the navy which you try to ridicule in your article.

Your article states that the navy is unable to secure men with the same ease as formerly. I admit it. But why? Formerly the navy was composed of sailing vessels; to man them sailors were required; men who were practical seamen, who could stand their trick at the helm and reef a sail in a gale. Twenty-five years ago, steam was not the factor it is today in ocean transport, sailing ships were abundant and men were easily secured to man the few ships we had at that time.

But now the navy is composed of massive steel fortresses, the latest ships carrying over 1,200 men. No longer is it necessary to be a

seaman to enlist. The navy wants mechanics; 48,000 are already enlisted, compared to the 14,000 years ago. Of course, it is harder to secure 48,000 men than 14,000. Why shouldn't it be?

Formerly the navy accepted nearly everything that came its way—even foreigners. Now we will not accept a man unless he is a citizen of the United States. He must have a common school education at the least, be absolutely perfect as to physical requirements, and thoroughly qualified as to his professional ability in the rating in which he may enlist. The navy could easily drop its strict requirements and enlist 100 where it now enlists ten, but it will not. We desire men only of proven character and ability. Every applicant must give references and swear under oath that he has never been in jail or reform school.

At the recruiting station at Pittsburg we have an average of six or eight applicants daily who fill out the application blanks. Usually there are about five others who come merely to inquire and receive booklets or information. Of these thirty-six or fifty-eight applicants weekly, we make about six enlistments. The others are rejected because we take only the physically, mentally and morally perfect. Every recruit has the rules and regulations of the navy carefully explained to him before he enlists. He knows just what he is to meet, and why. Every organization must have its laws. Some one must govern, or anarchy is the result.

You state as follows:

"He (the recruit) takes an oath to obey all 'lawful orders,' but another part of the navy regulations, *which he is not allowed to see,*

provides that as far as his opinion is concerned, any order given by a superior is lawful."

That paragraph is absolutely false.

The recruit takes oath to obey the lawful orders of his superior officers, but if he considers them unjust he may go to the commanding officer for an impartial decision of their merits. A "superior" is any one higher in rank than the person ordered, every one from the captain down is amenable to discipline. The navy regulations are posted all over the ship in frames. Over the drinking fountains, in the crews quarters, everywhere the man may go he is confronted with this reminder of his conduct. In every ship's library there are a number of copies of the "Blue Book" or Naval Regulations, and an enlisted man may and does draw these books and read them at his leisure. Thus, it is plainly seen that there are no parts of the regulations that are not made public.

The constitutional right of trial by peers is no more violated in the navy than in civilian life. Who has not seen in any city court room a judge (who is certainly not the peer of the accused), sending men to the workhouse without a trial by jury—not even stopping to hear the man's defense? Officers sit on court-martials and pass sentence. But this sentence must be forwarded to the admiral in charge of the fleet for his approval before it can be executed. If a sailor desires, he can appoint any member of the ship's company as his counsel, or he can secure the services of a civilian lawyer to defend him.

All officers are *not* educated at Annapolis. Paymasters, paymasters' clerks, surgeons and some marine officers are appointed from civil life. All these officers sit on court-martials. In addition a seaman can rise to commissioned officer. There are today several rear admirals who were once enlisted men. Twelve warrant officers are examined yearly for promotion to commissioned officer. So much for that.

Privacy is as much respected in the navy as in civilian life. Cleanliness is insisted upon as is necessary, if you consider that there are from 500 to 1,200 men living in such a confined space. If an officer sees a man in dirty clothing he sends him below to shift—if his own shipmates don't see him first and tell him to. There is nothing degrading about the

process. For instance, a certain style of haircut is required in the navy—the hair is cut round at the nape of the neck and the neck itself shaved. This gives the men a neater and more cleanly appearance when the low collars are worn. Many a time I have heard an officer tell a man to get his hair cut, and instead of the haughty manner which your article would have us believe all officers speak, the order would be given this way: "For heaven's sake, Jones, see the barber today. You're getting topheavy." And Jones would willingly comply. The officers in the navy are not all cads and men devoid of human pity as you would have us believe. I do not say they are all paragons of virtue either. Could the average working man say of his bosses that every one was required to be of strict moral character, of fine education and are born and trained to be gentlemen in every sense of the word?

I have not spoken of the pay and of the numerous trade schools maintained by the navy, as even your article is forced to admit that the pay is excellent and the chances to learn a trade very good.

One thing more before I close. Your article gives the impression that only officers are on recruiting duty. At the Pittsburg Naval Recruiting Station there are no officers. At the Cleveland station there is one lieutenant and a surgeon and eight enlisted men who do the actual talking to the recruit—the lieutenant doesn't see him till he is ready to take the oath. Out of sixty-five recruiting stations in the United States—not counting naval vessels and navy yards—there are twenty-two recruiting stations that have a commissioned officer in charge and *forty-three which have only enlisted men*. And in the recruiting stations where there are officers, the recruit meets the enlisted men first, hears the enlisted men's side and he knows they know of what they speak for they have been through the mill themselves.

I hope I have made this article clear, and I ask in the interest of justice, for which your paper stands, that you will give this letter as much prominence as the article to which it is the reply.

Yours sincerely,

R. K. DANFORTH,  
United States Navy.

# "NEGROES AGAINST WHITES"

By COVINGTON HALL

"THEY are trying to organize the negroes against the whites!" This has been one of the chief howls raised against the I. W. W. and the Brotherhood of Timber Workers by the Southern Lumber Operators' Association and its hired thugs and assassins to justify the hyena-like deeds they are now committing against the white workingmen who must, perforce, take the lead in the struggle now raging for the overthrow of peonage in the South. "Organizing the negroes against the whites!"

This cry is raised for several purposes; first, to distract the attention of all the workers from the vital questions at issue, to turn their attention from such gross, material things as higher wages, shorter hours and better living conditions in the camps and mill towns to loftier ideas and ideals, such as the effect of the "spiritual significance of white supremacy" on the whisky-soaked, fossilized brain of a gun-toting Democratic troglodyte, a human brute with whom no self-respecting negro would acknowledge his "social equality"; second, having failed to split it on craft, political, religious or other lines, to split the Brotherhood into warring factions on race lines, and thereby beat *all* the workers back into the old meek submission to peonage; third, an attempt on the part of the cave-men of capitalism to justify in the eyes of a world, that is already in revolution against their demoniac rule, the infamous and inhuman deeds that have been and are still being committed against the timber workers and their allies by the Southern Lumber Operators' Association and its thugs and gunmen.

And, first, second, third, fourth, to "Divide and Conquer."

That this is true is shown by the fact that right in the midst of the war, when the tom-toms of race prejudice were sounding their loudest and wildest alarms, John Henry Kirby and his gang have not hesitated to use black scabs against *white men* and white scabs against *black men* when they dared go on strike for human condi-

tions in the peon pens of the association. They have also used black thugs against black union men and more than one rebellious white worker, it is whispered, has met his death in the darkness of the night at the hands of a black gunman and vice versa.

More than once the association has thrown an army of gunmen around the "quarters" where lived its black slaves and dared the white peons, on the penalty of their lives, to so much as try to speak one word with them, for it was hard pressed and hard set against the "organization of the negroes against the whites," the only "whites," in this instance, seeming to be the Lumber Kings, their troglodyte managers, superintendents, foremen, suckers, gunmen and thugs. There were according to these "high born" gentry, evidently no "white" men in the union, though hundreds of them had white skins and were southern born for generations on generations.

And they were not *white* because they had grown tired of the "white supremacy" and "social equality" flim-flam, and set out to organize One Big Union of *all* the workers and overthrow peonage forever in the mills and forests of the South.

They had lost, thanks to the Socialist propaganda, the hallucination that the Lumber Kings cared anything about a lumberjack's color, race or nationality, and proceeded to organize as they were *worked*—*all together against the boss*, instead of all apart and for him as heretofore. This naturally sent the boss up in the air, and you can't blame the boss, for, for the first time in a generation the southern oligarchs saw their sacred stealings menaced by a uniting working class, which could not be tolerated; so all the methods of "chivalry" were called into play and the furies of hell turned loose on the "insolent," "upstart" workingmen and working farmers who dared to preach and were attempting to organize industrial democracy. Strange how those simple words, industrial democracy, sends the master and pimping classes into such hydrophobic anger!

But despite all the madness of the mas-

ters, all their murdering and slugging, the Union still pressed on its way, preaching and teaching the *solidarity* of labor, ever crying: "A *man's* life for *all* the workers in the mills and forests! Don't be a Peon! Be a *Man*."

Far and wide that cry is sounding on through Dixie—the shriek of the association's rifles at Grabow is echoing and re-echoing that message through the swamps, over the plains and up the hills, back into corners where otherwise it would have taken years for it to go, and the workers, startled from their slumbers, are asking each other in whispers: "Can it be?" "Is the New South, the South of labor, off its knees and on the march to union and victory, at hand?" "Is the dawn really breaking through the blackness of the long, long night?" It is, and there is no power that can stop it if our brothers of the North, the East and West will only stand by us as we

are trying to stand together, in the brotherhood of labor, regardless of color, nationality or race, in a stone wall of the toilers against the spoilers of the world.

*Now* is the time, not after the next election, for the negroes of the North to act. The boys in jail are there because they fought for *all* the peons, black as well as white. *Now*, and not tomorrow, is the time to save the lives and liberties of Emerson, Lehman, Helton, Burge and their associates. *Now* is the hour of vengeance and retribution in your hands; *now* is the chance and time for *all* the workers to rise against the southern oligarchy and through the might of the One Big Union, organize its cruel peon system off the earth forever. Clan of Toil, awaken; Rebels of the South, arise! Workers of the World, unite! You have nothing but your chains to lose! You have a world to gain!

# DEBS IN THE WEST

Unprecedented Crowds Eager to Hear Great Message  
from Gene's Lips

By ELLIS B. HARRIS

(Correspondence to The Call.)

**I**F THERE are any who questions that Socialism is coming and coming rapidly, a few days with the Debs party on their campaign tour throughout the great West would dispel all doubts.

North Dakota, Montana and Washington make manifest beyond question that the spirit of Socialism is abroad in the land; the hearts of the working class are being inflamed with a new hope by our propaganda.

We fully expected to find a lively interest taken in our campaign, and our expectations have not only been realized but we are amazed at the great amount of Socialist sentiment.

Debs is still the greatly beloved Comrade of old, and the entire trip is a continuous ovation.

At every stop-over place there is a host of old Socialists and many new ones waiting to escort the party to the hotel with automobiles or carriages, but they find that Debs is the same old lovable friend and companion and would rather walk surrounded by workers.

Beginning at Fergus Falls, N. D., the Socialists at every meeting place have displayed remarkable care, enthusiasm and ability in handling the great crowds surging in upon them, until it seems that every man and woman in the cities visited are fearful that they may miss this opportunity to see Gene Debs and hear the message of Socialism from its most eloquent exponent.

Every meeting has been a complete success, and when one considers the great mass of humanity to properly care for, the arrangements made, sale of literature, collections, etc., there is an unlimited tribute due the rank and file.

At Butte, Mont., the Socialist women had charge of literature sales.

At Spokane hundreds of Socialists were massed about the depot, and when Debs stepped from the train a mighty cheer resounded that could be heard blocks away. They then formed in line of march, fully 500 strong, headed by the Debs party in automobiles, and two Scotch pipers, whose music reverberated with the cheers of the marching Socialists as they wended their way through the crowded thoroughfares to the meeting place, where 3,000 people listened with rapt attention to Debs.

At Portland the Debs party was taken to the Portland hotel, one of the finest houses in the city. It is owned by the big-hearted and fighting ex-miner and former president of the Western Federation of Miners, Ed. Boyce. Through a lucky strike in a mining speculation, he is now a millionaire; but wealth has in no way changed his attitude toward the working class; he remains heart and soul for the emancipation of labor, and his welcome and hand clasp is still that of the rugged, open-hearted miner.

The opponents of Socialism did all they could to make our meeting a failure at Portland. The press was unfair in handling the advertising and broke its contract. There was a great labor picnic at one of the summer resorts, and to make matters worse, it rained most of the day. But the Socialists smiled through it all, determined and confident that their meeting should be a success, nor were they disappointed, for when Debs arrived at the great auditorium, 8,000 people awaiting him, rose to their feet and cheered, shouting his name until the huge structure fairly shook with their enthusiasm. The literature sales were large, and in addition to the admission fee a collection amounting to over \$100 was taken up.

At Oakland, Cal., it is a ride of two

miles to Pacific Park on the street cars; the meeting was held out of doors, and the night was so cold that we looked for nothing but failure, but 6,000 men and women were there who had waited an hour or more for Debs. When he arrived, he received the same tribute as elsewhere.

In addition to a paid admission of

from 25 to 50 cents, a collection of \$309 was taken up.

The whole western country is awakened to the merits of our cause. There are waiting, cheering, happy, smiling Socialists to greet us everywhere. They fully realize that this is "our year," and they are taking advantage of it every hour.

# The Truth About the Babies

BY DR. ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW

**Q**UITE recently many societies have been organized by philanthropists, social workers and physicians to spread knowledge on sexual matters among parents and children with the conviction that most of the sexual transgressions and sins are due to ignorance on that problem. This endeavor is certainly praiseworthy, but, just like in the anti-tuberculosis crusade, the error is committed of laying the whole responsibility upon the lack of knowledge. We Socialists realize that the present economic conditions, closely connected and expressed in the many narrow legal aspects of our present marriage system, are factors of greater importance, responsible for prostitution, sexual diseases and the long chain of misery in sex-life.

Still the importance of information on this question ought not to be minimized. Not only will it help us to conquer many perplexing problems of today; it will arouse us to the great need of the revolution to come.

While paving the way to economic freedom, leading to greater individual liberty, we must prepare ourselves for the great change coming and give our helping hand to our children, who have yet to spend their lives among the turmoil and ignominy of the present system.

The new generation is knocking at our door. We must be ready to meet its inquiries in every field of life, especially the most important and striking one, the field of sexual mystery. Sexual education of children is a burning question which troubles thousands of parents. While the scope of this article cannot cover all practical issues connected with the problem, it might be of assistance and guidance to some and serve as an introduction to a series of more practical discussions later on.

The question of sex relations and origin of life has always been a sound point

in the education of children. In that particular line of instruction children have been sinned against continually. But under the old regime of severe discipline and the healthy, invigorating country life of older days the child was less exposed to baneful influences than at present, where the street, the school, the moving pictures, open an entirely new vista of impressions and experiences.

Some parents realize the dangers surrounding their children, but utterly fail to find adequate means to counteract them; others do not comprehend even the far-reaching significance of the case and do not want to listen to facts describing the undercurrent of immorality in the lives of our children. Teachers who know more about such moral conditions of child-life dare not speak about it for fear of being misunderstood.

There is an element of impurity among school children which often does not stop at words only.

The little ones who transgress understand hardly what they are doing and are not to be blamed for it; they are only victims of tainted suggestions of older companions.

In their innocent desire for knowledge they turned at first to their parents with the old, old question: "Whence did I come? Where do little babies come from?" But their quest is in vain. At first they are told stories about "cabbages," "doctors' satchels," the store, the stork, then when it is evident that the eager little mind is not satisfied any longer with such "baby stories," father and mother try to postpone the answer, till slowly a conviction is formed in the mind of the child that something is hidden from him, which must be bad or vile, of which his own parents are ashamed. The child turns now to another source of information—either to an older child or a stranger—whose methods of instruction are usually so impure that the child

receives his first moral shock. The world will never be as pure and beautiful to him as before. But this is not all. Something worse has happened: The child has reached its first serious estrangement from its parents. It understands now why they tried to avoid its questions. Life's origin presents itself as something shameful and disgusting and the child hardly dares to meet the parents' eyes without the color of shame ascending into his face.

By and by it gets hardened, begins to seek the society of children who discuss such questions, and secrets kept from his parents becomes a natural state of affairs.

A quotation from Judge Julian W. Mack of the Juvenile Court of Chicago will prove my contention:

"What strikes one in juvenile court work is the amount of sexual wrongdoing among the very young; girls and boys from seven and a half years up; girls diseased at nine years of age; girls in groups at a school; one group of seven or eight girls, from ten to thirteen years, led by one girl, indulging with the boys in that school; another group of six or eight high school girls in a suburban town or in the country inviting boys to their houses, when their mothers were out."

He goes on to say: "But do not deceive yourselves for a moment; do not believe that it is only the children, we will say, in the stockyards district or some other district, whose people are massed together in great numbers because of their poverty, who do these things. They occur in the schools which your children are attending and on the streets on which your children are playing."

A boy in a high school near Boston, whose mother speaks frankly on these forbidden subjects, told me of discussions among schoolboys which are beyond description. I tried to supply his friends with healthy, decent literature, which was eagerly read. What astonished these boys more than anything else was that his parents talk to him on such matters. "I would not dare to speak with my mother about it," said one; "she would kill me." At the same time these boys had tried to prove to him that immorality is a natural

state, without any bad results, for "everybody is doing it." I found out that experiments were made by boys upon their sisters, who also did not dare to talk about "such things" with their mothers. We will never know the real intimate life of our children, unless we meet all their questions with frank and sincere response. No menace, no punishment, no harsh word will open the child's heart to you. Confidence is the most difficult gift to recover.

Let us confess that we also were brought up with very little knowledge on the sex question. In our times children were more sheltered from influences without and real life was not thrust upon us at the tender age of childhood, as it happens quite often now in our capitalistic state of society. The problem of sex relations is not quite clear to many of us; we look upon it as something unfortunately necessary, but at the same time beastly and degrading.

We have inherited this wrong conception probably from the ascetism of early Christianity, which in its time was a normal and healthy protest against the dissipations of the heathen world. We must shake off these prejudices; we must give access to the truth that sexual life is pure and beautiful, if not defiled by morbid and vile considerations. In extreme youth it awakens the poetry of life, the worshiping of the ideal; in riper years it evolves into the expression of spiritual harmony and happiness.

To free ourselves from prejudices we must plunge into the great mystery of nature. Here we find enough material to shape anew a normal and healthy conception on this subject.

The study of Biology presents to us the slow evolution of sexual life from its first crude appearance in cell form to the complex development work all psychological attributes of animal and human life; to follow this evolution is absorbingly interesting; every normal, healthy mind is carried away by the wonderful work of nature and no place is left for any morbid or low considerations. At the dawn of the creation plants and animals presented in their sexual activity but the crude physico-chemical attraction of dif-

ferent cells; forced by the struggle for existence to give better protection to its offspring, sexual relations attained a higher grade of development. The male and female are brought into close contact. The care for the future generation brings about mother and father love, the beginning of a home.

In human life the material and spiritual blend together and evolve in the highest forms of sex relations—passion and love.

Two qualifications are necessary, according to my experience, for the teacher or parent who intends to guide the child through the labyrinths of the sexual problem. First, the instructor must himself have a high and lofty conception of these relations; second, he ought to have some knowledge of biology to introduce to the child the subject of sex life in the spirit of scientific research, instead of morbid curiosity.

I am endeavoring in the next pages to point out in short how such biological information can be imparted to the child by easy accessible demonstrations and explanations.

It is only natural that every bright child should be curious about the sudden appearance of a new baby in the family. The dangerous question therefore is often proposed at a very tender age. While I believe that fairy stories and myths are of great help in the education of children, I strongly oppose them in connection with this question for obvious reasons.

The truth, that the child grows, develops in the body of his mother in a soft, warm little bag, should be told to the child at once. This revelation will not disturb the child at all; it will only increase his affection towards his mother. While the parents reveal to the child this wonderful story of the baby's life, they should not fail to impress the child that this little story must be kept secret. Quite often a child who announces to others this to him so beautiful and charming story is deeply vexed by ignorant persons, who see in such statement of a child a sign of moral depravity. This explanation will satisfy the child for a while. Soon the two questions, Why the baby grows in mother's body and how it

leaves its abode, begins to trouble its mind.

The parents must be ready to meet such inquiry by beginning their little stories of biology when the child is yet quite young. Some children will accept them at the age of six; others have to be more mature.

In dealing with the small child everything abstract ought to be avoided, as far as possible.

Examples of such plant and animal life ought to be given, of which the child has sufficient experience.

The fish depositing its spawn and milt in shallow water is an example easily understood by children, for every child has paid attention to the found ovi of the spawn, and they can be easily demonstrated in the kitchen. In telling the story how little fishes are brought into the world, the fact should be pointed out that the mother throws the spawn into the water and the male fish follows suit with the milt; that in the water the little ovi and sperms (tiny parts of the milt) unite, melt together; that out of this new little part the little fish is formed—at first only a large head and transparent tail to be recognized, slowly growing to look like all other fishes. (The New York aquarium is a splendid place to demonstrate this story.) I think it important that the words "ovum" and "sperm" should be used from the beginning. If the child is once used to have these words upon his lips in describing biological facts the same terms will keep their dignity when applied later on to human life. Here, then, the child is introduced to the presence of two elements in the creation of the offspring. After the story about fishes, the flower story can follow. "Where do the little seeds come from?" Like in the fish, two parts are needed, the stamen and the pistil. The stamen supplies the male (father) element, the pollen; the pistil is the mother, preparing the little ovi. The tulip or apple blossom or any plain flower can be used for demonstration. Here we can dwell upon the fact that the pollen bag enters into the little visible green ovary of the flower, melts like sugar in the ovum and is followed by formation of little seeds.

Here the importance of the wind and the bee in the promotion of plant life should be explained.

Artificial fertilization of plants can be demonstrated to some children. I mean the fact that the pollen of one variety of a flower can be carried to the pistil of another variety to produce a new flower. This would still more impress upon the child's mind the rôle of the two elements in reproduction. The great waste of valuable elements in the form of milt and spawn and pollen can now be pointed out: Millions of sperms and ovi of fishes are swallowed by larger fishes, millions of pollen bags are lost, carried away by wind or insects.

Also the fact that the little fishes and seeds are not cared for by their parents ought to be discussed. The tiny baby fish does not know his mother and has to take care of himself. Millions of these fishes are therefore destroyed and lost. It is good that each mother produces so many eggs. But it is a pity that such a great number is simply wasted.

The coming into the world of the little fish and flower is quite wonderful, but there are other ways, where nature proves more saving. Nature tried all kinds of ways and is improving all the time.

The mother bird has another way of bringing her little babies into the world. She has little ovi just like the fish and the flower, and the father has spermas growing in him, but instead of throwing them, like the fish, into the water or leaving them to the mercy of the wind or the bee, the male bird throws his sperm directly into the body of the female bird. There the little sperma swarm around till they reach the ovi, where they melt and from the two little bags the new little bird is formed. First it is so tiny one cannot see it, then it grows to a little speck. The bird is so small it cannot keep it for a long time in its body. It has to remove it from its body, "lay it," but it tries to protect it. A strong shell with a lot of soft food surrounds the tiny little speck, which is going to be the baby bird—and that is the little egg we know about.

Then we can describe how long it takes the mother bird to hatch the egg. All the dangers to which the eggs are exposed

should be mentioned to impress the child that this form of reproduction also has its drawbacks. Mother has to leave the eggs to get food, someone in her absence might remove the eggs and use them for food.

The egg should be demonstrated to the child in the state where the little chick appears as a little speck supplied with blood vessels. If an incubator is available, the child should be allowed to help about it till it sees the appearance of the chicken. The care of the incubator will furnish a good illustration as to the difficulties of protecting the egg and keeping it steadily at a certain temperature. The fact that the father introduces sperma into the mother's body will appear natural to the child as long as it comprehends the great principle of saving life-matter by it.

Now it can be pointed out that the father and mother bird know their offspring, also that the father bird knows well and is quite attached to the mother bird, and vice versa. That we find among birds a complete family life, a home, where babies are well taken care of by the mutual effort of father and mother. Many bird stories can be furnished to the children to illustrate these relations.

The rabbit and all other animals of that kind, called mammals, have a still better way of taking care of their babies. After the father rabbit has chosen his mate, the future mother, he pours his sperma into her body to give a chance to her ovi to unite with them and begin to grow. The rabbit-mother has a soft little bag, where she keeps the tiny little ovi, impregnated with the sperma. It takes them a long time to grow till they look like little rabbits, but all the time they lay sheltered in the body of the mother. The mother-rabbit has them always with her. Not for a moment are they left exposed all alone, and when at last they grow so big that it is too hard and heavy to carry them around, the babies are put out into the world and both rabbits take care of them till they grow big enough to be left alone. That is why it happens that a rabbit or a cat bring only five or six babies into the world and they all live, while a fish breeds millions and only a few are left alive. In the case of the fish

the babies do not get the care of their parents.

The cat and her kittens furnish plenty of illustration to the child as to the way the babies are carried in mother's body to be born and taken care of. Here it can be pointed out that some fathers in the animal world do care but little about their offspring, while others care more.

Every time a child has a chance to see the birth of any animal (kittens, dogs, calves, etc.) this chance should be given to him and the subject treated not with levity, as is usual, but with deep reverence. The child should get used to look upon the act of reproduction even in animals as a mystery to be admired. Animals which so often copulate in our presence should not be punished or treated with contempt. On the contrary, the act, which anyway is always noticed by the child, should be explained in a matter-of-fact voice, without the exhibition of embarrassment or needless shame.

When a little friend of mine, now a big, clean young man, was about twelve years of age, he was the happy possessor of a family of white rats. The mother had a litter of the most cunning little babies. She was self-sacrificing in her devotion and was dwindling away from the exertion of nursing a dozen strong little babes. At that time the father started to show sexual attention to her. The boy became very indignant. He discussed the question of protecting the mother from both babies and father in the most earnest way. No levity of tone could be discovered. The sexual act was recognized as a matter-of-fact affair, but his sympathy went out to the overworked mother, whom he separated from her flock and husband and thus probably saved her life.

This example I give only to point out that children accept sexual relations of animals, and later on men's, just in the spirit they are given to him. With older children different instruction can be followed. To them the idea of cell-life must be explained and then the sexual life of lower plants and animals described. The picture of the ovi and sperma of different animals should be drawn for them or pointed out in books, also the different stages of development of the animal and human being in the uterus.

If a child has acquired such knowledge gradually, under the guidance of parents or teachers, it will be prepared to accept the truth of the sexual life in man without any shock or embarrassment.

While ignorance in sex matters means a great deal in child life, it becomes of tremendous significance in the life of the grown-up boy and girl. The future responsibilities of a father and mother, the serious aspect of sex relations, should be deeply impressed upon them. The instruction must have the character of friendly discussions, not moral or religious persuasions, for only then the young man or woman will turn to the parents in time of trouble and misfortune. Nothing is more perplexing to the physician than the young girl in trouble imploring him to keep it a secret from her parents.

Many a daughter has turned in my presence to her mother with the bitter words: "It is your fault; you never told me anything."

There is a wrong conception in the mind of the public that a virtuous, innocent girl is prompted by intuition how to act in all kinds of perplexing situations; that her very innocence appeals to the chivalry of man.

I claim that the very modesty and ignorance of the girl is used as a weapon against her. Our young girls are exposed to unscrupulous advances in the shops, factories and streets; it is a question of the greatest importance to instruct them, for knowledge will be their best protector.

The pitfalls of life open to young boys in the form of prostitution is also worthy of deep consideration. The baneful results affect not only the man, but his wife and children.

It is a well-known fact that married women are just as much afflicted by sexual diseases as inmates of houses of prostitution. Thousands of children owe their blindness, their crippled limbs, their incurable mental affections, to the ignorance of their fathers.

We would not dream of permitting our children to study the laws of gravitation by experimenting upon themselves, but we consider it proper for our sons and daughters to learn the laws of sexual life

by personal experiments; we expose them to graver dangers, without a word of warning.

In conclusion, I acknowledge that de-

tailed instruction for parents is very desirable. My few suggestions I consider only as a stimulus for deeper and more thorough investigations.

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REGULAR SIDEHILL HARVESTER

## CAPITALIST FARMING

By GRACE SILVER

(Photos by courtesy of the Hold Mfg. Co., Stockton, Calif.)

**I**N the eastern states one of the pests most dreaded by the farmer is the "caterpillar." Whether or not this great engine derives its name from that many legged creature, certain it is that the giant caterpillar is annoying the small farmer more than any horde of crop destroying insects ever did. This eight ton monster is not spoiling crops; it is raising them. But it is wiping out the small farmer, because he can never hope to own it. Sooner or later the small freeholder must become one of the army of wageslaves who will guide the caterpillar, which they do not own, over the bonanza farms of some great land trust.

Your great capitalist, remember, is continually seeking new channels of investment for the dividends which labor produces.

Having gained control of the great producing industries, like coal, iron and oil, he then turns his attention to the retail trade. He acquires restaurants and department stores. He sells you your cigars and he also controls the milk supply of your cities. The caterpillar and its kindred machines give him another opportunity to invest the money wrung from labor. He will farm upon a gigantic scale. Land monopoly we have had for a generation, but the land has either lain idle or been rented to good American tenants—the landlord getting most of the crops. But today the great landholders are tilling their fields and the wise landlord realizes that he can exploit his tenantry still further by making wageslaves of them, and employing big methods of production. Modern invention has done

for the farming industry what had already been done in manufacture. The big machines make possible the factory farm. And those same machines render it impossible for the small landholder, or the tenant farmer, dependent on his own labor and two or three horses, to live at all.

The Caterpillar is the last word in traction engines. Its wheels run on an endless chain-belt, which in turn crawls over the ground. Where the old style tractor sank, mired and refused to work, the caterpillar glides along unchecked. It lays its steel tracks upon the shifting desert sands, doing work in places where no other power can be used. It will go down into the low delta lands, where the ground is too soft for men or horses to walk, and it will at one operation plow, harrow and seed six to nine acres per hour. Snow is no hindrance to its progress, and in the high mountains, where grades are long and steep, and the roads are rough, the caterpillar is hauling lumber, ores and other freight. Also, it will pull sugar beets. It does the harvesting, threshing and hauling, and between times it will do any other work that its owner may happen to have at hand. It will run the blacksmith shop or the farm packing house. It will furnish the power to bore artesian wells or to pump the water for irrigation purposes. Also, it will drain swamp lands. It will run flour, feed, or saw mills, barley crushers, or manufacture the ice used on the farm. If it

were attached to the latest improved milking machine, the caterpillar would not object to milking a hundred or a thousand cows after its day's work. In a word, it is more efficient than a hundred farm workers, goes anywhere and does anything, always obeys orders, works night and day, demanding no wages and no vacation, eats nothing when not working and, above all, never goes on a strike.

This is the machine that is leading the attack upon the small farmer. The wage-worker of the cities who, failing to get work, takes the advice of the capitalist politician and goes "back to the land" seldom secures any more of Mother Earth than will adhere to his clothes and person. If by any chance he does acquire a small piece of land he finds an eight-ton caterpillar there ahead of him. Not on his land, nor even, it may be, in his state; but none the less the great tractor is competing with him, flattening him out with the ease and facility of a Taft steam roller.

The homesteader with his few acres of beans, raised with aid of a sulky, or at most a three gang plow and horse cultivator must compete with the ten thousand acre bean ranch, where the tractor plows, harrows and plants at one operation, cuts, threshes, and sacks at another. The farmer who would cling to his individual holding must learn to live cheaper than the Asiatic,—he and his family must live cheaper than the caterpillar. Some are trying to do it

#### THE CATERPILLAR

This modern tractor lays its own roadbed and glides over soft reclaimed land, crosses deserts and alkali plains, climbs mountain roads and does all kinds of farm work.

yet. They claim that Socialism would destroy incentive.

The gardeners around Danvers, Mass., have long grown onions for the New York and Boston market. They often plant in rows too close together to admit of horse cultivation. They push little hand cultivators themselves and let the poor horses rest. With their small acreage and great amount of hand labor they will soon be compelled to compete with the onion kings of Texas who plant a hundred thousand acres of onions in a single block, and use power machinery exclusively. Perhaps they do not raise as many bushels per acre as the eastern gardener; certain it is that their profits, per bushel, or even per acre, are far greater than those of the Danvers growers.

The same thing applies to all other lines of garden truck. The "back to the land" apostle prates of the virtues of intensive farming, by hand labor, and ignores the fact that modern invention has made intensive methods possible on a million acre ranch. It is true that the great ranches do not produce as much, per acre, as some small farms and half-acre plots. The million-acre farm is not harrowed sufficiently. In many cases it is never fertilized. That is because it is more profitable to the owner to get his fourteen bushels of wheat per acre, at a minimum labor cost, than to double his expenditure for labor and increase his product by perhaps six bushels. He is not striving for a producing record; he is after profit—and gets it.

The big rancher of today is in the same position as the western cattlemen a few years ago. When urged by humane persons to feed their stock through the winter, the cattlemen replied that even if a third of their stock, or a half, starved to death, they could make more profit on those that survived than they could on the whole herd if they had to feed them in cold weather. When range land became scarcer, and the price of beef went up, the cattlemen became kind hearted and fed their stock. When the value of land increases, intensive culti-

#### BREAKING TULE JUNGLE

No other power, horses or engines, can traverse this mass. The Caterpillar not only does this, but also pulls a roller and ten disc plows, plowing ten inches deep.

vation will be profitable on the big farms. Today, land is cheaper than labor. The tractor is of course just as willing to pulverize the soil till it is like a seed bed, as to plow, harrow once, and seed.

Nearly everyone knows that wheat can only be grown profitably on a large scale. The New England farmer has long since forgotten what growing wheat looks like. But even wheat production has been cheapened in recent years. The combined harvester, drawn by 18 to 30 horses, is being replaced by the great steam harvester, which, with the aid of eight men, cuts, threshes, cleans, recleans, and sacks the grain, covering fifty or more acres per day.

It is not only the lack of the big machines which places the small farmer at a disadvantage. His ignorance of the science of agriculture holds him back. The great farms will pay as high as ten thousand dollars a year to a trained agriculturist. His work is entirely connected with the producing end of the business. Under his direction will work a soil chemist, who will analyze soils and prescribe for them. If fertilizer is to be used, there will be no guess work about it. Nitrate will be prescribed for one field, phosphate or potash for another. They will be used always at the right spot. The soil chemist knows what a soil should contain to raise corn, or wheat, or any other crop. At least two-thirds of the fertilizer used on the average

## HAULING SUGAR BEETS TO THE FACTORY

farm is absolutely wasted, because ignorantly applied.

The capitalist farmer of the future will know his land as well as a ship's pilot knows currents, winds and tides. That is to say, his trained agriculturist must know these things. He does not need to know anything. While he is enjoying himself in luxurious ease or traveling abroad, the caterpillar is doing the work, putting in the crop, harvesting it, and hauling it to railroad or seaport. Wage workers, from the high salaried agriculturist and business

manager down to the humblest servants of the tractor are furnishing the brains and skill and labor power to run his farm. They are producing the food, and marketing it, and then, after the manner of other wage slaves in the cities, they will turn the proceeds over to the idle capitalist. They will guard his interests zealously, seeing that no by-product of the farm goes to waste, that no source of profit escapes. They will turn the flax seed into oil before it leaves the farm, can the green corn, and the fruit in the master's own canneries, kill and pack

## STANDARD STEAM HARVESTER, REAR VIEW GRAIN SIDE

Twenty-two foot Header, with twelve-foot extension. Will cover from fifty to one hundred and fifty acres per day. It cuts, threshes, cleans, recleans and sacks the grain.

the master's sheep, hogs and cattle. They will manufacture their own ice, and furnish the electric light and power needed. And in return for doing all this, and more than this, our capitalist farmer will give them just enough wages to enable them to live and come back the next day to oil and guide the tractor.

One thing the caterpillar will do for the small farmer and the farm laborer. It will make it possible for them to organize. It will do for this class of workers exactly what the invention of power machinery did for the workers in the cities. Herded together by the hundred or thousand, working for the same master, they will discover that they belong to the great army of wage-workers, and they will for the first time understand the meaning of the class struggle. Capitalist farming is a necessary step toward Socialism in land. It makes our work very much easier.

Today the petty farmer who sees the tractor plowing 50, 80, or even 90 acres in a ten hour day, knows that his days as a freeholder are numbered. He knows that he has to add that to his other troubles, to his war with the railroads and the commission merchant and the middle man. He is not much afraid of losing his little farm, under this system or any other. He knows that he can't make enough on it to live, anyway. If he is an intelligent farmer, tenant or laborer, his only fear is that Socialism will not come quick enough to save him from—the caterpillar.

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# EDITORIAL

**A New Situation.**—The Socialist movement of America is today face to face with a new unexpected situation. Up to this year both old parties have been obviously and scandalously run in the interest of "predatory wealth," controlled by purchasable politicians in the interest of corporation magnates who wanted to use the government as a means for plundering the "common people." The Socialist party has been the only one to oppose and expose this system of bi-party rule in the interest of the big capitalists. Thus we have drawn many supporters from outside the working class—supporters who do not understand the meaning of the class struggle, and would be repelled if they did. These men have in many cases joined the party and helped shape its policies. Together with a few ambitious office-seekers and reactionary craft union leaders, they have in some states practically controlled our movement. Where they have done so, the "literature" circulated by the party has been such as to attract reformers and to repel revolutionists. Before the Socialist convention held last May there was some reason to fear that this element might succeed in placing the party on record as standing for mere reforms. Fortunately the delegates agreed unanimously on a platform which, while it enumerated many reform measures of more or less importance, closed with this declaration:

"Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

The wisdom of this stand became evident a few weeks later, when the National Progressive party, headed by Roosevelt, came out for a long list of reforms, many of them practically the same as our own. This new party will evidently elect many congressmen this year, and four years from now all signs indicate that either under its own name or by capturing the old Republican organization it will sweep the country. The newspapers supporting Wilson and Taft are in nearly every case

careful to avoid any direct opposition to these reforms. It is safe to predict that every session of Congress for several years to come will put some of them on the statute books. If, therefore, the enactment of these reforms were the one great mission of the Socialist party, we might as well disband now.

**Industrial Feudalism or Industrial Democracy, Which?** We have now industrial chaos. Out of "free competition" a small and powerful class of privileged lords has emerged, whose power has grown so great that at the present moment they have the rest of the people, wage-workers and little capitalists alike, at their mercy. The situation is intolerable, and reforms to relieve this situation are bound to come quickly. But what then? A shorter work day is good. It will improve the physical and mental health of the laborer. But with the shorter work-day will come new machinery and new methods of production. In a few years he will probably be receiving wages twenty or thirty per cent higher than now. But he will be producing fifty per cent more wealth each day than now. The chasm between worker and capitalist will not diminish but enlarge. The storage of flood waters and utilization of water power, the draining of swamp lands and irrigation of arid lands, the building of public roads, railways and water-ways are all good. They will all provide work for the unemployed at the time and they will increase immensely the productivity of future labor. But to whom will the product of that immensely efficient labor of the future belong? To the workers or to the owners? These reforms settle nothing; they only postpone the day of settlement. They clear the ground for the class struggle by eliminating all petty questions of graft and special privilege, for the new industrial feudalism which is almost here will merge all special privilege in one general privilege, the privilege of membership in the capitalist class. Petty grafts will be abolished in the interest of One Big Graft, the graft of the capitalist class, controlling alike a highly efficient system of industry and a

government run in the interest of the owners of that industry. And this One Big Graft will presently be confronted by One Big Union of revolutionary wage-workers, who want the earth and will be satisfied with nothing less.

**The Work of the Socialist Party.**—These changing conditions make it evident what must be the future development of the Socialist party. If here and there it attempts to rival the Roosevelt movement as a party of reform, it will fail ignominiously and will have to start again from the ground up. Its work is to educate the working class in the principles of the class struggle, and to organize the working class on the political field. In its educational work it will yet be forced to co-operate with all labor unions which are based on the class struggle and to oppose such unions as cling to the deadly falsehood of the identity of interests between capital and labor. With most of the legislative program of the Progressive party we can have no possible quarrel, except that it does not even hint at the great task of Socialism. Our elected representatives should be on hand to criticise each new reform measure as it is matured, and to point out how far it falls short of what the class-conscious wage-worker demands. But the most important task that our representatives will have will be to wage a vigilant fight for the right of all wage-workers and especially the wage-workers in pay of the government, to organize and to have a voice in determining the conditions under

which they are to work. Around this question the great battles of the future will be waged, and the Socialist party, if equal to the occasion, will be a vital factor in the coming victory of labor. "Let the Nation Own the Trusts" is a dead issue now. The nation will own the trusts, but who shall own the nation. The new issue, ever new though first voiced by Marx and Engels in 1848, is **Workers of the World, Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains and all the world to gain.**

**Now Is the Time for Campaign Work.**—A presidential campaign comes only once in four years. Questions of tactics and party policies can be discussed at any time, but the last few weeks before a presidential election is the one time when outsiders are most likely to listen to what we have to say about Socialism. We shall have matters of vital importance to settle when the new National Committee provided for by the new constitution meets in May, 1913. We must see to it that the committee as then reconstituted consists of clear-headed Socialists in close touch with the rank and file. But there is plenty of time for this, and very little time is left for the campaign. Let us for a little while forget the questions on which we differ and remember the things on which we agree. The Machine Process is making Socialists, whom a little education will develop into effective workers for the Revolution. Let us see that they get the education now while they are waiting for it.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**Australia—The Labor Party Making Soldiers.**—The famous "Defense Act" was first devised by the Liberals, then amended and passed by the Laborites. Its administration has been entirely in the hands of the labor ministers, so the Labor party has a right to whatever glory there may be found in it. All boys between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one are required to report for military training. During part of their time of service they are gathered into camps for regular drill; during the remainder they are expected to give to the noble art of war the time which would normally be devoted to recreation. In order to make this system possible the government of the Commonwealth voted \$60,000,000 to be expended within three years. Of course an elaborate staff of officers is necessary, and drill halls, barracks, camp-grounds, etc., must be maintained throughout the Commonwealth.

The leaders of the Labor party point to this system as the ideal sort to be maintained by a nation under the control of the working-class. English and French Socialists are constantly advocating a proletarian army for defense against attack by a foreign power. Such an army the Australian government leaders claim to have established. Mr. Fisher, head of the Labor government, referred to it recently as a "wonderful system for the defense of this country."

And yet working men and women of Australia do not seem to take kindly to this "wonderful system" inaugurated by their own government. Immediately after the "Defense Act" went into effect the papers were filled with tales of boys who refused to report for service and of parents who refused to allow their sons to do so. Groups of mothers went to the magistrates and made public protests. Labor unions and Socialist locals passed resolutions calling upon members of the working-class to refuse to submit. And, most powerful appeal of all, the boys themselves sent out addresses calling upon others of their own age not to sub-

mit. Some of these were evidently inspired by Socialist parents, but there were others which represented the spontaneous rebellion of boyhood against the slavery of military service. Incidentally these appeals gave pictures of conditions in the barracks and drill halls, pictures not at all calculated to inspire enthusiasm among decent minded parents.

As a natural accompaniment to this storm of protest and refusal to serve there has been determined legal prosecution of boys and parents. All over Australia boys between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one are being dragged into court and fined or imprisoned for refusing to serve as cadets. A boy who thus refuses can be laid hold of, under the terms of the law, by the military authorities and taken before a magistrate. The magistrate has the choice of fining, imprisoning, or turning him over to the military authorities to be forced to drill. Thus Australians have enjoyed the pleasant spectacle of scores of their boys lying in jail among criminals or being forced to learn the war game against their wills.

The act has been in operation for a year now, a length of time which should give ample opportunity for sizing it up. In response to demands from various labor organizations, the Minister of Defense has recently published a report which justifies its severest critics. It appears that the government has been able to corral only 82 per cent of the youths reported to be of proper age for cadet service. Nearly a fifth of the boys of Australia, then, have been able to resist the charms of uniform and sword. For a scheme of popular defense this much-advertised one has evidently worked very badly.

Where lies the trouble? Many of the workers of Australia, like those of any other civilized country, would fight against any military system; this particular system, however, lacks the two chief characteristics which might commend it to members of the working-class.

Any military organization which asks the support of the workers must be demo-

cratically organized and absolutely committed to the policy of fighting only against a foreign aggressor. Under no circumstances must its use be permitted in case of internal difficulties. Such use would make it immediately the agent of a class.

Even such a system as this, supposing it to exist, would be bitterly opposed by large numbers of workers. The working-class does not by any means stand committed to any plan of national defense. Many of its members are able to reason far enough to discover that without aggression there can never be need of defence. And it is extremely doubtful, moreover, whether any military organization could be permanently maintained on the principles of democratic organization and exclusive use against foreign aggression. How long would an army remain democratic after its privates had become saturated with the military spirit? How long would it maintain its democracy in the event of actual military operations? Or, to look at the other side of the case, who can tell in the midst of popular excitement and governmental misrepresentation who is the aggressor in case of international complications? Or, more serious still, who can promise that a force, once organized, will never in the uncertain future be turned against an internal foe of the government? The working-class has reason enough to set itself against any and all military schemes.

But the particular scheme inaugurated in Australia lacks both of the characteristics which might appeal to the working-class. It is not democratically organized. Its officers are regular army men, no better morally or intellectually than such men usually are. One of the things the boys object to most strenuously is being placed under the absolute authority of such persons. There are plenty of nasty stories afloat to indicate that their influence is just what would be expected. And even if the officers were above reproach, no member of the working-class could contemplate with satisfaction the spectacle presented by a son being taught to obey orders without reason or chance of protest.

And with regard to the possible uses to which the new military force may be

put, the case stands no better. It is true that the Labor party majority amended the original Act to provide for the mobilization of the army only for defence; it is also true that the Labor government recently refused to send troops to aid in putting down the tramway strikers at Brisbane. But the parliamentary discussion which followed this latter incident makes it clear that much is to be feared for the future. The whole matter is clearly set forth editorially in the *International Socialist*.

Mr. Deakin, leader of the Liberal opposition, declared that troops should be used to suppress insurrection, "and if ever there was insurrection in Australia, it was in Brisbane." As the editorial writer takes occasion to remark, this declaration shows clearly that whenever the Liberals come into power, which they surely will do sooner or later, the "wonderful" proletarian army will be turned against proletarian strikers.

And Mr. Fisher's reply was even more alarming. He said: "I go so far as to say that a conflict between the troops and the people of Australia at the present time would mean the end of our first-class defence system. It would absolutely defeat and destroy the wonderful system for the defence of this country which is being successfully inaugurated at this time. I am not saying that circumstances could not arise when it would be necessary to send troops to the assistance of a state government, but I mention what, in my opinion, would have been the effect if we had acceded to the request of the Queensland government." There you have it. The reason troops were not sent was that sending them at this particular time would open the eyes of the people as to the nature of the "wonderful system," and it is quite possible that circumstances may arise under which "it would be necessary to send troops" against Australians on strike. So the proletarian army is not exclusively for purposes of defence against a foreign aggressor.

No wonder Australians object to being made soldiers of, even by a Labor government.

**England—The End of the Dock Strike.**—During the last days of July the tragic struggle of the London dockers came to an end. The fight had lasted ten weeks; it had entailed unspeakable suffering; it ended in defeat. Nevertheless, English capitalists find little comfort in the contemplation of it, and English workingmen are not discouraged.

The strike was lost for lack of solidarity. The very men who stood together and won a year ago failed to get together this time—and lost. The crafts connected with London dock work, such as lightermen, stevedors, teamsters, etc., are united in an "amalgamation." When the strike started some of the individual unions responded magnificently, others failed to do so. And when the "general" strike was called it proved to be flat failure. Englishmen again witnessed the deplorable spectacle of union railwaymen transporting goods handled by non-union dockers and carrying scabs to London to break the strike. The result shows the amalgamation to be ineffective and the craft spirit still a stumbling block in the way of the English working class.

On the other hand, English capitalism has never before been placed in so unenviable a situation. Here was a strike involving a hundred thousand men and many hundreds of thousands of women and children. The funds of the unions amounted to practically nothing. Almost from the beginning the families of the strikers were dependent on the efforts of Socialist and union organizations. The employers, led by Lord Devonport, have known this and depended upon it for victory. So certain have they been of success that they have flouted the government. When, in June, the transportation of foodstuffs became impossible, the government appointed a commission to investigate the grievances of the men. The strike, it will be remembered, was first called on account of the employment of a non-union foreman. After it had once been called, however, occasion was taken to demand the abolition of a long list of wrongs. The chief of these was a wage scale which did not come up to the one formally agreed upon after last year's strike. The government commission reported that the men were right in five out

of seven of their contentions. The government then submitted a compromise scheme; the men immediately agreed to it; the employers turned it down. They had the men where they wanted them, and they were bent on making the most of it.

Well, the women and children starved, and on July 29 the fight was called off. There was a good deal of bad feeling. After the order to return to work was issued a good many of the men refused to return. Now they have gone back, as many of them as have been taken on. They face the old conditions, and worse. Their employment is to be merely casual; the employers have now the right to call on the hordes of unemployed non-unionists who swarm about the docks. The strike has been lost and nothing has been gained.

Nothing has been gained, that is, so far as the present position of the London Transport Workers is concerned. The English working-class has gained a good deal in knowledge of the English capitalist class, especially of the liberalism of the Liberal wing to which Lord Devonport belongs. The capitalists fought the battle of the jungle with bared claw and fang. They fought united and they fought to kill.

It remains to be seen whether the Transport Workers have learned the lesson of organization which lies plainly written in the events leading up to their defeat. Some writers, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, for example, use the occasion to minimize the value of strikes and unionism in the upward struggle of the workers. Others urge the men to form a real union of Transport Workers; while still others urge the Socialists to make use of the opportunity afforded by the awakened class-consciousness of the defeated men.

Whatever may be the formal changes resulting from the transport strike, there is no doubt whatever about the spirit which unholds the men in their moment of defeat. Comrade John Sourr well says of them, "Such men as these are never beaten. They have merely retreated. We organize to fight again until we win."

**Germany, Socialism and the High Cost of Living.**—During the past month we have heard a good deal about the high cost of living in Germany. It happens that the cost of living is mounting all over the civilized world. In looking over files of working-class papers from the various nations the thing one cannot but discover is that the poor of every particular nation feel sure their lot is worse than that of all the others. The English worker is so badly off that he cannot help thinking the German must have a little better time of it, a little more to eat and a slightly better house. And so the German with regard to the Englishman. Working-class conditions have bred a kind of inverted patriotism. Instead of thinking our country the best, we come pretty near to thinking it the worst. Just now the truth of the matter is that the cost of foodstuffs has gone up all over the world. Or, to put it another way, real wages have gone down. Measured in things to eat and wear the income of the working-class the world over has decreased and is still decreasing.

But it is the high cost of living in Germany that has caught the attention of the world. And as usual there is a reason. On August 27 the Executive of the Social-Democratic party issued an appeal to the members to make this matter of the cost of living a national issue. Even before this call reached the public German Socialist organs had been filled with facts and figures calculated to open the eyes of the workers to what is happening to them.

For example, the fact has been well advertised that during the past ten years the average cost of meat has advanced very nearly fifty per cent. This brings prices abreast of our own. The result is that many families go without meat entirely. In many others the man, as the wage-earner, has meat to eat while wife and children live on cheaper food. Even government investigations have shown that under these conditions a large section of the German population is going under-nourished.

Now it happens that in Germany the immediate causes of the rise in the price of meat is of such a nature as to rouse special antagonism among the people.

The government is chiefly under the control of the Conservative party, the party whose policies are shaped by the great land-owners of Prussia. In the interest of these land-owners a high tariff is maintained on all importations of meat or fodder. Since the population of Germany has increased much more rapidly than the capacity for producing meat cattle, the prices have, of course, advanced. The people have paid high or gone without meat; the agrarian lords have got the money they were after. It is a clearly proved fact that the increase goes, not to the retailers, but to the feudal producers and the largest wholesalers.

What the Socialists demand is that the government face the high cost of living as a great national issue. In order that this may be done, they contend, a special session of the Reichstag should be called, the tariffs on meats should be removed and such other measures should be taken as promise to do away with the artificially-inflated prices.

Whatever may be thought of this move as a method of agitation, there is no doubt about the fact that it has already got hold of public attention. The government has got so thoroughly scared that one hears nothing anywhere but chatter about the high cost of living.

**Belgium, Preparations for the General Strike.**—The committee in charge of the proposed general strike for universal, equal suffrage in Belgium is making an active campaign. On August 2, it published a manifesto "to the population." After explaining the value of an equal suffrage to the working-class this document goes on to state that so great is the popular majority in favor of it that even the Clericals do not dare oppose it openly; "But if," it continues, "the party in power refuses to bow to the popular will, what means remains to overcome its resistance? Shall we wait for another election to defeat it? Experience has shown that this party (the Clerical) is sure to come off victorious, thanks to fear, thanks to fraud, thanks especially to our plural system of voting which permits the rich to fill the ballot-boxes with extra ballots. The proletariat does not intend to play on at a game in which the cards are stacked against it. It will

have recourse to its last resources; if justice is refused, the workers will refuse to work." In conclusion, the working-class is called upon to begin preparations for a general strike to last five or six weeks.

Ten days later there appeared a second appeal. There have been two general strikes in Belgium: in 1893, two hundred thousand men came out, in 1902, three hundred thousand. The strike for suffrage, if it is to be effective, must involve five hundred thousand who are prepared to remain out for six weeks. In order to prepare for this great demonstration

workers are urged to join their unions, buy of the coöperatives, and save their money for the day of need. Already a list is being prepared of the names of those willing to care for the children of strikers.

Of course all these preparations can be scanned by the employers. No doubt they will be able, when the time comes, to guess the date of the calling of the strike. What preparations are they making? Will they slip the word to the politicians to allow the suffrage bill to go through?

If you bought your copy of the **REVIEW** for ten cents from a Socialist hustler who paid five cents a copy for a bundle of twenty or more, and if you have observed that it contains just about half as much reading matter and pictures as you can buy for 25 cents in one of the big capitalist magazines like *Current Literature* or the *American Review of Reviews*; if, moreover, you have observed that those magazines have a big income from commercial advertising, while we have scarcely any, you may have wondered how we can afford to do it. The answer is that we can't. The money we get from the sale of copies in bundles barely covers the cost of paper, printing and binding, together with the office work involved in handling the bundle orders. For the cost of the pictures and the editorial work we must depend on those who pay a dollar a year for their subscriptions, and who send the dollar direct to this office, so that we have no expense for premiums or commissions. We are now losing about \$200 on every issue of our hundred-page **REVIEW**. If we had 500 additional subscriptions each month at the **FULL PRICE** of **ONE DOLLAR** a year, the margin above cost on the filling of these subscriptions would just about make us even. If **YOU** want the hundred-page **REVIEW** to continue, send us a **NEW** yearly subscription with a dollar this month, and next month, and the month after.

# LITERATURE

*Readers of the Review will please observe that Charles H. Kerr & Company sell only their own publications, and can not undertake to supply books of other publishers nor to answer questions about them.*

**The New Democracy.**—An Essay on Certain Political and Economic Tendencies in the United States. By Walter E. Weyl, Ph. D., New York: The MacMillan Co.

Of special interest as showing the author's method of reasoning is his chapter on "Democracy and the Class War." He argues that "in America the old doctrine of a class war between two classes must of absolute necessity be given up by the Socialist party and must fail of adoption by other parties." This conclusion is based on the assumption that the bulk of workingmen and small farmers are everywhere enjoying prosperity; that the proletariat does not consist solely of the propertyless nor even of wage-earners; that rising wages, savings, and the actual ownership of the means of production do not take a man out of the proletariat; and that, hence, the alignment of the class war is rapidly disappearing.

It is evident that Dr. Weyl does not get his idea of prosperous workingmen from the mill slaves of New England and the South, nor from the timber workers of Louisiana. The Atlantic transport workers, the "Wops of Kenosha," and the coal miners fighting in the hills of West Virginia against the plug-uglies of Senator Elkins may all be counted enthusiastic zealots of the New Democracy because of the hot, passionate love and tender oneness of interests which they feel toward their brother capitalists. There can be no class war when bricklayers and carpenters own their own tools of production. The majority of day laborers in the big cities own their own shovels, and, therefore, cannot be numbered in the ranks of any class war. The fact that they lack such luxuries as automobiles, yachts, cottages at Newport and villas on the Riviera is no bar to their membership in the New Democracy nor does it operate against their "common interest in the social surplus." Dr. Weyl deserves much credit for the phrase, "a common interest in the social surplus." It has a satisfying sound, more poetic and cosmic than any mere mention of beefsteaks and clean linen. Heretofore, we had looked upon democracy as the last

word in capitalist development, the most perfect system of exploiting the workers by deceiving them with the illusion of sovereignty. Now, thanks to Dr. Weyl's illuminating phrase, we learn that a common interest in the social surplus is wiping out class distinctions in America. We are all stockholders in the social surplus, and we receive our dividends in the form of a deepening national consciousness which is much more nourishing than beer and pork chops. Love is more desirable than beer, and "blessed words" survive long after pork chops have finished their ignoble passage through the alimentary canal. Wherefore, beloved brethren, let us cease from the degrading bickerings of class war and turn our thoughts and energies toward our common interest in the social surplus.

R. M.

**What Is Socialism?**—An Exposition and a Criticism. With Special Reference to the Movement in England and America. By James Boyle, Private Secretary to Governor William McKinley, Etc. New York: The Shakespeare Press, 1912.

Instead of building up an answer which would have the merit at least of showing the common factor of Socialism, the author produces a patchwork shanty of the rusty tin cans which he has gathered from the rubbish heaps of every economic camp from Plato to Roosevelt. Applying his method to Christianity, for example, one would have to begin with the Essenes as forerunners, wade through the differences of the Petrine and Pauline factions, and study the hair-splitting controversies of the Gnostics and Arians. Scotists and Thomists, Hussites and Lutherans, Protestants and Catholics, Greeks and Romans, Jansenists and Modernists, Unitarians and Trinitarians, High Church and Low Church, Conformist and Non-Conformist, Ritualist and Evangelical, Quakers and Holy Rollers, Seventh Day Adventists and Fire-and-Sword Puritans, Witch-Burning and Inquisitions all run together into a jumble from whose tangle it would be impossible to draw a central idea of Christianity. Mr. Boyle announces that his aim has been to present a popular and impartial exposi-

tion of Socialism. His impartiality is that of a San Diego prosecuting attorney and the popularity of his exposition is of the sort which finds favor in Grabow, Louisiana, and among the stockholders of the International Harvester Company. He offers a concluding chapter of criticism to the effect that Socialism could never be established and never be administered. The arguments which he uses have been smashed into so many pieces that one is compelled to marvel at his patient ingenuity in gathering the countless scraps and gluing them together again. Books of this sort are one of "the wastes of labor" which Socialism is designed to eliminate.

R. M.

**Social Evolution and Political Theory.**—By Leonard T. Hobhouse, Professor of Sociology in the University of London. New York: The Columbia University Press.

The attempt to apply the conclusions of Darwinism to society has given to the opponents of Socialism their most plausible weapon. If the social organism is to be considered as subject to the general broad laws of biology, the struggle for existence must be taken as operative throughout the aggregate of men. The survival of the fittest will then find expression in a ruling class and the inequalities between workers and shirkers will be biologic rather than economic. No escape offers itself from the finality of the Christian pronouncement, "The poor ye shall have with ye always." Natural selection must inevitably result in plutocrat and proletariat.

Professor Hobhouse, while holding no brief for Socialism, has made it very clear in the second chapter of his book that the process of betterment does not depend on the naked struggle for existence. He points out that "the factors which determine the survival of physical organisms, if applied as rules for the furtherance of social progress, appear to conflict with all that social progress means." He shows that social development is something quite distinct from the organic changes known to biology. In a general way he reaches the same conclusions in this regard as those which have been so cleverly worked out by Enrique Lleria in "Super-organic Evolution." Though there is much in the rest of his book with which we cannot agree, the chapter in

question is of great constructive value. We commend it to the careful study of Socialists who find themselves at a disadvantage when wrestling the Darwinistic argument in behalf of the present system.

R. M.

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ADDRESS

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

## To the Membership of the Socialist Party

**C**OMRADES:—I want it distinctly understood that at the meeting of the N. E. C. to receive the report of the investigation of Referendum "C" by Comrade Charles Edward Russell, I voted to accept his report as to evidence and facts. I also made an amendment to a motion offered by Hillquit, wherein I proposed to accept Comrade Russell's conclusions. (These are printed in our news and views department.—Ed.)

First. Inasmuch as Comrades Till Warburton and E. R. Meitzen declare absolutely that Comrade Till Warburton gave to Comrade E. R. Meitzen full authority to sign the name "T. Warburton" at the end of the original motion and comment, no charge of forgery in connection with the motion can be sustained.

Second. In spite of irregularity in the proceedings, that elsewhere at least might raise the question of validity, there is no evidence of any fraud in connection with the motion.

Third. I therefore report that I can find no basis for the charges that "Referendum C was conceived in fraud and forgery." But I beg leave to add that I cannot avoid the reflection that a little more candor and a little more comradely confidence would have obviated this inquiry and all the expense of time and money that it has involved, and it is equally clear to me that the candor and the confidence that befit Socialist comrades would have been deserved here as elsewhere, because no suspicion of evil, if such there have been in any way connected with this matter, seems to have been justified. (Signed) CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

My amendment was defeated. In opposition to Comrade Russell's conclusions there has been presented to the party what purports to be the conclusion of the National Executive Committee which reads as follows:

"5. The motion for the recall of Comrade Barnes was, as a matter of fact, not initiated by 'Local Branon, Texas,' or by any local of the Socialist party.

"It was set afloat as part of a private scheme of Comrades E. R. Meitzen, E. A. Green and W. S. Noble, who worded it, signed it and sent it to the national office, and followed it up by issuing a circular letter to all locals of the state of Texas, over their own signatures, soliciting seconds for the so-called motion of 'Local Branon.'

"The National Executive Committee brands the proceeding as a fraud and imposition upon the Socialist party, and denounces the methods employed in securing Referendum C as dishonest trickery, not to be tolerated within the Socialist movement."

As a member of the N. E. C. I want you to know that I did not vote for, nor was in any way a party to this statement drafted by Hillquit and Spargo and submitted to the membership as the findings of the N. E. C. This statement does not express my belief or opinions as is proven by the fact that I voted for Comrade Russell's conclusions. The so-called findings of the National Executive Committee are certainly astounding in view of the fact that they directly contradict the findings of Comrade Russell, who was named as the result of a motion made by Hillquit.

I am personally acquainted with comrade E. R. Meitzen, Ed. Green and W. S. Noble, and I do not believe that these men are guilty of dishonest trickery, private scheming or fraud as alleged.

I want to go on record as saying that for straightforward manliness, honesty of purpose, and comradeship, I will cast my lot with men like E. R. Meitzen, Ed. Green, W. S. Noble and Charles Edward Russell in preference to those members of the N. E. C. who drafted and adopted the so-called findings of the N. E. C. that I now protest against.

Fraternally,

WM. D. HAYWOOD,

Member National Executive Committee of the Socialist party.

**Debs in Portland.** Despite the great counter attraction planned by the A. F. of L., in the form of a monster picnic and also that of the M. & M., to counteract the A. F. L. affair, the Debs meeting proved to be the greatest demonstration ever witnessed in this city.

The day opened with a cold drizzling rain, continuing almost till noon, which turned the picnic ground into muddy sloughs, thereby putting the quietus to the open air attractions.

It cleared long enough to permit us to conduct our parade and then a veritable rainstorm broke loose effectually killing all ideas of a picnic as well as the numerous excursions which had been planned for that day. "Surely the Lord was with us."

The great auditorium rapidly filled up and when that faithful servant of labor was escorted to the platform to strains of the familiar "Marseillaise," 7,000 people arose to greet him.

In the course of a two-hour address he

flayed the pseudo Socialist "Bull Con" Party unmercifully not forgetting Taft and Wilson, finally concluding with an eloquent plea for Women's Suffrage.

Not the least feature of the meeting was that we cleared over \$500, which enabled us to wipe out our deficit and leave a handsome balance with which to buy literature for free distribution during the campaign.

That the workers of this city demand clear cut revolutionary literature was evidenced by the fact that more than 300 REVIEWS were sold during the meeting, while for the two days prior to this event as many more were sold.—M. E. Dorfman, Fin. Secy.

**Fifty More.** In addition to twenty September REVIEWS sent me enclosed find \$2.50 for fifty more. It's a good number and a fine cover design.—Comrade Allen, Palmer, Mass.

**Harry Sible** of Canada, the well known literature salesman, broke all his own records this month by selling 500 copies of the September REVIEW.

**Knows a Live One.** State Secretary Bentall (of Illinois), knows a live wire when he sees one. June 1st he sent Comrade W. A. Diebold, who has long been running one of the best of our western speakers a close second, down through Illinois to hold campaign meetings. In spite of twenty-two days of rain, Diebold sold over \$60 worth of literature during June and over \$65 worth in July. Many locals wrote in to the state office to say young Diebold had held the best street meetings ever pulled off in their towns and nearly every local has insisted upon having a return date. Comrade Diebold is a graduate from the Tom Lewis Soap Box School and knows what he is talking about. At every point he leaves sound socialist literature in the hands of those interested. We wish to there were more like him in every state.

**Muscatine, Iowa**—I bought 20 copies last week and on Labor Day I went to Moline, Ill., and I sold the whole blame shooting match. I must have a few more to sell to the local comrades.—Lee W. Lang.

**For No Compromise**—Recognizing the fact that Keir Hardie is not a member of the British Socialist Party and that he repeatedly denied the class struggle and that the Independent Labor Party, of which he is a member has time and again supported and worked with the Capitalist Liberal Party, the 21st Ward Branch of Chicago with 135 members in good standing passed the following motion: "That the 21st Ward Branch take no part in any meeting addressed by Keir Hardie" and an amendment also carried stating that "We do not endorse Keir Hardie as a speaker in the Socialist Campaign."

**A Live One**—Comrade James M. Reynolds of Blue Rapids, Kansas, sends in a bunch of six subscriptions closing with the following: "I want to say if I can get a man to read the REVIEW it makes a solid Socialist of him."

**Important Notice.**—Philadelphia, Pa., and Camden, N. J., comrades can have the REVIEW

delivered to your homes each month by your regular paper carrier if you will write to Chas. Marks, 1305 Arch street, Philadelphia, Pa., Room 10.

**From New Jersey**—The comrades like the get up of the REVIEW, type, paper and pictures, and I guess they like the uncompromising spirit too. Increase our order to twenty copies per month, which is just four times what we began with last December.—Geo. Whiteside.

**From a Queensland Socialist**—Place me on the next twelve months. Yours for the Revolution.—E. H. Kunze.

**Miners Interested.** Comrade Chadwich, of Wyoming, Superior, writes enclosing check to pay for a big bundle of REVIEWS, for one year. He says, "Miners who do not even belong to the party are interested in the REVIEW and we believe it is a great educator to the working class." That is the kind of talk that makes us feel good clear down to the ground.

**From a "Shovel Stiff."** Comrade Butler of Eureka, Cal., writes: "Allow me to say that the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is by far the best Socialist publication I ever saw, and you are taking the right course. Stick to the revolution and let the Hillquits, the Spargos, etc., get into the Bull Moose party where they belong. We don't want anybody to lead the working class. They have been led too much already. We don't want anything handed down from above, and will never get anything handed down to us except lemons. We want to join hands and TAKE what is ours on the industrial field. Let the pitiful cowards who go into hysterics over the words 'Direct Action' go and hide under the bed."

**A Big Order from a Little State.** The Socialist Party of Rhode Island has given us a record-breaking order for books, to be sold at campaign meetings between now and election. The order is for 5,000 twenty-five cent books, including Vail's Principles of Scientific Socialism, Kautsky's The Class Struggle, Spargo's The Common Sense of Socialism and Richardson's Industrial Problems. We furnish these books at \$75 a thousand, so that the Rhode Island comrades, after paying freight, will make a profit of over \$850 toward the expenses of their meetings. This is an illustration of how the sale of literature by Socialist organizations works. Instead of being a drain on the resources of the Local and of its individual members, it is a help. The cost of the literature is paid by the people whom we are reaching with our message. They get their money's worth and are ten times as likely to read the literature as they would be if it were given to them free. The profit goes to the party. Our publishing house charges the party barely enough to cover the necessary expenses of printing and circulating the books.

**FARMS WANTED.** We have direct buyers. Don't pay commissions. Write describing property, naming lowest price. We help buyers locate desirable property Free. American Investment Association. 30 Palace bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.

Haywood at Uniontown, Pa.—Under the auspices of the Socialist Party, Fayette County Local, William D. Haywood addressed the largest audience ever assembled to hear a socialist speaker in Fayette county. Haywood had been advertised in the usual manner—no extraordinary efforts had been put forth. The services of the transportation companies were kept down to the minimum. The park management was unprepared for the entertainment of the crowd. With five capitalist daily papers in this county, none of them even referred to the fact that this meeting was to be held. Neither did they refer to the fact that it was held, and was the biggest success ever made in this county.

But the people got to the park just the same. They began arriving at 12:30 and kept coming until 4:30 by rail, automobile, horseback, on foot—well, they just got there some way, and what a crowd it was! It was a quiet, orderly, patient and a determined crowd, men and women and a few children. It was a representative crowd, too, well proportioned. The exploiter and exploited were there, the "professions" were there—clergy, lawyers, doctors, politicians, public officials, detectives, merchants and farmers—all waiting for 2:30, the time appointed for the lecture to commence.

The time arrived but no Haywood. Then 3 o'clock, and still no Haywood, but the crowd kept growing all the time in spite of the fact that many were going away disappointed. Then 4 o'clock and no Haywood or message from him. And yet every car that arrived was loaded to the limit. Then 4:15 arrived and with it Bill Haywood. The handclapping and cheers at the street car station announced the fact to those waiting in the park that he had arrived. A few quick introductions and Haywood hurriedly entered the park and made his way rapidly to the platform on which he was to speak.

Chairman Hanley, in a very few words, stated the object of the meeting. He then introduced the Italian speaker, who, in a ten-minute speech, made the welkin ring, for if applause is any indication of a hit, he must have made a four-baser.

Without any waste of ceremony the chairman introduced William D. Haywood. As he arose and stepped forward, he was greeted with a burst of applause that made him turn around and learn that he was not simply facing an audience, but was completely surrounded by those determined to hear him. Many claimed that over three thousand were present, but to be very conservative, there was no less than 2,500 persons who had waited three hours to hear Haywood. The speech was delivered with a power that convinced all who heard of his deep sincerity.

There was no play to the gallery; there was no bid for applause, there was no tickling the humor and no attempt to play upon the sensitive feelings. It was the great strong voice of labor to labor, and there is none other so powerful!

As the speaker drove home fact after fact—why we have the class struggle and what it is

—you could see a tear here and there trembling on the eyelashes of strong men. You could see a tightening of the lips, or you could see a frame quiver. It was a tense, serious crowd, and it stood or sat, as it could, all eager attention for two solid hours. If there were any doubters as to the class struggle when he commenced, there was none when he finished. Neither was there any lack of information as to how to end the class struggle. It was a great meeting!

The people had traveled for miles; they waited patiently for hours, not a soul present knowing whether Haywood would come or not. Yet they stayed on and they were not all socialists by any means. This shows that the people have their eyes open. They want the socialist message and they will have it in spite of all the other class can do.—J. Edward Smith.

**Our Candidate for Congress in Kansas.** Geo. D. Brewer was born on a farm near Marion, Kan., May 29, 1878. He attended the common schools and worked on the farm till 17 years of age, at which time his father died; the family moved to Marion and George started out to make his own way. He secured employment as a brakeman on the railroad, continuing as such till the Spanish-American war, when he returned to Marion, and in 1898 enlisted in Co. M 21st Kansas volunteers. Like so many more of the soldier boys in the Chattanooga camp he got typhoid fever, from eating embalmed meat served as rations, and never got to see active service in the war. He was mustered out of the regiment, at Leavenworth, Kan., at the close of the war, and once more became a railway brakeman. While working for the Southern Pacific in Texas he was caught between two box car bumpers, and his left heel and ankle crushed so severely that his railroading was forever ended. His limp will ever attest his service in the industrial army.

The accident changed his whole life, and when he came from the hospital after months of suffering, he decided that he must now fit himself for brain, rather than physical work. He entered Ruskin college, Trenton, Mo., in April, 1901, where he remained till he joined the *Appeal to Reason* force, with which publication he has been connected nearly ten years.

Brewer is a charter member of Federal Union No. 11478, Girard. He has been for nine years an active unionist, being largely responsible for the organization of the Girard industrial council. He is the only union candidate for congress.

For several years Brewer has toured the country with Debs, on his lecture tours, visiting every state in the union. No man in the nation is better acquainted with the conditions and needs of the American working class than Geo. D. Brewer, which knowledge admirably fits him for service in congress. If the farmers of the district give him anything like the support he will get from our 13,000 miner voters he will be elected by the biggest majority ever given a candidate in the Third district

**On the Job.** The construction workers on the G. T. P. construction work have revolted against the deplorable conditions in the camps. The workers' homes on this line, called bunk-houses, are so filthy that a self-respecting pig would refuse to die in any one of them. We, the Revolutionists, have wasted too much time on theory and all too little time in action on the job. The action is on right now. Fourteen thousand men have laid down their tools irrespective of nationalities, creed, craft or color, demanding that they get a little more of what they produce.

Some of our philosophers at pink teas, picnics and convention go on record in denunciations of direct action by the working class, but if the same class insists on using these tactics with success why not instead give a boost? McKee's Rock, Lawrence, etc., have been proof enough of the working class' power on the job.

Here is something in railroad history:

On July 20th 2,000 left their work at the west on the G. T. P. construction. On the 26th 2,000 came out on the Rocky mountain (east end) followed by 10,000 on the 27th, thus completely tying up the whole work of construction.

The powers that be have been fortifying the line with Springfields and Winchesters, fitted with maxim Silencers, also having store-houses packed with smokeless powder. Knowing this, the men on this line who are running their own organization decided to spring a new tactic on the contractors. All men shipped to outside points, leaving just enough to do the local picketing, thereby spreading the news of revolt in railroad "stock" in Northern B. C.

"These," when located in the large shipping centers, immediately started to picket the employment offices, ships and trains with huge success.

No scabs are going to the jobs.

Until now the country has been as quiet as a graveyard. Only four arrests have been made, all of the men being liberated for lack of special evidence against them.

Special policemen are being fired on account of not being able to make trouble. There is no one to make trouble with.

The small contractors are beginning to howl and victory is sure.

We hope the day is not far distant when the Workers of the World will be solidly organized for the taking over of the tools of

production to secure all they produce. All funds should be sent to A. O. Morse, Secy., No. 326 I. W. W., Prince Rupert, B. C., Canada.

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**Studying Industrial Unionism.** The following resolution is sent us by Wm. H. Watts, of Chicago. We think it a very good one.

Moved, That the resolution adopted at the National Convention of the Party of 1912, in regard to the attitude of the Socialist Party to the trade unions, be amended by the addition of a supplementary paragraph to follow immediately after the paragraph numbered "1," as follows:

The Socialist Party, however, urges the workers to study the principles of industrial unionism and to develop the industrial organization of their unions.

First. That the interests of the workers may be more effectively represented in the labor market, and,

Second. That the industrial organization of the workers may become a basis of representation in the congress of the coming Industrial Republic.

Let the reader bring this suggested motion to the attention of his local and if it meets with the approval of the local let it be sent as a motion to National Secretary Work, with the proviso that if the same has already been received from some other local that it be considered as a second. In this way the motion can be passed and the necessary seconds secured to bring it to referendum very quickly.

'Comrades, let us take this industrial union question out of the realm of personalities and discuss it upon the basis of economic science and the interests of the working class as a whole.—Wm. H. Watts.

**From Brooklyn, N. Y.** At the meeting of the Central Committee of Local Kings, held July 27, 1912, a resolution was adopted prohibiting the sale of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW at public meetings.

At the meeting of the 18th Assembly District of Local Kings, held August 7, 1912, a resolution was adopted refusing to recognize the right of jurisdiction of the local to take such action and stating that the 18th A. D. Branch would ignore the action of the Central Committee.

At the following meeting of the Central Committee, August 10th, a resolution was adopted that unless the 18th A. D. purged itself of contempt of the Central Committee at its next meeting it would stand suspended.

The following resolutions were adopted at the meeting of the 18th A. D. at its meeting held August 21, 1912.

Whereas, it appears that certain influential members of the Socialist Party have entered into a conspiracy to disrupt the party; and

Whereas, among the means employed for that purpose is a concerted attempt through their adherents to pass, or attempt to pass in the locals, resolutions forbidding the sale of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW by members and subdivisions, hoping thereby to precipitate a fight, which would give them a chance to expel the more revolutionary members from the party wherever possible, thus inevitably leading to a split; and

Whereas, we are of the opinion that an

insistence by us on the resolution adopted by us at our last meeting with reference to the recent resolution of the Central Committee of Local Kings Co., forbidding the sale of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW by the branches would give the party disrupters the opening they are looking for of causing a split of the party; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we herewith rescind our resolution on the subject adopted at our last meeting and that we shall abide by the decision of the Central Committee so long as it has not been reversed;

Resolved, further, that we most solemnly protest against the decision of the Central Committee, first, because it is entirely beyond the jurisdiction of that committee under our constitution and by-laws, and, secondly, because it is an insidious attempt to stifle the free expression of opinion within the party, and to inaugurate a reign of terror in which all those who disagree with the opportunistic tactics of those in temporary control of the national office shall be ruthlessly persecuted and proscribed;

Resolved, further, that we herewith demand that the said action of the Central Committee be submitted to a referendum of the membership of Local Kings Co. Ella L. Hoare, Rec. Secy., 18th A. D. Local Kings Co.

**Local Springfield, Ill.,** sends in a motion as follows: Resolved that all federal or national officers for federal or Socialist Party offices should be nominated and elected by a referendum vote of the party at large, including the president, etc.

All offices, state, congress, county township, city, precinct, shall be nominated and elected by a referendum vote in their respective jurisdiction; this shall be a part of the constitution of the party if adopted and must repeal all conflicting clauses in the constitution.

**Wants More.** Comrade Cornwell of Jamestown, N. Y., writes: "Enclosed find check to pay for my bundle of REVIEWS. I sold them all in one day. Please duplicate my order for the September issue. The REVIEW grows better every month. It is a magazine which no true Socialist can get along without."

**In Barber Shops.** During one week this month, we find among many others the following names of comrades sending in from two to five REVIEW subs for their town barber shops. We hope our other friends will follow suit. Comrades Goyet, Woodland, Cal.; Galahus, East Brandstaf, Ky.; Huebler, Athelstone, Wis.; Turnbaugh, Mina, Nevada; Quinsby, Collinsville, Conn.; Jordan, Indianapolis, Ind.; Brenholtz, Turnersville, Texas; Brown, Denver, Colo.

**Going to Boost.** Comrade Lermond of Maine writes: The August number is the best yet and I enclose \$1 for twenty copies. The former article alone is worth the price of the magazine. It interests and instructs at the same time. I am going to get some yearly subscriptions for you."

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**Six Barbers on the List.** Comrade Triplett of North La Junta, Colo., sends in an order for six yearly subscriptions for six barbers in his town. This means at least two hundred new readers for the REVIEW in La Junta.

**Death of Rose Gelder.** Whereas, we members of the Socialist Party, Local Lafayette, have in the decease on August 21, 1912, of our beloved Comrade Rose Gelder, sustained a great loss, and, Whereas, we appreciate that the socialist movement has lost a most active and able worker, staunch and true, and, Whereas, Comrade Rose Gelder always manifested that deep devotion to our cause that we admire, therefore, be it Resolved, that we in meeting assembled, this 22d day of August, 1912, though realizing as much as we do how inadequate words are to express our deep bereavement, do hereby tender to her husband, our comrade, Geo. S. Gelder and their children, our deepest sympathy and condolence.—Chas. A. Hubbard, Lafayette Local S. P. of A.

**Sunbury, Pa.** The comrades at Sunbury want to go on record as voting for Referendum C. before it was declared unconstitutional by the Big Four. (?)

**Local Oak Harbor, Wash.,** sends in a motion to print the minutes of all the Barnes trial of February, March and August of last year, same to be edited by representatives of both sides of the controversy and submitted to the membership without unnecessary delay.

**Idaho Again.** Idaho State Executive Committee passed the following motion at a recent meeting: "That the Executive Committee, S. P. Idaho, go on record as condemning the article in the *National Socialist*, July, 1912, vilifying the workers of San Diego in their fight for free speech."—I. F. Stewart.

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**Unemployed in Australia.** Comrade Spillman of the Unemployed Agitation Committee of Melbourne, Australia, sends us clippings from home newspapers wherein the steamship companies or other agents with axes to grind, are claiming that thousands of workmen are needed now in Australia. He states that the committee has discovered this to be a mere trick on the part of the transportation companies to get foreign workers to spend their hard earned savings in search of good jobs in Australia. Work is very scarce there at this time and we take pleasure in warning our readers against being fooled into spending money chasing rainbows. These steamship capitalists are robbing workingmen right and left through lies and deceit. The burglar uses a sand bag. For courage and common decency we have to hand it to the burglar every time.

**A Good Booklet.** Comrade M. B. Butler of Eureka, Cal., is the author of a splendid little booklet published by the American Free Thought Tract Society. It is full of working class ideas that will start you thinking and is worth ten times the price charged for it—5 cents a copy.

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part of them are issued by other publishers, and will be ordered by the Bureau from them. All the larger Socialist party locals have received from the Lyceum Bureau a supply of lecture tickets to be sold. Note especially that each of these tickets is good for a six months' subscription to the *REVIEW*. If you sell one of these tickets to a non-Socialist, get him to ask for the *REVIEW*, if possible; it will start him right.

**Money Urgently Needed.** In our June issue we published a financial report showing that we paid off about \$2,000 of indebtedness during 1911 and \$2,000 more during the first four months of 1912. Naturally our friends have taken for granted that we were in excellent shape and needed no help. Unfortunately the facts are otherwise. A serious slump in receipts began early in May, and has continued with little relief up to the time of going to press with this month's issue. All other Socialist publications, with scarcely an exception, have had the same experience. Meanwhile, we have printed big editions of nearly all our standard books in expectation of a demand which has not yet materialized. Moreover, at the beginning of 1912 we enlarged the *REVIEW* from 68 to 84 and then to 100 pages. Our receipts from subscriptions and sales are larger than last year, but not enough larger to cover more than a small fraction of the increased cost. Unless a big increase in receipts is forthcoming at once, we must go back to 68 pages, which will leave the *REVIEW* still far larger than any other Socialist monthly in the English language. But if you want us to continue with a hundred-page magazine, show it in a substantial way at once.

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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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Chicago, Ill., November 1, 1912.

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The frost is already on the pumpkin and the snow will soon be flying out your way. During the long winter evenings you will want a good book to read.

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SOCIALIST REVIEW**

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SQUAD OF WEST VIRGINIA MILITIA ESCORTING PRISONERS TO COURT MARTIAL IN ONE OF  
THE MINING CAMPS OF WEST VIRGINIA.

## **Miners Play a Waiting Game**

**By EDWARD H. KINTZER**

**Socialist Candidate for State Auditor of West Virginia**

**W**ITH the calmness of seasoned soldiers, with a purpose that presages no good to the operators, with defiance that brooks no interference with that purpose, the battling miners of West Virginia await the coming war-of-the-ballots.

In dealing with the armed mine guards these mountaineers were taught valuable lessons in solidarity and cohesion which made them effective in meeting this force. So, after delivering a blow of direct action against the operators, with equal intelligence they are preparing to strike at the

ballot box. They have organized themselves in spirit if not in fact, having learned to do by concerted action whatever is to be done.

They are not living in a fool's paradise expecting the capitalist orders to collapse because a majority might wish it to. Back of their political action there is something more tangible than a mere expression of choice.

And well there should be, for heretofore no election has gone against the operators. They will stop at nothing to purchase votes and stuff ballot boxes. They have bought legislators like they purchase mine props, "made" governors with impunity, and with open effrontery placed two senators in congress against the wishes of the people.

Frank Bohn, associate editor of the REVIEW, while recently touring West Virginia on a speaking campaign, said: "The situation here regarding Senator Watson ought to receive wide publicity. There is nothing else like it. Other Watsons exist but none of them are in congress."

It is the coal industry and organized "Big Business" that the miners must oppose—these interests that named Watson and Chilton United States senators.

#### SOCIALISM IS EASY.

It is not difficult to teach these battling miners the fundamentals of Socialism, for the class struggle to them is very apparent and the hallucination of "dividing up" and "destroying the homes" has no terrors for them. They have nothing to divide and no home to destroy. Having recently been evicted they know that nothing could accomplish these things more effectively than capitalism. Their only assets are experience, hope and determination. This experience suggests action, their hope is Socialism and their determination means victory.

Frank J. Hayes, vice-president of the national organization of the United Mine Workers, in a recent letter states the political situation quite clearly. He said:

"We have an excellent chance of electing the entire Socialist ticket in Kanawha county. The miners poll 40 per cent of the total vote in this county and they are practically all Socialists, made so by the present strike.

"This is the county in which Charleston, the capital of the state, is located, and,

moreover, if we capture the political power of this big county it will practically insure the success of our strike. It is a great opportunity."

Politicians of the old school are admitting that the Socialist ticket will win. Even last March, before the strike, Adjutant General Elliott, absolute dictator by right of martial law over Paint and Cabin Creek districts, stated to the writer: "Unless Roosevelt is nominated by the Republicans there is some question whether the Socialists will be first or second." He stated that he had been over the lower section (meaning Kanawha county) and knew. He resides at Charleston.

Thomas L. Tincher, a locomotive engineer, is the Socialist candidate for sheriff. He is making the guard system the issue in the campaign.

"A Socialist sheriff would solve the mine guard problem quickly, says Tincher. "All he would have to do would be to enforce the law and the mine guard would become a useless institution."

With exceptional outbreaks of hostility between the mine guards and the miners, the situation in the martial law district is quiet. The operators, mine guards and miners are disposed to play a waiting game.

#### DAMAGING TESTIMONY.

The one point that is of most interest is the strike commission taking testimony, where the mass of evidence adduced presents a strong indictment of the coal companies and their hired band of murderers.

In searching the region the militia confiscated many machine guns that had been purchased by the operators and used by the mine guards. This evidence before the commission has not strengthened the position of the operators.

Greed and the fierce struggle to earn dividends on a water soaked capitalization produced a chain of circumstances that are the most damning of record.

There are many communities that are almost deserted, for no one who will not work for the coal company is allowed occupancy of the houses. The strike has brought production to a standstill.

Mucklow, where the two-day battle occurred, is a deserted village except for the presence of a few mine officials and guards. It all sounds like a tale of the Arcadians except the proximity to civilization(?).

One of the families evicted in this village was composed of four generations of Cranes. Louise, a baby, who was suffering from summer complaint, her father, grandfather and great grandfather. When evicted—dispossessed—these people were forced to tramp over the hills many miles. They could not stay in Mucklow even though the union offered to pay the rent. They were told that unless they worked for the company they would have to leave. Even the fields and roads at Mucklow offered them no camping place, for they all are owned by the company.

These three men had toiled in the mines—but what of that? They had been good workers—but what of that? They were old and the baby sick—but no matter; they would not meekly submit to the conditions, so out they had to go.

This happened early in September. Baby Louise is now well. A ragged tent with the stars and stripes floating over it is the abode of these people, who produced enough wealth to live in comfort, of which the system robbed them of nearly all.

"To some it may seem a joke—the American flag here," said Crane when asked about the flag, "but I don't know of a better banner for Americans who are willing to starve for the sake of liberty, to fight under."

Conditions in the tented villages look about the same, only a little bit more ragged. All about there is more cheer, for the intolerable heat has gone and excepting several cold and rainy nights, the weather has been comfortable. The foliage is turning and the leaves are falling. In another month, unless a great change comes, there will be intense misery in the camps. The fruit and berries will have disappeared and the gaunt figures of hunger and cold will be trooping among them.

When martial law began many mining camps that had become a menace to health were visited and a clean-up ordered.

"God walks upon the seas and land but the devil is here in these hills," said Adjutant-General Elliott, while inspecting these camps. "Fifteen miles away from here is civilization where are many automobiles and women who fondle poodle dogs,

EDWARD H. KINTZER.

and there are churches and preachers. And here—well, you see. When the trouble broke out I went through this district at the behest of the governor, and I reported to him that God does not walk in these hills. I saw neither a rosebud or geranium."

GROWING SYMPATHY.

If this strike were conducted against coal operators that had competitors in the field, as in former years, the operators would now be on their knees to the men. The mines are shut down; but the coal is produced elsewhere.

The miners all over are awakening to this and there is a growing bond of sympathy and solidarity. There is a likelihood of this strike spreading to all the mines in this state.

Mother Jones continues to be the leading character in the fight and every fiber of her being has been aroused. She is indeed the "Angel of the Mines," the best loved by the miners and the most feared by the operators.

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# WHY A WORKINGMAN SHOULD VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET

BY

LESLIE H. MARCY

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**I**F you are a workingman or a working woman with a vote, you should vote the Socialist Ticket.

It is not hard to show you why. You don't expect your boss to fight your battles, or to demand more pay or shorter hours for you. You don't expect him to pay your rent or your grocery bills. You know very well that nobody ever has hurt themselves doing anything for you and that nobody is ever going to.

You have to fight your own battles. You have to hold down your own job. You have to pay your own bills. When it comes to getting anything or doing anything for *you* the only man you can count on is **YOUR OWN SELF**.

The more the investigators search into the origin of the campaign funds donated to Mr. Taft, or Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Wilson's campaign manager, the more you will see that the big money came and is coming in **FROM THE BIG CAPITALISTS**, the very men who are robbing you of the value of the things you make in the shop or mill or factory, or from the men who are appropriating the coal you dig from the mines.

You don't suppose they are getting so philanthropic all of a sudden that they are coming across with cold hard cash to elect men to office who will **FIGHT YOUR BATTLES**. They are digging up because they all know that any one of these candidates are always and at all times going to **HELP** the **EMPLOYERS** of labor in every strike. They know these men will help pass laws that will enable them to squeeze **YOU** a little harder.

The **WORKING CLASS** is financing the campaign of the Socialist Party because it is a party that is made up **OF, BY** and **FOR** the workers. It is unalterably and everlastingly opposed to the Capitalist Class and is pledged to serve the working class in every possible way.

The Democrats had their chance to show what they would do for the working class and things got just a little worse under their administration than they had ever been before.

Roosevelt had seven years to display his friendship for the men and women who work and he ran all to words just as he is doing today. In every strike he stood with the Capitalist Class **AGAINST** the workers. He called out the troops to shoot down men who were striking for an eight-hour day (where eight hours was the **LEGAL WORK DAY**). The noted governor of West Virginia, one of the best known Progressives of the year, is today sending troops into the mining districts in order to break the strike of the miners there.

When it came to Boss against Worker, Roosevelt, and Cleveland and Taft and every other Progressive, or Republican or Democrat is always lined up **WITH THE CAPITALIST CLASS**. They use all the power they possess to keep wage workers whipped into doing all the bosses desire.

The Socialist Party, on the other hand, has put up Eugene V. Debs, a working man, as the standard bearer of the **Fighting Working Class**. We have put up a man who has been on strike; who has worked in a shop and run an engine. We always put up men to serve us who have

been workers themselves, because we know they are the only men who KNOW HOW TO SERVE US.

I know many workingmen who are good fighters. Some of them are putting up a game show against their boss all by themselves. But a workingman can't have any chance against the boss alone. He has to join with his fellow workers to be strong enough to get anything.

All you have to do to separate yourself from your meal ticket very quickly is to forget to tip your hat or be respectful to the boss. You will probably be fired at once. You cannot gain much by defying him all alone. It is the same with voting. If workingmen keep on dividing themselves into different camps, voting for one of three Capitalist SERVANTS, Taft, or Roosevelt or Wilson, you may be sure they will always come out at the little end of the horn. Because any one of these candidates, and the parties they represent, exist to serve the employing class and not YOU.

You can't lose your vote by voting the Socialist Ticket. The bigger the Socialist vote piles up the more the Reform Presidents, or Republican or Democrat Presidents will try to give you in order to draw your vote away from Socialism. They will yield small reform measures in order to ward off Socialism.

The Bosses use the Government, the Judges, the Courts, the Army and Navy, and the Police to keep themselves in power for

the sake of PROFITS. The aid of Socialism is to do away with the Profit System.

We intend to stop allowing the Capitalist Class to grab all the profits made through our labor. We intend to keep this wealth ourselves and to give the Boss a job alongside us.

As long as the Boss owns the factory and the Government, he can keep every thing the workers produce in his factory, paying them only small wages to pile up wealth for him.

Socialism proposes to take over the factories, mines, railroads, the mills and the land to be owned by the workers who work in them. Then every worker will be a joint owner in the mill or mine where he labors. He will be his own boss; and own his own job. No boss will be able to grow rich off his labor, for the man who works most will be the man who owns most automobiles or clothes or whatever it may be. And the man who refuses to labor will possess nothing.

Socialism means travel, healthful surroundings, short hours, and all the good things of life for those who work. If you have no vote, join the Party anyway. You can help in the work of education, and organization and this is the chief thing. For when the working class KNOWS HOW TO FIGHT and is ORGANIZED TO FIGHT, the day of the Boss is doomed.

And above all things—STUDY SOCIALISM!

PLANT OF WINCHESTER REPEATING ARMS COMPANY.

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# HOW THE WINCHESTER REPEATING ARMS COMPANY RIFLES THE WORKERS

By **ROBERT M. LACKEY**  
General Secretary Brotherhood of Machinists

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**T**HE Winchester Repeating Arms Company is the largest manufacturer of fire arms and ammunition in the world. Its plant covers over 59 acres of land in the heart of New Haven, Connecticut, and its rifle ranges and storage grounds embrace 489 acres on the outskirts of the city. From 5,900 to 6,400 workers are on the pay roll. As far as possible, the company has established a monopoly by buying out competitors, dismantling their factories and junking the machinery. Its products are shipped to every corner of the globe. Winchester goods are in great demand for sporting purposes, but wars are a very important

source of revenue. Frequently, mysterious shipments are made to unknown destinations. They may be for a revolution in China, South America or Mexico.

The Winchester works is interesting, chiefly because of the tremendous dividends paid the stockholders, the poor pay, long hours and tyrannical treatment given the employes. A million dollars is all that the stockholders even pretended to invest when the company was incorporated and no more has been added since by them; but according to the company's own sworn statement to the tax assessors, its city property alone, including land, buildings, machinery and other equipment is valued at

\$3,684,292.00. Moody's Manual, which is an authority on such matters, says that the plant is worth several times the capital stock of the company. It is doubtful whether the owners would sell for less than \$15,000,000.00. The difference between the original investment and the present worth has been accumulated entirely from the unpaid labor of the workers. The dividends run from 60 to 100% each year, but after the Spanish American war, a dividend considerably over 100% was declared. The stock being gilt-edged is very closely held. Transfers are rarely made. The latest quotations were in the neighborhood of \$1,200.00 for a hundred dollar share.

Winchester's is a big company with small ways, as its relations with its employes will show. Ten hours constitute a day's work. Overtime is paid for as straight time. A worker who is two minutes late is docked 1-3/10 hours on the week's pay. A system of espionage worthy of Russia is practiced throughout the works. Every employe is watched like a prisoner and quickly fired if he is suspected of the least leaning towards unionism. The piece-work system has probably been carried on to a greater extreme than in any other American factory. Clockers have timed every operation down to the second and set the prices accordingly. Truck drivers are paid according to the weight of their load; sweepers by the square foot and the men who gather the cuspidors and clean the windows are paid by the piece. Frequent cuts are made but never all over the factory at one time. The company is too wise for that. A reduction is made in one department at a time, but every department is due for at least one cut in about every two years.

A concrete example of the bad faith of the management and the method of cutting prices is shown by the experiences of the loaders in the cartridge department. A loading machine run by a gang consisting of a man with a boy and four girls, assembles every part of a cartridge and turns out a product ready for the market. Several years ago 200,000 cartridges was a day's work for which the man, called the loader, received about \$2.80, and the girls and boy somewhat over half of the man's rate. One day the foreman wanted more cartridges in order to fill the many orders on hand. He promised that there would

be no cut in prices provided more work was produced. The gang succeeded in turning out 250,000 per day, for which the loader received \$3.50 and his helpers a corresponding increase. This rate was continued for a few years when the prices were cut, so the same amount of work would only bring the old rate of wages. The attention of the foreman was called to the promise made not to cut prices, but no heed was paid to it by the management. Advantage was taken of the panic of 1907, to make further reductions. The workers had the alternative of accepting lower wages or speeding up to make up the difference. Then another cut followed. No improvements have been made on the machinery, but the increased output is entirely due to the breakneck speed of the workers.

During the last ten years the amount of work turned out has been doubled while the wages are actually lower. If the old piece prices still prevailed, loaders would now receive \$3.00 a day more than the present wages. The company is therefore saving about \$900.00 a year on each loader and a corresponding amount on each of the rest of the gang, according to their rate. An entire loading gang receives less than 5 cents a thousand for a certain kind of cartridge, while the lowest price quoted in the Winchester catalogue for the smallest kind of cartridges is \$5.00 per 1,000. Accordingly, 400,000 cartridges, which is now a day's work for a gang receiving about \$11.00 in wages, retail for \$2,000.00. The raw material of which cartridges are made consisting of lead, powder and copper is not expensive, therefore, the margin of profit must be exceedingly great.

Loading cartridges is dangerous, as an explosion is apt to occur any hour. Seven people lost their lives at one time on this work and the loss of a finger or an eye is not unfrequent as the consequences of the killing gait at which the workers must go.

Fuminate is a high explosive, a small quantity of which is placed in every cartridge at the point struck by the firing pin so as to cause the explosion of the powder. The department where it is manufactured is the most dangerous in the factory. Everyone employed there takes their lives in their hands; but recently even this department was placed on the piece work basis. As a result of the speeding up

which is bound to follow, loss of life is sure to increase.

Several spasmodic efforts had been made to organize the Winchester workers, but the union has always been thwarted by the company, immediately discharging those who joined. A few years ago, about thirty men were initiated in a union. The secretary of this union left his satchel down unguarded for a moment. Someone stole it by substituting a similar satchel. The names of the union men were obtained and they were all fired.

The Brotherhood of Machinists tackled the job of organizing all the Winchester workers into one big union with a full knowledge of the handicaps against which it would have to contend. It was realized that in order to be successful the organization must be conducted in such a way as to protect those who identify themselves with it. Hall meetings were out of the question, as no one would dare to attend. The campaign was commenced by holding open air meetings at noon at the shop door. Organizer Walter Eggeman, who started this work, has spoken to large gatherings three and four times a week for several weeks. The crowds listening to him have increased in number, and attentiveness, in spite of the foremen and other stool pigeons of the company mingling in the crowd with note books and pretending to take the names of those in the audience. On several occasions the writer has assisted Bro. Eggeman in addressing meetings at noon and

again at night on the Green, which is a large park in the center of New Haven, in the shadow of Yale University.

Thousands of *Machinists Bulletins*, with special articles dealing with Winchester questions and strongly appealing to the workers to organize, have been circulated. It has not always been easy to give these out as the police sometimes interfered. Then it was necessary to sell them. This was done occasionally by passing pennies out to the workers who then purchased bulletins with them.

A large two-sided banner bearing a target on each side has played a conspicuous part in the agitation. Every morning, noon and night the targets are paraded in front of the shops. The banner is really a work of art and the sentiments it bears always receives a cordial reception from the Winchester wage slaves.

Personal appeals through circular letters and visits from organizers have also been features of the campaign. In fact, every medium by which men can be reached has been utilized. Secrecy is maintained in regard to the identity of the applicants by having them mail their applications to headquarters. This method is to continue until a sufficient number have joined to assure protection to all.

The Winchester Company has been alarmed by the progress made, but its old methods of firing union men will not be successful this time and it is at a loss to

**OF MACHINISTS**  
"EVERYBODY IS DOING IT"

**BROTHERHOOD OF MACHINISTS**  
34 PARK ROW, NEW YORK.

discover new tactics by which to hamper the movement.

A New Haven paper published a report of a fake meeting which was supposed to be held by the Brotherhood. Four hundred men were said to have signed their names and pledged themselves to strike if the union was not recognized. Neither the Brotherhood, organizers, proprietor of the hall or anyone else knows anything about this meeting. Organizers Eggeman and Cassile were addressing an open air meeting at the time the fake meeting was reported to have been held. The purpose of the report was undoubtedly to create confusion and distrust. Other equally untrue yarns have appeared in the newspapers by

which the company alone could benefit; but as usual it is very difficult to get a word in such papers in regard to the progress made by the union.

The company has much reason to be alarmed because of the headway made in furthering the ideas and principles of industrial unionism. It is a new force with which it must contend. "*One Big Union of all Winchester workers*," "*a shorter day*," "*better pay*" and "*industrial freedom*" don't sound pleasant to those who have become millionaires on the profits of labor. But these words are the inspiration, the hope and the battle cry of freedom for the Winchester wage workers.

## STEALING PLANKS

**L**AST week the Bull Moose Druggist said to the Socialist Machinist, "Well, we have taken the ground from right under your feet. Theodore stands for Government Ownership, too, also for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. You don't have to vote the Socialist Ticket to get what you want. We'll give it to you."

But the machinist WAS a Socialist and he only laughed. That is what every Socialist does when anybody imagines any party is able to steal the planks of a Socialist platform.

The planks the Bull Moose Party have taken are not Socialist planks. They are reform planks that are not a part of Socialism. SOCIALISM is the only real Socialist plank in any party platform.

It is true that sometimes Socialist parties seek a few reforms which they think will benefit the wage workers. They have always advocated free speech, the right of free assemblage and freedom of the press because these measures give to workingmen and women an opportunity to agitate, educate and organize their fellow slaves.

But there are other parties that also stand for these things. We are glad to see them take up these measures. But no party can rob us of the only Socialist plank that must always and everywhere compose our whole program. This is nothing less than Socialism.

Any party that works for the collective

ownership of the means of production and distribution by the working class is a Socialist party. No capitalist party could possibly adopt such a program. No reform party has ever even remotely advocated revolution.

Government ownership does not mean Socialism. In the most highly developed countries, from a capitalist point of view, the various governments are ADVOCATING government ownership, because the capitalist class IS the government. Government ownership would merely give this same exploiting class an abstract institution behind which to hide while it continued upon its joyful career of buccaneering.

The Socialist Party is the political organization of the working class, whose aim is the collective ownership of the tools of production by those who work. They intend that the working class shall own collectively the factories, the mines, mills, the farms and the railroads. They intend that the workers shall enjoy the full fruits of their labor without digging up any profit to any boss.

This is our real program. This is our platform, bared of all its trimmings. Neither capitalist nor servant of the capitalist class can steal it, because the capitalist class stands for the PRIVATE ownership of the things by which goods are produced and distributed, and the ownership of OUR JOBS.

# UNTOLD TALES OF THE NAVY

BY

## EX-MARINES IN THE U. S. NAVY

**Note.**—The four communications which we published in this issue are from young men who have served in the Navy. They are, we believe, the best possible reply to the letter of the Naval Recruiting Officer who claimed the Navy meant a fine opportunity for young men to see the world and to learn a trade. We hope our readers will see that a copy of this article is put into the hands of all the marines they know.

**A**FTER the panic of 1907, out of work and desperate, at the age of twenty-one, I enlisted in the U. S. Navy, and was sent to the Newport, R. I., Training Station. I met there thousands of young men averaging about nineteen years of age. Most of these were like me, out-of-works. There were a few hundred off the farm, attracted by the glamour of an "adventurous" sea life and service in foreign parts. Also the expected crowd of ex-convicts, crooks and refugees from the law.

In the course of a few months the last vestige of independence is taken out of the recruit. You can scarcely breathe or stir a foot without breaking some regulation. If an officer takes a dislike to you, you are in for it. "Extra duty," consisting of laborous and dirty work is the least of punishments. Against an officer's say-so, the

word of enlisted men is absolutely nil. If you try to put up a defense or dare to answer back you are in for it. No matter how well you behave, you will soon find yourself before a summary court-martial of associated snobs on some pretext or other. Then two weeks of bread and water with a full ration every third day. This followed by thirty days' breaking stone, is a comparatively mild punishment.

The training station is situated on an island right off Newport, and receives the full benefit of the city's sewerage. What with the poor food and the insanitary water supply, scarlet and typhoid fever epidemics are regular spring and autumnal occurrences. In the last few years the whole island has been in quarantine a number of times, and many is the poor lad who has breathed his last in the Newport Naval Hospital.

## WAR COLLEGE ORGIES.

The Naval War College on the island, is the scene of many an orgy between the younger officers and the women of Newport's Smart Set. In the summer of 1910, the newspapers were full of a sensational denunciation by a Newport minister who declared he had secretly witnessed a War College debauch in which naked society women cavorted around patriotically clad in silken American flags. Other details are unprintable. Men stationed on the island could tell of unspeakable vices practiced at the War College to which Sodom and Gomorrah were as a children's Sunday-school. But that is another story.

## SEA DUTY.

On board ship the discipline is even harsher than at the training station. Here the man with the least trace of manliness left in him is finally "broke." Harsh punishment is meted out for the slightest offense, even for unavoidable accidents. No matter how hard a man tries, it is impossible to keep a clean record; the exceptional few with such a record are usually unspeakable lickspittles or captain's pet. Seamanship is a thing of the past. The ordinary seaman's life is one continual round of holy-stoning decks, polishing brass, painting ship, washing dishes, peeling spuds, and scrubbing and scrubbing and scrubbing; interspersed with an occasional coaling of ship, which is probably one of the punishments Satan hands out down below.

With so many young men living under such unnatural conditions it is not unexpected that every time the ship leaves port the sick bay is full of venereal cases. Following a stop in port after a long stretch of sea-duty nearly the whole ship's company is down with some form or another of these. Sodomy and other similar practices are not uncommon among both officers and men—young apprentice seamen being used as catamites. More than one officer has been caught in the act by his more decent associates and forced to resign. Of course, these things are hushed up. At Hot Springs, Ark., the government maintains a sanitarium for officers suffering from venereal diseases.

## HOW THE ENLISTED MEN SLEEP.

Even in the hottest weather the crew is forced to sleep below, usually on the mess deck. The ventilation on this deck is of the poorest, consisting of a few portholes about a foot in diameter along the sides of the ship. More than once have I seen the poor lads fighting with each other like beasts for the coveted hooks near the portholes, on which to sling their hammocks. The weakest in this struggle for air were forced to sleep in the center of the deck where it was something like what the Black Hole of Calcutta must have been. Worst of all, we were always forced to sling up our ham-

## TEN DAYS IN THE BRIG WITH DOUBLE IRONS ON BOARD "THE ELCANO."

They get ten days for small offenses, such as soiled clothes, non-regulation shoes, socks or underwear. For failing to polish brass to suit officers or leaving finger prints on incandescent lamps. For buying from fellow-sailors.

## PEELING SPUDS ON THE ELCANO.

Potatoes Are Served Three Times a Day, Sometimes with Rotten Sausage or with Rice and Curry, or with "Canned Bill" (Canned Corned Beef).

mocks close to the ceiling and sleep there. Imagine the condition of the air with hundreds of men sleeping close to the ceiling on a hot summer night, the sole ventilation consisting of a few small, widely-interpersed portholes. No wonder thousands of young men have been discharged from the Navy suffering from tuberculosis, the dread, white plague. Hundreds have been treated at the U. S. Naval Hospital for Consumptives at Las Animas, Colorado.

The recruiting officers don't tell you of this side of naval life. Leyendecker doesn't draw attractive posters of consumptives tottering around at New Fort Lyons, Las Animas, young men stricken in the very prime of life.

## MY STORY.

While serving on mess duty, I accidentally broke some cups and was haled before the mast for judgment. I was given two weeks' "extra duty" for this heinous offense. Eight of us on the "extra duty gang" were forced to clean out the bilge-water in the narrow spaces between the double-bottoms, and do paint work there. After some time at this, the eight of us were overcome by the turpentine fumes in the paint and were

hauled out raving in delirium. The hose was delicately turned on us and in the chill night air I caught pneumonia. Tuberculosis followed, and I soon found myself among the several hundred physical wrecks of young men in the Naval Consumptive Hospital at Las Animas, Colo.

For months I hovered between life and death in the "Death Ward," men dying around me like fleas. Consumptives and syphilitics—we were indiscriminately thrown together, and the stench from the rotting flesh of the poor syphilitics was unbearable. There were some consumptive officers there, too, but they lived in beautiful cottages, dined off clean napery with solid silver services; ate delicate viands and luscious fruits, drank delicious wines, and lived generally on the fat of the land; while we poor duffers ate the coarsest foods off tin dishes with tin utensils, and storage eggs for delicacies. But the Navy medical officers, let it be said to their credit, are about the finest body of officers in the service. Which is not saying much for the other officers.

My friends took me away from this hell-hole and sent me to Denver Sanitarium. With a year of decent food and kindly

treatment I so far recovered that now I am able to go around a bit. I am at present drawing a miserable pittance, a pension from the government and so must write under a pseudonym. I joined the Socialist Party some time ago and am devoting the short time I have to live to the great cause.

A WORD TO YOUNG MEN.

Young man, think twice before joining the Navy.

Young man, you from the inland farm, be not deceived by the bright pictures of sea life and foreign countries. If you seek travel and education, join the party which will ensure an opportunity for travel and education to all young men.

Young man, you from the mill or factory, be not misled by tales of a sure job, or by the glamour of a pension after a life-time of dog-like servility. Talk to the long service man who bitterly refers to his enlistment stripes as "hash marks." If the future looks dreary to you, if you are not sure of a steady job, join the party which is fighting, not only that all men should have steady jobs, under decent conditions, short hours and the best pay possible, but that all men should own the industries in which they work, own their own jobs, and get the full product of their toil.

Young man, you who are out of work,

do anything but join the Navy. Beat it; become a hobo; break into jail, but if you love your body, if you value your life, do not join the Navy.

Scores of Navy men have been sent to the U. S. Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark., stinking wrecks of rotting flesh, suffering from incurable syphilis.

Hundreds of Navy men have spent their last days in the "red house"—the U. S. Asylum for the Insane, at Washington, D. C.

Thousands of young men have been discharged from the Navy suffering from that dread disease, consumption, incurred while in the service.

BEWARE OF THE NAVY!

FROM B.

I AM an ex-sailor of the U. S. Navy. Discharged on account of physical disability. Refused a pension, as per agreement with the U. S., should a man become disabled in the service of the U. S.

For eight and one-half months I was compelled to do the work of a first-class fireman at a coalpassers pay, \$22.00 per month; have had to donate out of my pay to the mess fund and then not have enough to eat. Would have to get up at midnight and stand a watch on the fires without anything to eat, and when I came off watch, must stay up until after 7 a. m. or get no

THE ELCANO'S TAILORS AT WORK.

The Salary Received Is Insufficient for Married Sailors, So They Make Clothes for Unmarried Fellow-Sailors in Order to Make Enough Money to Support Their Families.

## THE ELCANO—ONE OF DEWEY'S PRIZES FROM THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY.

breakfast. The Captain or Ship Commander bragged he would not give me a rating of fireman if I stayed on his ship a lifetime, so I applied for a transfer and received the same. But did not better my condition much.

As per the article in this month's REVIEW, a man must be in the best physical condition to pass the medical examination to get in the Navy.

I am now a physical wreck; cannot compete with sound men, but am denied my pension, "as provided for by the United States Navy?"

Trust this will be of benefit to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Dare not sign my name in full as I am soon to start proceedings again to see if I can get what rightfully belongs to every soldier and sailor.

## FROM Q.

JUST a few words for that Navy Recruiting Officer, and plenty will be forthcoming, if he needs it.

Ask him if he learned of any American soldier getting the WATER-CURE while serving his country in the Philippines. If not, let him write and ask for the present address of Lieut. Henry Wygant, who was in command of Co. B., 3rd, U. S. Infantry, while it was stationed in Malabon, P. I., in 1899-1900, the *gentleman* (made so by Act

of Congress) who gave the water-cure to Private Campbell of Co. B. by tying a 35 lb. stone to the soles of his feet, his feet and legs tied together, his hands tied behind his back, a rope with a towel around it in his mouth, tied at the back of his head; a rope around his waist, in which condition he, WYGANT, kept hauling him up and down in the dirty channel water, about thirty feet deep, for about forty minutes, which caused Campbell to be on the sick-list for about two years after, with inflammation of the lungs.

Then ask him to repeat the remarks that our present President, Mr. Taft, made while speaking at the banquet given him by the Manila Commercial Club, when he made the following statement: "I hope you Philipinos, you gentlemen, will not judge the American people by the Soldier, the soldier is the SCUM of the country (in fact the SCUM of the world)" and he, Mr. Taft, was the Governor General of the Philippines at that time.

If you will find out the date of that speech for me, I will give you all of the dope you will want for your Navy Recruiting Officer. I served eleven years and know what I am talking about, but I don't think he will need very much to stop him. I have been trying to find out the date of that speech of Mr. Taft's, but cannot. I was in

Manilla at the time, and kept the Manilla Times and Freedom, both papers contained his full speech, but they were stolen from me afterwards, and so have forgotten the date, and I hope you will get it for me. The date and speech are well known to the New York papers if they will give it to you, as they had it published at that time, *but so small that it was not noticeable.*

If the Navy Recruiting Officers want any more facts about how the Navy Boys learn a trade and see the world, I will tell him enough to make *even him* blush, and all facts that happened while I was on board one of the U. S. war ships, 1893-94-95. Morally, it is not nearly as good today.

FROM K.

HAVING read the two articles in the October REVIEW, one "In the Navy, or the other side of the Paper," and the other a "Defense of the Navy," I will make a few notes from my experience in both the Army and Navy.

Marion Wright's article "On the Other Side of the Paper" is a true expose of the service into which hundreds of young men

are being induced to enter by means of flaring posters all over the country.

If the boys could only see the other side of the paper, most of our floating fortresses of destruction would soon go out of commission.

If would-be recruits would ask to see the other side of those enticing signs, about fatigue duty, the wood pile, the water cure and many other pet amusements known only after they enter the service, they would look before they leaped. They should ask the recruiting officer to explain some of those diversions which are kept in the background in the recruiting office. Ask them to explain the great gulf of social difference between officers and enlisted men, why an officer can do things an enlisted man would be thrown into the guard house or brig for. They should ask about the shovel gang. They should ask to have the different modes of administering the water cure explained to them. There are many other modes of disciplining men practised in the Army and Navy. I might mention the wagon wheel treatment as given by the

famous Gen. Lawton to men who had imbibed too much. That noted general had many other original modes of discipline.

The Pittsburgh recruiting officer or some other might explain whether they had anything to do with his death at the Battle of Mariquima. Many soldiers in the Philippines had an idea they did.

### FROM C.

HAVING noticed your request for data regarding how our common soldiers are enslaved, and how easily a young man's whole life may be blighted over some trivial circumstance, I submit the following facts:

During the winter of 1902-3, I was in Fort Ethan Allen, Vt., serving an enlistment of three (3) years in the 23d Battery, U. S. Field (or light) Artillery. During the previous fall we had received quite a bunch of recruits, mostly southerners, and among them was a particularly fine specimen of young manhood from a small Kentucky town (I can't recall the name of it), whose name was Fulton.

I don't suppose he had ever been fifty miles away from his home previous to his enlistment, and the novelty of the 1,000 mile trip to Fort E. A., and the possible prospect of a trip to the Philippines (where the insurrection was not yet ended), had him and the rest of us keyed up to concert pitch.

The period of which I write was shortly after the W. C. T. U. had succeeded in abolishing the "Canteen." The generous "Mess Funds" which had accumulated under it (the canteen) had now become exhausted, and we were beginning to learn what was meant by "government straight."

In our case it had meant sour bread and canned soup, meal after meal for several weeks, and naturally pay day was looked forward to anxiously and welcomed, as it gave us an opportunity to go to Burlington, get a square meal or two, load up on "squirrel whiskey" and come back (a good many of us) sore at everything and everybody over the prospect of another month of sour bread and canned soup, and trying to be "heroes" in that godforsaken post, where five or six feet of snow, and twenty or thirty degrees below zero, was the rule rather than the exception. One night right after pay day Private Fulton, whose seat was next to mine at mess, accidentally knocked my coffee bowl onto the floor with

his elbow, ordinarily such a trivial thing would pass unnoticed, and I was stooping over to pick it up and quietly put it back on the table, when I was peremptorily halted by a 300-lb. bundle of exaggerated ego (Sergt. Henry by name), and told to leave it alone, and Fulton was ordered to pick it up. Of course, by this time the attention of everybody was directed to our table and several of Fulton's friends from his own neighborhood, who had enlisted with him, were breathlessly watching him, and he foolishly decided not to pick it up. Sergt. Henry, had he wished, could have closed the incident here, by letting Fulton down with a reprimand, or, have put him "under arrest in quarters," and inflicted some petty persecution on him and let it go at that. But no! The U. S. Government, embodied in the carcass of 300-lb. Sergt. Henry, had been outraged, *justice was demanded*, call in 1st Sergt. Parker, Private Fulton had refused to, what, go into battle? No, to shoot some enemy of his country? No, Private Fulton *had refused* to pick up a coffee bowl. The 1st Sergt. was hastily summoned. He, sensible man, didn't take his meals with the rest of us and after listening to Sergt. Henry's tale, Fulton was ordered to "get his blankets" and accompany Sergt. Henry to the guard house.

The next morning Fulton was brought back to our quarters and asked by our battery commander, Capt. Jno. Conklin, if he realized the "enormity" of his offense. On being answered in the affirmative he was ordered to apologize to Sergt. Henry. This he refused to do, and the subsequent conversation resulted in Capt. Conklin threatening to run him (Fulton) through with his sabre. To conclude briefly, Fulton was taken back to the guard house, where he refused to work, and the result was, when he was brought up finally for a general court martial, he was found guilty of various offenses, and sentenced, if I remember correctly, to ten years at hard labor at the military prison on Governor's Island, N. Y.

Of course, many will say he got what he deserved, for he certainly was guilty of insubordination. On this side of the question I have nothing to say, but have written this in the hope that it may catch the eye of some young man who is contemplat-

ing enlisting in our glorious U. S. A., and becoming a "hero," and to warn him that when he enlists in the Army or Navy he must pocket all pride and tamely submit to insults of all kinds from his "superior" officers, for which in ordinary life he would promptly knock a man down. Fortunately,

Private Fulton didn't strike anyone, or, I presume, he would have been taken out and shot at sunrise.

This is only one of a dozen outrages which I could mention, and if you should care to hear of more, just drop a card and I will be glad to comply.

## The Trial of the Timber Workers

BY

JACK MORTON

ON OCTOBER 8th, A. L. Emerson, president of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, Lehman, Helton, Chatman, Hollingsworth, Brown, Payne, Ezell, and Havens were brought to court on a "conspiracy" to murder charge, in connection with the Grabow shooting at which time the gunmen of the lumber trust attempted to kill men prominent in that fighting organization.

The first sensation of the trial came when Judge E. G. Hunter, of counsel for the defense called the attention of the court to the manner in which the Burns' detectives were meddling in the case. He accused them with tampering with veniremen, endeavoring to find out where their sympathies lay and informing attorneys for the prosecution so that those favorable to the defense could be peremptorily challenged.

It was evident that the manager of the local Burns force was passing notes to the prosecuting attorneys, notes of comment upon the desirability of the veniremen from the lumber company viewpoint. It was claimed that at his instance jurors were challenged.

Counsel for the state (?) Pujo and District Attorney Moore, wildly denied the charge, of course, and as the counsel for the timber workers cannot keep tab on fifty or sixty Burns detectives, it is certain that they will have ample opportunity to "see" the jurors and make sure that things are "right" for the lumber trust.

Still workingmen, farmers and known sympathizers with the defense are challenged. And the lumber trust (we mean the district attorney, or the state), rejects all men who admit to having read the *REVIEW*, *The Rebel*, the *Rip Saw* or other labor papers. All brands of union men are

challenged, peremptorily, if possible. One juror was refused because he admitted to having read a single copy of the *Rip Saw*.

Prosecuting Attorney Pujo claims that Detective Burns is a saviour of society, but at least the counsel for the defense has stopped the obvious consultation of lists as jurors are called.

Seven jurors have been accepted, five farmers, one salesman and one restaurateur. The state was "willing" to accept men in the employ of the lumber trust, but refused all having ever had dealings with or information on the timber workers.

The last act of the grand jury that indicted the workingmen was to report no true bill against John Williams who attempted the life of H. G. Creel, evidently on the theory that it is no crime to kill Socialists or unionists in Louisiana.

The boys on trial for their lives in Louisiana are in need of funds to carry on the fight. Don't forget to send remittances to Jay Smith, Alexandria, La. Watch the trial if you want to know what the courts, the prosecuting attorneys, the law, the state, the police and detectives are used for.

Just now the state is doing the work of the lumber trust. It is persecuting and prosecuting union leaders in order to break up the timber workers and in order to force the members of this organization into slavery to the lumber kings. The lumber companies have stooped to hire thugs to do murder and the state is trying to put the blame upon their victims. But the whole South, and the workers in the North and from Maine to California are waking up to the crime against their comrades. They have decreed that Emerson and his fellow workers shall be freed:

# AUTOMATIC MACHINERY

## In the Glass Bottle Industry and Its Effect on the Employment of Skilled Craftsmen

BY

ROBERT JOHNSTONE WHEELER

Note—This is the first of a series of articles on the Introduction of Automatic Machinery into the basic industries. The industries covered by the series will be Glass, Coal, Iron, Steel, Cement and Agriculture. The purpose is:

1. To show to what degree automatic machinery has invaded the great industries.
2. To prove that automatic machinery is a progressive factor in industry and that its general use will necessitate a new mode of production and distribution.
3. That our new educational system conceived with the idea of making craftsmen more adaptable and, therefore, more efficient, being based upon the assumption that the present system of production and distribution is permanent, will be radically influenced by the advance of the automatic machine, since craftsmanship is being abolished.
4. To present the proposition that Industry is now ready to provide the material means to forever lighten toil and destroy poverty.

These articles are being prepared at the request of the Committee on Industrial Education, of the National Socialist Party. As far as lies within the reach and ability of the writer, they will be comprehensive and scientific. Since no money is available for such work, the investigations necessary will have to be carried on at such times as it is possible for the writer to travel and study the subject at first hand. Comrades in the industries mentioned and Comrades everywhere who can obtain data, pictures and information of value bearing on the subject will do the writer a great favor and the Party a service by sending any material to 611 N. 16th street, Allentown, Pa.

These writings will not appear in regular order. While the Glass Industry will be presented under three separate headings—Bottle, Flint and Window Glass, these subjects will not follow in order. The next article will deal with the Automatic Process in the Cement Industry.

**G**LASS making and manufacture is a very old art. History has no definite record of its origin. Myth has it that some ancient eastern potentate, on a warlike errand, halted with his followers on the seashore. A fire was built of drift and seaweed. When the expedition prepared to resume its march, it was found that the heat of the fire had caused a fusion between the ash of the seaweed and the sand of the beach, producing a semi-transparent substance. This is said to be the origin of glass.

Civilization could not get along today without this wonderfully beautiful and necessary metal. Modern science could not exist if it were not for the aid of glass. The chemist, the biologist, the astronomer—these would still be groping in doubt and perplexity, depending on the limited power of the human eye. While in the arts, in industry, in society in general, what would we do without it?

Because of its universality of use and the fact that glass is indispensable to industry, society and science, glass making is one of the basic industries.

The Census Bulletin on Manufacturers give \$92,095,203 as the total value of all products in the glass industry. The industry is divided into three parts, building glass, pressed and blown glass and bottles and jars. The latter is the most important division, having a value of \$36,018,333.

Naturally then, it is to be expected that the inventor would have made the most progress in this section of the industry, since here the greatest inducements offered.

While machinery has been working in the bottle trade for many years, it was not until 1903, that an automatic machine was developed. In that year, Mr. M. J. Owens, manager of the great Libby Flint Glass Works, of Toledo, Ohio, perfected the Owens Automatic Bottle Blowing Machine and began to sell the ware in the general

## THE NEW TEN-ARM OWENS AUTOMATIC MACHINE.

market, merely to test it at this time, however.

Not much attention was paid to the machine by blowers or manufacturers until 1904, when Pres. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association, made it a point to discuss the automatic in his annual report.

In 1905, the machine was admitted to be a success and the Ohio Bottle Co. was formed to take advantage of the invention. This company leased the right to make beer and soda bottles. Since that time, many other companies have acquired the right to use the machine, each company being limited to a certain line of ware and competition between the different companies thereby prevented. At this writing, the machine is making almost every kind of a bottle from  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz., to 12 gallon demijohns, and a number of big companies, including companies owned wholly or in part by the

Owens Company, and having an aggregate of capital amounting to more than \$100,000,000, are in a most commanding position in the bottle market. These companies are building new factories and preparing to take over the entire bottle industry. The small independent manufacturer with his old style factory and methods; and the hand blower with his skill are facing a desperate situation.

The Census Bulletin also says the production of bottles and jars for the year 1909 was 12,429,861 gross, and that while primary horsepower increased by 40%, the number of glassworkers increased by only 7%. This indicates that machinery had already made serious inroads on the handcraft of bottle blowing.

In the year 1909, 49 automatic machines, having a producing capacity per machine of 111.5 gross per day of 24 hours; or a yearly production of 1,700,824 gross, based upon

a year of 300 working days, were at work in the industry. It would require 440 shops, or 1,320 skilled blowers to produce 1,700,824 gross. The Census Bulletin says that there was only 493,341 gross more produced in 1909, than in 1904. Therefore, since the machines were working, a large number of skilled men must have been idle. And it is so. In 1909, there were 8,501 journeymen and 1,840 apprentices under the jurisdiction of the union and about 900 non-union blowers outside the union. In the month of December of that year, the union had 2,395 men idle.

During the last three years, the machines have been increased very fast and the number of idle men greatly agumented thereby. The following chart will illustrate the advance of the machine. The figures for the machine are quite accurate. The figures for the workmen are only approximate, though sufficiently accurate for the purpose to be served.

Increase of machines by years.	Increase of machine prod. by years. Gross	Decrease of blowers by years.	Decrease hand prod. by years. Gross	Increased idle men by years.	Estimated increase consumpt'n
1915.....	350	21,000,000	*.....	.....	.....
1914.....	250	15,000,000	453	450,000	9,659
1913.....	150	6,750,000	4,999	6,450,000	5,113
1912.....	136	4,549,200	6,439	8,650,600	3,673
1911.....	103	3,575,200	7,396	9,624,798	2,716
1910.....	65	2,256,968	7,948	10,343,035	2,164
1909.....	49	1,700,824	8,823	11,499,176	1,289
1908.....	36	1,249,585	9,166	11,150,415	946
1907.....	18	624,793	9,639	11,775,207	473
1906.....	8	277,686	9,902	12,122,814	210
1905.....	1	34,710	10,086	12,365,290	26
					12,400,000

1. Up to the year 1913, the advance of the machine was slow, due to the fact that the machine shop of the Owens Company was limited to 50 machines a year. This year, the company is building a new shop, which will be ready Jan. 1, 1913, and will have a capacity of 100 new style ten-arm machines a year. These new machines are almost double in producing capacity over the old six-arm machine, being able to produce 400 gross a day of small bottles, 200 gross medium size, and 100 gross gallon size; or an average daily production per machine of 200 gross.

2. It is not likely that the Owens Company will turn out more than 100 more of the new ten-arm machines for a number of years, as the number of machines made and in use by 1914 will be able to supply almost the entire demand for bottles in

the United States, Canada and Mexico. The yearly consumption of bottles only increased about 400,000 gross from 1904 to 1909. While there has been some increase since that year, it will hardly reach 15,450,000 gross, the estimate given in the chart, unless a more rapid increase can be induced by a greatly lowered price.

\*Since the increase of consumption of bottles is slow, with the use of machines greatly on the increase, the number of skilled workmen who will be allowed to work must decrease rapidly. Absolute accuracy is not claimed for the figures as to the decrease of workmen, but they are fairly estimated by deducting the machine production given for each year and dividing that amount by the number of gross one man could produce in a year. The result is the number of men displaced by the machine each year.

\*\*The figures in this column show the number of possible idle men from the year

1905 to 1914. There will not be this number absolutely driven away from the industry, because some will work as "spare men," or men who work in the place of men who lose time for sickness or other causes. Some will be allowed to work in the places of men who are willing to divide the work with them; many will work part time. But there is no doubt but the greater number of the men now working at the trade will be idle most of the time by the end of the year 1914.

Beyond that time, the future belongs to the automatic machine. Bottle blowers will have to find other jobs. Of course, there will be bottles blown by the hand method indefinitely. There are certain classes of ware which may never be taken over by the machine. These lines of ware will continue to be made by blowers, unless they

go out of use because of cheaper substitutes made by the machine.

\*\*\*The machine company is thoroughly informed as to the consuming capacity of the bottle market and is likely to seek to induce a faster rate of consumption by lowering the price of bottles until the consumer finds it more economical to buy new bottles than to trouble himself trying to get back the old ones. Also, it is possible that a large increase of consumption will be noted when the price of glass containers is made low enough to induce users of containers to choose glass instead of tin or stone or other kinds of containers.

Since the year 1910, great improvements have been made in the machine and the factory. The factory is a wonderful machine in itself. The new ten-arm machine which has been developed since 1910, almost doubles the productive capacity of the old style six-arm. The new one has many improvements. The frame is strengthened and the whole thing is greatly enlarged. In general principle, it is now complete. The inventor believes that while he may make minor improvements as time goes on, the machine is like the locomotive, or the sewing machine or the clock; perfect in principle, highly efficient, and for all practical purposes, standardized.

From the point of view of the political economist, this is the most wonderful machine in all industry. It is the first machine to take over the entire work of production in a great and growing industry and do away entirely with the skilled workman. More than that even, with the improved factory, built by expert efficiency

#### GLASS BLOWER IN ACTION.

Notice the Cheeks of This Blower. They Become Thin and Often Are Sore. There Are Two Ways of Blowing. One Manner Is from the Throat, Which Is Harder Than the Check Blowing. In Blowing the Glass, the Cheeks of the Operator Are Made to Perform the Service of Bellows.

engineers, working under the instructions of Mr. Owens, most of the unskilled men have also been dispensed with. It is the ambition of the inventor to so improve the factory as to have employed as many men as are needed to care for the machines and handle the finished bottles. When he has eliminated the last man who can be taken away and efficiency maintained, then perfection will have been reached—the automatic machine and the irreducible minimum

of human labor. In no other industry in the world has such perfection been attained.

It has been shown that the automatic is soon to absorb the bottle industry. The question arises now: "What of the workmen who are and will be thrown out of employment?" The old school economist will say, "They will be absorbed by new industries which constantly spring up." But I contend that this is no answer, because the new industry WILL USE AUTOMATIC MACHINERY and endeavor to begin with the MINIMUM of human labor.

The effect of success with the automatic in the glass industry is certain to stimulate other capitalists to seek like inventions in their line.

The automatic solves the problem of the

"Conflict between Capital and Labor" by getting rid of the laborer.

Automatic machinery, increasing in all industries, limits the opportunities of the youth of the next generation.

The automatic machine takes no apprentices.

The automatic does not eat nor wear anything.

The automatic has no wife or children to support. Who will buy its products, in the coming years, when the workers are done away with?

Who will feed and clothe the millions, workless because of automatics?

Shall man cease to exist because he has perfected tools of production, or shall society decide to own the automatics?

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## CITY BROKE WORKERS

**A** FRIEND in Detroit sent us, a few days ago, one of the circular advertising letters sent out by the K. Employment Agency in that city to the many automobile manufacturers.

Many workingmen and women have been shrewd enough to discover for themselves that the employers of labor regard them as just so many commodities to be bought and sold on the open market just as they buy machinery or horses or cows. We know that the man or woman who can deliver the strength to work, at the lowest price will get the job. But few of us have realized that business is, after all, just the buying and selling of commodities and that workingmen or women are only purchased while they are strong, efficient and cheap.

Say the K. Employment people:

"We do not accept applications from flip, indifferent, careless or drinking workmen. All men we send you have been tested as to their ability." (Note they are not referring to testing boilers, but to testing MEN.) The circular continues:

"We offer you the following clean-cut workmen for inspection and approval. Deliveries can be made in nine hours. Phone

or write your requirements. WE serve YOU free. Motor builder, full of ginger, machinist, just passed inspection; 3 reliable, clean-cut, pick-ups, age under thirty, CITY BROKE, at 27 cents. Can give you any part of 40 apprentices—19 to 21 years; *corn fed*, direct from country, at 18 to 20 cents. Let me send sample."

No intelligent worker who goes up against a proposition like this would hesitate in becoming a Socialist if he knew what the Socialist movement means. It can't all be explained in a word, but this is the root of the matter. We are organized to overthrow a system of society that produces PROFITS for the owners of factories and forces the buying and selling of those who work.

We propose that the workers in the mines and factories shall collectively OWN the factories, so that every man will be certain of a job and sure to receive the full value of the automobiles or coats or chairs he makes. If it sounds good to you, send \$1.30 for this magazine a year and we will send you free 10 booklets on Socialism.

If you are *not* a Socialist, WHY NOT?

GREAT SOCIALIST MEETING, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY.

## On the Road With Debs

By

ELLIS B. HARRIS

### We Are All Optimistic

**H**OW can we help it after the realization that not only this is our year, but that all the years to come are to be the fulfillment of Marx's promise to the working class, inevitable Socialism. And Socialism means the system of co-operation in which man's inhumanity to man can no longer prevail. Then the countless millions that now mourn shall stand free men erect and smiling in the glorious vision of a universal brotherhood that they, the tireless and unconquerable working class have at last brought to practical realization; a condition in which the evil star of exploitation has set to rise no more. Not only this notion, but the whole world shall be consecrated and glorified in a service of justice, truth and love;

when property right shall be the right of all the workers to possess all property in the means of production and distribution; and then control it so that man may freely enjoy life and liberty.

Time was when nearly if not quite all of the people could be fooled most if not all of the time by a system of education that teaches that capital is prior to labor; that it belongs to a sort of philanthropic organization that gives employment to the working class and is therefore necessary as an initiative to labor; that being based on private ownership and being the source of the very existence of man, it is therefore more than man and man must be subservient to it.

On this sort of education we have builded a heartless commercialism that is sapping

the life blood of the nations to fertilize and make more productive the private property of a master class, property held to be more sacred than the mothers and children of all the races of men on whom this ruling class subsist.

Comes the propoganda of Socialism with the new education based on history, evolution and a true political economy; teaching the unimpeachable laws of value, industrial evolution and economic determinism; making plain to the workers the ages of class struggle that have forced them continually to fight for life against the ruling class and that shall ultimately unite the toiling masses into one great union and a solidarity of comradeship that shall win a final and lasting triumph for all mankind.

To fully realize and appreciate the success of our ceaseless campaign, one cannot confine himself to a view of any particular locality. He must have every opportunity to come in direct touch with it throughout all of the states. One must see the awakening and hear the collective voice of the masses assembled as we have seen them, east, west, north and south; and mingle with them amidst such inspiring scenes as that of Madison Square Garden, New York, and Philadelphia Convention Hall, where twenty thousand people stood beneath a very sea of waving scarlet banners and shouted themselves hoarse for the revolution and Socialism.

Heartily I wish that every comrade might share this trip with the Debs party. That they might touch hands with and feel the heart throb, through that touch of the na-

tion's working class. Spirits in revolt, thousands of them, class conscious, self-sacrificing and indefatigable.

"One fact in which we may all find comfort, no matter how dark our skies may seem, is that the common heart of humanity is sound and beats true," asserts Debs. And nothing proves the assurance so well as the experiences of our campaign tour, where the rhythmic pulse of the collectivity is made manifest in the desire to hear some message of Socialism.

Here is the rush and the crush of the common fellowship; the good natured crowding of happy men and women that feel they are akin in this, the lobby of a brighter future. I say happy, for here at last they seem to realize that in their unity lies the achievement of every desire and effort for an abundant and happy life. They are not all Socialists by any means, but they are all interested in our message. They are all responsive to the principles of our party as they fall from the lips of its eloquent advocate, comrade Debs.

This is what we see on every hand, a thoroughly dissatisfied working class in every state in the Union, exploited by a plutocracy of wealth, which commands all the powers of government. The struggle for existence has at last become unbearable to the great majority.

The seed of Socialism that we have sown and are still sowing is coming to blossom in the great heart of working man and woman and no one who has seen it in all its phases of development can ever doubt the harvest yield.

Photo by Courtesy of Popular Mechanics.

Upper View—Laborers Tearing Down a Great Ant Hill on Level Plain in Congo to Make Way for Cape-to-Cairo Railway Roadbed.

Lower View—Monster Ant Hill on the Cape-to-Cairo Railroad, Near Elizabethville, Congo, Which Is Being Used by Surveyors as an Observatory.

**B**Y 1914, there will be a railroad in operation from the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean, straight through the heart of Africa. It is owned by the British and will be able to pick up trade all along the line.

The discovery of the great diamond fields brought the English railway lines as far as Kimberly; the finding of gold carried it to the Rand. The opening of Rhodesia led the iron highway on to Bulawayo.

In the beginning, the railroad was, in Africa, as elsewhere, only a means to an end—a monstrous artery through which England and English capitalists desired to suck the wealth of the new land. But the time came when the opening of more new land served as an inducement. The railroad, serving as a short cut from the coast to the Mediterranean, was destined to become the great carrier for the whole interior of Africa. In itself it promised enormous dividends.

Economic interest, in other words, the natural resources, the wealth and profits to be won, was the basis of the new civilization in South Africa.

From Bulawayo the building of the British African railroad lay through 5,000 miles of unmapped forest, desert and jungle, filled with hostile natives, savage beasts and deadly fevers.

The railroad crosses Zambesi at Victoria Falls on the highest bridge in the world. From Capetown to the Zambesi the country today resembles our great northwest. North of that is still frontier—the last to be conquered.

A trip from Barotseland is more enlivening than a circus. All along the route are fields of corn. Dotted here and there are rude towers on the top of which sits a native to keep off the herds of wild pigs by night and troops of huge baboons by day. Many of these baboons are six feet high and weigh two hundred pounds. Travelers declare it is very funny to see them slipping away from a farmer's mealie field or sweet potato patch with the loot tucked in their arms like so many small marauding school boys.

Only two or three miles up or down the Zambesi the train passengers can still see hippopotami and in northwest Rhodesia herds of brush buck, zebras and ostriches scamper away at the sound of the steam engine. And when the train stops at a lonely siding at night you can hear the roar of lions and see the fires of the railway construction gangs, built to protect themselves.

One writer in the Outlook reported that one day he saw a herd of five giraffe craning their ridiculous necks and another time their engine struck a bull elephant which had decided to contest the right of way.

In reporting on the work of construction, one of the engineers claims that not the least of the difficulties they were forced to overcome, were the gigantic ant hills that dotted the land. Many of these rose to a height of from thirty to sixty-five feet.

The ants are of a very destructive variety, white and less than an inch in length. They ruin almost everything they touch except metal and they often travel in great armies that do great damage. In a recent write-up, Popular Mechanics makes the statement that these ants destroy only the portions of articles which are not exposed to the open air, so that the surveyors have found that when they left their shoes where the ants could reach them, the soles were entirely eaten away by the insects while the uppers were left.

The completion of the railroad is near at hand and when the last rail has been laid, its builders may well say, "In all the world there is no railroad like this."

It will start on the green shores of the Mediterranean and stop at the foot of Table Mountain. It will pass through jungle, swamp and desert. It will zig-zag over plains where elephants play by day and lions roar by night and it will wind up the slopes of snowclad mountains. Travelers can see from the car windows the outlines of the Pyramids that were "hoary with age when London was a cluster of mud huts. It crosses the mightiest cataract in the world, passes the Assuan Dam and runs through Johannesburg, which produces one-third of the world's gold supply."

It will mean that capitalism has opened up the last continent and that there are no more frontiers to conquer. It will mean the modernization of Africa and the ultimate rise of Socialism on the dark continent.



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# The Second Battle of Lawrence

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

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**T**HE proletariat, the lowest stratum of society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole of official society being sprung into the air."

When Marx put that in the Communist Manifesto he certainly knew what he was talking about. It's the truth; for the proletariat around historic Lawrence has been stirring again, feeling its muscle and testing its power, and the result is that the upper strata have not only been sprung into the air but have hit the ceiling with a loud bang.

This article has to be written here in

Lawrence on the eve of the Columbus Day "parade of patriotic citizens," which has been gotten up and arranged by Mayor Scanlon, the Catholic priesthood, and the American Woolen Company. None knows what the morrow may bring forth. There have been ten days of tension and everyone who is alive to the situation is aware that Lawrence is sitting on a volcano whose repressed forces may break out at any moment. The suspense will last until Monday morning when the Ettor-Giovannitti trial is resumed. Before that time there may be violent scenes in the streets; or the whole affair may blow off in the cheers, music

and speeches of tomorrow. There is no veil over the class struggle here tonight. The chasm between the bourgeois and the working class is wide and deep and there is no disposition on either side to bridge it or to smooth it over.

No one who has not seen a situation of the kind before can imagine into what a frenzy the highly respectable business and professional element in their hatred of the I. W. W. have worked themselves into.

All this murderous hatred has been aroused because trade has fallen off, because business has been interrupted, because profits have been cut into; in short, because the capitalist system of this locality, the whole profit-grinding machinery, has been seriously upset, disarranged, and for a time put out of order. There is no blacker crime in the eyes of the capitalist class, from the petty tradesman to the head of a great corporation. Consequently war to the death has been declared against the Industrial Workers of the World, and there are threats of tar and feathers, of forced departures from town, of torture and assassination.

A strike for improved conditions is not new in this country. It is comparatively easy to enlist a host of workers in a war for bread, but a strike for an immaterial thing, a cause, an ideal, is a horse of another color. Is there any considerable body of workers in the United States who will go on strike for a principle? A month ago this question might have been answered skeptically, but not so now.

On the 30th day of September last the mill workers of Lawrence came out in the first mass protest strike we have had in this country, thereby marking the beginning of a new era in American labor history. From now on Revolutionary Unionism is a fact that the capitalist class of this country must consider and deal with.

The second Lawrence strike was called as a protest against the imprisonment and trial of Ettor and Giovanniti and broke out spontaneously in the Washington mill on Thursday afternoon, September 26, despite the letters sent from jail by the two agitators advising the workers against such a strike. It grew in volume until by Saturday 12,000 people were out, crippling the Wood, Ayer, Everett, Arlington and Lower Pacific mills.

By a vote taken at a general open-air mass meeting held on the following Saturday afternoon it was decided that all should cease work until Tuesday morning.

Sunday a memorial parade was held in honor of Anna La Pizza and John Rami who lost their lives in the strike of last winter. Sunday morning a special train brought several hundred workers from Boston and nearby towns. A huge throng was at the station to meet them and as banners were unfurled, one of the bands struck up and the great mass of workers moved up the street towards Lexington Hall where the parade was to be formed.

Up to this time there had been no disorder, no disturbances of any kind whatever. Such a state of affairs, of course, could not be permitted to continue. The I. W. W. had the name of being a violent organization, therefore it must be made to appear violent. The police had already made objections to the music and to the banners, but to no avail.

Now it might have been better if no bands had played and if no cheers or yells had been indulged in. It might have been more impressive to proceed in silence through the streets; but the fact is the bands played, and the respectable New England eye and ear, not knowing that bands of music for funerals are not uncommon among the people most numerous in the throng, was revolted by the spectacle. The police sergeant on duty was shocked. The turning of the marchers from Broadway into Essex street, which the police claim was not permissible, furnished an excuse.

We were all leaning out of the windows of the Central building watching the advancing host when suddenly a big squad of police ran hastily out of a side street, deployed, and spread in a solid line across Essex street squarely in the path of the scattered mass of approaching workers. It was perfectly evident that there was going to be trouble and it was going to occur right beneath our windows.

I never saw a worse scared bunch of cops. Many of them were young fellows and this was probably their first dirty job. Their faces were white, they gripped their clubs nervously. The advancing crowd no doubt looked mighty dangerous, with their red banners flying, and Carlo Tresca, a bull of a man, at the head.

## "ON DUTY" FOR THE AMERICAN WOOLEN COMPANY.

The gap between the line of police and the marchers steadily lessened and then closed. There was a moment's hesitation as a police sergeant shook his club furiously in Tresca's face and shouted something at him. Tresca evidently did not understand and threw up one hand as a signal for the crowd to stop. It was useless. The pressure from behind was too great. In another second Tresca was

forced through the line of bluecoats and two of them closed with him. Instantly the police line was ripped to pieces like a rope of sand and the old, old, sickening spectacle was presented of burly and well-armed policemen raining vicious blows down upon the unprotected heads of uncomprehending workingmen. Blood was soon flowing, but it was not all confined to one side. Tresca was taken into

## CLUBBING THE WORKERS IN LAWRENCE.

custody twice but for some mysterious reason was never arrested or taken to the station house, and while all the capitalist papers had him fleeing the city "in terror of the vigilantes" he was walking the streets as if nothing had happened.

Sunday afternoon the memorial parade contained perhaps 15,000 workers. Innumerable flags and banners were carried, one of which was the subject of much controversy. This was a sign in black and white headed: "No God, No Master," and furnished the theme for violent sermons by the local clergy afterwards.

The next day Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso were placed on trial for their lives in Salem because their "inflammatory speeches" are alleged to have caused the death of Anna La Pizza in a street disturbance last winter. That day the work-

ers had tied up the American Woolen Company's mills as a protest. Police and hired strong-arm men were on the job as usual and trouble followed, also as usual.

Nothing unusual occurred when Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso were summoned before the judgment seat of High Capitalism, the only feature being the extraordinary number of excuses that the 350 talesmen gave for not serving on the jury. As the weary examination of jurors proceeded, there was but one thing that impressed the spectator and that was the fact that in their courts the capitalists have erected an elaborate and intricate piece of machinery that the working class never can use. Thank whatever gods may be, the time is coming when the rising workers will sweep the whole miserable business out of existence.

Wednesday afternoon the trial was halted until new talesmen could be summoned and as we came out of the courthouse City Marshal Lehan was showing to the reporters a telegram from Vincent St. John, general secretary of the I. W. W. at Chicago, informing Lehan that he would be held responsible for the safety of Bill Haywood on account of the fact that a gang headed by one William Seil or Seiden had left New York that day for the purpose of doing him injury. Lehan scoffed at the telegram but he was careful to assign a plain clothes man to keep near Haywood, who had been watching the trial all day. The information that St. John sent was circumstantial and came from a source that ought to be reliable. When Haywood returned to Lawrence that night he found a bodyguard waiting for him that insisted upon taking him in charge. It was composed of two Italians, one Portuguese, and one Syrian and they never left him out of their sight until he announced that he thought he had been guarded enough.

It was evident that a change had taken place in Lawrence. Cops stood guard at every corner and plain-clothes men and "bulls" of every description sauntered about the streets. Groups of men stood in the shadows and conversed in low tones. The Lawrence papers, which hitherto had maintained an appearance of impartiality, now carried double-column editorials on their front pages demanding that the "cancer of anarchy" be cut out of their midst, with demands for the formation of vigilantes' committees. "They did it in San Diego," said one paper, "and we can do it here in Lawrence"

The Boston papers which had given many of the actual facts about police brutality during the protest strike were loudly denounced and an official statement by Mayor Scanlon was given great prominence. This was as follows:

"I approve most heartily every action of the police today. They did nothing more than the conditions warranted. They were perfectly justified in using their clubs as they did. Are we going to allow our city to be run by outside thugs? The police did not do half enough. The papers have lied about us and continue to tell false statements about our city. I am proud of the actions of the police.

We who live in this city cannot longer bear the conditions now existing. This thing will be cleared up if we have to get 100 more "clubbers."

Mayor Scanlon afterward became frightened at the sound of this and tried to pretend that he said "100 more coppers." But what he said was "clubbers." There were plenty who heard him.

Thursday night a "citizens' massmeeting" was held in the city hall, and if I. W. W. speakers had used half the language indulged in by these "foremost" citizens the entire country would have arisen the next day and demanded that these bloody agitators be hanged. Among the orators were a mayor, a Catholic priest, a Protestant preacher, a school-teacher, a congressman, an assistant municipal judge, a clubwoman, and a prominent business man. More vitriolic, more venomous speeches, more vindictive appeals to class hatred, were never made by the most rabid throng of so-called anarchists. Listen:

Mayor Scanlon said: "We will not countenance this red flag of anarchy in our midst."

Mr. Bradley, who acted as chairman said: "The war of 1776 began this union. The war of 1861 was to perpetuate this union, and the war of 1912 is to protect the interests of this nation."

Postmaster Cox said: "Men have come who have filled these people with riot and anarchy. Now that business has got to stop, and it's going to stop right now."

Mr. Chandler said: "If the militia cannot put this down, they know where they can get others to help them. And also, I say to you, these people must be ejected, legally, if possible, but ejected from our doors."

Congressman Knox said: "These conditions remind me of Captain Parker in the Revolutionary War. He said, If they want war, let it commence right now, and that is what I say."

Mr. Chandler is also quoted as saying: "We are ready to assist in the annihilation of these malefactors."

The Rev. Lovejoy, pastor of the So. Lawrence Congregational Church, said: "There is no room for the red flag in this country, and we will not tolerate it."

Father O'Reilly, shouted: "Those who do not want to work better take a hint and go. We will drive the demons of anarchism and socialism from our midst."

Mayor Scanlon then announced that Columbus Day had been selected for a "God and Country" parade in which all patriotic citizens would be expected to

join. He issued a further ukase to the effect that all good citizens should wear an American flag on their coat lapels until Thanksgiving Day.

When the crowd poured out of city hall late that night it was plain that they needed but a spark, a wave of the hand, or a leader, to turn them into a mob of murder and riot. They had been cunningly worked up into a fury of excitement and the small knots of people whom one passed on the street talked gloatingly of tar and feathers, of red-hot poker, and lamp-post lynchings. Evidently the class struggle as it becomes sharper from now on is to be no tea-party affair.

The I. W. W. was not slow in taking note of these threats and issued a statement in reply, saying that if the least of its members was injured or killed, the speakers named above would be held responsible.

At the same time Lawrence entered upon such an orgy of patriotism as few cities have passed through. The American flag was put to all sorts of ridiculous and degraded uses, from being worn as the cover of an umbrella by a grafting politician to being stuck on the tail-board of the city dump carts. American flags, large and small, were imported into the city by the thousands and all that could not be sold were given away. Any man seen without a flag on his person was likely to be stopped and insulted by street hoodlums.

The most alarming and impossible stories were set afloat. Haywood was an especial target. The *Boston Journal* appeared one day with a picture of Haywood wearing a U. S. flag on his coat lapel. It was a pure fake and so aroused William that when the reporters came round again he told them with considerable vigor that while he was not opposed to the American flag, that he was not going to be forced to wear one at any politician's dictation, particularly when said politician's citizenship was in question. This was a back-handed slap at Mayor Scanlon whom common rumor says has never even taken out his naturalization papers. Another local paper announced that Haywood was known to be worth \$250,000, which piece of information so pleased his friends that they all gathered round and requested a loan in concert. The

flag fever continued unabated but without noteworthy incident until Mayor Scanlon came out with a new statement saying that not only was the I. W. W. not wanted in the parade of patriots, but would not be allowed to take part at all.

The I. W. W. was so hurt by this that they went off in a huff and announced a little affair on their own account, this being a picnic at Pleasant Valley on the day of the patriotic parade.

So if there are any more street clashes it will be up to the respectable citizens of Lawrence to explain.

Later Note—Up till an early hour on Saturday night, October 12, Columbus Day has passed without any disturbance. The patriots paraded gloriously today to the number of 30,000, according to claims, but if it had not been for the army of school children it would have been a sorry showing. Every parade carried an American flag and some a half dozen. No other flag was allowed in the parade, not even an Italian one, though it was Columbus Day. Across Essex street, near the Central building, an arch of banners was spread with the following inscription, written by Father O'Reilley and Attorney Dooley, in big, black letters:

<p><b>FOR GOD AND COUNTRY.</b>          The Stars and Stripes Forever          The Red Flag Never,          A Protest against the I. W. W.          Its Principles and Methods.</p>
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This is the greatest compliment ever paid to a labor organization by a municipality in the history of the world. The I. W. W. ought to be proud of itself.

The day was cold and rainy, but early this morning a little band of 200 of the faithful made the long hike, three miles, out to Pleasant Valley and resolved to have a picnic or bust. By noon the crowds began to come and by 2 o'clock there were 4,000 revolutionists present despite the rain, and the muddy roads. Haywood, Fred Heslewood, Gurey Flynn, Archie Adamson, Tresca, Ex-Mayor Cahill, and several speakers in foreign languages addressed the throng and none of them ever made better speeches in their lives. Every nationality was represented and all pledged themselves anew, with a mighty shout, to One Big Union.

**Carlo Tresca—Comrades—William D. Haywood.**

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# THE SEVENTH I. W. W. CONVENTION

BY

J. P. CANNON

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IN reviewing the proceedings of the seventh annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, which convened at Brand's Hall, in Chicago, September 16, and continued for ten days, little need be said about its parliamentary enactments. There were but few unimportant changes made in the constitution and no great departures from the policy adopted at the last convention and which has proven adaptable to conditions faced by the organization during the past year.

Unity of purpose and absence of discord were manifested in every act of the delegates. Strife and dissension, which has so hampered the constructive work of the organization in the past, has quite naturally been eliminated by the growth of the organization. Viewed in the light of the past year's events, this spirit of discord seems to have been engendered more by the apparent unresponsiveness of the workers to the propaganda carried on by the I. W. W., and the consequent discouragement and inactivity of a part of its membership, than by any wide divergences of purpose or opinion.

The delegates from the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, seven in number, came to the convention with instructions to amalgamate with the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers of the I. W. W.; thus becoming an integral part of the General Organization. By this combination of forces much is to be gained for all concerned. The Timber Workers will secure the advantage of the experience of the older organization, while the I. W. W. will have added to its ranks a potent fighting force. This splendid band of militants, which has sprung up in the Southland within less than two years, and is successfully combatting the Lumber Trust, is a truly en-

couraging development in the American labor movement.

Despite the fact that a large percentage of the Timber Workers are Socialist Party men, and have had the active co-operation and assistance of the party since the inception of the union, information was imparted by their delegates that not the least effective method of harassing the timber Wolves is the judicious use of a weapon which is frowned upon in a certain Article Six, Section Two. Rumors that Kirby and Long intend to call this matter to the attention of those who sit in the high places are as yet unconfirmed.

It is a significant proof of the sound base of the I. W. W. philosophy that the tremendous growth of the past year has not brought with it the germ of opportunism. There was no suggestion of a desire on the part of any of the delegates to swerve from the uncompromising and revolutionary attitude of the organization; nor was there any reaching out for "respectability." Every man was a "Red," most of them with jail records, too.

The oft-quoted sentence in the Preamble, "We are building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old" was well exemplified in the personnel of the convention. Here was an assemblage which, to a man, rejected the moral and ethical teachings of the existing order, and had formulated a creed of their own which begins with Solidarity and ends with Freedom. In the strictest sense, it was a Proletarian Congress; an "Internation" in embryo. Representatives of more than a score of nationalities, including the Negro race, met there upon common ground. All united in a common cause; all swayed by the same ideal; all striving, with earnestness and zeal, to hasten the day when "the whistle will blow for the Boss to go to work!"

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# The Great Falls Strike

BY

JAMES B. SCOTT

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**T**HE working class in the State of Montana are awakening, the battle cry for industrial freedom is resounding; the state is full of proletarian agitators and the masters of the bread are afraid of the rising "mob" that threatens the destruction of their profits.

In the peaceful little city of Great Falls, a city that is in the hands of the Amalgamated Copper Co., the spirit of revolt is in the air.

For four long months the teamsters have been on strike for an increase of 50 cents a day, the owners of the jobs have refused to give the slaves the raise and the fight is on. The other day one of the striking teamsters carried a banner in front of one of the largest stores in the town with this inscription, "STRAIN BROTHERS, BOTH STORES—ARE UNFAIR TO ORGANIZED LABOR." One of the brothers of the merchant, a prominent ear, eye and nose doctor, one of the most prominent church members and "reputable" citizens, assisted by another three respectable business men attacked the banner carrier. Two were arrested, one of them was the striking teamster. We bailed him out and inside of ten minutes he was again out on the street with another banner. He had scarcely gone two blocks when the tools of the master class—the police—re-arrested him for carrying the banner and fixed his bail at \$100. The trial came up in the police court, Louis J. Dilno, the Socialist candidate for the legislature, defended the teamster. On the first charge he was found guilty and fined \$5.00. The case was appealed to the District Court. The second charge was "creating a nuisance." The carrying of the banner was certainly a nuisance to the business men, but as the working class make up 90 per cent of the population of this town it couldn't be a nuisance to the working class. The court was packed with working men and the

Justice of the Peace sat there and hardly knew what to do with himself. Upon "hearing the evidence" he discharged the striker.

The Mayor of the city, Ex County Attorney and corporation lawyer, issued an order to arrest the first one who was seen on the street with an "unfair banner." A mass meeting was called, Tom Lewis was there, he took the 1,500 men and women by storm. Never in the history of Great Falls was there such an enthusiastic meeting. The crowd went wild over Tom's speech. Mrs. Jeannie Teague, a daughter of the late Freeman Knowles, got up in the meeting and told them that the women of the Women's Mutual Improvement Club, an auxiliary of the Socialist Party, would carry all the banners they wanted carried. Tom Lewis suggested that they take the Council Chambers by storm the following evening and stop the passage of an ordinance that would prohibit the carrying of banners.

The following day thirty women walked up and down the streets in front of the scab stores carrying banners, declaring that the stores were unfair to organized labor. The police tried to stop them but failed; the working class lined the streets for seven blocks and the police retired to the alleys, and the Corporation Mayor failed to put in an appearance. The City Council convened the same evening for the purpose of passing the ordinance to stop the carrying of banners; the Council Chambers were flooded by the women of the Mutual Improvement Club—Mrs. Livingstone, who is editor of a magazine called "The White Slave Review," got up to address the Council, but the Mayor rapped the gavel and adjourned the Council. The women are fast coming to the front in the State of Montana, and it will only be a matter of a few years when the women will be everywhere in the foremost ranks on the industrial battlefield.

HEAD OFFICE OF I. W. W. STRIKE CAMP AT YALE, B. C.

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## REVOLUTION YAWNS!

BY

AGNES C. LAUT

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**NOTE**—By courtesy of the Technical World Company we take pleasure in reproducing the greater part of an article which appeared in the October number of the Technical World Magazine, feeling sure that our readers will appreciate same.

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**W**HEN Sir William MacKenzie, President of the Canadian Northern Railway, heard that strike organizers were at work among the construction gangs of his crews in the Rockies, he literally did not know who the Industrial Workers of the World—or the “I. W. W.’s,” as they are commonly known—were, and is credited with having expressed absolute contempt for any action that could possibly come. Let them agitate their heads off! Let them strike till the crack of doom! He had no more love for the contractors than for the walking delegates. Let them dog eat dog and tear at each other’s throats till nothing remained of either side! The railroad was paying the highest wages for unskilled

labor (\$2.50 to \$3.50 a day) ever known in construction work. There would be no lack of laborers to come in. There were no grievances. The men presented no demands until after the walkout. The railroad thought it could defy all the walking delegates on earth and refused to listen to any advice about counteracting agitation.

At a word, at the drop of the hat one night, without any demands whatsoever of the contractors, 7,500 men stopped work. Every pick was dropped where last used. Not a wheel turned. Teamsters getting \$3 a day and board turned horses loose and quit. Walking bosses at \$5 a day stopped as readily as shovel stiffs at \$2.75. It began at Ashcroft one night, the men crossing the river to the Canadian Pacific Railroad

side of the narrow mountain canyon, marching down the Canadian Pacific Railroad tracks to all the Canadian Northern camps, pulling the men out of the shanty berths and practically sweeping every man off construction work for a distance of nearly three hundred miles—"a mania in perfect unison," as one observer described it. Men asleep down at Hope and Yale were awakened, told the strike was on, taken across the river and marched on down the river to the next camps. At a word, at a signal which Indians would describe as "a mocassin telegram," the walkout was complete from end to end of the line under construction. The thing was done without disorder and with almost military precision. On one side of Fraser Canyon are the Canadian Pacific Railroad tracks. On the other side sheer against the face of rock, tunnels and grade are being blasted and picked out for the Canadian Northern tracks. The men ferried across the river and took up quarters on the Canadian Pacific Railroad side, where a commissariat had been arranged and sleeping quarters were easily put up by the blanket gangs. In most of the camps were fifteen or sixteen different nationalities, men who had been in America only a few months and who had come from lands where the daily wage was from fifty cents to eighty cents a day.

After the walkout, a statement of grievances was drawn up. A minimum wage of \$3 a day for a nine-hour day was de-

AT WORK ON CONSTRUCTION CAR ON  
THE CANADIAN NORTHERN.

shanty camps. I may say I visited these shanty camps, and they were much better than many shanty camps where I have spent holidays. One of the chief complaints was against the piece-work system, or what is known as station work, where sections of tunneling and grading are let to sub-contractors at a lump sum, the men buying the dynamite from the contractor and making profits only according to their own speed and judgment. Perhaps, too, luck plays an important part. One man may put in \$10 of dynamite and bring down \$1,000 of rock and gravel. Another man may put in \$1,000 of dynamite and fail to blow out more than \$100 worth of rock. On one bit of piece work, a man had left less than fifty cents for a week's work over and above board. On another stretch of station work, a gang of men from Montenegro, who worked well together, each cleared from \$4 to \$11 a day.

The railroad officials were first dumfounded; then, furious. Constables at a cost of \$1,100 a day to the province of British Columbia were rushed in to prevent violence. Here, too, the strike was a new kind of demonstration in the annals of labor. *There was no violence*, no attempt at violence, except what the constables or

contractors themselves perpetrated. The I. W. W.'s had appointed their own police, their own pickets, their own constables. Strikers were forbidden to take more than one drink in a day and a striker's constable stood on guard at each saloon to enforce the rule. A delinquent would be taken to the strikers' tent, tried, fined and relieved of his money. If perverse, he would be given commissariat duties till disciplined. Before the strike, the saloons had been taking in \$300 a day;

\$1,200 on holidays. After the strike, the saloons complained to me that they could not sell a single drink. At one place, a compressed air pipe was blown up with dynamite and the news heralded through the press as "an outrage." As constables guarded both ends of the narrow canyon and the strikers were forbidden to cross the river, one can draw one's own inference as to the authors of that "outrage," and the motive. At another place, two or three strikers stood in the way of a construction engine driven by a non-union man. They—not the non-union man were smashed to pieces; and in a strike that lasted for two months, those were the only acts of violence that are reported as having occurred.

At a cost of \$66,000 to the province, the constables waited for something to happen that would force a crisis. The strikers took good care that nothing happened. It was "the direct action" of what is called "passive resistance" with a vengeance.

The contractors rushed down to Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma, hired new men, paid their way and put them on the train to go in to the construction camps. The new men, somehow, never reached camp. Shadows sat down in the train with them, and talked; and the newcomers dropped off and joined the strike camps.

YALE, B. C., WHERE STRIKERS CAMPED 1,500 STRONG—THEY WERE FORCIBLY RUN OUT BY B. C. CONSTABLES.

This went on for two months. Then the railroad and the province and the public began to wake up from a hide-bound indifference and ask questions. What kind of a strike was this, anyway, where no demands were made till after the walkout? Hadn't Canada the best arbitration law in the world? Why didn't they arbitrate? If each side denied there was anything to arbitrate, why not go back to work? Then, the public wakened up to the fact, it wasn't a strike they were dealing with, but a deadlock. A new era had come to the labor world, an era that repudiated arbitration and spat on the word "contract" and loathed compromise.

It was about this time that arrests for "unlawful assembly" and "free speech" began all along the Pacific Coast from San Diego to Prince Rupert; and in every strike center, two and three hundred strikers went cheerfully to jail. Three tiers to a cell they had them in British Columbia; and every striker, who went to jail, was paid \$30 a month by his organization for his service to the common good. It was easy to make these arrests for unlawful assembly; for in order to hold their men together, the leaders nightly had concerts and speeches in their assembly halls; and with free speech among 7,500 men on strike, it is not surprising that cause for arrest could be found. Here, a man advocated "accidental slides of rock"

"They think they have us beaten," said one of the leaders, who had escaped with the account books through a back window into the woods and had come to the hotel after the constables were in bed to explain the men's side of it to me. "They think they have us beaten; but we have only begun. We are not striking for this, that, or the other little paltry request as to hours and wages. We are striking to educate the workers to their power—to show

#### TUNNEL MEN ON PIECE WORK AT YALE, B. C.

The Men Buy the Dynamite from the Contractor, Profits to the Workers Depend Upon Their Own Speed and Judgment and Luck.

down the embankment on the grade. There, another speaker advocated a cordial reception to non-union strike breakers. "Bring them to camp," he said. "Treat them well! Give them a cup of coffee,"—a pause—"there may be something in that coffee—sugar of course." Where such speeches were made on the streets, and the police charged, there were, of course, riots. "Men," another man was saying, when arrested, "if a policeman taps me, it is the undertaker for him!" Well, two or three hundred of him *were* tapped in British Columbia, alone; but when the government learned that every man going to jail received \$30 a month, that the keep of the men was costing the province \$100 a day, that constables were costing \$1,100 a day, and that the loss in wages had already amounted to \$700,000—no more arrests were made. Down in San Diego, the hose was turned on strikers and the men were run out of the city. Up in British Columbia, the constables waited for the bread line to form one afternoon, and ran the men out mealless for a hundred and fifty mile tramp out of the country at the end of a gun. Both acts, I need not state, were utterly lawless. The I. W. W.'s had tried lawless passive force. The government had recourse to lawless active force.

them if they unite that they can paralyze every wheel of industry and compel the expropriation of all industry from that side of the line to this side of the line; from capital to labor. That is where our organization differs from all other organizations. You think we are beaten? We will go back to work and accumulate funds; and strike yet again, till the public finds it cheaper for us to operate all industry than to tolerate the recurring deadlock. We are striking solely to overthrow the capital system. First, in England, it was the railways. Then, it was the coal mines. Now, it is the docks. Here we have begun operations because labor is so scarce that we can show our power. We have tied up one road for two months. Next time, we'll tie up three roads for three months; and so we'll go on and educate and educate and educate labor to a knowledge of its own strength and solidarity till it realizes it has only to unite in order to take over all industry and overthrow the capital system. Of course, I will be pinched when I go out tonight; but that is nothing. What is one man's loss in a great fight? There are thousands ready to take my place; and there will be ten thousand ready to take their places. We can fill their jails to over-

AN ADVOCATE OF FREE SPEECH ARRESTED FOR EXERCISING WHAT HE BELIEVED TO  
BE HIS RIGHTS, AT VANCOUVER.

flowing. They will find it cheaper to make terms with us than fight us. 'I won't Works' they call us. They are right. The Industrial Workers of the World are "I Won't Works" for capital. We work only for the laborer; and the laborer is worthy

of his hire; and our hire is all that labor produces; not just half of it, with the other half going for profit. In overthrowing capital, we shall eliminate the profit system. No more shall be produced than can be used by the producer."

DEMONSTRATION OF I. W. W. FORCES AND ALLIES—"ALL LIBERTY-LOVING PEOPLE"—  
FOR FREE SPEECH IN VANCOUVER, B. C.

"We do not want," says one manifesto, "to build a job trust" (speaking of the old trades unions), "we aim at a *big all inclusive labor trust.*"

"Listen men, the day is once more at hand when treason is the supreme duty of

every man and mutiny a soldier's highest obligation."

"We advocate doors wide open to *all* wage workers, whether white, yellow, red, brown or black. The I. W. W. stands for no country, but the world, no interests save those of the toiler."

## A NEW ZEALAND LETTER

BY

SCOTT BENNETT

THE Federation of Labor, during the closing days of its conference, disappointed many of its supporters and well wishers. After adopting the preamble of the I. W. W., and making provision for the organizing of the workers in industrial departments, a resolution was carried which will have the effect of causing the federation to function both on the economic and political fields. That, assuredly, was a tactical blunder of no small magnitude but, to make matters worse, a further decision was arrived at, viz., that the candidates put forth in the name of the federation need not necessarily be Socialists! What the outcome of the quite contradictory work performed by the conference will be, it is not easy to forecast at the present juncture of affairs. It is, however, greatly to be deplored that the Federation did not restrict itself to the economic field, allowing the Socialist party to carry on the political fight. As a setoff to the foregoing it is only right to add that the one big union proposition is daily gaining ground amongst the workers—it is here to stay.

The "United Labor" party continues to cut all sorts of peculiar capers. Its organizer, Mr. Walter Thomas Mills, spends most of his time writing for the capitalist press, and attempting to organize branches of the "Labor" party in opposition to existing branches of the Socialist party. As for the party itself it has already, through its spokesmen, earned some notoriety for itself as a would-be strike breaking outfit at Waihi, where a strike is in progress at the present time. The capitalist press continues to boost this heterogeneous organization as is only natural under the circumstances.

Speaking of the strike at Waihi reminds me that New Zealand is frequently referred to abroad as "a country without strikes." Needless to say this is very far from being true. Two strikes, one at Reefton and another at Waihi, are now in progress, and the industrial atmosphere is so charged with electricity that further marked manifestations of the class war may be expected at any moment. Compulsory arbitration has proven itself an absolute failure in this country from the worker's point of view—but the bosses seem to like it, as may be gathered from the following facts.

The majority of unions connected with the Federation of Labor have broken away from the jurisdiction of the arbitration board. A number of agreements (we still have "agreements" here, you see), have recently expired, and in every case the bosses are stipulating that future agreements shall be ratified by the arbitration court. It is just this question that is back of the trouble in Waihi. Yes, the bosses like it, sure enough. Why shouldn't they? The court always sees to it that they are first at the end of the home stretch!

A commission to enquire into the "high prices" question is at present touring the Dominion. It was set up by the government to "solve the question," but so far evinces a determination to end as previous commissions have done. "Nothing doing" sums the situation up, as was, of course, intended by the government.

The New Zealand Socialist Party held its conference this year a month or two before the Federation of Labor. Two important decisions were arrived at. The first was a unanimous endorsement of industrial

unionism, and the second the elimination of "immediate demands." Both decisions are good; the abandonment of "immediate demands" being imperatively called for by the conditions existing here.

Overrun, as we are, with "Liberal" parties, "Labor" parties, in short, with reformers of every stripe and hue, all willing to go "one better" in the hawking of reforms, there is really no excuse for a Socialist Party to dangle a "palliation" sign in the political wind. In every case the getting of something "here and now" is primarily the work of the economic organization, not the function of the political party.

Comrades here are frequently in receipt

of letters from fellow workers in the states, enquiring as to the advisability of settling here. Let it be placed on record for the nth time that capitalism is *Capitalism* in New Zealand as elsewhere. In the past it is true, owing largely to certain peculiar local conditions that cannot now be set forth, the wage earner here did enjoy conditions somewhat superior to those existing in older lands. But those days have passed, with the result that the average worker is "up against it" here as elsewhere. Yes, the old story about New Zealand being a paradise for the workers is badly punctured. It has been shattered by the onward march of capitalism.

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## THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

BY

HERBERT STURGES

**W**HATEVER old party ticket is elected at the coming national election, the administration is bound to be progressive, meeting the interests of the small capitalists to the extent that this can be done without harm to the big capitalists and to whatever further extent the small capitalists may be able to enforce their demands. It will be still a capitalist administration. One measure which will be approved by all the capitalists is the abolition of the right to strike.

This right was taken away from the working class in New Zealand, and other methods substituted for the settlement of labor disputes. It was sugar-coated for the workers by all kinds of welfare laws. Apparent justice was done by making every prohibition of strikes by the workmen apply word for word to lockouts by employers. Under any capitalist government the employees get far the worst of this deal and the employers far the best of it.

Whatever party administration gets into power this fall, except the Socialists, will probably do its utmost to enact meas-

ures for the quieting of unrest among the laboring classes, but at the same time safeguarding the capitalists from the revolutionary attacks of labor. Under the form of what may be called Benevolent Capitalism, the capitalist class will try to establish a rigorous Economic Despotism.

In the struggle of labor to prevent this, and above all to preserve the right to strike, there is one blow which can be struck now. In the states where it is possible to initiate amendments to the constitution, and pass them by popular majority, labor may petition for an amendment preserving the right to strike inviolate. In circulating and filing these petitions the comrades should take care to observe every form and procedure provided for the case. They should create as great an amount of publicity as possible, in order to promote the solidarity of labor as a result of the movement whether it fails or succeeds of its immediate purpose. The proposed amendments should be written by lawyers conversant with labor laws and especially with recent labor legislation in Australia and New Zealand.

# EDITORIAL

**The Presidential Vote.**—We go to press with this issue of the REVIEW three weeks before election day. The Socialist campaign, which was unusually late in gaining headway, is fairly on at last, and it looks like a whirlwind finish. Three states have already voted. Figures for Maine are not yet at hand. Our ratio of increase in Vermont indicates a vote of three-quarters of a million; the ratio in Arkansas indicates over a million. Two or three weeks ago it looked to the present writer that we should do well if we held the 1910 vote; today it looks like a million. And the best of it is that the quality of the vote will be better than ever before. It will not be a "public ownership" vote. Those who think that Socialism means nothing more than government ownership of railroads and other industries will vote for Roosevelt. Our writers and speakers, no matter how opportunistic they may have been in the past, are OBLIGED to take the revolutionary position in order to show the doubtful voter why he should support our party rather than the Progressives.

**One Final Spurt.**—A few days will remain after you read this paragraph before election. You probably know one or two voters who are still "doubtful." Talk with them and give them something to read to clear up their ideas. Make them understand that we want their votes if they are for Revolution, not otherwise, and they will respect us more than if we were begging for votes on any terms. Join in with the other comrades of your Local to make a big success of every meeting yet to be held before election. Word comes from California that at a single meeting a collection of over \$500 was taken up for the campaign. Debs is talking to bigger crowds than ever before, and the ice of apathy which has shielded the voters' heads from any intelligent discussion of social questions seems to be breaking at last. Let us make the most of every day until election.

**The Unending Campaign.**—The election, after all, is but an incident. Its figures will in a sense be a measure of our progress; otherwise they will mean little.

Unless all signs fail, Wilson will be the next president, and a most ineffectual president. The policies of the Progressives are in line with industrial evolution, and they are certain to mold the legislation of the next eight years; if Wilson obstructs them they will only triumph the more completely after his term. These policies are the same for which the Socialist party has contended whenever and wherever it has been influenced by small property holders and has been out of the current of the class struggle. They are good as far as they go, but they stop with the industries still in the control of a class of owners. The essence of Socialism is the collective ownership and democratic control of the means of producing wealth. Half the battle is won; henceforth our unending campaign must be for **democratic control**; in other words for the right of the workers to decide as to the conditions under which they shall work. Our speakers and writers, and our elected representatives in Congress and the state legislatures, should indeed favor the transfer of industry after industry from private corporations to the State. But their most important task, so far as legislation is concerned, is to assert the right of wage-workers, whether employed by corporations or the State, to **organize** and to **fight** for better working conditions and a larger share of the product.

**Our Socialist Publishing House.**—A booklet has lately been mailed from the REVIEW office to our yearly subscribers and a few others, explaining our plan of organization, and asking each reader to subscribe for at least one share of stock, in order to assure the permanency and growth of the publishing house. Several thousand extra copies have been printed, and we shall be glad to mail one to any comrade requesting it. With a capital of only \$37,000, we have already circulated more of the standard literature of Marxian Socialism than any other publishing house in the world. With the additional \$13,000 which it is proposed to raise at this time, we shall soon be able to double our output.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

.. **France. C. G. T. Perfecting Its Organization.** The twelfth congress of the **Confederation General du Travail** met at Havre Sept. 16-21. The impression one gains from reading the accounts of its proceedings is one of steady, regular development. All sorts of resolutions were debated; there was no lack of dramatic moments. But the discussions of most importance had to do with matters of organization. And the tendency plainly evident was in the direction of industrialism, order and efficiency.

With regard to war and militarism, the resolution accepted at Marseilles was reaffirmed. The *Sou du Soldat* received enthusiastic support. A strong resolution in support of the union of teachers' *syndicats* was unanimously adopted. The case of Ettore and Giovanitti was presented and the congress went on record in recognition of the international importance of the fight in defense of these comrades.

The action most widely advertised in the capitalist press was that on the relation to the Socialist party. A motion in favor of the establishment of organized connection between the two great organizations of the working class was voted down by a large majority. Of course, this means merely that the two go on developing autonomously as they have done heretofore. In the discussions on this point emphasis was constantly laid upon the possibility that the unions might be used for political purposes to the detriment of their activity on the economic field. The ancient history of the railway strike and the part played in it by certain Socialist leaders will not do. In this connection it is worthy of notice that the C. G. T. itself seems to be going in more and more for work which is of a political character. For example, it has fought the industrial insurance law in a regularly conducted campaign. Certain modifications made in the law it explains as the results of its propaganda work. The congress declared itself dissatisfied with these changes and declared

the purpose of the organization to go with its campaign in favor of further modification. This would seem to show that the opposition to the Socialist party is not due to a fundamental lack of faith in political activity, but rather to a lack of faith in the French Socialist party. Just how an organization can fight for or against a certain law and not believe in working class representation in parliament is rather difficult to understand.

The action which has been received with greatest enthusiasm by the workers of France is in favor of the "English week;" that is to say, a week of five and a half days, ending at noon on Saturday. In France the six-day week is not by any means as common as it is in this country and in England. The workers maintain, moreover, that the one day's relief from wage-working gives little rest and recreation. Especially in families where the women as well as the men are at work in the factories, the one day which is supposed to be given to rest and recreation is necessarily taken up by domestic duties for which there is no time during the week. On this account the chief forward movement in the struggle of the next few years is to be directed toward the conquest of the "English week."

The resolution dealing with the high cost of living will appear curiously conservative to American Socialists. After recognizing that the rise in prices is international, but unnecessarily accelerated in France by the tariff, trust control, etc., the resolution suggests the following means of improving the situation: (1) The giving up of alcohol, tobacco, gambling and the consumption of all unhygienic food products; (2) the boycotting of all unnecessary products the prices of which have been arbitrarily raised by capitalist combines; (3) education of housekeepers in the direction of scientific buying; (4) the creation and support of co-operative societies; (5) an effort to raise wages in proportion to the rise in prices; (6) an effort of the unions to check the tendency to raise the level of

rents. There was some criticism of this program. Comrade Jouhaix, among others, expressed scepticism as to the value of most of the means suggested. "The most effective action," he said, "will be direct action looking toward the raising of wages each time that there is a rise in the cost of living. The other solutions, though they may bring about some relative improvement, are but palliatives. The good results of co-operation are limited; they will not prove a real solution of our problems. The real solution lies in the power of our organization, in the the power of our wills." The resolution as read was, however, accepted unanimously.

But to the student of the French labor movement the most important work done at Havre was that directed toward perfecting the organization of the C. G. T. This great union of unions has had a unique history. Though pledged to working class solidarity, it did not originate, as did our Industrial Workers of the World, with a full-fledged scheme of organization, and a definite, centralized control. In fact, it was started back in 1895 for the sake of unifying all sorts and conditions of labor unions and has been from the beginning one of the freest, most flexible labor organizations in the world. It took in from the start national, craft and industrial unions, regional federations, city federations and local unions of all sorts. All were given the utmost freedom so far as their internal affairs were concerned. This policy proved successful, so successful, in fact, that in 1902 an amalgamation with the great rival organization, the Confederation des Bourses, was effected.

But a great federation thus made up has naturally had difficulties. There have been jurisdictional conflicts and differences of opinion with regard to the representation in the national congress. Imperceptibly the national organization has increased in importance and power, and there has been a tendency to systematize the relations of the various local, craft and industrial units. This tendency never before went so far as it did at the Congress of Havre. Most of the constitutional amendments accepted furnish proof of this fact. It was provided that no lo-

cal or regional federation shall accept a union which is not affiliated with a national craft or industrial organization; it was suggested to the various national organizations that they refuse membership to a union which fails to join the appropriate local federation; it was provided that subscriptions to the national organ, the *Voix du Peuple*, be made obligatory on the local unions. A single form of due-stamp is hereafter to be provided for all local or regional federations. The various *bourses de travail* of each department are directed to form before a specified time a departmental organization which will, in turn, be represented at the national congress of the C. G. T. Provisions were made to assure the easy transfer of members from one local union to another or from the federation of one nation to that of another. The price of due-stamps was raised, with the understanding that the force of clerks in the national office is to be increased. It was provided that the local and regional organizations should annually furnish financial reports to the national office. Various unions which presented jurisdictional conflicts were ordered to end their differences by amalgamating their forces. In the field of transportation there are two important organizations and many others of less importance; a committee was directed to study the situation and submit to the next congress a plan for the formation of a single organization of transport workers.

In a brief account like the present one it is possible to mention only a few of the actions taken. But these few represent sufficiently the temper and tendency of the congress. Though some of the resolutions accepted were far from what we have learned to expect of the C. G. T., it is beyond the possibility of a doubt that this great union of unions is rapidly building up a solid and effective working power.

**France. School Teachers Fighting for Right to Organize.** Three years ago it was the postal employes; now it is the teachers. By an official order of the Minister of Education they have been commanded to give up their organization. Those who have refused to obey are being criminally prosecuted or administra-

tively punished. So the whole question of the right of government employes to organize has become a great public issue.

The excuse for the government's course is furnished by the congress held at Chambéry on August 16th and 17th. This congress took advanced positions with regard to a number of vital problems. It passed resolutions in favor of equal pay for men and women; it set the stamp of approval on coeducation of the sexes. But the actions which called down upon the teachers the wrath of the government were those looking forward toward affiliation with the labor movement. Here is the resolution which expressed the attitude toward the Confederation General du Travail: "The congress addresses to its working class comrades organized in the C. G. T. its sympathy with the work of emancipation and education which they are carrying on. The teachers follow with closest attention the daily struggle of the working class to improve its condition and defend its dignity. Sharing its hopes and fears, they are proud to fight in its ranks and declare once again their solidarity with all the wage-earners united under the flag of the C. G. T." Another resolution which has aroused even more adverse criticism had to do with the "Sou du Soldat." The "Sou du Soldat" is a fund maintained by working class organizations for the sake of keeping alive the proletarian consciousness of the soldiers in the barracks. The congress resolved to submit to the membership the following declaration:

"For the purpose of maintaining the existing relations between the union men serving as soldiers and the unions to which they belong there shall be started in each of our syndicats the "Sou du Soldat," designed to give moral and financial support to comrades in the army."

These resolutions called forth a storm of protest from conservative organizations and newspapers. On August 22d the cabinet directed the Minister of Education to order the dissolution of the syndicats of teachers on, or before, the 10th of September. The reason given for this action is that the syndicats have transgressed the law of 1884, under which all French labor organization unions are organized.

# SOCIALISM AS IT IS

A Survey of the World-Wide Revolutionary Movement by William English Walling.

## WHAT SOCIALISTS SAY:

**J. G. Phelps Stokes:** "The most illuminating work that has appeared on the present socialist movement."

**Professor Jacques Loeb:** "The best and most scholarly presentation of the subject that has yet fallen into my hands."

**The International Socialist Review (in an Editorial Review):** "The most important contribution to the history of present-day Socialism that has appeared for years."

**James O'Neal in The Chicago Evening World:** "One of the most original and suggestive studies of Socialism and the Socialist movement published in recent years. . . . In his criticism of the reformers and revisionists in the Socialist parties he is generously fair, and there is no trace of invective. Most of it we consider sound and in thorough accord with Socialist principles and policies."

**The New York Call:** "Impartial. . . . Exceedingly useful and informative, particularly to active Socialists. . . . His principal object is to let the reader see what the general opinion in the Socialist movement is at present on these questions. This object he has accomplished effectively and the careful reader can easily obtain a bird's-eye view, as it were, of the actual situation as it exists today."

**The New Age (London):** "Readers will find in his work the best account yet written of the actual working of the Socialist movement in Europe, America and Australia; an account, moreover, as luminous, as detailed and exact, and as lucid and subordinate to the main purpose of the work as fairminded. For the sections devoted to the exposition of what Socialism is, indeed, no praise can be too high."

**Morace Traubel in The Conservator:** "Walling makes it more possible for us to diagnose. To distinguish disease from health. To see revolution, syndicalism, trade unionism, reform, State Socialism, insurgency, as they are. To get a fairer notion of the elements that contribute towards our revolt and the elements, sometimes subtly deceptive, that obstruct and threaten to engulf us."

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**Rev. Lyman Abbott:** "With the clearness characteristic of a radical, who has no favors to ask and no fears to perplex him, you have made the issue perfectly plain."

**The Boston Advertiser:** "The latest of several expositions of Socialism by Americans affiliated with the Socialist party impresses us as the best, being most vigorous and thoughtful."

**The Indianapolis Star:** "Probably contains more solid information about Socialism and its progress throughout the world than any volume that has ever been prepared on the subject."

**The Montreal Star:** "So far as we are aware, the best exposition of this great movement that has appeared in the English language."

**The Washington Star:** "Comprehensive, contemporaneous, direct in exposition, consistent in interpretation, this study stands as one of the first rank to the student of Socialism in its present stage."

**The Review of Reviews:** "He shows, in a temperate, comprehensive way, that Socialism is a living, growing, and ever changing force. His discussion of the relation of the Socialist movement to the Progressive movement on the one hand, and to syndicalism on the other, is stimulating and helpful."

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The teachers answered that if the action taken at Chambéry placed them beyond the pale of the law all the labor unions in France are law-breakers. They drew attention, also, to the fact that in supporting the "Sou du Soldat" they were doing no more than what is done by numerous clerical and patriotic organizations which are trying to influence the soldiers. Moreover, the syndicats of teachers stated their case before parliament back in 1905 and were not forbidden to organize. Since that time they have not changed their character. They have always been in favor of peace and opposed to administrative tyranny. There is at the present time no more excuse for dissolving them than there has been since the moment of their formation. So from the point of view of law and precedent the government has a poor case.

The action of the government was taken at a time when the teachers were on their vacations. Effective resistance was impossible at first. In addition to this, the most discouraging thing imaginable occurred within a few days. The central office of the syndicats was situated in the Department of Morbihan, one of the most conservative regions of the republic. Almost immediately the syndicat of this department dissolved itself and thus deprived the national organization of its official head. There was for the time being no one to organize a resistance or take such steps as were necessary to an action whatever.

Nevertheless the 10th of September arrived and very few of the syndicats had put an end to their existence. The teachers of the Department of the Seine declared formally that they would not dissolve. With remarkable vigor they set to work to save the national organization. They set up headquarters at Paris and called for the support of other departments. Despite the fact that the conservative and clerical papers had already declared the organization a thing of the past, twenty of the departmental syndicats, about half of the original number, were in line against the government by September 13th. In addition, a large number of individual teachers from all parts of the country declared their adhe-

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sion and signed a declaration in opposition to the government prepared by the Syndicat of the Department of the Seine. Most remarkable of all, the Federation des Amicale, a more conservative body of teachers, numbering 100,000 members, issued a statement in support of the syndicates.

As the REVIEW goes to press the whole French nation is wrought up over the right of the school teachers to organize. Of course, the government cannot back down. It has begun prosecution of some of its opponents in court; others it promises to reach by means of administrative discipline. But it is evident that the cabinet has got itself into a serious difficulty. It expected to have things all its own way, and now it discovers that it has aroused a tremendous force against it.

We have here in France a conflict which must soon become world-wide. The modern world is pledged to popular education. In fact, education is necessary to capitalist development. But the forces of education are bound in the end to rebel against some of the barbarities of our present society. The stand of the French teachers in opposition to international war is merely symptomatic.

**Germany. Social Democratic Congress.** While the great French labor congress was in session at Havre the annual congress of German Socialists was doing business at Chemnitz. Our German comrades met in spirit of hope and courage. Since their great victory at the January elections to the Reichstag their numbers and influence have grown steadily. The mounting cost of the necessities of life, the continued waste of money in the construction of a bigger navy, the persistent disregard by the government of needs and wishes of the people—in fact, all the forces at work in German social life—tend to drive the common people toward Socialism.

The congress declared its steadfast opposition to imperialism and militarism; it denounced the government for adding to the high cost of living rather than seeking to diminish it, but held out the socialist commonwealth as the only hope of well-being for the working class. In every way possible, in fact, the representatives of the Social Democracy voiced

the demands of the people as against the government and the capitalists.

With regard to the internal affairs of the party, two important matters came up for decision. One was the plan for reorganization outlined in the August number of the REVIEW. The national committee of 32 members to serve as a connecting link between the national executive committee and the membership was made a part of the party machinery. The suggested cutting down of the power of the parliamentary group in the party congress was not accepted. In the future as in the past all Socialist members of the Reichstag will have seats as members of the congress with full power of voice and vote.

With regard to the vexed question of electoral combinations with the Liberals, the action taken was what everybody expected. At the last election the national executive committee directed the comrades in some twenty election districts to go slow in the campaign against the Liberals. This form of tactics was considered necessary to make the strongest opposition to black-blue combination. The leaders of the party express themselves as highly satisfied with the results achieved by means of it. They profess to disapprove of compromise, but maintain that the circumstances were extraordinary and therefore extraordinary means were justifiable. After the facts of the case became known there was a good deal of criticism of the course pursued. The congress, however, supported the executive committee. An editorial writer in Vorwaerts, however, says that the extraordinary conditions which existed in January will probably never appear again, so for the future combinations with the Liberals ought not to be encouraged. This seems to mean that, having received a formal justification, the leaders have thought better of the matter and decided to change ways. Let us hope so.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

**From Nome Mine Workers' Union, Local 240, W. F. of M.**—Fellow Workers—Enclosed find \$3.00 for three REVIEW subscriptions. We want them wrapped separately, as it increases the chances of getting one copy a month through over the winter trail. The REVIEW is greatly appreciated by all the members of the Union.—Embree, secretary.

**Porcupine Miners' Union No. 145.**—Dear Comrades: Enclosed find post-office money order for \$15.00, for which please send us a bundle order of as many REVIEWS for one year as this amount will cover.—Thompson, secretary.

**Local Union 2360, U. M. W. A.**—Enclosed find \$50.00, for which send fifty copies of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW one year.—Frontier, Wyo.

**From Massachusetts.**—Enclosed find money order covering list of thirty-three subscriptions to the REVIEW. This is the best we can do just now. This shows what a REVIEW reader can do when he goes out after them.—C. F. Young.

**From Down in Louisiana.**—Dear Comrades—I distributed the literature you send at local meeting Sunday eve. People were anxious to get it. I sold most of INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEWS at 5c apiece, and sent the money to our comrades in Lake Charles Jail. We have a local composed of 31 members; most all have paid dues this month, and we have sent \$2.50 to our comrades in jail. People are interested in Socialism more than ever, and I have great hopes for our local now. Of course we have a lot to contend with. Ignorance, prejudice and poverty, Catholicism and the same old capitalistic lies. Your comrade, Mrs. Ira Dunn, Aloha, La.

**What a "Live One" Can Do.**—"Please find money order for \$10.00, for which send me 200 more REVIEWS as I sold my other hundred by working a few hours in the evening after my day's work. Wish I could give my whole time to it, as it not only pays, but helps along the revolution by wising up the wage slaves." From Comrade H., Detroit.

**Oakland, Cal.**—"Received the forty copies of the REVIEW in remarkable good time. Thirty already sold. Send fifty more copies by return mail."—Dowler, Lit. Agt.

**From Tom Mann.**—Tom Mann writes that he has been spending some time in Scandinavia under the auspices of the Swedish Workers' Central Organization—organized similar to the I. W. W., doing propaganda and organization work for industrial unionism. He writes to Comrade Kerr: "We all admire Haywood more than I can say and we are proud of the splendid work done by the REVIEW. Allow me to wish the best of success to yourself and staff."

**Youngstown Socialist Press** is a Socialist organ that stands also for industrial solidarity. It is full of live matter every month that cannot fail to "get" the wage worker. Comrade (Editor) Geo. W. Spangle (whose photograph was sent us by Comrade Esler) is one of the best speakers on the road. This is the way he looks when he is giving a talk on Bohn and Haywood's Industrial Socialism. From every point of view the Youngstown comrades are strictly IN THE GAME.

COMRADE GEORGE W. SPANGLE.

**Local Buffalo, N. Y., Sets a Pace.**—October 2d, Dear Comrades: I am enclosing you herewith check for \$5.00 as pay for the October REVIEWS, and to show what we think of it in Buffalo we want you to send RUSH 500 copies more. Again on October 7th, "Please send us 400 more copies of the October REVIEW. This will make 1,000 copies this month." Yours in the Revolution, Almendinger, secretary.

**From a Philadelphia Red.**—I received the 300 October REVIEWS promptly on the first and must have 100 copies more by Saturday, the 12th. Yours for the Revolution, C. M.

**Debs in Toledo.**—Before election day dawns, Debs will have spoken in the four principal cities of Ohio—Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus and Toledo. Debs has never failed to draw capacity audiences in Toledo, and Wednesday evening, October 9th, was no exception to that record. Two thousand men, women and children cheered until Memorial Hall rang with the echoes as Debs entered.

Comrade Walter Starner, our councilman, introduced the chairman of the evening, Comrade Tom Devine, our candidate for Congress from the 9th district.

Comrade Devine gave a very able talk on literature and as a result the 500 REVIEWS on hand sold like hot cakes. The chairman, in a few well-chosen sentences, told the audience how the Socialism Party is financed and they responded to the extent of \$98.15 when the young women of the Young People's Socialist League passed the hats.

The newspapers and the politicians are wondering "how we did it" when everyone admitted to the hall paid 25 cents. Chairman Devine outlined the plan of organization of the Socialist Party and showed its growth and the extension of its activities by comparative figures. He then introduced Debs, who was again greeted by long and lusty applause.

Gene was at his best; his loyalty to the working class and his genuine sympathy with the workers' struggles, defeats and victories is the secret of his power. "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not" an understanding of the working class, "I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."

The speech was characterized throughout by those terse antitheses with which Debs is so gifted and which drive the truth home without making the listener bitter.

It was an evening of encouragement and inspiration to the comrades from near-by towns, as well as to every Toledo comrade and every tired factory "hand."—J. Bates.

**From Portland, Oregon.**—Reds—Send 1,000 October REVIEWS. With best wishes for the success of the REVIEW, which, like wine, improves with age, I remain, Yours in Revolt, M. E. Dorfman, financial secretary.

**Branch 5, New York City.**—Kindly send at once 200 copies of the October REVIEW. We sold the first hundred. Karl Heidemann, treas.

**Wire From Duluth.**—Send quick 200 more October REVIEWS. Wanted for Socialist Day; 200 copies all sold. Towne, secretary.

**22,000 to Cavanaugh.**—Comrade Cavanaugh of Brooklyn has bought 22,000 copies of "The Shrinking Dollar." He says it is one of the best things he has ever read. Local Brooklyn is going to get results. It is circulating the kind of stuff that brings permanent results.

**Only Clean-cut Literature for Ohio.**—"Please forward 400 'Shop Talks'; 50 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,' and 50 'Communist Manifesto.'"—Jos. C. Schawe, State secretary.

#### BEING BUILT BY SOCIALISTS.

**Red Lodge Opera House.**—Comrade W. G. Henry sends the photograph of the new up-to-date opera house which is to be the sole property of the Finnish Local of the S. P. The new building will eclipse the old opera house, being 110 feet by 42 feet, with a stage 38 by 20 feet. Most of the work is being donated and Comrade Henry says the comrades have very good times as the women bring lunches to the men while they saw and plane in the evenings.

**Great Campaign.**—Con Foley was met at the train by a brass band on his return from his triumphal tour through Texas. The comrades at Pottsville are determined to send him to Congress. The miners in that vicinity are strong for the "Big Boy," because they say he stands for Industrial Unionism as well as for Socialism on the political end. Con came within 3,000 votes of election last time. There are three capitalistic candidates in the field this time to split the vote. It looks to all our friends in the district as though Con would have a walk-away of it. We are all betting on him.

**Big Orders.**—Among the big orders that have come in this month is one for 11,000 "Political Appeal"; 11,000 "How to Kick"; 10,000 "Breaking Up the Home"; 10,000 "The Shrinking Dollar" and 1,000 REVIEWS from Portland, Oregon. Comrade Westcott of Providence also sent in a check for \$225.00 for campaign literature and E. W. Lane of Australia did nearly as well with one big order for his region. Wherever you find a local selling good literature you can count on a sound and lasting movement.

**Far Away New Zealand.**—Increase our regular order twenty copies per month. We always look forward to them coming.—Comrade Drury, Wellington.

**Sounds Good to Us.**—"Have been reading the October REVIEW. It makes one's enthusiasm for the cause climb up to 'fever heat.' Find enclosed \$2.00 for a bundle of ten for four months."—Comrade Murray, Staunton, Ind.

**Adelaide, So. Australia.**—"We congratulate you on the fine work you are doing for industrial unionism."—Mrs. A. H. Wallace.

**Human Nature.**—I protest. I hate to do it when so good a comrade as Robert Rives La Monte says so, but if I don't it will be Frank Bohn and Big Bill who will admit next that we will change human nature before we get Socialism. The first law of nature, human and otherwise, is self-preservation, and it is that law which will force the workers to co-operate. It is natural, likewise, for the human family to co-operate—self-preservation made it so—until too much power was granted to some individuals early in the days of co-operation and he headed the list of individuals, a list which is doomed to end with Rockefeller. Take another view of it and see if your mind does not conclude that the nature of the workers is to co-operate. Is it not a worker who always stands ready to assist, to the extent of his power, another worker who needs assistance? His heart is soft, too soft for his own welfare, and he is much concerned about Rockefeller when the Social Revolution occurs. Co-operation means brotherhood and the workers are naturally of a brotherly nature. When they strive one against the other the fault lies in the teaching of the capitalist system and not in the nature of the men and women who oppose one another. Consider the scab. Does he scab because he loves to scab? Give him all he desires and then ask him to scab, and would he? No. If we change human nature we will abolish the law of self-preservation and without that law we would not have Socialism. In fact, we would not need Socialism. (Not signed.)

**Local Kings County, N. Y. S. P., Branch 1, 16th A. D. and 9th A. D.**—Enclosed find check for \$30.00, for which send by express 12,000 copies of Mary E. Marcy's "Breaking Up the Home." Please rush, as we want to begin distribution at once.—C. W. Cavanaugh, organizer.

**From a Moline, Ill., Red.**—I never want to part with my "REVIEW." I would give up all other Socialist periodicals, but if I could afford only one I should certainly choose the REVIEW, because it is revolutionary and right up to the minute.—Chas. Maass.

**Likes Us.**—The position you take on the importance of industrial as well as political action is the correct one. I hope the REVIEW will meet with the success it deserves.—L. M. Funcheon. Pa.

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**Election in Alaska.**—Comrade Mack of Chatanika writes that while all election returns for Congressmen in his district were not in the following vote is a fine index of the gains Socialism is making there: The stand-pat Republicans got 1,376 and the stand-pat Democrat 940; the Progressive Republican 2,539; Progressive Democrat 226, while the Socialist candidate polled 1,395 votes.

**Approves Review.**—A comrade in Los Angeles sends us \$5.00 as a donation to the REVIEW. This is what he says: "I don't lend you this five, but give it, because I think the REVIEW is doing more for real Socialism than any agency I know of."

**The Best Yet.**—THE REVIEW is kept on sale here at the I. W. W. hall and the members are enthusiastic over it. Also, one news dealer and one or two Socialist street salesmen handle it, so we are well supplied. I have just received the September number and I regard it as the best yet, and that is going some. Pardon me for taxing your time so much, but this glorious cause is my religion—my very life—and I never know when to stop when writing or talking of it.—Comrade Butler, Calif.

**Butte County Convention.**—Comrade W. G. Henry writes us that he had the pleasure of attending the Butte County Convention. He reported that the meet was a great success and that the most inspiring feature of it was the fact that the working men and women did all the work. They absolutely made the convention what it was. Comrade Henry says

that the Butte, and, in fact, the Montana movement is a real movement of, by, and for the working class. He has been traveling through Montana, where most of the locals were very glad to take him for a later date.

**Can You Beat Him?**—Comrade Harry Sibble of Vancouver writes: "Send another hundred October Reviews. Sold \$6.50 worth of literature at Holy Roller meeting before breakfast yesterday morning." This makes five hundred Reviews going to Comrade Sibble this month.

**From Socialist Educational Society of Alaska.**—"Dear Comrades: If your magazine was not the best publication for my class I would not bother my head about not receiving my last copy, but I cannot be without same. Enclosed find \$10 for ten yearly subscribers. Our local thinks it can handle fifty copies of the Review a month, but would like to know the best way of getting them in over the ice."—Sandberg, Secretary.

**Grace V. Silver**, a former State Secretary of Maine, who has been touring California and Utah speaking on Socialism, has won her crowd wherever she went. Non-socialists as well as party members are enthusiastic about her. Comrades say she can handle any situation and combines the gifts of a scholar with those of an agitator and organizer. Comrade Silver holds the record for literature sales the past month. She generally leaves enough sound books in her trail to clinch her arguments. November 1st Comrade Silver will be in Chicago. We hope every member of the party in this state will have an opportunity to hear her.

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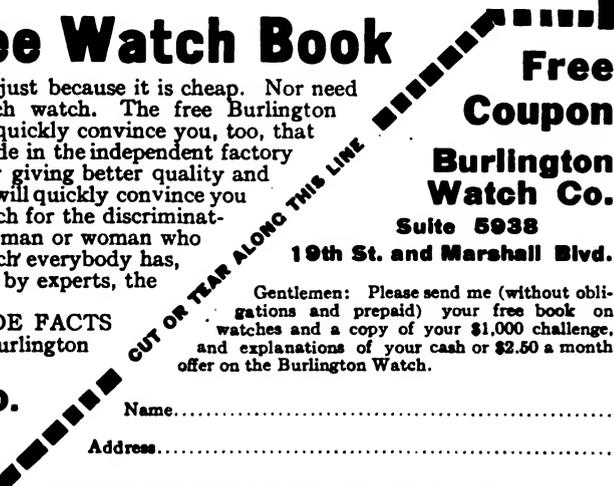
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—*Boston Globe*.

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- Working Men and Women, Mary E. Marcy.
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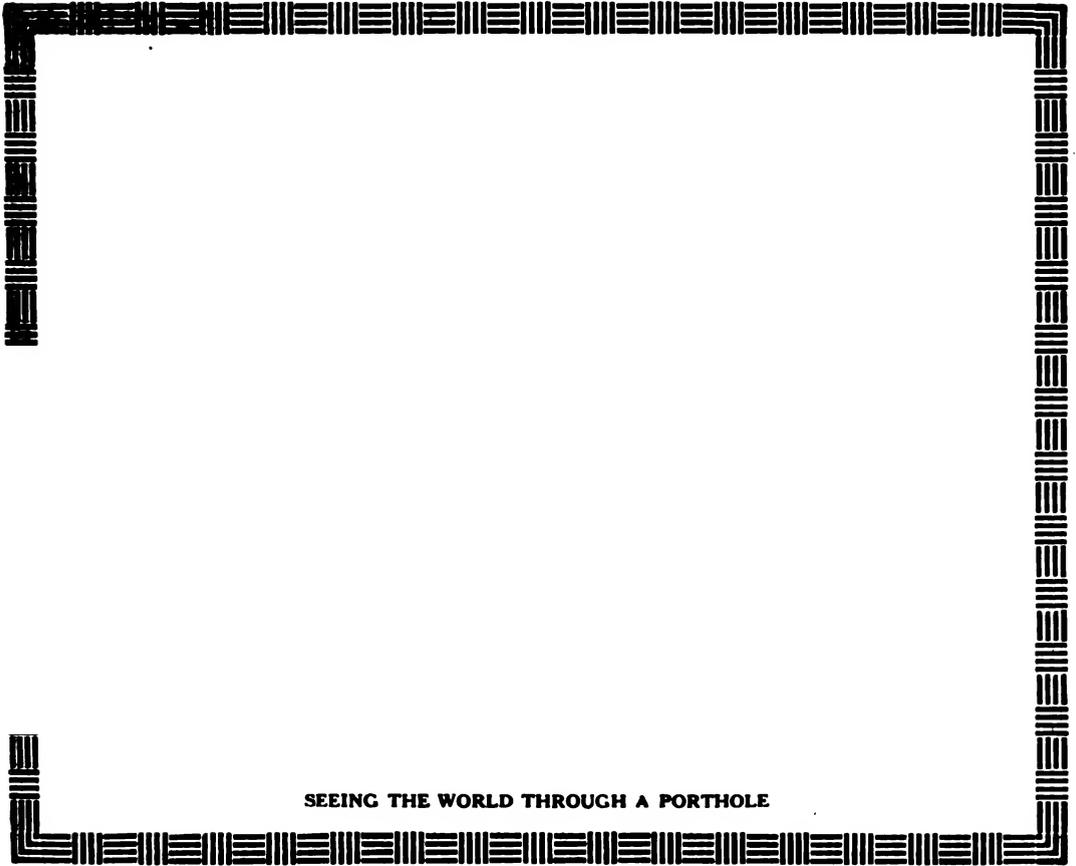
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VOL. XIII

DECEMBER, 1912

No. 6

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MAYOR LUNN

ROBERT BAKEMAN

CHIEF LONG

Snap Shot Taken Just Before Mayor Lunn's Arrest.

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## The Strike at Little Falls

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

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**O**N October 1 of this year a law went into effect in the state of New York making it illegal for female industrial slaves to work more than 54 hours a week. Some employers immediately took advantage of the situation and paid their workers what they call "pro rata"—that is, they punished the beneficiaries of this law by reducing

the contents of their pay envelopes to correspond with the reduced number of hours. Departments of industry are so closely connected nowadays that the men were affected in an equal degree with the women.

Slaves in most parts of the state seem to have received the reduction with submission, but not so the employes of the

knitting mills in Little Falls. When their second pay day came around and they found their \$7 envelopes short from 60 cents to \$2, they did what the mill workers of Lawrence did in a similar situation—they rebelled.

On October 10 more than 1,500 workers, embracing nearly all the departments in the Phoenix and Gilbert Knitting Mills and four nationalities—Polish, Slavish, Austrian and Italian—walked out and poured into the streets to the sound of "The Marseillaise." The Americans stayed and scabbed.

The revolt was entirely spontaneous and most of the workers were uncertain

months of exhausting work agitating for the Ettor-Giovannitti defense, he arrived promptly. He showed the strikers how to form a mass picket line that moves in an endless chain and helped to get all the different committees in working order.

Robert A. Bakeman, a clergyman who, as he later expressed it in police court is "now an honest man," as a member of the street cleaning force in Schenectady, came up to speak to the strikers. He told the police that he intended to speak in the open air and no objection was made. But Chief of Police James Long soon afterward found occasion to visit the office of

#### FIRST PARADE HELD ON DAY OF WALKOUT.

what to do next, but a few of them knew. They appealed to the one organization that can handle such a situation—the I. W. W. Organizers Fillippo Bochino and Fred Hirsh came hurrying from Rochester and Schenectady respectively, and the battle was on.

The first few days were quietly spent in putting the strike on an organized basis, and then as the need for a good chairman for the strike committee became evident, Benjamin J. Legere, a fighting Socialist and graduate of the Lawrence school was sent for. Though he was just entering on a short vacation after several

Manager McLaughlin of the Phoenix Mills and when the chief emerged it was with his club gripped in his hand. He ordered Bakeman off his soap box, and when Bakeman refused, he was arrested. George Lunn, Socialist Mayor of Schenectady, then came up to address the strikers and promptly got arrested, together with his wife. Other arrests followed thick and fast. Speakers were pulled off the box in Clinton Park, near the mills, while reading from the Constitution of the United States, from the Declaration of Independence and even from the Bible. Mayor Lunn declared

that he would rot in the city jails before he would yield his constitutional rights and stop speaking on the streets.

The fuss that followed, however, was not liked by the mill owners and the city authorities, and the free speech fight was soon won as far as Clinton Park was concerned.

But the strike went on. Very quietly. Too quietly. That mass picketing was dangerously effective and it became necessary to break it up. So Chief "Dusty," now "Bully" Long, ordered out his force of six regular men, augmented by a motley assortment of specials, detectives, plain-clothes men, and private

done the cutting of Kenney. Then it was Legere that did it. The detective is over six feet high and probably weighs close to 200 pounds. Legere is short and slight and friends who know the smiling boy, who used to write plays in Bridgeport, Conn., were astonished to hear him depicted as such a bloody and murderous character. The strikers say it was a bullet from the revolver of an agitated "special" that struck Haley, but the police contend it was Bochino, who is a foreigner and therefore a suspicious and dangerous character.

Shortly after this affair the strikers and the strike committee were holding a meet-

#### SCHENECTADY SOCIALISTS ARRIVING TO TAKE PART IN FREE SPEECH FIGHT.

guards, on the morning of October 30 and placed them near the door of the Phoenix Mills. Still nothing happened until, so the strikers say, Chief Long prodded a young girl in the breasts with his club. Repressed bitterness then burst forth. A general melee occurred in which strikers, men and women alike, were beaten senseless to the ground. Detective Kenney, from an Albany corporation, was cut slightly in the ear and rear pants, and two shots were fired, one of which struck Policeman Haley, a new member of the force, in the leg.

It was first announced that a girl had

ing in The Slovak Sokol Hall, the principal social center of the working population, when the door was thrown open with a crash and the police and hired guards burst in. Women, who composed the majority of the audience, were hurled right and left. Men who protested were struck on the head. Furniture was overturned. The musical instruments of the Slovak Band were broken and battered. One cop who happened to notice the framed charter of the local textile union of the Industrial Workers of the World, drove his club through the middle of it. It hangs in the hall now, its broken glass

held together by an edging of red ribbon with a knot of red covering the hole made by the club. All the members of the strike committee and all persons suspected of being connected with the strike were arrested and dragged to the local lock-up, a place so vile that the State Prison Inspector has threatened the town with mandamus proceedings unless it is cleaned up.

Legere, however, could not be found. The building was searched for him and the police, not wishing to investigate the dark cellar, fired three shots into it at random, any one of which might have

the bloody shirts that they wore when arrested. They were joined by Miss Helen Schloss, a young Socialist woman of New York, who for several months had been a tenement investigator for a club of the well-to-do women of Little Falls. Despite warnings from her lady employers, Miss Schloss cast her lot with the strikers, gave up her position, joined the relief committee, and went out on the picket line with the workers. For this she incurred the enmity of the police and her spectacular arrest by Chief Long himself followed. She was put in Herkimer jail on a charge of "inciting to riot" and

#### Phoenix Mill on the Right.

killed Legere had he not already been taken to a place of safety by a devoted band of workers. He went to Utica that night, got some needed printing done, sent off some messages, and then returned to Little Falls where he was immediately arrested and taken to the county jail at Herkimer, another place that has been condemned by the State Prison Inspector.

Bakeman, Hirsh, Bochino and George Vaughan of Schenectady, were already there, along with thirty-nine others, strikers and sympathizers. When visited later, some of them were still wearing

as a special honor was given the cell occupied by Chester Gillette, electrocuted for the murder of his sweetheart. She was finally released on bail and went right back to work in the relief kitchen.

The stories the strikers tell of their treatment by the police both before and after arrest cannot be told in print. There are any number of them who say that they were visited at night in their cells by the police and terribly beaten. They carry marks to show. One young boy, who later came to the relief kitchen but could not eat, told with starting eyes of a revolver held at his head by one police-

man while another wreaked vengeance upon him with a club. One ear, black with bruised blood, told the story. Women strikers fared little better. On the picket line they were daily greeted with obscenities and filthy remarks by a picked crew of special policemen.

It is worthy of mention here that five of these special policemen who carried brand new clubs and used them on the slightest excuse were members of the Jack Spinners Union of the United Textile Workers, with John Golden as president, a gentleman high in the councils

sang as if they had not just passed through a Russian pogrom. Nothing seemed to daunt them. The fiercer the assaults upon them the higher rose their songs of revolution. The darker seemed their prospects, the more intense became their devotion. A wonderful, wonderful band! No one who ever saw will ever forget them.

Though a little upset for the moment, those who remained unjailed or unbeaten sent out the word and help was soon coming. Next to arrive was Matilda Rabinowitz, a dark-eyed, magnetic little girl

STRIKERS IN FRONT OF SLOVAK HALL, THEIR HEADQUARTERS, WHICH WAS RAIDED BY POLICE. Matilda Rabinowitz, Front Row, Fourth Figure from Left.

of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Golden first gained fame by offering help to the police during the Lawrence strike. Other members of this union were so indignant at the spectacle of union men acting as strong-arm men for the bosses that they came over to a meeting of the strike committee and asked to be admitted to the I. W. W.

Despite all these things the spirit of the strikers remained untamed. The night after the raid on their hall they got out their battered musical instruments and played "The Marseillaise" and "The International" while all joined round and

who knew not weakness or weariness till the strike was on its feet again. Mrs. Kruesi, Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Mullen, efficient women from Schenectady, came up to take charge of the relief and were soon feeding forty persons daily at a cost of seven cents each, besides passing out supplies for many families.

Meantime the respectable citizens of Little Falls entertained themselves by holding a mass meeting of protest against the hideous presence of the I. W. W. in their midst. Unanimously they voted approval of the firmness and moderation of the police!

Imagine their horror the next day when they learned their actions had merely served to bring the looming figure of Bill Haywood into the situation. The fright that was evident when the news got abroad was almost comic. But Bill brought nothing into the situation save peace and renewed confidence. Under his experienced counsel the new committees soon learned what to do and how to do it and spirits increased from day to day.

As this is written the strike is in its fifth week. Mayor Lunn refused to pay a \$50.00 fine and has been sentenced to 50

days in jail. Owner Gilbert shows a disposition to settle but Manager McLaughlin, of whom not a citizen has been heard to speak a decent word, continues to hold out obstinately. Meantime the strikers must be provided for and Legere, Bochino, and the others, whom the authorities will make every effort to put into the penitentiary for a term of years, must be defended. The rancor of the city authorities and the mill owners against these men is poisonous. A dollar sent to Matilda Rabinowitz, Secretary Defense Committee, Little Falls, N. Y., will be a dollar well spent.

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

"OUR GENE."

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## The Election

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From all returns available at present, the outlook indicates that the Socialist party has more than doubled its vote of 1908 and is well on the way toward the million mark.

Never in the history of the Socialist movement in America have we had so much cause for rejoicing over the results of our regular four year showing.

This year it would seem that all things had combined to make clear the Socialist vote. Every Democrat rallied to his party. The Bull Moosers appropriated almost every reform plank from the Socialist platform so that every working

man or woman who hoped for anything from reforms doubtless joined the Progressive constituency.

In spite of this, over 900,000 proletarians felt that their only hope lay in revolution and voted the straight Socialist ticket.

Fortunately for us the Progressive party is here to stay. It will steadily drain off the muddle-headed members of the dying middle class advocates of government ownership, leaving only a band of class conscious Socialists who can be depended upon.

For perhaps the first time in years the Socialist party vote was a clean-cut So-

cialist vote. For this reason there is everywhere rejoicing in the Socialist camps. We have put ourselves to the test and emerged with our Army augmented over 100 per cent.

The most encouraging signs in the election returns are the splendid showings made in the great industrial centers where the Socialist party has thrown all its strength into the daily warfare of the workers against the capitalist class. Compared to the districts where votes alone were made the ultimate goal, the industrial regions have outgeneraled them in almost every state.

In Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, where the Socialists are on the job every day fighting side by side with other workmen, pointing out new methods of Class warfare in every strike and lending a hand in every struggle, the vote increased over THREE HUNDRED per cent the Socialists' polling being over 26,000 votes in the greatest industrial center in the world.

Pennsylvania, as a state, almost trebled her vote, showing that where the economic conflict is keen, the working class recognizes its natural place in the political field and joins the Socialist party.

Ohio, the second industrial state in the union, shows an almost equal gain in percentage. There, too, the members of the Socialist party and the workers in the industries are becoming more and more the same.

Their able candidate for governor, Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, was on the road continuously from July 1st to election day and we doubt if any other candidate can beat his record for number of successful meetings held.

Comrades Margaret Prevey of Akron and State Organizer Beery, besides an army of state speakers, covered the ground thoroughly.

The State Office supplied speakers with clean cut scientific literature and with the exception of one or two localities the campaign was an educational one throughout rather than a vote-catching proposition. In Columbus there was a loss of several thousand votes.

In Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma, where the party has steadfastly fought the battles of the farm laborers and farm

renters, the splendid returns were no surprise to anybody, while West Virginia leaped into a militant position through the influx of the striking miners who have learned to apply Socialism to every-day life during their struggles with the mine owners.

Nevada and Montana showed remarkable gains. Here, too, the workers, becoming conscious of their class on the industrial field, reflect their interests on the political side. Authoritative reports are not yet in from Washington, Oregon, and California, but returns to date show solid increases in the straight vote.

Kansas sends her first Socialist representatives to the assembly and Illinois elected three assemblymen. Six were re-elected in Wisconsin.

In many cases, Socialists failed of reelection to office. But we are not discouraged. We are learning that only a strong, class conscious movement on the industrial field can show class consciousness on the political field and insure permanent victory to the Socialist party.

Indiana, Kansas, Wisconsin and Minnesota polled nearly 200,000 votes. New York with a showing of 75,000 nearly doubled her vote of 1908. Michigan, New Jersey and Missouri made great gains.

The New York Sunday Call credits Washington with a 300 per cent increase and Oregon with 400 per cent. Wyoming, Utah and Idaho show a steady class conscious gain of nearly 100 per cent.

Florida was a surprise with 15,000 votes and the Louisiana vote of 7,500 was nearly ten times the vote of 1908. As the South develops industrially we may confidently expect to see the working class express itself politically in the Socialist party, when the struggle grows keen as it has in Louisiana.

In writing upon the results in Massachusetts, the New York Call says:

The vote is awful, yet the party organization seems to be sound. It seems to have grown. Twenty years ago, for Harry Robinson, it polled very nearly as many votes as it did for Roland D. Sawyer. The first Presidential candidate, Simon W. Wing, came from that state: It was among the earliest to swing into line as an organized state. It was the first to elect a Socialist mayor. It had

Chase in Haverhill and Coulter in Brockton. Yet this year it makes the poorest showing of all the states. Its vote has dropped. Its organization seems to have been of no avail. In the big industrial towns from North Adams to the Cape it has lost votes. It has nothing to show for its work, in case any work was done.

It is quite evident that there has not been conducted an adequate campaign. The Comrades seem to be unable to do anything themselves and seem to be unwilling to allow anybody else to do anything. They neglected utterly the opportunity they had in the mill towns. They were entirely buffaloeed by the presence in Boston of a cardinal. They have done no organization work in Fall River, New Bedford, Worcester or Springfield. The vote shows that they have failed all along the line. Why?

The Leader, the weekly organ of the Socialists of this city, gives the Massachusetts vote for Debs in the recent election as 12,435. Roland D. Sawyer, candidate for governor, received 10,500 votes.

There are still a few small towns missing, but returns from them will not alter the totals twenty votes either way.

The Debs vote of 1908 was 10,781 and that cast for governor two years ago, 14,444.

The Socialist vote in Massachusetts falls below the 3 per cent required by law to keep it alive—thus officially it has ceased to exist, but according to statements made by party officials today, the Bay State capitalists will soon find that it is very much alive.

**New Mexico:** O. W. Skorkowsky, Socialist Committeeman, of Portales, reports 200 Socialist votes in Rosevelt county and says: "We have a hard row to hoe down here, but we mean to fight to the finish. We have a local that is doing great work and we are making new Socialists fast."

**California:** J. Dahlstrom of Contra Costa county, running the second time for the Assembly, received 1,241 votes

against 609 last time. The Debs vote was 1,297, nearly three times the 1908 vote. The women cast about one-third the vote. They are going to be a big help in the future Socialist movement.

**Pennsylvania:** L. W. Woods writes that Debs polled 1,464 votes in Erie, the county giving us 1,972 votes. The county vote for 1908 was 1,037. Congratulations to Erie.

**Socialist Party Vote**

	Official 1908	Estimated 1912
Alabama .....	1,399	2,600
Arkansas .....	5,842	12,000
California .....	28,659	80,000
Colorado .....	7,974	10,400
Connecticut .....	5,113	11,700
Delaware .....	240	500
Florida .....	3,747	15,000
Georgia .....	584	900
Idaho .....	6,400	7,800
Illinois .....	34,711	85,000
Indiana .....	13,476	35,000
Iowa .....	8,287	21,000
Kansas .....	12,420	33,000
Kentucky .....	4,185	6,000
Louisiana .....	2,538	7,500
Maine .....	1,758	2,500
Maryland .....	2,323	2,600
Massachusetts .....	10,781	10,500
Michigan .....	11,586	22,000
Minnesota .....	14,527	25,000
Mississippi .....	978	2,000
Missouri .....	15,431	28,000
Montana .....	5,855	12,000
Nebraska .....	3,524	10,000
Nevada .....	2,103	4,500
New Hampshire .....	1,299	1,700
New Jersey .....	10,253	20,000
New York .....	38,451	75,000
North Carolina .....	345	850
North Dakota .....	3,241	2,900
Ohio .....	33,795	83,292
Oklahoma .....	21,779	37,504
Oregon .....	7,339	12,500
Pennsylvania .....	33,913	101,000
Rhode Island .....	1,365	2,150
South Carolina .....	101	200
South Dakota .....	2,846	3,400
Tennessee .....	1,870	5,000
Texas .....	7,870	16,200
Utah .....	4,895	8,400
Vermont on state ticket.	547	800
Virginia .....	255	1,700
Washington .....	14,177	25,000
West Virginia .....	3,679	15,000
Wisconsin .....	28,164	55,000
Wyoming .....	1,715	2,300
Arizona .....	1,912	3,000
New Mexico .....	1,056	1,850
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>424,488</b>	<b>922,246</b>

# PUBLIC SPEAKING

BY

FRANK BOHN



FRANK BOHN

## I. Preparation

**T**HIS course of study will be conducted in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for several months. It is intended primarily for those comrades who wish to speak or write on the subject of Socialism. We shall be pleased if it proves to be of interest to many who, while not looking forward to serving the party as writers or speakers, take up the work merely to broaden and deepen their knowledge of Socialism.

The course will consist not of lessons but of outlines for study. Text books will be used and references for reading given. It is taken for granted that those pursuing this course are familiar with Socialism as presented in our propaganda pamphlets.

No speaker should attempt to discuss Socialism who has not read The Communist Manifesto, by Marx & Engels; Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Engels, and Value, Price and Profit, by Marx. All these books are published by the publishers of this magazine.

Ten years ago all the equipment required by the average Socialist soap-boxer was a loud voice and the courage to withstand volleys of stones and decayed fruit. That time has now passed. Our propaganda is being met by opponents of ability and real information. The public is asking questions which can not be answered by the relation of humorous stories. He who is

not thoroughly familiar with the Socialist argument will serve the movement best by remaining silent. But a sound Socialist education can easily be secured. There is really no excuse for ignorance. Furthermore, any person of average ability who applies himself to the matter of public speaking as earnestly as he would go to work to learn a trade will succeed. Good public speakers are not born so. They are prepared by sound educational processes and experience. During the past campaign the Socialist party could have usefully employed at least three times as many speakers as it had at its disposal. During the next campaign we shall want organizers of ability in each county of the great industrial states. The Socialist Party should not depend for its speakers on those who come from the professional and middle classes. Our best speakers have sprung from the working class and to the working class we should look for future reinforcement.

During the first months we shall devote a portion of our space to outlining studies in economics, history and government. During the second period we shall emphasize primarily the means of preparation for practical work. In this we shall have the help of Prof. Henry Gaines Hawn of the Hawn School of the Speech Arts, New York City; of William E. Bohn, for several years Instructor in English at the University of Michigan, and of several of our

most able Socialist speakers and organizers. It is to be hoped that those who pursue this course of study will devote to it at least three study periods of two hours each week. In less time than this the work can not be done well.

*Observe the Following:*

Reserve your study periods and let nothing else take you from your work. For the coming months this is the most important part of your work for the cause.

Study alone or in very small groups. Large classes seldom succeed. Some members will come late or will not take the work seriously.

Walk briskly in the open air for fifteen minutes before beginning your evening's work.

Have a room by yourself, if possible, and keep it as cool as you can without catching cold.

Sit with your back to the light. If your head begins to ache or your eyes grow tired, stop and go to bed.

Have an English Dictionary always at hand. Never pass by a word without knowing its meaning. The words you can use properly measure your ideas. People who are "full of ideas they cannot express," are usually mistaken about the number and quality of their ideas.

While studying go over each paragraph again and again until you have fully mastered its meaning. Begin each period with a review of the reading of the preceding period.

Remember that you will find this course easy to begin but often hard to continue. This will be as good an occasion as any other to develop the will power necessary to effectual intellectual effort.

Finally, purchase the text books you use and keep them for future reference. Every Socialist should have a shelf filled with the best Socialist literature and to this he should be constantly making additions.

*The First Text Book.*

As our first text book we shall use **SOCIALISM, ITS GROWTH AND OUTCOME**, by William Morris and

Ernest Belfort Bax. This invaluable work presents a general view of the whole historical process from ancient society to Socialism. It is the best general introduction to the whole subject of history and economics printed in any language. It is written in exquisite English. It will give you the Socialist point of view and furnish a sound basis for more profound studies. If you have already carefully read this work or finish it before the end of the month, either of the following are suggested; Enrico Ferri's "Socialism and Modern Science," or Labriola's "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History."

When you have finished "**SOCIALISM, ITS GROWTH AND OUTCOME**," write, for your own criticism, answers to the following questions:

What is meant by the expression Economic Interpretation of History or Materialistic Conception of History?

How many economic systems have developed in western Europe and America? Describe each.

What is the difference between Utopian Socialism and Scientific Socialism?

Beginning next month we shall take up the study of the economic and political history and government of the United States. Secure at once Bogart's Economic History of the United States and also any good high school text book of United States history to use as a supplementary volume. Probably you can borrow such a volume from some comrade whose children have attended high school. If you must purchase a second volume of United States history, let it be Channing's "History of the United States for High Schools and Colleges." For Bogart's economic history there is no adequate substitute. If two pursue the course together they might purchase the books jointly.

Note: "Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome," by Morris & Bax, may be obtained from Kerr & Company. Its price is 50 cents. Bogart's "Economic History of the United States" retails for \$1.75 and is published by Longmans, Green & Co., 91 Fifth avenue, New York. If there is no book store in your town from which you can order it, send direct to the publishers.



# MORALS IN RUBBER

BY

MARY E. MARCY

Photos by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

RUBBER GATHERERS OF BRAZIL.

**W**E are growing very suspicious these days. Whenever we hear of one of the Great Powers rushing an army and sending battle ships to attack some one of the lesser countries in the name of a great moral movement, we wonder who is out to grab some big concession.

We remember how England, in the blessed name of civilization and the "protection of her native sons," entrenched herself in India and killed off the Indian native manufacturing industries. We recall the Crusade of the Great Nation that sent her troops into far-away South Africa, spurred on by alleged atrocities perpetrated by the Boers against the down-trodden natives—and gobbled up the priceless gold and diamond mines there. How often, Oh, how often have the rich nations sent their armies into the Orient "to protect their missionaries" and planted the home flag permanently, while they picked out everything valuable in sight?

Even when our own hearts bled for the wrongs committed against the Cubans by the ruthless Spaniards, and we marched to "free Cuba," we sent American battleships

to seize Spanish islands in the Pacific and established a national coaling station in the Philippines, not to mention the many rich crumbs that fell to already overloaded individual tables.

It is all these events, these wars, these killings—in the name of God and home and country or some other moral sophistry spouted in press and pulpit, that have taught us to look behind the scenes when we hear "statesmen" and editors embarking on a great moral campaign. We have grown suspicious. We always wonder what the pie is and whom it is going to be divided amongst. We expect ulterior motives when the armies march forth with flying banners bearing the proud sentence, "For God and Country." This usually means something like Rockefeller and Guggenheim." We are frankly skeptical when we find men spending money to protect the lives and limbs of unknown, distant black natives out of sheer goodness of heart.

We see men killed on the home railroads without the upsetting of a single church. We know of thousands of men being killed yearly in the mines of their own countries without a single capitalist newspaper dar-

ing to raise its voice in protest. And many of us have sought, in vain, to arouse a spark of enthusiasm against child labor at home, in the same men who shed tears and ink so copiously in the cause of the mistreated native that inhabits the jungle.

It seems to us that behind all this decrying and exposing, this marching and killing, these pages of vituperation and appeals to the imagination, there is always a strong Something to be gained by Somebody. We see somebody's economic *interests* are to be served. In fact, we find the great patriots and the great moral propagandists are nearly always on the job for lands or mines, or railway concessions. They are not waging the campaign for a great public awakening for nothing. There is always something in it for them.

And so we read pages and pages of hysterical exposures of the barbaric treatment of the Putumayo natives by the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company with

apathy. We wonder whether the tales of torture are true or whether some wily politician or multi-millionaire is trying to secure valuable rubber concessions. We wonder whether the campaign against the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company may not be started for the purpose of handicapping a successful competitor who is forcing down the price of rubber in the world market.

Several years ago a disclosure of certain hideous cruelties practiced in the rubber district of the Putumayo, Eastern Peru, were made by Sir Roger Casement. This was the British Government officer who, some years before, had startled the world with a report of atrocities in the Congo. He had been sent to investigate in Peru. His report was submitted to the British Foreign Secretary in January, 1911, and is only now made public. The report was calmly suppressed for almost two years. All this time government officials knew

that unarmed and inoffensive natives were being butchered and killed in the Putumayo district and nobody ever thought of raising his voice in protest. There was no stimulus, no great mines, or diamond fields in sight to reward the protector of the oppressed. But now all is changed. Statesmen who had long smothered their consciences, diplomats, who had been too much occupied with affairs of state, clergymen and editors who had neglected their duty, were all suddenly stricken with remorse. Each and all rushed to the press or the platform to demand a cessation of the cruelties being perpetrated by the notorious Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company in the Putumayo district.

These Indian natives are a mild and peaceful people split up into a number of tribes. Their mode of life is still primitive. The bow and arrow is still the most common weapon. The forest affords abundant material for the building of comfortable thatched huts, which are usually large and roomy. Food is to be had in plenty the year round for the gathering. Fruits of many kinds grow plentifully and there are always wild nuts of innumerable variety.

Dwelling in a land of plenty, at peace with their neighbors, surrounded by the beloved forest, it is to be readily doubted that the Putumayo Indians should willingly assume the yoke of a white boss without pressure of some menacing sort being brought to bear upon them.

It is the crying need for food, and clothing and a house to live in, that forces workmen and women to sell themselves to work for a boss for wages. The natives in Peru had no such needs. It is but to be expected that some sort of physical coercion was used in Peru. Where land is free, food abundant, shelter available and clothing still a matter of ornament, men and women are practically free economically. It is the private ownership of land, food, clothing and houses that makes slaves of the non-owners. They are forced to work for wages to get money to buy these necessities.

Everywhere we find that capitalism on invading "uncivilized" lands, either grabs up the land and other natural resources, so that the natives are forced to find jobs in order to live, or the "civilized" intruders command the "heathen" by physical violence.

Collecting rubber is very hard work. Natives are driven into the forest whence they dare not return without bringing back the required amount of rubber under dire penalty. They must go through fever-infested swamps, risking life and limb, in danger every moment from attacks of the beasts of the jungle. Through the long nights, alone and unprotected, the natives must hide in brush or trees ever on the alert to avoid unknown and unseen enemies.

The most careful tapping of trees gives only about twenty pounds of rubber per full grown tree, a year. Often a native will be compelled to search through several miles of forest to find a few trees. Cups must be placed before the gashes or openings cut in the tree trunks and the yield must be collected every day till the flow ceases.

In the Putumayo District natives were ordered to report every two weeks with

## CANOES USED TO TRANSPORT RUBBER.

their rubber supply. The sap is treated promptly in order to insure preservation.

Natives were originally promised from \$9.00 to \$15.00 per one hundred pounds of prepared rubber, "according to its quality." This naturally left a great deal to the sense of justice (?) of the rubber company.

In the Putumayo District the Amazon Rubber Company possessing a monopoly for the sale of merchandise to the natives, was in a particularly happy situation. Rubber gatherers were refused payment in cash and compelled to accept company goods in exchange.

Since it is more than even the minds of educated men may do to solve the mysteries of high finance, it is hardly to be expected that the Peruvian Indians should be able to comprehend the intricacies of company bookkeeping. Hence it is not strange that the natives—as a result of this system—found themselves indebted to the company.

In such cases the rubber company seized the Putumayoans, taking them forcibly from their villages and transporting them to points where laborers were scarce. Many tribes have preferred to abandon their territories and move long distances across the equatorial jungle rather than be set to work by the rubber merchants.

It is reported that the English Rubber Company is solely responsible for the atrocities

committed on natives in the Putumayo District. Sir Roger Casement declares that rubber gatherers have been subjected to tortures that baffle description, that arms and feet as well as ears and heads have been lopped off. Men and women have been burned alive and their children beheaded in a single bloody debauch by the rubber merchants. Thousands have been maimed and murdered with impunity.

To quote from the *Review of Reviews*:

"It may be only a coincidence, but the recent outburst of indignation in England took place five or six days after the Brazilian National Congress had voted an appropriation of \$2,500,000 for carrying out a rubber valorization scheme similar to the coffee valorization. Brazil produces about 50 per cent of the world's supply of rubber. The value of the Putumayo rubber forests is therefore increasing very rapidly.

"The Peruvian Amazon Company has no legal title to the Putumayo tract, having never paid a cent to the Peruvian Government."

It looks very much to us as though some great syndicate was getting ready to seize the Putumayo lands in the name of the tortured natives of Peru. We wonder how it will stimulate a passionate fervor in the breasts of the Indians for rubber gathering!

# THE VICTORY OF THE LUMBER JACKS

By COVINGTON HALL

THE contention of "the State of Louisiana," alias the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, in the trial of Emerson and his associates was that they were guilty of "conspiracy to murder" because, practically, had they not organized the Forest and Lumber Workers' Union and held public meetings in defiance of the wishes of the Sawdust Ring, then the Lumber Trust would not have been compelled to pull off the "riot" at Grabow, nobody would have been killed and "law and order," alias peonage, would not have been disturbed in this satrapy of the plunderbund that is marked off on the map of the United States of North America and dignified with the name of the "sovereign State of Louisiana." Not Arthur L. Emerson and his eight associates, not the nine men who had been picked out as the ones the Lumber Trust would most like to see adorned with rope cravats, were on trial. The *real* thing on trial, the *real* issue at stake, was the right of labor to organize and strike. This was the storm center around which the whole trial swung and, had "the state" won its contention, had the jury accepted its idea of "conspiracy," to prove which it was allowed to offer in "evidence" hearsay and common gossip of the grossest kind, the Plunderbund would have succeeded in forcing from the courts the decision it has been working to secure for some time,—a decision annulling the right of labor to organize and strike,—and this decision it will yet secure from the courts unless labor unites and delivers battle all along the line. As a matter of fact, the main thing that saved the lives and liberties of the men on trial was the hostile solidarity shown toward the prosecution by the working men and working farmers throughout this section; this and Judge Hunter's savage attacks on the Burns Detective Agency, which made these social carrion-crows and body-snatchers of the Plunderland extremely cautious in their work of greasing ropes for the Lumber

Trust. As to the role of these detectives, I thoroughly agree with Ed. Lehman when he asked St. John to tell Haywood this: "Since my experience with detectives, I think you are too damned complimentary in your remarks on them." A scab is not the lowest on earth and will not be the only ghoul locked out of hell,—below him stands the gunman, the kept writer, the militiaman and the detective, things with souls of mud, with harpy hearts, with brains grown so leperous they would pander their father's honor and their mother's virtue for a price less than that for which Judas sold Jesus to the Longs and Kirbys in the days of old.

One remarkable thing that stood out sharp and clear all during the trial was, as Judge Hunter stated, this: "The State of Louisiana was nothing but a spectator in the trial." Congressman A. P. Pujo of the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, who sneered in open court at "an imaginary constitution," the lumberjacks dubbed Pujo, "the persecuting attorney,"—was leading counsel for "the state," directed the prosecution (?) and tried the unionists for sedition to the Sawdust Ring, of which he, Pujo, chairman of the Democratic committee now "investigating (?) the money trust," is a shiney star of the first magnitude, it is said.

All the "sensations" promised by Burns were sprung in the trial, only the springing was done by the defense, much to the discomfort of the brilliant brains directing the persecution, so, to get even, they went out and had organizers Clarence Edwards, C. L. Filigno and E. F. Doree arrested and bullpenned for "attempting to intimidate and bribe witnesses," *this* when we hardly had enough money to buy grub with, *this* when Burns' detectives not only threatened prisoners with the penitentiary if they did not "confess," but had assaulted organizer Ezra Moss and threatened others of us with personal violence, *this* when the man who attempted to assassinate Creel, and who acknowledged his crime, had been turned

loose by the same grand jury that gave a clean bill of health to all the sawmill owners and their gunmen and indicted Emerson and 57 other unionists for "murder in the first degree" on account of the Grabow "riot." Such examples of "impartial justice" undoubtedly have greatly increased the "respect," "reverence" and "confidence" the common people must have in the courts if we are ever to approach on this old earth "that state which exists in Heaven under a just God," as Willie Howard Taft has so well said, or something like it.

In the meantime, while we are receiving congratulations on our victory from all

sides, the Lumber Trust notifies us through its papers that it intends to double the number of gunmen and to stockade all its towns while the company that owns Bogalusa, La., a town of 5,000 or more people, has already established a private police force and a private court of its own, so, let all their friends and fellow-workers know that this fight is just begun and that the fighting lumberjacks of Dixie still need the helping hand of the world's rebellious slaves. They are still crying, these forest-men of the south: "All for one and one for all! On with the One Big Union!" Clan of Toil, awaken! Rebels of the world, arise!

## The Outcast

BY REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN.

They would not hear him. How they smiled  
That he, who talked with courtesans,  
Who said: "Be led as by a child,"  
Who supped with low-browed publicans,  
Should dare to preach! A hare-brained boor,  
A rustic in a city stew!  
They could not listen—that was sure—  
They could not listen then; can you?

And when he turned to violence,  
Assaulting brokers—men of peace—  
The priests themselves, in self-defense,  
Surrendered him to the police. . . .  
A sweat-stained working-man to them,  
They jeered him up the hill of death:  
This carpenter of Bethlehem,  
Jesus, this chap from Nazareth.

What has been shall be; so today  
In strict accordance with the law  
We hoot the jay and turn to slay:  
We send our Christs to Golgotha,  
Where rotting hovels bring the rents,  
Where there is darkness and disgrace,  
Where there are "model tenements,"  
We keep the rascals in their place.

And so—in children bleached by toil,  
In working-women starved to shame,  
In farm-hands fettered to the soil,  
In trades you scarcely dare to name,  
In shop and office, mine and mill,  
With bloody brow and riven side,  
With hands that wrought your safety—still  
Writhes Labor, crowned and crucified.

# SOCIALIST TACTICS

BY

CHARLES A. RICE

I.

FOREWORD.

THE Social Democratic political movement in both hemispheres in its ultra-parliamentarian form is usually referred to as pure-and-simple parliamentarianism because it lays undue stress on the ballot and the parliamentary activity of the political representatives of the workers as the sole or the principal effective method for forcing radical economic reform and for attaining the final emancipation of the proletariat from wage slavery through the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment and further development of Socialism.

Our own brand of this pure-and-simplism has a "possibilistic" "constructivistic" halo about it, since its exponents are fond of dubbing the left wing of our party "impossibilists," while they themselves frequently parade as "constructive" Socialists. Pure-and-simple builders they are or aspire to be, but of what? Of reformistic air-castles, perhaps, misnamed "practical Socialism?" What do they, at bottom, stand for? European pure-and-simplism, as well as our own variety, stands, broadly speaking, for a definite conception of political action on the part of the proletariat in the traditional sense. This traditional political action dogma demands that the workers organize in a political party, participate in political campaigns, elect their candidates to office for the purpose of wrangling with the political henchmen of capitalism in the effort to force from them "administrative reforms along Socialist lines," as formulated by "section six" of our party constitution. This gradual "possibilistic" office-holding and legislative wrangling goes on until it finally captures the state, expropriates the capitalists (or buys them out, according to some of our "constructivists") of the rest of the means of production and distribution not as yet expropriated (or bought out) by previous "constructivist" effort, and puts on the finishing touches to the work of trans-

forming capitalism into the Socialist commonwealth.

To be sure, there are many other minor features, issues and demands in the platforms of the various Socialist parties, especially in western and eastern Europe, such as the abolition of standing armies and their substitution by a democratically-organized militia, disarmament, abolition of the tariff on foodstuffs, a graduated income tax, municipalization of public utilities, political autonomy or home rule for the various nationalities within some of the European countries. But the above outline of pure-and-simple political actionism is fully adequate as a preliminary draft.

Now this pure-and-simplist "constructivism" and its inherent tactics are gradually approaching a more or less acute stage in their development. A new departure, a new point of view, a deep sense of unrest, and a seeking for new light in Socialist thinking and action are making themselves felt, slowly but irresistibly, within the Socialist and labor movement all over the world. The various Socialist parties, our own included, are facing this recent development in a double aspect. On the one hand, the radical wings within those parties feel the imperative need of "revision to the left," the need for a critical overhauling and stock-taking of the traditional tactical dogmas and slogans of the social-democratic movement, a reevaluation of the tactical values that have held their sway over the class-conscious proletariat for over forty years, the need for probing to the bottom the theory and practice of pure-and-simple parliamentary Socialism, its basic principles and what has been accomplished by it as far as the vital needs of the working class are concerned. The second aspect of this new tendency is constructive in the true revolutionary sense of the word. Its aim is to sift out the best there is in parliamentary Socialism, free it of the

non-revolutionary chaff, and develop it further along lines that are more in harmony with Marxist principles on one side and the intrinsic proletarian character of the international Socialist movement on the other. The revolutionary minorities within the Socialist parties are seeking for *new* light in conjunction with the best there is in the old light so as to help build up a truly proletarian Socialist movement, efficient in the present and capable of leading the working class to ultimate triumph in the future.

But we must get nearer home. This new wave of revolutionary revision has also reached our shores. At the Indianapolis Socialist Party Convention two great antagonistic currents came to the surface: The current of "possibilistic" or reformistic constructivism represented by the majority of the delegates on one side and a revolutionary drift of proletarian industrialist Socialism represented by about one-third of the delegates on the other. The two forces clashed and finally came to terms in a sorry and bungling patchwork of compromise both in the platform and in the party constitution. It was a *historical* clash at a *historical* convention, giving birth to a *historical* document representing a sort of truce between the two warring forces. They are to be regarded as historical because they mark a turning point in the development of American Socialism. This parti-colored document seemingly attempts to voice a wide range of tendencies in the Socialist movement, from left to right, from Marxian Socialism of the preamble and the vague allusions to industrial unionism, through various shades of middle-class reformism, down to the extreme bourgeois right of the notorious section six of the party constitution. For a detailed analysis of this whole document and especially of this section we refer the reader to a subsequent chapter.

Suffice it here to say that the conservative reformistic tendencies of the majority found their most forcible, if not the most lucid and coherent, expression in this document as well as in all the proceedings of the convention itself. Here the majority's tendencies have reached their climax in the above-mentioned section six, in which our brand of "constructivistic" pure-and-simplism has boldly and frankly thrown overboard all its pretended Marxism and the whole proletar-

ian revolutionary character of the Socialist movement, landing head over heels in the quagmire of bourgeois aspirations and slogans. As will be shown further down, the whole character of the platform and the constitution as far as they clearly reflect the tendencies of the majority warrants the assumption that the document, whether the majority were conscious of it or not, is essentially an appeal to and a bid for the vote of the lower layers of the middle class, the small farmers, and the "aristocracy" of labor in the craft unions of the A. F. L. persuasion.

We see, then, where the majority of the party as represented at the convention stands. Whether the majority of the delegates really voiced the *clear* stand of the *actual majority of the party membership*, is quite another question to be discussed later on; but we assume this to be the case at this stage of our discussion. The rightward swing of this majority seems to be definite and unmistakable. In this case a host of perplexing questions surge up before us and press for adequate answers. Does the party stand on the bed-rock of Marxism? If so, how does this unmarxian right-about tack tally with its Marxist basis? Has the party ever stood on such a basis? If so, how are we to account for this swerving to the right? What forces have brought it about? How far is the pure-and-simplist *credo* (dogma) responsible for it? What connection, if any, is there between our pure-and-simplist "constructivism" to the right and its manifestations in the Socialist movement of western Europe?

And what about the revolutionary minority of our party? Has it a definite stand and what is it? What has given rise to this minority? Is there any vital bond between it and the radical wings in the Socialist parties of western Europe? At the Indianapolis Convention the tendencies more or less clearly represented by the minority of the delegates received an almost complete setback or were totally suppressed. The minority did some valiant skirmishing, but got very scant recognition at the hands of the majority in the form of some feeble and remote hints made at the preamble and in the resolution on organized labor as to the desirability of a more compact form of the economic organization of labor cap-

able of resisting the aggressions of capitalism. But the general stand of this minority was rather ill-defined. Though its members were quite numerous, potentially aggressive, and highly intelligent, the minority as a whole suffered from theoretical chaos, lack of clearness as to general principles and lack of cohesion of concentrated and organized effort in its battle with the majority. This lack of clearness and force on the part of the minority out of all proportion to its numerical and intellectual strength and fighting mettle at the convention does not by any means accurately gauge the actual strength of the minority within the party membership in general. The above weakness was only a transitory symptom pointing to the fact that the tendencies voiced by the minority of the delegates are comparatively a recent growth within the American Socialist movement. This young infant is bound to shoot up rapidly into lusty youth and stalwart manhood, gather revolutionary sap, grit, and cohesion on one side, theoretical clearness, depth of insight, solidity of principle, and maturity of judgment on the other.

To speed up this growth, to help nurse this tender babe into brawny and virile maturity, the minority must go through some preliminary washing and dressing. It must strive to get rid of the chaotic state in its theoretical make-up; the views and tendencies, principles and aims that so far unconsciously underlie its whole attitude as a minority must be sifted, clarified and organized into a consistent whole. The minority must know its own origin, whence it came, and where it goes. This work must be done from the bottom up. In western Europe, thanks to the splendid press facilities of the Socialist parties themselves and of the Socialist labor movement as a whole, ali shades and tendencies in the parties find excellent opportunities for self-expression, for thorough-going intelligent discussion and further elaboration. We, of the minority here have not, outside of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, the remotest approach to the opportunities accessible to our European comrades. Therefore, all comrades of the rank and file who feel and think with the minority, must collect their brain efforts so as *to work out and agree upon the fundamental principles underlying proletarian revolutionary Socialist ideals*

*and tactics* and assume a definite stand on all the basic issues within the Socialist movement.

It is only after we have made clear to ourselves who we are and what we stand for that we shall be in a position to take up and should take up the next step in our work. Having worked out a definite stand and developed sufficient cohesion and grit, we shall be in good working trim to forge ahead and shall have the means to launch a campaign of education among the rest of the party membership. This preliminary work of self-education and self-clarification must begin at once. Comrades all over the country ready for this work should organize into small clubs for discussing Socialist tactics, the problems of industrial unionism and its relation to political action. As this movement grows, it will feel the need of adequate public expression, that is the need of a suitable press and other mediums for propaganda and education. The further practical steps will then readily suggest themselves, but meanwhile the preliminary work of self-education must be vigorously pushed. In connection with this we should keep in mind the great truth that *no minority can ever hope to become the majority or even be instrumental to any extent in modifying the principles and tactics adopted by that majority unless the work is carried on in the spirit of a minority, that is unless the propaganda of the minority is conducted within the bounds of the party in question, without any appeal to means and agencies outside of and inimical to that party, with loyalty to it, without any attempts at splits, and, as far as possible, without any friction with the comrades of the majority.*

Our work will and must, of course, be tentative at first and incomplete, since we are seeking for new light on issues that are at once very complex and covering a wide range of matters affecting the past and present of the Socialist and the labor movement of the world; but this consideration should not deter us from our work, since every great and earnest effort is experimental at first, slowly groping its way, unsteady and halting; then the gait becomes firmer and gathers momentum and swing as it advances, the view getting clearer and wider, until the goal is reached and the patient work is crowned with complete success.

The following chapters, therefore, are to be regarded as a tentative effort to arrive at the fundamental principles above referred to after a careful study of the past and present of pure-and-simple parliamentary Socialism, its tactical tenets and its tendencies, and their effects upon the whole Socialist and labor movement. The task of working out the stand of the minority will be greatly facilitated after the above questions as to the character of the majority of our party have found their adequate answers in the preliminary historical review just mentioned.

We hope that this effort may serve as a basis for thorough discussion and further elaboration on the part of revolutionary comrades within the party.

## II.

### *The Origin and Meaning of Pure-and-Simple Political Actionism.*

The conception of political action of the proletariat in its struggle for its own final emancipation and that of all humanity from the thralldom of the capitalistic system with its wage slavery and all its inherent social evils, that is the scheme of pure-and-simple parliamentary action as briefly outlined at the beginning of Chapter I of this paper—is held by the middle-class and craft-union elements of the Socialist parties all over the world and especially on the European continent in so far as those parties are dominated by their parliamentary fractions. This adherence to the above tactical dogma is especially strong in Germany, where the Marxist center of the Social Democracy with Kautsky at the intellectual fore-front had stood, up to 1904, orthodox sponsor for this pure-and-simple *credo* in its pristine purity.

We all, whether majority or minority, stand on the bed-rock of *scientific* Socialism—the only kind of Socialism worthy of the name and of any consequence to the proletariat. We have nothing to do with any spurious brands under various names posing as Socialism. Now *scientific* Socialism is unthinkable without Marxism, the coherent system of sociological and economic laws and principles as worked out by Marx and Engels. The upholders of the above pure-and-simple parliamentary *credo* as scientific Socialists claim that this *credo* is based on Marxism. Let us, then, closely

look into the validity of this claim and see “what thereat is.”

The salient points of Marxism may be summed up in its three cardinal divisions:

1. *Historical materialism or the materialist conception of history*, often erroneously called *economic interpretation of history* and sometimes referred to as *economic determinism*.
2. *The theory of the class struggle*.
3. *Marxian economics*.

The two first doctrines, that is the *materialist conception of history* and the *class struggle theory*, are usually and briefly stated together as a coherent whole. To quote Engels (preface to the Communist Manifesto, German edition, 1883): “In every historical epoch, the economic production (*that is the mode of production and exchange*. Translator) and the social organization necessarily following from it form the basis upon which is built up the political and intellectual history of that epoch, accordingly all history (since the dissolution of primitive communal ownership of land) has been the history of class struggles, struggles between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes at the different stages of social evolution; this struggle, however, has now reached a stage in which the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot emancipate itself from (*the rule of*. Translator) the class—the bourgeoisie—that exploits and oppresses it without, at the same time and once for all emancipating all society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles.”

For the purposes of our analysis, however, it will be best to treat these two fundamental historical doctrines separately so as to bring out more clearly their bearing on the pure-and-simple political actionist dogma. 1. According to historical materialism, all *written* history can be understood only, *in the final analysis*, by considering as the basis the *economic structure* of a given epoch—slavery, feudalism, or capitalism—that is the mode of production and exchange of the means of life prevalent in that epoch.

There are, of course, other *material* forces greatly affecting individuals as well as societies, such as climate, geographical position, the character of the soil, and other cosmic, geologic, and geographical forces and agencies. But these forces are more

or less constant and so cannot account for social *change*. In primitive tribal society, as, for instance, among the Iroquois and other North American Indians, based on the common ownership of the means of subsistence (land and primitive implements for hunting, fishing, etc.), the *reproduction of life*, that is race and family ties and relation have been the determining factor. But with the dissolution of primitive communal society, the appearance of private property, the monogamic family and the state, the racial or life-breeding factor steps to the historical background. Of all *social* factors, then, the economic factor becomes, in *the last analysis*, the ultimate determining factor shaping social life. "The ultimate causes of social changes and political revolutions are to be sought (Engels, *Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science*, 1891, p. 25), not in the *heads* of men, in their growing insight into eternal verities and justice, but in the changes in the mode of production and exchange, not in the *philosophy*, but in the *economics* of the given epoch."

In other words, the form of social organization, that is the state and the family, as well as the kind of organic laws, political and civic institutions, ethical standards and morals, organized religious conceptions (the church), and even the general trend in philosophy and art,—or briefly, the *ideology*—prevalent in a given stage of social evolution is, in the main, the result of the material conditions of life prevalent in that stage, that is the result of the way the means of life are produced, exchanged, and as a consequence, the way those means are distributed among the *various classes* in that society consequent upon that mode of production and exchange. In short, the *ideology* in a given epoch of history or in a given society or *class* depends on and reflects the economic basis of that society or class. Similarly, any radical change or transition, peaceful or revolutionary, gradual or proceeding at a more rapid rate, in the ideology of a whole epoch, society or class *reflects*, more or less consciously, the economic change that had already taken place *previous* to the ideological change.

Now, is there anything in this doctrine to bear out the pure-and-simplist dogma? None whatever. Historical materialism

implies rather the contrary assumption that the proletarians as an economic class, must be *organized* as a class, that is at the point of production, in order to bring about a radical change in their economic status as producers before this change can be reflected politically, that is, the proletariat must first achieve in its own productive field, and as a whole economically organized class, sufficient economic power and consequent control of industry, and only then will it be in a position to give this economic fact its final expression through the political acts of formally expropriating the capitalist class.

Let us apply the test of historical materialism to our working class and we shall see at once how untenable from this viewpoint the tactics advocated by pure-and-simplism are. Ninety-eight per cent of our workers are totally unorganized. The rest (with a few exceptions) are organized in craft-unions totally unable to cope with consolidated capital and the automatic machine process. Most of the workers are steeped in bourgeois prejudice, fettered by bourgeois habits of thinking and feeling with their brains church-shackled and an easy prey to the sky-piloting end of capitalism. Not only have they no initiative in the productive process, but their say as to wages and hours of work is more nominal than real, while as to safety to life and limb, and sanitary arrangements in the shop, the workers have no say at all. In the field of consumption the American proletariat is far more impotent than are the workers in western Europe with their strong co-operative movement. Can a proletariat, at present *economically* so *impotent*, develop a *political class* movement? Or can any political movement already in the field and claiming to have that character pretend to *reflect* the *economic class* struggle and the *economic power* of our proletariat? Can a Socialist political organization reflect what largely does not exist as yet? Can a political movement presumably proletarian *forestall* and run ahead of an economic movement which has hardly outgrown its nursery stage? An affirmative answer to this question is a flat denial of historical materialism.

2. *The Class Struggle*. Primitive society was based on the common ownership

of land and all other means of procuring subsistence and shelter known to prehistoric man. This communal society was organized into groups based on blood kinship, that is the *gens* (clan) and the *tribe* as found among the North American Indians and the ancient Germans. It knew neither the state, nor the monogamic family, nor any other institution based on the economics of private property, and had no class divisions and, consequently, no economic or political strifes and class conflicts. This simplest stage in social evolution, therefore, had no history proper. With the increase in wealth consequent upon the higher development in the mode of acquiring the means of life, with the growth of population, and the rise of private property, the communal or tribal organization gradually broke down, giving way to class divisions and the state.

This marks the beginning of history proper, written history. From the most remote antiquity of which there is any record down to our own time history, in its main outlines, is a long chain of conflict, strife and war between class and class, between the oppressors and the oppressed, the exploiters and the exploited. This constant class warfare, more or less acute, more or less prolonged, had, up to the rise of the modern bourgeoisie and the proletariat, assumed various forms and disguises. The very origin of Christianity itself was indirectly and directly a class struggle on a gigantic world-wide scale; it was the religious expression or reflection of the revolt of the slaves and all other exploited masses in the Roman empire against pagan slaveholding plutocracy.

But whatever the form or disguise, the class struggle was always at bottom a struggle of oppressed classes or nations in their age-long efforts to throw down the economic-political domination of the ruling class or nation that exploited and oppressed them and to achieve economic-political supremacy themselves. Such was the struggle in the ancient world of slaves against their slave lords, or of the free peasants and artisans against the Athenian or Roman plutocracy; such were the conflicts and warfare all through the middle ages of serfs against their feudal lords, of the burghers, the guilds, and other sections of

the embryonic town bourgeoisie against the feudal barons, the feudal church, and the feudal system as a whole.

With the rise of modern capitalism in its higher stages begins the great world-wide struggle of the modern proletariat against the individual employers, then against the various sections of the capitalist class, and finally against capitalism itself. The final aim of this class struggle under capitalism is the overthrow of the capitalist system itself and its transformation into Socialism.

Now, neither does the theory of the class struggle itself as scientifically worked out by Marx and Engels imply, nor has it ever been shown by any other Marxist of note that the class struggle at any historical epoch *had ever begun* by *political action*. Quite the contrary was always true. In every case where an oppressed or exploited class, social group, or nationality rose against the ruling class or group of oppressors or exploiters, the struggle for supremacy began to assume a political aspect, that is the aspect of making a dash for the powers of the state, *only in the very final stages* of the struggle.

It was only after the under-dog in the social scale had, in the course of economic evolution, reached a sufficient level of economic power, economic cohesion and organization, and became conscious of his class interests, than he began to stir politically, organize into a politically militant body, and contend for the helm at the government end of the game. This was especially the case in the great age-long battle carried on between the rising bourgeoisie and the feudal aristocracy from the close of the middle ages down to the French revolution.

True, as the dictum of the Communist Manifesto has it, "Every class struggle is a *political* struggle," but this political struggle does not, by any means, *only* or even to any considerable extent, mean *politics* or action at the polls, especially as laid down in our "section six." Every great upheaval of a whole class *as a class* for capturing the powers of the state, by *whatever means*, either for utilizing those powers, modifying them, or altogether abolishing them, is in itself a *political* act. When the plebeians (the artisans and other lower layers of the Roman citizens), in 494

B. C., in contending for their share in the republican government and smarting under the severe laws against debtors, quit Rome in a body and threatened to found a new city, they carried out a political act.

Every general strike is a political act. The reservists in Russia refusing to report to the barracks during the Russo-Japanese War and the *Dukhobory* (a Russian sect) refusing, as a body, to pay taxes and serve in the army, engaged in political actions of a negative sort. The proletariat of Vienna demonstrating in the streets and attacking private property so as to force universal suffrage or to compel the Reichsrath (parliament) to abolish the custom duties on imported foodstuffs, carried out a political act. Every meat and rent strike is a political strike.

In short, political action can, did, and does assume a great variety of forms that lie outside of the ballot or parliamentary wrangles. The above dictum of the Manifesto rather means that the class struggle *as such* is in its very nature *political*, since its final aim and outcome is the invasion of the state so as to utilize it for the purpose of bringing about radical social changes in their *final* and *formal* stage or for destroying the existing state altogether.

Again, the political aspect itself that the class struggle all through history ever assumed was anything but parliamentary. The frequent political upheavals in ancient Greece, Judea, in the Roman Empire, or in medieval Europe, such as the peasant uprisings, the protracted feuds of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines in Italy and Germany, the long struggle in the XVIIth century between the rising puritanic bourgeoisie under Cromwell, the Pugachov uprisings in Russia, and the old landed aristocracy—all these and many other historic class conflicts were violent upheavals of great masses, organized or unorganized, bloody encounters, real warfare between a class of oppressors and the class or group oppressed or exploited.

There was one apparent exception to this rule—the wrangle for political power carried on in ancient Rome itself. The age-long class war waged from the early days of the republic between the *plebs* (the farmers and artisans of Rome and its contiguous territory), and the patricians (the Roman

nobility and the military orders), degenerated, towards the closing days and the fall of the republic, into mere “politics” of our Tammany Hall variety carried on at the Forum (the Roman parliament) between the scum of the Roman citizens, the so-called Roman proletariat, on one side and the Roman Senate or the political machine of the decaying Roman nobility and plutocracy on the other. Now, this proletariat had absolutely nothing in common with our modern proletariat; these proletarian Romans were in no sense an economic class. Production in Rome itself and on the great landed estates was carried on by slaves.

The proletarian citizen had no trade and did not work whatever. He was either fed by state charity and state graft or a hanger-on, spunger and lickspittle at the house of some nobleman or plutocrat called his *patron*. All these proletarians were an unorganized mass of the submerged elements and constituted the lower layer of parasites in the economic scheme of Rome. But this city rabble had votes which they sold to the highest grafter. So that this tomfoolery at the ballot carried on by this proletarian rabble can not in any way be regarded as political action or as a real class contest for economic or political supremacy in the Roman state, no more than is so regarded the voting and vote-selling of our “floaters,” “repeaters,” colonizers,” and other hordes of the voting scum swarming during elections and infesting the slum dens and the Boweries of our large industrial and commercial bee-hives.

Finally, whatever the character which the class struggle may have assumed in the past, it does not at all follow that the great struggle of the modern proletariat under capitalism for carrying out radical changes in its own economic condition while capitalism is still in power and for achieving its own final emancipation and that of all humanity with the overthrow of the capitalist system must run or will run in the groove and track of by-gone precapitalistic times. The modern proletariat may, can, and will bring to bear its own creative powers, will develop new modes of efficient class action totally undreamed of and impossible in the past; it does and will find and perfect new ways and means and a new mechanism for successfully carrying out its historic mission—

a mechanism more in harmony with and inevitably flowing from the growth of the workers in numbers, economic organization and cohesion, solidarity, and the great industrial training they will get more and more in shop, mine, and field—a training in the process of production itself and in

(To be Continued.)

transportation calling for managerial, organizing, and executive ability. In short, the proletariat may bring into action tactical principles and methods either entirely non-parliamentary or such in which political effort in the parliamentary sense may be a factor more or less powerful.

## AN EYESORE TO THE RICH

By W. R. Killingbeck

**S**ITUATED in the heart of fashionable Jersey, surrounded by the estates of multi-millionaires, Comrade J. M. Allgor, a Socialist, lives in his cottage home. But unfortunately he is not content with being permitted to exist upon the same earth as the capitalist class and uses every means at his command to enlighten the world on the great message of Socialism.

Speeding down the broad drive that passes his house in a luxurious automobile such magnates as Havemayer, of unsavory Sugar Trust fame, and others equally notorious for robbing the workers, find their aesthetic senses offended by the high fence that Comrade Allgor has erected for purposes of propaganda and such signs as:

"Idle parasites grow rich on the labor of those who work," or "Workingmen agitate, educate, organize and abolish industrial slavery!"

Boldly in Comrade Allgor's front yard, on top of his own flag pole waves his own

red flag, and all this on the famous Rumson Road, Seabright, over which automobiles have to pass to the most fashionable summer resorts of Jersey.

The capitalists in the vicinity have done everything possible short of murder to oust him. Comrade Allgor's fences have been torn down, his windows smashed, his house broken into and furniture destroyed. His clothes line has been cut and clothes stolen. But in spite of beatings, robberies and incessant attacks, Comrade Allgor rebuilt the signboards and inserted new epigrams.

It is reported that as a last resort a tool of some of the wealthy residents named Packer hatched up a scheme to get rid of the invincible Socialist. Packer claimed that Allgor was dangerously insane, thus securing fraudulent signatures for his arrest. A medical student pronounced him unbalanced and he was rushed off to the State Hospital for the Insane.

But Allgor is out and on the job stronger than ever and a startling scandal is spreading about some of "our most prominent and respected" big business thieves.

# The Next Big Thing

BY

Samuel W. Ball

**T**HE rapidity with which big and important things chase each other off the stage of life rivals the speed of a quick change artist. The phrase, "Life is just one — thing after another," rings true.

It is even more noticeably true in the activity of the Socialist movement, where one big thing follows another in quick succession, each one bigger and closer on the heels of the preceding one. We have not time to rest up from one season of activity till we are fairly plunged into the midst of another.

First it is the city, then the state campaign. We have not time to catch even a "forty winks" until the presidential campaign is upon us, and now before the smoke of battle has fairly cleared away, we look around for the next big thing to find that already before we knew it, it has established itself and grown to towering dimensions.

The next big thing is the Lyceum. It is already ushered in. As nearly as may be judged, the Lyceum Department has done every thing possible in the way of preparation. It has worked out every detail with a view to enabling the membership to secure the best possible results with the least necessary effort. Several thousand dollars' worth of printing has been done. Complete information concerning the entire plan has been placed in the hands of every local and branch. A paper has been established as a means of direct communication between the workers. Speakers have been engaged and required to make more than the ordinary preparation. Outlines have been

sent in by the speakers and submitted to each of the others for comparison, to the end that no speaker need trespass on the territory of any other in his circuit. Each speaker has received strict instructions to stick to his subject and the preparation of the outlines required careful study.

True, several obstacles, impossible to foresee, have hindered the work, delaying the start and increasing the expense. A few individuals and locals have found their own plans seriously interfered with by the delay. The end sought, however, is of such magnitude that individual matters may not be allowed to interfere.

The harvest time of the campaign has just passed. The votes gathered in represent the fruition of efforts put forth in the distribution of literature, in agitation and education months previous to the election. The seed time of another campaign is now here. Socialist sentiment is now to be crystallized and the new converts to be educated. This is the work of the Lyceum.

It is now up to the membership. The responsibility for the success of this big undertaking, as with everything else, is with the members themselves. The expenses have been incurred. The preparations have been made. The material is ready for use. The only remaining thing must be done by the rank and file.

It may be there are better plans for educating the public as to the real meaning of socialism and the purpose of our organization. If so, it appears they have not been suggested or undertaken. The Lyceum is here. Whether it is a success or not depends upon prompt and strenuous action by your local or branch.

U. S. S. MARYLAND—BRADFORD COALING STATION

Sailors Have Just Finished Coaling at the Rate of 180 Tons per Hour by Hand. Ship's Coal Capacity, 2,800 Tons

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## TRUTHS ABOUT THE NAVY

BY

MARION WRIGHT

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**A**N OFFICER at the naval recruiting station, Pittsburg, Pa., gave the lie to my article in the September REVIEW by boldly stating that I was probably a woman. As the author of Uncle Tom's Cabin was a woman, and women writers have a happy faculty for stirring things up I trust that this article will only serve to swell the flood of letters which are pouring into the offices of the REVIEW confirming my statements in this series of TRUTHS ABOUT THE NAVY.

In my first article I stated that he (the recruit) "takes an oath to obey 'all lawful orders,' but another part of the navy regulations which he is not permitted to see provides that as far as his opinion is concerned any order given by a superior is

lawful." The recruiting officer states that this paragraph is "absolutely false" for the reason that if an enlisted man considers orders unjust he "may go to the commanding officer for an impartial decision of their merits," and that the regulations are not really hidden but are "pasted all over the ship in frames." True, very true about them being posted up all about the decks; but the sucker is not caught on the ship. When he reaches the ship where he can see what he is up against, he is ALREADY HOOKED! It is everlastingly too late for him to turn back and he is confronted at every turn with evidence of the grim consequences that are to follow if he dares break one of a thousand rules which he never heard or dreamed of before. Then fancy

a recruit getting an "impartial" decision from the captain, should he presume to question the merits of an order! He would have far less chance than does a working-man who appeals to a higher court from the decision of an "Injunction Judge," besides he may be punished for "making frivolous complaints."

I have said in effect and repeat in English words that any form of savagery may be practiced at will by any captain in the navy on members of his crew and while his savage acts are positively forbidden by the navy regulations, the only satisfactory recourse left to the enlisted men is to desert and perhaps be hunted down later as criminals with a price on their heads.

What about the young boys who were said to have been outraged by Admiral Barry a few years ago while he was in supreme command of a great fleet? It is claimed that he was surprised at his bestial practices by his junior officers. At least the evidence was strong enough to cause him to be relieved of his command by wire from Washington and his resignation from the navy demanded. He left his fleet in a cloud of black disgrace and the lowest sailor in his command was morally certain OF THE REASON. Suppose one of these boy victims had rebelled and made a complaint before the hideous scandal came out. To whom would he have addressed his complaint? THE ADMIRAL WAS IN SUPREME COMMAND! How would the word of a common sailor have weighed in Washington, the seat of the mighty, against the word of a gold-braided admiral? Suppose one of these boys had deserted and returned to his home in the inland states—what reasons could he have given to his parents for his act? He would have been arrested by the man hunters and returned to his ship for trial and the very admiral who debauched him would have SIGNED THE PAPERS COMMITTING HIM TO PRISON. Let some ready recruiting officer, who must possess a glib tongue and a ready pen to hold his job, answer the above questions and reply to the above facts. The glove is down, let even Washington, the seat of the mighty, take it up.

If by any chance an enlisted man should win a decision over his superior he would eventually have his career ruined or be hounded out of the navy by other officers

in spite of the law. "What is the Blue Book between brother officers?" is just as common as "What is the constitution between friends?" A man or officer testifies against the powers that be at his peril.

I will prove the truth of the above by the naval officers' own newspapers. Having a philosopher friend whose hobby is writing and studying on the "Suppression of the Truth by the Church and State," I felt that he would be able to help me, so I appealed to him. He is supplied by various press clipping bureaus with every item published bearing on "Suppression or Persecution." Referring to his records I looked over his clippings for 1912 for naval items and found three articles within a very few moments which will prove my case. They were clipped from the weekly newspapers *Army and Navy Journal*, which calls itself "*Gazette of the Regular and Volunteer Forces*," and the *Army and Navy Register*, which lays claim to being "*The U. S. Military Gazette*." Careful investigation disclosed the fact that these two papers issued respectively from New York and Washington, D. C., have been published for more than forty years; are ultra-conservative in policy; despise all anti-militarists; love war and Boy Scouts, and are in fact the official mouth-pieces of the commissioned officers of the army and navy.

Let us see now how these staunch old journals will sometimes so far forget themselves as to allow a little ray of truth to illumine their pages. Let us discover from this authoritative source how even high commissioned officers may "*Jeopardize their careers*" by uttering a single word displeasing to their superiors. And let us learn with shame that so mighty a tribunal as a committee of Congressmen of the United States of America is powerless to protect such officers!

I found the following extracts in an article in the *Army and Navy Journal*, dated May 11, 1912, entitled "*CRITICISMS ON NAVY YARD MANAGEMENT*." (Italics and words in capitals are mine.)

A little more than a year ago Naval Constructor H. A. Evans, U. S. N., submitted for publication in the Proceedings of the Naval Institute an article on naval administration which was found sufficiently acceptable to be put into type, BUT THEN THE TROUBLES OF MR. EVANS BEGAN. \* \* \*

Then Commander Coontz was sent for and

told peremptorily that the article must not be published. \* \* \*

Now that the article appears in the report of the hearing of Mr. Evans before the House Naval Committee \* \* \* the Navy Department, or whoever is responsible for its suppression, is put in the indefensible position of HAVING SOUGHT TO SUPPRESS CRITICISMS WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN LISTENED TO and called to the attention of all interested in the improvement of naval conditions.

The *Army and Navy Register* of the same date has the following to say on the same subject: (italics and words in capitals are mine.)

It may easily turn out that the naval committee will find no other naval officer in the position of Mr. Evans, just before his resignation went into effect, of BEING ABLE TO TELL JUST WHAT HE KNOWS AND THINKS. No officer of the navy is to be blamed for becoming an unwilling witness before a congressional committee when he is confronted with the choice of keeping still or coming out against the administration. In the latter instance he is apt to ENCOUNTER TROUBLE OF A VERY SERIOUS CHARACTER, recalling the fate of some officers of army and navy upon whom have been visited the results of OFFICIAL DISPLEASURE FOR TESTIMONY GIVEN BEFORE THE MILITARY AND NAVAL COMMITTEES during the past two or three years in matters bearing directly and with considerable importance upon pending legislation. Members of committees have frequently promised to protect officers who are called upon to give their views, BUT THERE IS NO WAY TO FURNISH SUCH PROTECTION, inasmuch as the "punishment" may not always be identified as

such; besides, the congressional memory is a short one. \* \* \*

The following extracts are taken from an article entitled "'PROTECTION' OF OFFICERS" in the *Army and Navy Register* of Oct. 5, 1912: (Italics and words in capitals are mine.)

There have been examples of officers who have found it necessary, however unwilling they were as witnesses, to indulge in criticism or what appeared to be criticism of their superiors; UPON SOME OF THEM HAVE BEEN VISITED THE EFFECT OF SUCH INDISCRETION. \* \* \* For this reason it has been difficult, if not impossible, TO PROTECT SUCH OFFICERS, regardless of the assurance of protection which has invariably been accorded to them. \* \* \*

\* \* \* Officers will not feel free to express themselves before congressional committees while they MUST INCUR SUCH PERIL OF RETALIATION no less REAL IN ITS EFFECT because it is sometimes so intangible or SUBTILE. Officers can not be expected to jeopardize their careers in any such manner and THERE IS NO INDICATION OF ANY IMPROVEMENT in the state of affairs at the capitol. Congress IS IN NO POSITION TO PROTECT OFFICERS. \* \* \*

What chance then, in the name of common sense, has an enlisted man, friendless and without influence, to obtain redress for wrongs when high commissioned officers dare not speak the truth of their bigoted superiors even while under oath and within the sheltering bosom of their Nation's Capitol Building?

## FROM EX-MARINES

(NOTE—The Review has this month received so many letters from ex-marines disclosing conditions in the navy that we are able only to quote from a few of these in the December Review. We have tried to pick out points and conditions not already touched upon in this series.)

D. of Texas, brings to attention the most important point to be said against the navy: namely, that the navy, as such, is maintained for the purpose of protecting the property interests of the rich men of any nation and increasing those interests. Referring to the four American marines recently killed during the trouble in Nicaragua, one of the newspapers says editorially:

### AN INCIDENT.

When an American officer lands American marines in a country in which civil war is being waged it stands to reason that the marines are ready to use bullet and bayonet if necessary. They are sent to protect American interests. If the awe inspired by their mere presence is suf-

ficient to serve their purpose everyone is well pleased. But if this does not suffice there naturally must be fighting. There is no way out of it.

A Nicaraguan rebel commander, who was interfering with a railroad and thereby affecting "American interests," declined to move on when commanded by the American admiral. The marines and bluejackets were drawn up for him to look upon, and still he was unimpressed. Then there was nothing left to do but fight. The Americans did fight, did drive away the rebels, killing several who would not easily be driven. In performing this little incidental task four American soldiers were incidentally killed.

These four were brave men, doing their duty. Their duty demanded the sacrifice of their lives. Possibly when they enlisted they did not contemplate real fighting as a likely part of the day's work, but their job was a fighting job, none the

less. Were it not for the need of men to do fighting in infrequent emergencies there would be no marine corps.

The death of the four young men is regrettable. They died not for the "honor of the flag," not to "save their country," not to repel a foreign invader or to do any of the romantic or glamorous things. Their sacrifice was merely an incident in the performance of a military odd job, in which they could take little or no patriotic interest. Perhaps the fact that what they did will so soon be forgotten renders them even more worthy of honor.

There boys, you have the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The chief duty of a soldier or a marine is to protect the property of the great exploiters of labor the world over. He must be ready to kill or be killed to protect or increase the property of the millionaires. What do you think about it?

D. writes: "I remember the instance of one man who was hung up by the thumbs by an officer in the army to make him tell that which he did not know. The captain claimed he did. I saw this with my own eyes although orders were to keep "the men" away except the sergeant of the guard. I sneaked in and peeked through a crack. I saw the man's swollen and lacerated thumbs which looked more like slabs of liver."

Mc. of Georgia, writes a letter from the Socialist viewpoint showing that when a class society has been abolished, there will

be no further need of armies and navies to kill in the interests of the wealth-owning class. Space does not allow or we would be glad to publish his letter in full.

B. of Boise, Idaho, refers those interested to photographs published in the *Police Gazette* of July 23, 1910, if they desire to know the punishment meted out to the boys who are guilty of breaking or spilling something, or neglecting to meet the officer's requirements in the matter of personal attire.

W. of Kansas, contributed a booklet showing the difference between the court's martial of officers and ordinary marines. These were a few cases from the U. S. S. Charleston, 1906-7. For the "stealing" of a bucket of fresh water from the scuttlebutt, on one man-o'-war, marines were given sentences similar to 30 days in double irons on bread and water, in a solitary cell, 4x6 ft., and forfeiture of from 15 days to three months' pay.

In the case of an officer, tried by a court of his brother officers and found guilty of embezzlement on six counts, making false reports of balances to his credit, and making false official reports (19 separate offenses in all), the verdict was dismissal from service and six months hard labor. The "hard labor" was never inflicted as doubtless no navy officer could be found cruel enough to so humiliate a brother officer.

## THE BLACKSMITHS AT WORK

W. says: I have seen a man insulted, abused and struck by a petty officer without cause and then reported, tried by a court of three "unbaised" officers and sentenced to be put in a solitary cell with hand and leg irons, with a full ration every third day, hard tack and water the other two, for a period of thirty days and to forfeit three months' pay.

M. of Toronto, Canada, in writing on the British navy, declares that during the fifteen years he served in both army and navy, he has personally known boys who made a regular weekly income from the practice of sodomy and other nameless immoral acts. In most cases they were compelled to submit to the indecent overtures of petty officers in the fear of their lives being made impossible. I have known petty officers to make appointments with boys ashore and take them to incredible places. M. reports other practices of such utter depravity that we shall not take them up here. But any one knowing anything of the cases in the venereal wards of naval hospitals and the sufferings of the boys there can verify all he says.

C. of New York state, contributes some photographs of the U. S. S. Marblehead and claims that the U. S. A. fostered the rebellion in Panama in order to get the canal property for practically nothing. C. weighed

240 pounds when he joined the navy, but lost 65 pounds after contracting rheumatism. He was court martialled for theft and admits frankly that he was "guilty," as were other members of the crew who "stole" provisions from the chief petty officer's store room to satisfy their hunger and secure a change from hash and beans. We understand that later the crew mutinied.

V. of Indiana, sends in a clipping reporting the death of Vern McAninch, the twenty-second man of an entire corps to be poisoned while serving in the army in Alaska. All but two or three members of the corps died from eating poisoned canned meats. The days of beef embalming are not yet over. We wonder who got the profit on those deadly cans!

J. M. of Nebraska, sends in so many vivid pictures of navy life as seen by a gunner's mate that we regret lack of space forbids our publishing them in full. J. M.'s recital of his life at a training station would kill off any desire any boy might have for a "life in the navy." He calls attention to the very first and most obvious lie made by recruiting officers and the Government which promises free medical attention, while every enlisted private is charged so much per month from his wages for medical service whether he receives it or not.

"Life became so unbearable," he writes,

"that we had several attempts at suicide and a few cases of punctured ear drums. Boys would run a broom straw or needle into their ear drums in order to be discharged. Others tried the rupture route to liberty, willfully seeking to rupture themselves and risking permanent injury to escape the intolerable conditions. We had too a few eager soap eaters, who devoured soap, grew sick at the stomach and showed excellent symptoms of serious illness. Others made solemn vows that if double irons were placed on them, to remain double ironed until discharged. As soon as they were released for one offense they would commit it over again, and sometimes when they had been in double irons two or three months, they would be discharged as incorrigible and undesirable."

A comrade from one of the soldiers' homes writes that young men would not have to be urged to keep out of the army or navy if they could find jobs elsewhere. He points that it is no longer very often

"patriotism" that draws them into the service, but the physical need of food, clothing and a shelter that makes them sign on as legal murderers or targets in the interests of the interests.

He also explains another method whereby the soldier or marine is cheated. "The recruit is subjected to the most thorough physical examination *before* he assumes his obligations. *After* his enlistment *expires*, he receives a very slight corporal examination and often pronounced physically sound whether he is or not. If a man declared sound, later applies for a pension, his application is rejected. He may not claim a pension under any circumstances. This is the experience of scores of Spanish-American war veterans. The so-called pension department is absolutely useless to the incapacitated soldiers. It invents some base untruths in its rejection of their pension claims. It is as a sand-bag to them. Since, it is a part of the corrupt capitalism, what else may be expected of it?"

# THE MOLDERS' CONVENTION

BY

WM. Z. FOSTER

At the recent convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, held at Milwaukee, an event occurred that should prove most fruitful of results. The rebel delegates, numbering about 70 out of a total of 490, realizing the futility of craft unionism and the imperative need of revolutionary unionism amongst foundry workers, organized themselves into a propaganda organization with the avowed purpose of satisfying this need. They propose to make of the I. M. U. of N. A. a militant industrial union; a union that will include all workers in and around foundries and which will use the most approved tactics. To this end they are going to carry on a vigorous campaign of education

throughout the I. M. U. of N. A. and foundry workers in general. They are going to publish a monthly paper through the columns of which they will at once carry on their propaganda, standardize their policies, combat reactionary influences and generally organize themselves so as to systematically go about placing the I. M. U. of N. A. on a revolutionary basis.

This propaganda organization is similar to those doing such good work in the ranks of the English trades unions and which were recently described in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, in an article, entitled, "Forces Making for Industrial Unionism." It is full of promise and doubtless will soon be a power in the I. M.

## SOME OF THE REBELS AT THE MOLDERS' CONVENTION.

U. of N. A. Such organizations might profitably be formed in the ranks of many other trade unions and thus the great field they present for propaganda and development, now sadly neglected, be systematically exploited. The formation of the propaganda organization in the I. M. U. of N. A. is due mainly to the efforts of T. J. Mooney, of San Francisco, one of the men chiefly responsible for the publication of "Revolt." Mooney and other reds had long carried on an agitation in the molder's union in Frisco (Pres. Valentine, of the I. M. U. of N. A., a member of the Civic Federation, belongs to this local) and the harvest of this agitation was reaped when the reds sent Mooney to the conven-

tion in spite of the strongest opposition on the part of Valentine, Nolan, etc.

Arrived at the convention, determined to carry on the fight, Mooney found the militant minority almost entirely unorganized, as is commonly the case at trade union conventions. When the nature of the fight which Mooney and the few others were making became clear the reds rallied to their support, and the permanent organization resulted. This organization is going to proceed immediately to its task and all molders and core makers interested in this work of making their union an effective one are asked to get in touch with T. J. Mooney, 1645 15th St., San Francisco, Cal.

# WHAT OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY?

A Word in Season

BY

TH. ROTHSTEIN

THE British Labor Party has been a frequent topic of discussion in the American Socialist press, and though it is never altogether useless to repeat the truth I should not have thought of writing about it once more but for the circumstance that after Comrade Robert Hunter has done considerable propaganda in favor of it, both on this and the other side of the Atlantic, Mr. Keir Hardie, as I understand, is going over to America to put in a bit of work in the same direction there. Under these circumstances a re-statement of the case which the Social-Democrats of England have against the Labor Party may not be inopportune.

The Labor Party was formed as a coalition between the Socialists and the Trade Unions for the specific purpose of gaining seats in Parliament on behalf of the working class. It is true that the working class had been represented in Parliament ever since it received a vote. Both capitalist parties derived their parliamentary position very largely from the vote given to them in election times by members of the working class, and in addition, a certain number of members of Parliament were working men and leaders of Trade Unions themselves. It was in consideration of this fact that the Social-Democrats who had entered the new coalition asked from the beginning, in what way would the new members of Parliament be distinguished from the older set, and demanded some sort of program that would constitute the former the representatives of the working class *par excellence*.

The reply, however, was that we need not hurry with these distinctive programs—that it would, for the time being, be perfectly sufficient if all those who were re-

turned under the auspices of the new party (or committee, as it then simply was) were to constitute in Parliament a distinct body acting together and apart from the other parties. The Social-Democrats did not like the arrangements and withdrew, and the Labor party as then constituted has become what it is now.

What *has* it become? Just as I write a delightful piece of bluff is being carried out at Hanley. Hanley is one of the most God-forsaken places in England, the center of the potteries, surrounded by coal mines, and filled with misery to overflowing. It was hitherto represented in Parliament by Mr. Enoch Edwards, the president of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, who was a *sound Liberal*, but also a member of the Labor party. He is now unfortunately dead, and both the Labor party and the Liberals claim the right of succession to his seat.

The former argue quite plausibly that Mr. Edwards was a Labor man—consequently the seat belongs to the Labor party. But the Liberals also argue quite plausibly that Mr. Edwards had all his life been a loyal Liberal, became a Labor man only in 1909 when his Federation joined the Labor party, but even so continued to enjoy the support of the local Liberals who worked and voted for him as their *official candidate* in the two elections of 1910—consequently the seat is at bottom a Liberal one.

The dispute itself is rather characteristic, but the action of the Labor party has been still more so. It has not surrendered its claim to the seat and brought forward a candidate to wrest it from the Liberal. That candidate, however, a certain Mr. Finney, a local miners' official, is himself,

though labeled a Labor man, a good and moderate Liberal, a local Methodist preacher into the bargain, whose two brothers are both *official Liberal agents*.

Even a drop of water, we know, reflects the sun, and so does this little *contretemps* epitomize the whole development and the meaning of the Labor party. The first candidate returned under its auspices was Mr. David Shackleton.\* He was secretary of the Darwen Weavers' Association, but also J. P. for Accrington and member of the Blackburn Chamber of Commerce—the very type of a Liberal Trade Union official and of a masters' man. He would probably have been sent to Parliament all the same—by the Liberals, of course; but his union belonged to the Labor Representation Committee, and so at a by-election at Clitheroe, in August, 1902, he was brought forward by the Labor party. He was returned unopposed.

The main facts of his subsequent career were his opposition to the raising of the school age; his candidature, against Hyndman, for the second seat on the International Socialist Bureau at the Amsterdam Socialist Congress of 1904; his participation in 1907 at the banquet offered by the British Cotton-Growing Association to Herr Dernburg, then German Colonial Minister, with suitable speeches; his vigorous opposition throughout to the introduction of anything savoring of Socialism into the statutes or methods of the Labor party; and his public quarrel with Ben Tillet at the Sheffield Trade Union Congress of 1910 because the latter had called him traitor. After having been supported throughout by the leaders of the Labor party and of the I. L. P., and after having done his best at the above-mentioned congress to dissuade the workers from becoming too excited over the Osborne judgment, he took graceful leave of the party by retiring to a comfortable berth at the home office at a salary of £800 per annum, and is now an insurance commissioner at a salary of £1,000 (\$5,000) per annum.

This was the first "Labor" M. P. of the newest formation. The second to be returned was Mr. Arthur Henderson, still

happily with the party and since last year even its general secretary. He was returned for Barnard Castle at a by-election in 1903. He also was a Trade Union official and a J. P., and in addition, a local Nonconformist preacher. Down to the very eve of his candidature, he was the Liberal agent, 1st district, but he generously agreed to throw up his post and to sign the "constitution" of the Labor party in order to become its candidate. In the same year the third Labor member was returned in the person of Mr. Will Crooks. He had long been a member of the Liberal party and represented it as a "Progressive" at the London County Council. In March, 1903, he was successfully returned for Woolwich as a Labor man with the official support of the Liberal party.

Messrs. Shackleton, Henderson, and Crooks symbolize the first, and Mr. Finney the last stage of the development of the Labor party; what lies between them can easily be guessed. There was not much to choose between Mr. Shackleton and his Lib-Lab. predecessors such as Broadhurst and Pickard; and there is not much to choose between Mr. Shackleton and Mr. Finney. The Labor party has merely brought the old Liberal Trade Union officials together and given them a new name.

It has been, and is still being argued, that this is precisely what constitutes the main achievement of the Labor party. To get the representatives of Labor to act together and independently of the capitalist class is the first step towards weaning them from their bourgeois-mother's breast, and to induce them to be stamped with the word "Labor" is the sole means of bringing all the various sections, into which the working class is divided, the Liberal, the Tory, the Socialist working men, under one common denominator. Once they have accepted this common name and constituted themselves into a separate party, the most difficult step will have been made in the evolution towards a Socialist party. Such is the argument which has been put forward against the Social-Democrats by the I. L. P., including, in the first place, Mr. Keir Hardie himself, in defence of the Labor party policy. Of late, even the Communist Manifesto and the letters to Sorge have been

\*Mr. Keir Hardie had been elected in 1900, before the formal constitution of the Labor party.

brought in to prove that even our masters, Marx and Engels, thought so.

The argument certainly looks attractive on paper, but somehow or other the actual experience does not bear it out. Experience has, on the contrary, shown that so far from proving a neutral ground on which the working class was to gather and unite, the Labor party has only been able to attract the Liberal working men and those Socialists who expressly recognize its policy.

Thus far not a single Tory trade unionist has been attracted by the "neutral" war-cry and induced to stand as candidate under the auspices of the Labor party. Even in the constituencies the Labor party has been unable to gain the Tory workingman's vote. This is proved by the election figures at various times which show that in all triangular contests the Labor man obtains his vote at the expense of the Liberal, but never of the Tory opponent. It is only the Liberal working man whom the Labor party has succeeded in catching both as voter and parliamentary representative, not the Tory. The "common" denominator has only proved a denominator common to the Liberal trade unionist and a certain school of Socialists—precisely what the Social-Democrats had expected.

But is there not a virtue in the mere habit of acting together and in constituting a separate Labor group? In other words, do not the Liberal Laborites become different and act differently by the mere reason that they are no longer within the folds of the Liberal party?

This, too, has been the fond expectation of our I. L. P. friends, but it has not been realized in practice.

I have before me a press cutting with a speech delivered at a public meeting by Lord (then Mr.) Morley at Nottingham, in November, 1903. By that time the first electoral battles of the Labor party had revealed its tendencies, and at Nottingham itself the then Labor candidate, Mr. Richardson, was exhibiting a temper which—to use Mr. Morley's words—"was rational, independent, yet not unreasonable." Speaking of this very business of Labor representation, Mr. Morley said: "I once, not very long ago, claimed a certain Labor representative as a member of the Liberal party,

and one of my constituents wrote to me and said: 'Is not this rather nonsense on your part? He is a Labor representative; he is not a Liberal, and it is no good your pretending that he belongs to the Liberal party.' 'Well,' I said, 'I will write to you in a year from now, and if we find after a year's parliamentary working that this Labor man has gone into a different lobby from me one time out of ten, I will agree that I made a mistake.' "You know," Mr. Morley continued, addressing the audience, "you know quite well that nine times out of ten a labor man will go into the same lobby as a Liberal. Mr. Ellis (the chairman of the meeting), even thinks 99 times out of 100, and I do not differ."

What Lord Morley predicted about the labor representative he had in his mind (and both Mr. Shackleton and Mr. Henderson who had been then elected were fêted by the Liberal "Three Dozen" on their return to the House), proved true of all the subsequent members of the labor group who were elected since then; 99 times out of 100 they went, and are still going, into the same lobby as the Liberals.

Of course, there have been exceptions; so there are also exceptions when some *Liberals* do not go into the same lobby as the government wishes them to. The exceptions only prove the rule which is that the bulk of the Labor party being Liberals, they naturally go with the Liberal party into the same lobby. *The change in their name has not produced in them any change either of opinion or of tactics.*

But I hear an objection. The other day Mr. Anderson, writing on the Hanley quarrel in the *Daily News*, said: "The Labor party is an independent organization, and there is no tie of loyalty or allegiance binding it to any other party. The Labor party believes in land reform, and super-taxes, and small holdings (!), and old age pensions, and the feeding of necessitous children, and workmen's compensation, and self-government for Ireland, and they will go into the lobby with any party or any group of members in support of these things."

Very nice, to be sure. It means that if the Labor party finds itself 99 times out of 100 in the same lobby as the Liberals, it is due to the mere fact that the Liberals are

giving precisely those reforms which the Labor party is in favor of. Then, it may well be asked, why on earth have a separate party? Or does it perhaps prove that the Labor party is exceedingly modest—almost 99 per cent. Liberal in its aspirations? But it is not true that the Labor party finds itself in the same lobby with the Liberals *only* on those questions of social and political reform on which both *agree*.

When the bulk of the Labor members votes with the Government or at best abstains on such questions as naval armaments, as the right to work, as the reduction of tea taxes, as the terrorization of the railway men on strike by means of military and police, is it also due to an agreement on questions of *reforms*?

And if the Labor party as a whole is afraid to raise its voice on such occasions as the coal strike, is it also due to the fact the Government is progressive? On the other hand, if the Labor party owe no allegiance to any party and is independent of the two, how is it that it has never yet found itself in the same lobby with the Tories? Are the Tories so uniformly reactionary as the Liberals are progressive?

"If a Tory government were elected tomorrow," declared his conviction Mr. Keir Hardie at a large meeting in Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in March last year, "it would be compelled to give reforms just as the Liberal government had been compelled." Then why do Labor members invariably find themselves in the same lobby with the Liberals, but never with the Tories?

A couple of years ago the Labor party brought in an amendment on the question of fair wages. The Government would not accept it, but the Tories were prepared to vote in favor of it. No sooner, however, had this become known than the Labor men decided to withdraw it, and not being able to do so by the rules of the House *actually voted against it*.

This was not the only instance of this kind, and it may well be to ask, how it comes that the Labor party would rather be wrong and faithless to itself with the Liberals than be right in company with the Tories? "Ah, but the Tories, if returned, would not give such nice reforms as the

Liberals, and would, along with reforms, also pass reactionary measures!" Yes, but is it different with the Liberals? Are *all* the Liberal reforms—for instance, the Insurance Act (not to go further)—nice, and do *they* not pass reactionary measures—for instance, those in connection with armaments? Then, once more, why do the Labor members still vote with the Liberals and never with the Tories?

It is evident that the protestations and the "explanations" offered by the apologists of the Labor party on the subject of the latter's political policy would not bear a moment's examination. The truth is simply this, that the object of the Labor party, as laid down at the time of its constitution and as practiced since then, being to return to the House of Commons as many men as possible with no other distinctive feature than their name, it was soon found that the easiest way to achieve it would be to run ordinary Liberals acceptable to the Liberal party machine on a platform that should do their convictions the least violence possible.

That was done in the case of the first three Labor men mentioned above, and that has remained the practice throughout the ten years down to Mr. Finney. It has, indeed, resulted in the formation of a Labor group in Parliament, but in most cases consisting of pure Liberals with no "loyalty or allegiance," except to their name, and in *all* cases dependent for their seats on Liberal favor.

"Of the 29 (candidates) who were successful (in the elections of 1906)," writes Mr. Philip Snowden with delightful frankness in the *Daily Mail Year Book* for the present year, "only three had to face Liberal opposition. The remaining 26, though run independently of the Liberals, were supported by Liberal voters, and to this they owed their success." If that was the state of affairs in the first flush of "Labor" enthusiasm, it is easy to imagine what it became afterwards.

"At subsequent elections," Mr. Snowden admits, "in each of these (the three where the Labor men had in 1906 to face Liberal opposition), constituencies the Liberals have abstained from nominating a candidate, and the Liberal vote has gone to the Labor party. . . . At the general election in

January, 1910, . . . not one of the 40 successful Labor candidates had to face Liberal opposition. Not one of the Labor candidates who had a Liberal opponent was successful. At the last election in December (1910), very much the same thing happened. No Labor or Socialist candidate was successful against Liberal opposition or in a three-cornered contest."

I call the frankness with which Mr. Snowden has thus written "delightful," because when the Social-Democrats—and my humble self included (see my letters to the *New York Call* at the time)—said the same—it was invariably denied with great indignation. It is, however, also *important*, because it enables us to learn from the lips of one of the strongest pillars of the Labor party to what circumstances its electoral success has been due.

Of course, there is no sin in accepting Liberal votes. But when you are fishing for and obtain it by putting up as candidates Liberals on a Liberal platform, you do not only defraud that portion of the electorate which really wants an independent man, but you also render your men incapable of independence for all time and fail to educate the electorate in those ideas which alone can emancipate you from the dependence on the bourgeois vote. That is the explanation why three-cornered contests or even a contest against a Liberal opponent have become so hopeless since 1906.

And this is the method and the party which Socialist admirers of the Labor party, including Robert Hunter, are recommending to us on the authority of Marx and Engels, as *the* method and *the* party which we ought to support and to imitate wherever possible!

Have fatuity and opportunism ever reached such heights?

Consider the position of these Socialists themselves—what has become of them? Having set out with the idea of permeating the Trade Union officials with Socialism, they have ended by becoming permeated themselves—with Liberalism.

"You ask for a Socialist party?" says Mr. MacDonald. "There is absolutely nothing that a Socialist party could do in the House of Commons that the Labor party is not

doing." "We have killed the revolutionary Socialist movement in these islands," the same gentleman (who can talk the revolutionary class war at international congresses), boasted on another occasion.

And his friend, Mr. Phillip Snowden, who can find within himself the sorry courage to attack the miners in the midst of their tremendous struggle in a Liberal paper, said on one occasion (at Blackburn, on January 22, 1912): "I do not want you to be despondent because we do not make such progress as some of us would like. I sometimes doubt whether we would in this country. I think the development would rather be on the lines of an active Labor party, Socialistic to a very large extent, influencing *other* political parties who have the means by their numbers to give effect in legislation to democratic demands. After all I do not know that it matters very much *who* does it, so long as the work is done."

Where is their steady march towards a Socialist party which they expected from the unification of the political forces of the working class? It would seem they have themselves abandoned that march which they once undertook to teach the working class to perform by means of the Labor party bloc, and have returned to sheer Liberalism. Indeed, their sole concern seems to be (as witness the efforts made by them in 1908 to destroy the meaning of the Socialist resolution passed by the Labor party at its conference at Hull), to keep their trade union colleagues as far away from the mere conception of Socialism as possible, and by pandering to their reactionary veins to maintain them in their profoundly anti-Socialist frame of mind.

They are, in effect, in the same position as regards their Liberal colleagues as the Labor party as a whole stands in relation to the Liberals; they have been caught in their meshes, and must accommodate themselves to them if the bloc is to subsist and the seats are to be kept. The "common denominator," has proved to be—Liberalism!

I doubt whether most of them are happy. Opportunists as they are, flattered as they feel in their vanity by seeing themselves members of Parliament, courted by ministers, advertised by the bourgeois press, and looming large in the eyes of the Interna-

tional, I do think that in their heart of hearts some of them, at least, find the state of things highly unsatisfactory.

What does, for instance, Mr. Keir Hardie himself feel? I know he speaks very bravely of the Labor party. He defends it both at home and in America, and thoroughly enjoys the idea that Marx himself has sanctioned it by anticipation. He is also, with all his amiability, not a strong character, and while feeling uncomfortable under Mr. MacDonald's heel, is still prepared to proclaim him "the greatest intellectual asset of the movement," or while fiercely denouncing monarchy outside Parliament, kow-tow before it in the House.

At the same time how does he feel when he sees things which he advocates with great ardor or predicts with great faith at meetings, either at home or abroad, being simply thrown under the table by his chief or by his trade union colleagues? Take one instance among many,—the Osborne judgment. Did he not swear and predict at the international meeting at Frankfort in September, 1910, that before a year had been out there would be barricades and a revolution in England if the Government did not restore the *status quo ante*? Did he not on coming home, in the course of a meeting at Radstock (October 23, 1910), declare on this very subject: "You need have no fear as to the result. We shall get payment of members, and we shall also get—and here I speak with authority—a complete reversal of the Osborne judgment. If the election takes place in January as is anticipated, the Labor party will insist upon having it (the reversal), in this session; and woe betide the party which will go to the country without giving it."

Yet the fatal twelve months have come and gone, the elections took place even a month earlier than had been expected, the session had ended, and not only did no revolution take place, not only did the Labor party not get the "complete reversal" of the Osborne judgment either in that or in any of the subsequent sessions to this very month of grace, July, 1912, but no woe has befallen the Liberal or the Tory party or is even likely to befall.

Indeed, at the very same moment when Mr. Keir Hardie was making his prediction at Frankfort the executive of the La-

bor party was deliberating and finally, at the instance of the Trade Union, i. e., Liberal wing, decided to strike out from the constitution of the party the clause demanding from its parliamentary representatives a written pledge to maintain discipline and unity of action—this to meet the criticism of those Liberals who justified the Osborne judgment on constitutional grounds. And though Mr. Keir Hardie at a subsequent meeting before his constituencies passionately pleaded in a long speech (since published as a pamphlet) that "to change the policy or tactics of the party now would be fatal," "that it would be like lowering the flag in the face of the enemy," and that "the party, pledge and all, independent, militant, defiant, must be legalized if it is to continue to be of service to the cause of democracy," the decision of the executive was ratified at the February congress of the Labor party, and the "flag was lowered."

What did Mr. Keir Hardie on this and numberless other similar occasions feel? For one moment he allowed—at that very congress, though in another connection—his tongue to run away with his thoughts when he said that "the difficulty with the party was and had been that it thought too much in terms of Liberalism"; and at the last congress at Merthyr Tydvil, his own constituency, he, speaking in some connection about the miners, said: "The real trouble was not with the I. L. P. section, or even with the Labor party as a whole. It arose from the fact that when the Labor party took over the Miners' Federation it had to take it over as a going concern, and the Federation included Liberal-Labor members who were in Parliament at the time when the fusion took place; they had not changed any of their principles or their opinions, and they stood where they were before, save that they gave a nominal adherence to the Labor party."

These words were pathetic. Of course, they were not altogether exact. The "trouble" began *before* the miners joined the Labor party in 1909, and what Mr. Keir Hardie says about the miners' representatives as having kept their old principles and opinions and remained where they had been before, with but a nominal adherence to the Labor party, is equally true of Mr. Shackleton and all other trade union represen-

tatives, who followed him. Mr. Keir Hardie, if he takes the trouble to analyze his ideas, will find that this is so. At any rate the words show what Mr. Keir Hardie's feelings sometimes are, and one can only wonder at the eternal elasticity of his spirit when one sees him undergoing the hardship of a long journey to preach Labor party doctrine in America.

Or take Mr. Lansbury. He was once a member of the S. D. P. and went over to its rival organization because the executive of the former body would not enter into an agreement with the Liberals in the East End of London for the mutual support of candidatures. He has now achieved the object of his ambition (I am sure it was not a personal one, but one dictated by a genuine desire to serve the working class in Parliament); is he any happier? Six weeks after he had entered the promised land he said to a representative of the *Labor Leader*: "After six weeks in Parliament I am bound to acknowledge that I don't know where the Labor party comes in. . . . The Labor men always roll up in defense of the Government—very few of them do not vote or pair—but on Labor motions such as unemployment and the demand for an inquiry into police methods in Wales only 30 and 17 Labor men go into the lobby respectively. The fact is that a large number of Labor members have come into the party almost against their will by the vote of the rank and file of the trade unions, and their whole outlook is still more or less colored by their Liberal upbringing."

This was said almost immediately after he had gathered the fruit of his opportunism, and his remedy then was that the Socialists in the party should form a separate wing claiming *complete freedom of action*, that is, the breaking up of the Labor party. Since then he, who had preferred expediency to principle, has been advocating another remedy, viz., that the Labor party in its voting should be guided entirely by the consideration of the merits of the question before them, that is, by considerations of principle, and not by that of the conse-

quential results of the voting to the Government, that is, not by expediency. His sentiments, however, have remained exactly the case. "In what particular phase," he asked at the last congress, "of social legislation during the last two years (he has only been in Parliament two years), have the Labor members differentiated themselves from the Liberal party?" Indeed, in what? In none whatsoever, whether of social or other legislation. Even Mr. Snowden whom nobody will accuse of undue attachment to Socialist principles was obliged to exclaim *apropos* of the attitude of the Labor party towards the Government's Insurance Bill (now happily, Act): "If the I. L. P. will stand that, it will stand anything. If it submits to this it is time to go into voluntary liquidation as a preliminary to affiliating with the National Liberal Federation. The official Labor party is now indistinguishable from the official Liberals."

But the I. L. P. has submitted to "this," and not only has not the I. L. P. not gone into liquidation and not joined the Liberal party, but Snowden himself has remained with the I. L. P. and the Liberal party, and Mr. Keir Hardie is now going to America to preach the gospel of Laborism to the unconverted, with help, presumably, of his comrade Hunter's exegetics on Marx and Engels.

Nearly 65 years ago the Communist Manifesto said: "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims . . . of the working class, but in the movement of the present they also present and take care of the future of that movement."

The Socialists of the I. L. P. claim to have acted in this spirit by joining the trade union officials in the Labor party bloc. Anyone, however, who has followed the remarks in the preceding pages can not fail to recognize that such Socialists are fighting not for the attainment of the immediate aims of the working class, but for their seats in Parliament, and that so far from presenting and taking care of the future of the movement they are keeping it back from any future.

# EDITORIAL

**After the Battle.** The smoke of the election battle is clearing away, and we can begin to sum up the results. The exact figures are slow in arriving, but it seems clear that the Debs vote is at least double that of four years ago. Best of all, this is a revolutionary vote. Those who were for reform rather than revolution had every reason to support Roosevelt or Wilson rather than Debs. Apparently about three million American voters expect something from capitalism, eleven million think it needs to be reformed, and nearly a million want it abolished. Taft has given the big capitalists exactly what they want in the way of an administration, but he has failed to please the little capitalists who control the most votes. Wilson faces an impossible task. He is likely to please no one. His party stands for no definite program, and what legislation it puts through will probably be in the way of concessions to the demands of the "Progressives." Meanwhile the cost of living will continue to rise, wages will not rise to the same extent, and the distress and discontent of the wage-workers will go on increasing. Woodrow Wilson will unhappily get the blame for what he can not prevent, and the Progressives will pretty certainly be in a position to put their program through in the near future. Some Socialists claim that this program is meant merely to catch votes, not to be enacted into law. We hold on the contrary that the clearest thinkers among the capitalists and their politicians realize that if American manufacturers are to compete successfully with Germany in the world market, they must have the same sort of help from the government in conserving the labor supply which the German employers get. In all this there is no ground for anxiety on the part of Socialists. The "Progressive" reforms that are coming will be, so far as they go, a good thing for "all the people." A well-fed laborer is a more efficient slave than one who is ill-fed. He is also a more efficient rebel. Child labor laws are a good thing for the stronger and more intelligent cap-

italists, since they conserve a supply of healthy and intelligent wage slaves for the future. But these laws are also good for the working-class children. In the same way we might analyze the other reforms advocated by Roosevelt and his followers, and we should find that they do not attack the vital interests of the capitalists, nor on the other hand do they conceal any new and terrible menace to the workers. Consequently we Socialists need waste no ammunition either for them or against them.

**Winning Socialist Tactics.** All Socialists, even opportunists, agree that revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist system, should be our ultimate aim. The REVIEW, on the other hand, is willing to concede that the enactment of some reforms may be on the whole advantageous to the working class. The real question is how best to adapt means to ends. The comrades of the right wing would put all the energy of the party into the struggle for votes and office, in order to enact reforms. We of the left wing, on the other hand, suspect that the Progressives can and will put the reforms through without our help, and that nothing we can do will hasten them in that process so much as for us to educate the working class in the principles of Socialism and push the work of organization, economic as well as political. Ten years ago we Socialists were all arguing to show the wastes of competition. That part of our work is finished. The capitalist understands the wastes of competition far better than we do, and he is abolishing them without our help. His next step will be to act on the discovery that he can carry on certain portions of the productive process more efficiently through HIS government than through private corporations. Some muddleheads think that will be Socialism, but the capitalist knows better. Democratic control of the productive process by the people who do the work is a vital part of the Socialist program, and it is over that part that the final battle must be fought and won. **The right of wage-workers to organize and to control the**

conditions under which they work—that is the issue that must be fought out between the two great opposing classes. If the Socialist Party is true to that issue, it can not fail.

**Comrade Wayland.** As we go to press word comes of the death of Comrade J. A. Wayland, publisher of the Appeal to Reason. For years he has suffered torture from an incurable cancer. A few months ago his wife was instantly killed in an automobile accident. Lately the United States Secret Service men have been discovered in the attempt to manufacture evidence to send Wayland, Debs and Warren to prison. Small wonder that Comrade Wayland found the strain

too much for human nerves and on November 11 ended his troubles with a bullet through his brain. Wayland was one of the first and most efficient pioneers of Socialism in America. Himself a successful business man, he devoted his money and energy to the propaganda of Socialism long before the Socialist Party had taken shape. His newspaper has been no small factor in the growth of the party, and during the campaign of 1912 reached a circulation exceeding a million a month. It is a pity that his success should have been embittered by his personal troubles; it is fortunate that he has found others to carry forward the work so well begun.

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# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**The War in the Balkans.** Of war and rumors of greater wars to follow there is no end. Hardly had Turkey managed to conclude peace with Italy when it had to gather its armies to fight the Greeks, Montenegrins, Servians and Bulgarians. And these little states are so connected with Russia and England on the one hand, and Austria and Germany on the other, that a conflict of the great powers is not at all an impossibility. The great specter of the eastern problem is raised again, and all the European diplomatists and military strategists are on the lookout, each one eager to discover how, before it is laid again, his government can make a gain in commercial or political relations.

While some of us are sympathizing with the under dog and others are rejoicing at the fond hope of seeing the "unspeakable Turk" finally driven out of Europe, it is worth while to look the matter over and see what all the trouble is about. As is usual in such cases, much is to be learned from a glance at a map. European Turkey is a slender strip of territory, about 60,000 square miles in all, running west from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. To the south lies Greece and to the north lie the so-called buffer states, which we usually think of as mere pawns in the great international game. In reality, however, these buffer states are much too large to play the part assigned to them by Bismarck in 1878. Serbia contains 20,000 square miles, Roumania, 50,000, and Bulgaria, 40,000. These countries, moreover, represent millions of people who are still under Turkish dominion. Only about half the Serbs, for example, live in Serbia; the rest are for the most part subjects of the Sublime Porte. Like that of the Poles and the Hungarians, their history runs back to a time when they were an important and an independent people. Precisely the same statements might be made of the Bulgars.

All this, however, does not explain the present war. Race hatred and religious fanaticism have kept the Balkan regions

in a state of barbarous unrest for centuries. The great powers have always been able, either to prevent war, or to stop it before it really threatened the power of the Turks. This time, however, they have failed. It is as much to their interest as ever to bolster up the Sick Man of Europe and pursue their own interests by pretending to look after his. But the game seems to be about played out. It is amusing indeed to hear famous diplomatists clucking about as if they don't quite know what to make of the situation. The important fact in the case is that Serbia and Bulgaria have developed their industry to such an extent that it has become impossible for them to go on existing in the straight-jacket nicely fitted about them by the Treaty of Berlin.

A German writer puts the case nicely when he says that the whole trouble was started by the Servian pig. Serbia, like the other buffer states, includes within its boundaries magnificent agricultural regions. Industrially it is much farther developed than Turkey. At the present time it has many products to place on the international market, especially pork. Another glance at the map, however, will show that Serbia, though once a maritime nation, is now entirely shut off from the sea. The Austrian government levies such high duties that it is impossible to reach the outside world by way of the most direct land route. The route via Bulgaria and the Black Sea is roundabout, and Turkey controls the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. So this growing nation, which at the present time of high prices should naturally furnish Europe with large quantities of food products, is absolutely choked up so far as its industrial and commercial development is concerned. And it was Serbia that started the present war. Its immediate purpose is the securing of a port on the Adriatic and a belt of territory running over the Balkans and furnishing a free passage to this port. At the present writing Servian troops have taken possession of two ports which will serve their purposes.

The case of Bulgaria is not so serious, but still bad enough. Bulgaria has, especially since the conquest of Eastern Rumania, a long coastline on the Black Sea, but so long as the Turks hold Constantinople, this is of little use to them. Moreover, they feel that if all the territory in which the Bulgars form the predominant part of the population were under Bulgarian rule they would have a much better basis for the development of their natural industrial and commercial resources. So they, too, are fighting for a chance to grow.

The reason why the war has broken out at this particular time is purely an economic one. Of course there is a military advantage in starting at a moment when Turkey has been shot to pieces by the Italians. But even had there been no Turko-Italian war the Balkan trouble would have reached a crisis before very long. The Young Turk revolution in 1908 represented the rise of Turkish capitalism. The triumphant Young Turks instituted a regime of rigid centralization with the purpose of making all of the territory controlled by the government industrially and commercially tributary to Constantinople. This meant the wiping out of national and racial lines and the disappointment of the rising hopes of Serbs, Bulgars, etc., still under Turkish rule. The present war is, then, little more than a clash of the rapidly developing capitalist classes of the nations involved. It might have been postponed, but it could not have been prevented. And development has been so rapid that it had to come soon.

So far as the threat of international war is concerned, the present situation presents nothing new except the fact that the forces in operation have got away from the restraining influences exerted by the diplomats. The two great powers most immediately interested are Austria and Russia. Austria, without colonies and cut off on the west, naturally wishes to develop toward the east. She has already annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, which according to the treaty of Berlin were to remain independent buffer states. She has established a protectorate over the Novi-bazar region, through which the Servians will have to go to find their most natural

route to the Adriatic. The Austrian prime minister has declared definitely that Serbia is not to be allowed to take any of the territory needed for the carrying out of her ambitions. Behind Austria stand Italy and Germany. Germany, moreover, has her own commercial interests in Turkey, and seems willing to resort to any lengths to prevent the allied Balkan states from reaping the reward of their military triumph.

Russia, on the other hand, needs a "warm-water port." It failed to secure one on the Pacific, and so long as the Turks hold Constantinople, the Black Sea ports are practically useless. Russian expansion demands the fall of European Turkey. Behind Russia stand France and England. Though England has played a leading part in the maintenance of the Turk's position in the past, she seems to have a perfect understanding with Russia at the present time.

In a word, Austria objects to the triumph of the Balkan states because it would mean the opposition of a united and powerful combination to her plans of expansion, and Russia objects because she wishes to preserve the Turkish empire until she can find occasion to take Constantinople herself.

France is the only country which has honestly been playing the peace-maker. Her relations with Russia tend to draw her into the war, but French business houses hold millions of dollars worth of Balkan securities. Her political relations ally her with Russia, but her business affairs ally her with the buffer states. So she is for peace.

The Socialists of the world have reason to be proud of the intelligence and courage displayed by their comrades during the present crisis. In Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, where one might naturally expect the working-class to be carried off its feet by nationalist enthusiasm, the organized Socialist movement has declared itself energetically in opposition to the war. The parliaments of Bulgaria and Serbia are alike in the fact that in each of them Socialism is represented by one member. And when, early in October, the war measures were introduced, each one of these lone Socialists arose and uttered his protest. On

October 11 the Socialists of Turkey issued a proclamation which concluded with these words: "We express our firm will to sustain with all our might the struggle of the international proletariat against war, against militarism, against capitalist exploitation, for liberty, for the emancipation of the classes and nationalities—in a word, for peace. Down with war! Long live the international solidarity of the peoples!" Our Austrian, Bohemian, and German comrades have held great protest meetings and issued anti-war proclamations. Finally, the international bureau issued on October 14 a call to the working-class of Europe to direct all of its energies against allowing the Balkan conflict to be turned into a general European war. It concludes with its oft-repeated call: "The bones of not a single proletarian must be sacrificed!"

It would be hard to find anywhere a series of events which display to worse advantage the worst characteristics of capitalism than do the dealings of so-called Christian Europe with the un-Christian Turk. In the first place, had the "Christian" powers left the antiquated Turkish government to its own resources it would long ago have fallen of its own weight and thousands of Christians would have escaped being massacred. Again, if Austrian and German capitalists had not insisted on the criminally selfish policies which isolate Serbia and Bulgaria from the world market, the Balkan states would not have to fight Turkey for an outlet. Finally, the Balkan states themselves, were the capitalists of each one not bent upon seeking their own good at the expense of everybody else, might easily form a federation which would give them all a standing among the nations of the world and an excellent field for economic development. The whole terrible tragedy of the Caucasus is a result of capitalist selfishness and short-sightedness.

As the REVIEW goes to press the cable brings the news that by a unanimous vote the International Socialist Bureau has decided to call an extraordinary international congress, to be held not later than the middle of next January, at which the order of business shall relate exclusively to the in-

ternational situation which has arisen out of the Balkan slaughter.

The International Bureau also takes occasion to send out to the labor press of the world the following circular of the Greek Socialist party:

Dear Comrades: Pseudo Socialists, victimizing the workers and playing into the hands of the capitalists, have become very active in throwing dust into the eyes of Greece. And now, on the occasion of the war, they are bent on deceiving Europe by falsifying the genuine Socialist opinion in Greece.

I am empowered, therefore, by the Directing Committee of the Greek Socialist party, 40 Rue Piree, Athens, to request you to ignore all circulars, appeals, information, statistics, etc., emanating from sources other than La Ligue des Travailleurs de la Greece, 40 Rue Piree, Athens, the London office of which is at 14 Park Square, London, N. W.

Genuine Greek Socialists are unanimous with their Comrades in Bulgaria, Turkey, Serbia, etc., in considering that the war will be detrimental to the Balkan working classes, and that it has been undertaken in the interests of Balkan and European capitalism and political ambition exploiting the noble impulses and self-sacrifice of the people of Eastern Europe. With fraternal greetings,

FELICIA R. SCATCHERD,  
Vice President of the Greek Socialist party.

## A History of Socialism

THE bound volumes of the International Socialist Review constitute one of the most important contributions to the history of the Socialist movement of the world and especially of the United States during the past twelve years. Unfortunately five of the twelve volumes thus far published are already practically sold out, and no more can be printed. Seven volumes may still be had. We offer at \$1.50 each postpaid, or to our stockholders at 90c each, postpaid, the following volumes strongly bound in cloth, each containing 12 numbers from July to June inclusive:

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Charles H. Korr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago

**England.**—"The Daily Citizen." For years we have been hearing of the plan to start an English labor daily. Two years ago the Independent Labor Party took definite steps toward the formation of a company to take charge of the enterprise. The labor party and the labor unions co-operated and the company was formed. It was agreed that a fund amounting to nearly \$500,000 should be raised before the first number went to press. A board of publication was constituted with three representatives from each of the cooperating groups and one from the independent subscribers of stock. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald is the first chairman of this board. For convenience in distribution it was agreed to have the paper printed at Manchester rather than in London. The name chosen for the epoch making publication is "The Daily Citizen."

"The Daily Citizen" is now a fact. The first issue appeared on the morning of October 8. We now have a chance to size up results of the great effort made by the English Laborites and estimate its importance to the labor movement. What is "The Daily Citizen"?

The editor of Justice says it "is as like any halfpenny liberal capitalist daily as two peas." It seems to the present writer that Justice has rather overstated the case, but there is after all a considerable degree of truth in its dictum. Here is the way the editor of the new paper states his purpose: "We are out to fight a battle, and one of the ways in which we shall fight that battle is to present some of the important phases of life as they are, and not as they are supposed to be. We shall remember always the millions of people who are below the proper borderline of sustenance in this country.

. . . We shall make clear the attitude of mind brought about in hundreds of thousands by the knowledge that the stoppage of next week's wages will mean penury and something like starvation in the course of the ensuing fourteen days. We shall give prominence in our news to those manifestations of the labor movement to be found in the meetings of the great unions and other of the workers' associations—for one reason, be-

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OF

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cause we believe them to be immensely important as parts of a world movement which will one day transform the face of the globe. Crude enough may be some of the things said and done by these people; unpractical and injudicious may be some of their methods. But always and ever, with whatever mistakes, they are struggling upwards to the light. We take our stand with them, and are proud to be by their side. And this is the great new feature of 'The Daily Citizen.'

This is not bad—except for the suggestion of conscious superiority which keeps cropping out. "We" take our stand with the workers; "we" were not with them originally and do not belong with them naturally; nevertheless "we" are very proud to pose "by their side." But this other paragraph is much worse: "Our task is to give expression to the impulses that are moving the hearts of the people, to guide them, to make them available for calm, orderly use by those political and other reformers who are not afraid to go on continuing to build the City of God in this world." There is a perfect echo of this paragraph in a letter from the Bishop of Birmingham: "We welcome a journal which will help us to know and through knowledge to guide." It is hard to believe that these good people mean what they say. Starting a paper at a cost of \$500,000 is an expensive way of being guided. In this country certain of our guides are willing to furnish us some of the desirable things of life for the privilege of exercising their wisdom in our interest.

The character of the matter given to the thousands of expectant readers must, however, have caused some misgiving in those who happened to be wage-earners. More space is given to sermons by clergymen and others than to news of the labor movement. Hall Caine writes at great length against the use of violence for the bringing about of social improvement and Philip Snowden argues against strikes. There are good wishes from all sorts and conditions of men, from Lord Northcliffe to Bramwell Booth.

All in all, it seems to me that "The Daily Herald," which was started last April by the London printers, is a better labor paper than the new "Daily Citizen."

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The scientific examination of **social phenomena** has been carried to a point little suspected by the layman.

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## WHAT MARX DID FOR SOCIOLOGY

Two especially valuable chapters are devoted to a careful placing of **Karl Marx** in the history of the science. One of these reproduces the astonishing views of Prof. **Albion W. Small**, of the University of Chicago, as to the position of Marx among the creators of the science of society. No such important concession to Socialism and its founder has ever before come from the sociologists of the chair.

The rest of the book is a guide to sociology now taught in American universities. **Small** of Chicago, **Giddings** of Columbia and **Lester F. Ward** of Brown are the chief figures. All of this material will be new and absorbingly interesting to most Socialist readers.

More than half the first edition has been subscribed for in advance by comrades who listened to the lectures at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, and we are confident that the remainder of the first edition will be closed out at once to **Review** readers. Extra cloth, 224 large pages, gold stamping, **\$1.00** postpaid.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

## CHINESE COMRADES DISTRIBUTING LITERATURE.

**Chinese Propaganda.** I am sending a copy of the Chinese magazine, *The Self Conscience*, published in Vancouver in favor of the Socialist and Industrial movement. The magazine is gaining favor very rapidly, now having a circulation of 5,000. The Chinese are awakening to the call of Freedom. They recently celebrated the first anniversary of the overthrow of the Manchu.

The writer had the honor of being invited to their public Tea, in which over two hundred guests took part. Revolutionary decorations were used and several speeches made that would do the heart of Gene or Bill much good.

Saturday night, October 26, is the night arranged for them to meet in the I. W. W. hall and take up the matter of uniting their forces with their fellow workers of this city.

The photo reading from left to right is Master Gow, age 2½, who very importantly announces that he intends to be one of the Company when he grows up. The next is Walter Lee, a very promising high school boy, who never tires of agitation among his fellow schoolmates. Mr. Georgia Fong, the interpreter for The Young China Association,

comes next, following by Paul Yaun, Secretary of the movement, and Arthur Wann, the editor of the new Chinese paper.

Comrade Wann won great admiration during the Free Speech fight last spring in this city when he fearlessly took the box in the vast sea of humanity on the Powell street grounds and defiantly delivered a most revolutionary address in the teeth of the police. Certainly China will not be long in awakening with revolutionists like this.

Comrade Wann is quite hopeful of being enrolled on the exchange with all Socialists and revolutionary papers in the states and Canada and already has the encouragement of a few. Should any papers desire translated news from the Orient, he will be pleased to furnish is on request.

He stated in a conversation: "When we find out our true friends we need have no fear of our enemies.

From FRANK W. HUDSON.

Canada Painters' Union Delegation to the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council introduced the following industrial union resolution: "That this Council endorse the principle

of Industrial Unionism, and that our delegate to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to vote accordingly. Copies of this resolution to be mailed to all Central Labor Bodies in Canada and the United States, asking them to take similar action, and report the result of the vote to this Council."

President Kavanaugh and Secretary Pettipiece add the following encouraging paragraphs:

We feel satisfied that the subject is one worthy of the attention and consideration of every member of organized labor on this continent. That there is need for closer federation in our ranks there can be no question. The introduction of modern machinery; the elimination of skilled labor; the present lack of craft unity; constantly increasing jurisdictional squabbles; the trustification of industry; the gigantic and effective organization of employers everywhere; these and many other reasons that could be enumerated, appeal to us as warranting a discussion of the advisability of increasing the size and decreasing the number of present-day unions—accepting all that is commendable of the Industrial Union idea and adopting the principle in the workings, and reorganizing the workers with that end in view.

In the hope that the action of Vancouver Trades and Labor Council will provide food for the best consideration, reflection and action of your central labor body, and firm in the conviction that in the "unity of labor is the hope of the world."

**From England.** Alderman Wills who is one of the comrades prominent in the trade union convention held in England in September, writes that hundreds of copies of the REVIEW were sold there, in fact, all they had on hand. He says: "The rank and file of the trade unions of this city are more and more realizing the futility of sectional unionism and the change will likely come from below." Today we have the first copy of the new organ or the Labor Party. If this number is any sample, it will well represent the spineless party that we have in the British House of Commons.

**Comrade Lela Dunn** sent in four new ones for Louisiana to start with November issue. probation goes a long way. Louisiana is looking up.

**The Pushalong.** Comrade R. H. Jachman of Indianapolis writes that he got an idea from the Seattle comrade who sold literature from a cart and built himself a 3x8 foot pushalong enclosed in glass. One-half of the cart is used to carry cigars and tobacco and campaign notions and the other half is filled with good Socialist literature, including the REVIEW. Comrade Jachman reaches folks who never go to Socialist meetings. Everybody wants to stop to see what he has in the wagon and nearly everybody buys something. A 200-candle power light calls attention to him at night and the originality of his pushalong by day. Comrade Jachman will advise comrades who are interested how he built the cart and materials needed, etc. His address is 738 E. Ohio street, Indianapolis.

**Forty More**—The following comrades sent in yearly subscriptions the day after election: Comrade Rush of Mobile, 12; Presley of Texas, 6; Nagley of Washington, 6; Woodward of Idaho, 6; Mead of Cal., 6; Rudledge of Cal., 4.

**Ruby, Alaska.** Big orders came in today from Alaska and Comrade Sandberg writes that they have organized an educational society to train the proletarians in industrial and political tactics. The comrades in Ruby believe that education is the chief thing to bring class action and they are starting in the right way. At present the boys are working to build their own club home—a two-story frame house 38 by 70 feet.

**Brotherhood of Machinists.** Comrade Lackey, General Secretary of the Brotherhood of Machinists, ordered nearly 700 copies of the November REVIEW for some of the different branches. We are greatly pleased to find that the REVIEW is making good with the men on the job.

**Comrade Aller of Washington** sent his endorsement last week by \$5.00 for five yearly subscriptions. If you know Aller you know his approbation goes a long way.

**Comrade Bamford of Pennsylvania** writes: "We want to keep the REVIEW going here. Send us twenty a month for three months. I think the REVIEW is the most important revolutionary Socialist work published in this country."

**Comrade Singleton of Pennsylvania** boos the subscription list up fifteen points by sending us as many subs, which reached us this morning. This makes the fifth bunch of subs received from the Keystone State today.

**More Hustlers.** Comrade Miller of Indiana sent in eight subs. Comrades Rathgeber of Jersey City and Barnes of Niagara Falls sent six yearlies each, and Comrade Cody of Williamsburg five.

**Comrade Hoffman** says: "I have never received anything so welcome or awaited with so much pleasure as the REVIEW.

**Comrade Deutzmann** writes: "The REVIEW is almost bread and butter to me. Extend my sub. for amount enclosed."

**Comrade Young** of Medford comes across with thirty-three six-months' subscriptions to the REVIEW and the subscription clerk says if there are many more like him he will have to have another assistant. We think Comrade Young holds this week's record.

**Comrade Townsend of Canada** writes: "Your battle has been a stern one and your success most wonderful. I appreciate very much the splendid books which I have gotten so cheaply through your plan. Before long I trust to be in shape to take another one or more shares of stock. The REVIEW is simply grand and I hope it will never retrograde an inch from its present 'No Compromise' character. Stick to the Revolution."

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**Stockett, Montana.** A comrade from Stockett writes us that the bunch are doing great work there. The Democrats and Republicans held their political meetings with brass bands, cigars and free booze, but the Socialists got out backed by the Finnish comrades. J. Westlund, Charles Kangas and some more good Reds put the old parties to shame by handing out the real working class dope at their meetings. They say that Ed. J. Lewis kept the crowd going. Those who heard the Dems. and Reps. went home loaded with booze and cigars, but these who heard Ed. got some ideas on the working class movement. We want to congratulate the friends in Stockett. Booze wears off, but when you get a working man started thinking it's all off.

**Butte Again.** No local in the country buys more good literature than Butte. In spite of the fact that the state office was almost entirely destroyed by fire this month, October 28th brings a check for \$120.00 from Comrade Kriger for books and REVIEWS. Watch the Butte election returns.

**Comrade Davies of Pennsylvania** is in receipt of his book premiums, the three volumes of Marx's "Capital," price \$6.00, which he received free as a premium for subscriptions, and is enthusiastic about them. Comrade Davies says he is going to send in another bunch again soon. Write and ask about our premium book offer.

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## COMRADES OF PUYALLUP.

C. W. Garrett sends the photo printed here of local Socialist headquarters at the Puyallup Valley Fair, Wash. REVIEWS and standard Socialist literature were on sale, also Truth, the new Socialist paper started in Tacoma, with W. E. Reynolds as editor.

The *New Review*, published at 150 Nassau street, New York, N. Y., will issue its initial number January first. Comrades had better write early and enclose 10 cents for a sample copy. They will all want to preserve the first number as a souvenir.

St. Louis Industrialists have organized branches "prohibiting lawyers, preachers and professional parasites and grafters from membership." We believe there are several such branches, but Branch 1 will not accept a member who is not industrially employed. Branch 2 is non-dues paying. Evidently these comrades want to make it as easy as possible for actual workers to join. The purpose of these Industrialist Branches is to teach Socialism and industrial organization at one and the same time. Branch 1 does not use dues stamps

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but collects 25 cents monthly for some definite purpose decided on by its members. The women are always on hand to help in every way, and comrades report that the social affairs mean a good time for everybody. Mrs. Rieman writes sending best wishes to the comrades on the REVIEW.

Comrades in the locals all over the country are sending in local election returns to the REVIEW. It is impossible to publish in full the inspiring messages sent us, as lack of space compels us to sift out only the most important details for publication. Later reports from locals will appear in the January REVIEW.

**Indiana:** Secretary Block, of Evansville, writes that Vanderburgh county polled more than the Bull Moose candidate, the Socialists carrying two precincts and increasing the vote from 1,031 in 1908 to 2,572.

J. F. Bixler, Argos, reports 158 Socialist votes for Debs and 142 for Steve Reynolds for Governor in his county.

L. P. Romerill, secretary of Vevay, writes that the Socialist vote increased 500 per cent in Switzerland county, Indiana.

**Iowa:** A paper published in Bussey, Iowa, reports that the Socialists won every office in that township, defeating the Republicans, Democrats and Progressives by a decisive vote.

Organizer Axel Peterson of Avery writes that the S. P. carried the township of Mantua and elected eight Socialists to county and township offices.

**Georgia:** The Lake Charles Press reports that the Socialists carried four precincts and that Debs ran second on the ticket, beating both Taft and Roosevelt.

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**Reds in England.** Fred Shaw sends in another order for books and REVIEW and the photograph of a Branch of Industrialists who are party members and industrial unionists. Six of the boys are excellent speakers and each and every one of them is doing great work in his particular district.

**Hustlers Again.**—Comrade Reiter of Toledo sends in twenty subscriptions as a starter. Jim Pruitt and Frank Pepin, both of Oregon, hit the beam with six new yearlies each. Comrade Smith of Spokane, rang the bell for eight wide-awake ones.

**Comrade Sandberg** sends in \$12.50 from Alaska, saying this is for REVIEW subscriptions and that he can't possibly be without the REVIEW.

**A Working Socialist Library.**—I enclose money order for three dollars for the REVIEW to three names and books as marked on the enclosed list. Wish to state that I started a "Socialist Library" eighteen years ago, and have exactly three books on the shelves at present. Books kept on a shelf are worthless, therefore I continually keep lending them out to any and every one I can get to read (how hard to get wage slaves to read!) and the same will be true of those just ordered.—E. J. Beggs, Virginia.

**From Melbourne, Australia.**—Enclosed please find money order for £1:1:0 for which kindly forward to me care above address two dozen monthly REVIEWS for December, January and February. Two new branches formed within the last few weeks—one at Perth, W. A., and

another at Brisbane, Queensland. This may seem to you Americans in a large way of business a very trifling affair but it is a large achievement when you consider that we have to oppose a Party trading under the banner of Labor; have eliminated all so-called palliatives from our platform and adopted an uncompromising attitude towards Militarism.—H. J. Cruickshank, Literature Secretary.

**From A Frisco Red.**—Enclosed find \$6.00 for which you will please send the FIGHTING MAGAZINE to the following names. This signifies a little "direct action" right on the job. Five of the six subs are from boys who work on the same government boat that I do. Yours for a bigger and better REVIEW every month. You may expect more subs later.

**Gets A Library.**—Comrade Smoot of Local Glendive, Montana, sends us in a ten spot for ten yearly subscriptions to the REVIEW and has selected a bunch of books for a starter to the local's library.

**No Compromise in Cleveland.**—At a recent meeting of the City Central Committee the following resolution was adopted: "Whereas, The *Cleveland Citizen* in its issue of Nov. 2, published what amounts to an endorsement of non-Socialist candidates for political offices, to be resolved, by Local Cleveland, S. P., that we demand that the national office take the *Cleveland Citizen* off the list of papers on the national office exchange list and thereby take from *The Citizen* the prestige of recognition as a Socialist publication."

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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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Dear John:

I am sending the check which Mr. Davis paid me for the Christmas sentiments I sent him. Will you give it to the brave girls who are striving so courageously to bring about the emancipation of the workers at Little Falls.

They have my warmest sympathy. Their cause is my cause. If they are denied a living wage, I also am defrauded. While they are industrial slaves I cannot be free. My hunger is not satisfied while they are unfed. I cannot enjoy the good things of life which come to me if they are hindered and neglected. I want all the workers of the world to have sufficient money to provide the elements of a normal standard of living-- a decent home, healthful surroundings, opportunity for education and recreation. I want them to have the same blessings that I have. I, deaf and blind, have been helped to overcome many obstacles. I want them to be helped as generously in a struggle which resembles my own in many ways.

Surely the things that the workers demand are not unreasonable. It cannot be unreasonable to ask of society a fair chance for all. It cannot be unreasonable to demand the protection of women and little children and an honest wage for all who give their time and energy to industrial occupations. When indeed shall we learn that we are all related one to the other, that we are all members of one body? Until the or creed shall fill the world, making real in our lives and our deeds the actuality of human brotherhood-- until the great mass of the people shall be filled with the sense of responsibility for each other's welfare, social justice can never be attained.

With love from us all, I am,

Affectionately,

Helen

Wrentham,

November nineteenth.

*The*  
INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIII

JANUARY, 1913

No. 7

ON THE PICKET LINE AT  
LITTLE FALLS, NEW YORK

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

“With heads uncovered, swear we all,  
To bear it onward till we fall.  
Come dungeons dark or gallows grim,  
This song shall be our parting hymn.”

From—The Red Flag.

WITH facts for a fulcrum and sentiment for a lever, we can move the world!

The world of labor is being slowly moved by economic conditions such as present themselves at Little Falls, N. Y., where women and children and men are struggling for bread. The facts regarding the situation there inspired Helen Keller, the world's prodigy, to give voice to the heart pulses expressed in the letter printed on the opposite page.

By the rarest good chance John Macy, whose wife is the teacher and companion of Helen Keller, came to Little Falls. A member of the Industrial Workers of the World, he took up his part of the battle by getting the books and accounts of the strikers in shape, by writing articles and reports. It was through him and other

mediums that the details of the strike and its attendant miseries reached the blind girl at her pleasant home at Wrentham, Mass. Sitting at her desk and surveying the mysterious lines in “The Hand of the World,” she sees what philosophers, politicians and priests cannot see; have never seen. She reads unerringly the destiny of labor. Understanding the need of toil, she reaches out and puts in the hand of the world, not a dole of charity but a token of love—part of labor's own.

John Macy read her letter to the strikers at a regular meeting held at Slavoc Sokel hall. Helen Keller has never spoken to such an audience before. There were none but workers there, men and women, boys and girls, who knew but little English and were of many tongues.

It was explained to them that they were listening to the words of a girl who was deaf and blind; one who had overcome afflictions more severe than their own. They could not understand the meaning of many of her words. But they were like a mother's crooning, soothing a wounded child. The letter was a heartfelt greeting from a sincere friend. They felt the sentiment and the sympathy it contained. Their eyes streamed with tears. They burst into a hearty cheer. Helen Keller will get a set of resolutions signed by the strikers in many languages.

She may never see the embossed words or names attached to the resolutions, but she will know their meaning—they are written by "The Hand of the World."

Other remarkable letters were received by the strikers, one from a "friend" who had been saving his money to buy an overcoat. He had laid by ten dollars. He sent it all to the strikers saying he could get along without an overcoat if the money would help the strikers to win more bread. It is such sentiment and support that has instilled in the Little Falls strikers the spirit of solidarity that knows no defeat.

Some who sympathize with the Industrial Workers of the World principles and methods have sent letters with money and others have come in person to render what assistance they can to the strikers.

After the trouble precipitated by the police on October 30th, last, the organizers on the ground, Ben J. Legere and Phillipoc Bocchino, with nearly all the members of the strike committee, were thrown into jail where they have been held ever since, awaiting the action of the grand jury.

After a farcical hearing, Legere and Bocchino were committed to jail and held for bail of \$15,000. Murlando, one of the strikers, was held in the sum of \$10,000 and the others in some instances ranging from \$50 to \$5,000. The story of the so-called riot was told in the following proclamation issued by the strikers:

The blood-thirsty, murderous cossacks have shown their hand.

Police thugs of Little Falls throw off the mask and do the dirty work for the gang of

bloodsuckers who own the mills in Little Falls.

Today in Little Falls was seen a spectacle which has not been witnessed before anywhere outside of Russia.

Today the gang of fiends in human form who wear the disgraceful uniform of the police in Little Falls, deliberately went to work and started a riot.

It was the most brutal, cold-blooded act ever done in these parts. Nothing under heaven can ever justify it and the soul of the degenerate brute who started it will shrivel in hell long, long before the workers will ever forget this day.

The workers in the mills of Little Falls have been on strike for four weeks against an inhuman oppression of the mill-bosses. An incompetent law has been used by these mill-owners to reduce the wages of the workers from fifty cents to two dollars a week.

Hundreds of these workers were already existing on a starvation wage averaging about \$7 per week.

They resisted this robbery by the mill-owners.

They went on strike.

The police showed at the beginning that the filthy money of the mill-owners can corrupt all authority by attempting to suppress free speech in Little Falls. Several speakers were arrested. Then the strikers organized in the Industrial Workers of the World.

They began peaceful picketing at the mills

Victims of Law and Order. Members of the I. W. W. in Jail at Little Falls. Red Banner Shown in Picture was Made in a Cell.

where many American workers, mostly girls, were playing the part of scabs.

The strikers, with a band and banners bearing appeals for support, began to parade each morning before the mills to encourage the other workers to come out. They did not interfere with the scabs in any way and by this means of peaceful demonstration the strikers won over every day some of those who were working.

The mill-bosses were baffled. They could not understand this new and peaceful mode of picketing. As the strikers kept moving at all times the police could find no excuse to interfere. But today the craven brutes MADE an excuse.

Every day more workers joined the picket-line. The first day one of these blood-thirsty police animals tried to start a riot by slugging a girl who stepped from the line to speak to a friend. He was number three who showed his cowardice and animal ferocity today by cruelly clubbing helpless prisoners and defenseless strikers.

On Friday the police struck the first blow when they tried to break up the picket line at the Rex mill and arrested one of the strikers' organizers.

Policeman number two, who fired the first shot today and whose aim was so bad that he hit one of the special bloodhounds instead of

the striker he wanted to kill, was the one who led the assault upon the strikers' line at the Rex mill.

In spite of all this oppression and provocation the strikers stood firm, refrained from one single act of violence and gained many new supporters.

Yesterday many workers joined the ranks of the strikers and one mill was completely tied up.

Then the mill-owners got desperate. Many girls in the Phoenix mill were forced to go home because there was no work left for them. A rumor spread that the Phoenix mill would have to close down today. The bosses, however, tried two more plans.

First, they brought in a herd of scabs from Utica.

Second, they set the stage for the tragedy of this morning.

The picket-line today was stronger than ever. Everyone was peaceable. No one called scab. All were singing as they marched.

When the line reached the Phoenix mill there were thirty or forty thugs there under the leadership of the mill-owners' chief, the brutal, ignorant tool of the cowardly millionaire anarchists who use the police to beat the mill-workers back into slavery.

He started the riot. He did it deliberately

and it was undoubtedly the result of a pre-arranged plot.

The picket-line was absolutely peaceable and orderly. They were acting just as they always have, making way at all times for anyone wishing to cross the street. The strikers are absolutely blameless.

But the chief did not want peace. He wanted a riot to help the bosses break the strike by breaking the heads of the defenseless paraders. So he picked out Antonio Prete, member of the strike committee, who was walking alone in the middle of the street and hit him with his club. Strikers ran to defend him and then his thugs began their murderous assault with clubs and guns upon the helpless women and men in the picket line.

One policeman, number two, shooting at a striker who was running away, hit another policeman in the leg.

The strikers went for protection to their hall, but the murderous bloodhounds assaulted them. They broke into the hall, drove everyone out, smashed everything in sight and fired several shots into the cellar in the hope of shooting I. W. W. organizers whom they thought were hiding there.

This assault on the strike headquarters is the most high-handed outrage that has ever occurred in these parts.

The whole trouble today was very clearly a police plot to break up the strikers' union.

The strikers were unarmed and helpless. The police are entirely responsible for everything that happened and will be held accountable.

The chief of police has been constantly threatening to "get" the strike leaders. Several other police officers have made vicious threats; one of them against the life of the chairman of the strike committee, Legere, who was rescued from the police today by the strikers.

Many of the friends and relatives of the police have made threats of organizing an "entertainment" committee to "run Legere and his crowd out of town," as it was expressed by one of them.

The whole machinery of law in Little Falls has been set to work most viciously in the interest of the mill-owners ever since the day when the prosecuting attorney began to "persecute" the organizers who spoke to the strikers because, as he said, "he didn't like their looks."

The strikers have never fired a shot, yet they are charged with the shooting done by a policeman.

The police have finished their foul and dirty work by "beating up" the prisoners in the police station.

Let every lover of freedom and justice hear the cry of the oppressed strikers of Little Falls. Can these inhuman brutalities be carried out with impunity in America?

A foul and slimy press has spread a lying story of today's struggle throughout the land. The strikers cry for justice.

Let the truth be known. Let every voice

and every hand of every liberty-loving worker in this land be raised in a thunderous protest against this attempt on the part of a band of murderous officials to turn an American city into a Russian shambles.

Let the workers in every mill and factory in the Mohawk valley go out on strike as a protest against this fiendish brutality, and make demands upon your bosses for better conditions. Workers take up this fight and help us win. Our fight is your fight.

Let us stand together and win.

Join the I. W. W. for one big union of all the workers and victory.

Little Falls Strike Committee  
of the Industrial Workers  
of the World.

P. O. Box 458, Little Falls, N. Y.

As soon as the authorities found that this proclamation was being circulated, they went at once to Utica, twenty miles distant, arrested the printer, confiscated 3,000 of the proclamations and dragged the publisher to Little Falls, without warrant or authority, where he was later released.

The many arrests, the brutality shown the prisoners after they were thrown into jail and other outrages by the police and hired thugs of the company, caused a state of excitement among the strikers that was only subdued by the arrival of Matilda Rabinowitz. She came from Bridgeport, Conn., formerly Russia. It was she who reorganized the shattered forces and got the committees in working order, electing others to take the places of those imprisoned. Miss Rabinowitz is as small in person as the smallest striker, yet disciplined as she is in the Industrial Workers of the World principles, she is shaping the mighty force that means victory. A book could be written about Matilda.

Others came, among them Jessie Ashley, a lawyer and sterling friend of the oppressed. She came from New York City as counsel to prepare for the legal end of the battle, paying her own expenses and contributing \$100 to the strikers' fund, making \$1,100, and more, that she has contributed to the strikers at Lawrence and elsewhere.

The Socialists of Schenectady, Mayor Lunn, Robert Bakeman and John Mullin and others were on the job from the be-

ginning. Comrades Kruse, Wade and Mullin came early, rolled up their sleeves and entered the culinary department, known in the strike quarters as the soup kitchen.

Money, supplies, groceries and clothing have been abundantly contributed by the Relief committee organized among the Socialists of Schenectady. The *Citizen*, a Socialist paper, has given publicity to the disgraceful conditions at Little Falls. All of which the strikers deeply appreciate and, while they cannot vote, as most of them are women and children, still they are in the vanguard, and on the picket line. They are marching to the music of the Marseillaise, onward to industrial freedom.

M. Helen Schloss, who is shown behind the bars on the cover, is a woman of Spartan mold, a Socialist of four years' standing; well known at the Rand school in New York. She came to Little Falls and took a position with the Twentieth Century Club, a fashionable charity association, to investigate tuberculosis, which is prevalent among the mill workers. When the strike began, she took up the cause of the women on the firing line and joined forces with them. This lost her a salaried position and landed her in jail where she was held for eleven days. She was charged with inciting to riot and is only now enjoying her freedom under bond of \$2,000.

Recently she has been arrested again while investigating the cases of some strikers who had been thrown into jail without warrant. Her unusual activity on behalf of the oppressed caused her to be looked upon with suspicion by the authorities who are under the control of the mill owners. A board of physicians, appointed by the chief of police, known as "Bully" Long, discovered nothing more serious the matter with her than a brilliant mind, a sterling character and a warm heart.

In spite of all the bitter persecution, which Miss Schloss has endured, she is still lending her strength to the strikers' cause.

Out of the West comes the young blood of the revolution, ever willing to fight for the political right of freedom of speech, always giving more than they take, but willing, if broke, to live providing Algernon Lee will permit them on a one 7-cent meal a day until they are privileged to go to jail for the cause of labor.

After all it is the strikers themselves who are making the real struggle. They revolted against a reduction of wages that came when the 54-hour law went into effect, reducing their meagre incomes from 50 cents to \$2.00 a week. As a direct result of the firm stand made by the Little Falls strikers, wages of other men, women and children employed in similar industries at Utica, Cohoes and other knitting mill centers have been restored and even the strikers at Little Falls have been promised 60 hours' pay for 54 hours' work, but they are demanding a 10 per cent increase and a 15 per cent increase for night work. This is what the employer gets when he drives his workers to organize in the Industrial Workers of the World.

If you want to help the mill slaves at Little Falls in this struggle for better condition, follow the example of Helen Keller, Jessie Ashley and Helen Schloss. Send your contributions to Matilda Rabinowitz, Box 458, Little Falls, N. Y.

Later. Chief of Police "Bully Long" has closed up the strikers' soup kitchens in order to force them back to work. This wrought great hardship on the women and children. But Schenectady threw open her municipal doors and buildings and gathered in some of the children. These and more will be cared for by Socialist "strike parents" till the strike is won.

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**Class antagonism accompanied by the class struggle is now an existing fact. The state is, so long as this class opposition and class struggle exists, necessarily a class state, and the government of this state, with like necessity, is a class government.**

Wilhelm Liebknecht.

# WHAT

# NEXT?

BY

**CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL**

**Socialist Party Candidate for Governor  
of New York.**

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**I**F ANY Socialist can lull himself into the sweet and lushy belief that gracefully and with a word of gentle apology the capitalists are going to retire from the graft they have enjoyed so long, he must have discovered a brand of capitalist different from any that has ever delighted my vision. On very good grounds we may believe that we have come to a turning point in the history of this movement in America. What are the capitalists going to do now?

Beyond question they received in the recent election a disconcerting wallop. Many of them confidently expected that the tide of Socialism would recede this year. The more intelligent and scheming had made every arrangement to that end. They had launched and financed the Bull Moose; they had set the nicely baited traps for all the half-baked reformers in the land. They had provided for Socialism every untoward condition. And instead of showing a decline the vicious and unaccountable thing sprang up and more than doubled its strength. It was stripped to the bare number of those that

wanted Socialism and nothing else, and behold there were more than twice as many of them as ever were counted before. The outlook is bad for graft, as you can readily see. What are the grafters going to do?

Well, not lie down and invite us to kick them out, certainly. Those among them to whom has been given any kind of a thinking apparatus must know perfectly well that bad as the situation is, now it is certain to be very much worse before long. They must know something of the hash that Wilson and the Democrats will make of government and something of the popular dissatisfaction that will inevitably rise and rise with every month of increasing living cost.

Therefore, they know that as things are now the Socialist victory of this year will be but small compared with the Socialist victory in the next congressional elections. What then? What shall avail them?

Not underhanded and cunning political tricks. They did all they could in that line when they brought out the Bull

Moose and it blew up on election day. There is not much more that they can do with such devices. They tried the Men and Religion Forward Movement and that went to wreck. They tried to enlist part of the church against us and that failed. They have tried for years to have their kept press lie us out of existence and most evidently that will not work. Now what?

There is among them a set that would like to resort now to force and judicial tyranny and the misuse of the courts and the legislatures. Anybody that can use his eyes can see that. Already we have seen in various parts of the country attempts to deprive Socialists of their just share of the election machinery. In New York and some other states laws have been passed for the express purpose of keeping Socialist candidates from the official ballot. In some places, notably the Twelfth Congressional district of New York, a Socialist honestly elected to office has been defrauded of his election. We have never yet had a national election in which the full Socialist vote was honestly recorded.

Far more sinister than these manifestations is the attempt to put the *Appeal to Reason* out of business, to persecute Eugene V. Debs and to imprison George R. Lunn.

We may well believe that the capitalists themselves do not yet see their way very clearly. Some among them evidently think that by granting a series of innocuous but specious reforms they can head off the thing they fear. This is the scheme of the adroit fakirs that manage the National Civic Federation and are now trying to line up that arrant fraud on the side of workingmen's compensation acts and the like soothing syrup dopes. Some think there is something in coddling labor men and talking about better relations between labor and capital, and we need not be surprised if some of these take to the uttering of dreamy platitudes about mild forms of public ownership. But the real tactics will not be decided by these but by the powers that hold the money supply and now control the greater part of the nation's industries, for these have

the eventual power and speak the final word.

In any event, one thing at least is clear—that we are about to enter upon a new and probably the last stage of the conflict and that it will be very different from anything we have known before; we are coming now to the point where the issue is vital.

These obvious facts ought to make the duty of Socialists just as obvious.

If the plan is to discourage and discredit Socialism by imprisoning Socialist leaders and destroying Socialist publications, then we ought to stand absolutely together and prepare for that. If, for making conspicuous gains, a Socialist candidate can be punished by being thrust into prison, then we ought to test that sort of proceeding in a way that will fasten the attention of the country upon it. If he can be sent to jail on such a charge then there is no Socialist that has any business to be at liberty. If they are going to put one of us in jail they ought to put all of us in jail on the same charge. If the courts can be used to imprison him or to imprison a man for quoting Abraham Lincoln then I shall have such absolute contempt for courts that I ought not to be allowed to be at large, and I doubt not that will be exactly the feeling of every Socialist in the country.

The one thing needful is that we should be absolutely united about it.

Or if the game is to be the pretense of specious reform, then the necessity is the same but with a different manifestation. For then the work will be to convince the new accessions to the party and the new element that is now revealed as working with us that there is no hope in any reform and that what we want is not reform but the revolution.

And that again we can only achieve by united effort.

Or if there are to be more arrests on trumped up charges or more frauds upon the election machinery, plainly nothing will avail except such a class demonstration as will put the fear of God into the hearts of such thieves as stole the Twelfth District of New York from Meyer London.

And this brings me to what I believe

is the gravest danger of all and the most probable line of Capitalist tactics.

Nothing can so much help the Capitalists now as dissension and strife in the Socialist party. If they are one-half as able as they have hitherto indicated, that is the very thing they will look for and seek in every way to promote. If they can divide this movement and start two factions to cutting each other's throats, Capitalism has a long lease of life ahead of it. Shall we be foolish enough to believe that they do not see this and that they will not try to take advantage of it?

Whichever way we turn, then, the lesson of the hour is exactly the same. It is to watch with a jealous eye any beginning of strife on any pretext whatsoever. If we stand together, not jail sentences nor persecutions nor reform dope nor Perkins nor Bull Moose nor any other device can prevail against us. And if we indulge in factional strife nothing can shake Capitalism.

There is no good reason for dissension; there is nothing in the party that is worth fighting about. At one time we were confronted with the peril of a Liberal-Labor coalition like the abominable hybrid that curses the movement in Great Britain. We are now happily delivered from all that. At one time it looked as if we might be threatened with ladylike and academic reforms from the settlement houses and that latitude, and good fortune or education or something has annihilated that evil chance. And again it looked as if we might be drifting toward the disastrous game of practical politics. We have outlived all that peril and are the better and stronger for it. The note of the election was revolution. The new element that is coming into the party is for revolution. By no possibility can this party now fall into either compromise or opportunism. It has shown that it is clear-headed, rational, uncompromising and knows what it wants, and there is nothing in the shape of a pretext upon which it can be split so long as we keep our eyes fixed upon the ultimate goal and scrupulously nullify any attempts that the Capitalists may make to introduce dissension.

Differences of opinion there will always be among us and always ought to be. If

we had no differences of opinion the party would dry up and blow away. But differences of opinion can exist without rancor and bitterness and without two camps that devote more time to fighting each other than they devote to fighting the common enemy. I think that on analysis all the differences of opinion that can now be discovered in the Socialist party are of a nature too trivial to enlist prolonged interest from the adult mind. There is, for instance, some clashing of belief as to the exact method by which the Co-operative Commonwealth is to be established. Well, nobody knows how it is going to be established. We might as well quarrel about the way the wind is going to blow seven years from today. It will be established in the way that will seem to the majority the best way and that will be a good enough way to suit any normal mind. I don't give a hoot how it is established. All I care about is to get it and to get it in the shortest possible space of time, because every day that it is delayed costs hundreds of lives needlessly sacrificed to the blood-dripping profit system.

It has been my fortune to travel into almost every corner of the country and to meet Socialists of all shades of belief. I have a firm conviction, as the result of much observation, that they are mighty good people no matter what may be their views as to the way the Co-operative Commonwealth is coming. There ought not to be any rancor among such people and I do not believe there will be when the results of this election come to be fully understood. If any bitterness has existed the present would seem an admirable occasion to forget it. Unless I have misread the signs of the times, any one among us that has an uncontrollable appetite for fighting will have ample opportunity to satiate his belligerency against the common enemy in the next few months. And that is the only fighting that is worth thinking about or planning for. If a man can by any possibility come by an adequate hatred of Capitalism he shall find in his heart no room to hate anything else. And if a man will do all that it is his duty to do against this monstrous and horrible thing he shall

have no time to spare for the doing of things against his comrade.

To be united and to foresee that the great gains of this year indicate greater victories two years hence, does not mean that we are likely to get a distorted view of the two spheres of Socialist activity. The need of the two has been too clearly shown in the last few months to be obscured. We are not in politics now any more than ever before for the purpose of winning office nor "being in." There is no substantial difference of opinion about this among the party members; let us hope there will be no attempt to create any such difference. If there is it ought to be met with a prompt disapproval. We have other work to do than to edge our way to the pie counter. While the Capitalist parties are deluding the nation with

that kind of a faking show the economic condition of the working class sinks week by week to a lower level, the purpose of the master class to create, if possible, a great body of industrial dependents is more apparent; and the only possible remedy for that deadly menace is more surely shown to lie in our hands. On consideration, all will agree that we have not one moment to waste in internal quarrels. They are too costly a luxury. If we want to attack anything let's attack Capitalism. If we have any bitterness let's pour it out on that murderous thing. All the other objects in the world and all the ambitions together are not worthy to be compared with shortening by even a day the existence of a system that is long past its scheduled time to get out of the world's way.

"Now, as to the second question: The question of unity and agreement. The answer is dictated to me by the interests and principles of the party. I am for the unity of the party—for the national and international unity of the party. But it must be a unity of socialism and socialists. The unity with opponents—with people who have other aims and other interests, is no socialist unity. We must strive for unity at any price and with all sacrifices.

\* \* \* \*

The disappearance of fear and aversion to us in political circles of course brings political elements into our ranks. As long as this takes place on a small scale it causes no apprehension because the political elements are outnumbered by the proletarian elements and are gradually assimilated. But it is a different thing if the political elements in the party become so numerous and influential that their assimilation becomes difficult and even the danger arises that the proletarian socialist element will be crowded to the rear.

\* \* \* \*

"On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it we are lost, because we are no longer socialists. The strength and power of socialism rests in the fact that we are leading a class struggle; that the laboring class is exploited and oppressed by the capitalist class, and that within capitalist society effectual reforms, which will put an end to class government and class exploitation, are impossible.

"We cannot traffic in our principles, we can make no compromise, no agreement with the ruling system. We must break with the ruling system and fight it to a finish. It must fall that socialism may arise, and we certainly cannot expect from the ruling class that it will give to itself and its domination the death blow. The International Workingmen's association accordingly preached that 'The emancipation of the laboring class must be the work of the laborers themselves.'"—Wilhelm Liebknecht.

A VEGETABLE GARDEN IN THE CITY OF NANKING.



# CHANGING CHINA



BY

MARY E. MARCY

Photographs by Paul Thompson, N. Y., and Keystone View Company.

**J**UST at this time China is in a transition stage, and is likely to be for some years to come. It is impossible to arouse over 400,000,000 people from the sleep and lethargy of centuries and make them and their ideas and customs and institutions over in a day.

But the doors are open and a most important contributing factor is the changed attitude of the people on the superiority of the Chinese ways over the rest of the world. Today they are looking to the Western nations and planning to follow them in every field of endeavor.

H. Borel, in writing about a visit to a Chinese school, says that upon opening the desk of a boy scarcely ten years old, he found a book of compositions, one of which read as follows:

"Small Japan defeated Big China. Afterwards small Japan defeated Big Russia. How was it able to accomplish this? You think by ships and soldiers. But that is not so. It defeated Russia by its knowledge, by its education. It defeated the stupid Chinese and Russian soldiers, because education is so good in Japan; because the Japanese people are instructed in the sciences and are no longer ignorant. There is hardly a Japanese soldier who cannot read and write. China is much bigger than Japan and much bigger than Russia or any empire of Europe, and it has more than 400,000,000 inhabitants. When these people are instructed and know, China will be much more powerful than little Japan or the strongest peoples of Europe. Therefore the first thing China wants is instruction. It must start with that. Then China will become the first empire of the world."

Mr. Borel claims that this is a striking example of what is being taught in the new Chinese schools.

Many of the old temples have been turned into schools and elementary colleges and systematic training schools for teachers have been opened at many points in the empire. To boast of preferring old methods and to foster old ideas is to count oneself almost criminal among the progressive Chinese.

Travelers claim that there are more boats of various kinds in China than in any country in the world and without doubt they are right. The country is vast, and internal means of communication are of the utmost importance. China enjoys natural facilities unequaled by any area of similar extent. Three great rivers flow eastward and southward — the Hoang-ho, or Yellow River, in the north, the Yangtse in the center and the Pearl River, of which the West River is the largest branch, in the south. The Yangtse alone affords 36,000 miles of waterways.

China possesses over 100,000 miles of canals that irrigate the lands and help to make them the most productive in the world and the vessels navigating the seas, rivers, creeks, canals and lakes of China include every variety in naval architecture. These boats are borne by the rising rivers and towed or rowed back by the

labor of millions of human hands. Prior to the advent of railroads almost the entire product of China was distributed by waterways.

Millions of men and women still form a "water population" of China. Children are born, grow up to man or womanhood and die on these boats and are buried from them. At Shanghai many thousands of people live in houseboats crowded so closely together that one might walk long distances by stepping from one boat to another.

Floating hotels and restaurants there are to accommodate the traveler, and Flower Boats where the Chinese men of wealth may entertain their men friends at evening dinners and be in turn entertained by Chinese show girls or dancers. Duckeries are run by house boat dwellers, who raise ducks and other water fowl for sale. Several millions of people make their living catching and selling fish, which is an important item in Celestial diet.

In spite of the fact that mining experts claim that China possesses sufficient unmined coal to supply the entire needs of the world for several centuries, until recently very little coal was used in China. The people called coal "black rock" and did not know that it was useful for heating purposes.

The house of the poor man in China is built either of sun-dried or broken brick laid in mud and roofed with tiles or a mixture of clay and lime spread upon reed mats. It usually consists of only one room. It contains windows of paper. Chimneys there are none and no fire is used summer or winter, except the small amount needful for the family cooking. Weeds, dried grass, roots and other refuse do duty as fuel. Even the very rich did not, until recently, possess stoves, although their homes contained small fireplaces.

Coal and iron were necessary to Chinese railroads and the land contains them in abundance. Already there are over 5,000 telegraph stations and thousands of miles of railroad are completed and many more in the course of construction. Commodities are now being transported by rail in many industries. Steel mills have sprung up and China is now

## THE FAMILIAR POTATO PATCH NEAR NANKING.

making and even exporting her own steel rails.

The march of the man from the land to the city has commenced. Thousands of Chinese are employed in the newly opened mines, and others are working in mills that are beginning to manufacture modern industrial machinery.

Often outside the walled boundaries of the great, quaint old Chinese cities are springing up new and modern cities and mill and factory towns. For the first time in the history of China men and women are finding they can earn more money working in the factory, and are leaving the farms.

Newspapers are springing up everywhere and the most patient, persevering race in the world has set its face toward modern education. Means of communication are open. Letters may be sent, and what is still more important, delivered within a reasonable period of

time. The whole land is agog with new ideas of modern methods in every field. A strange unrest pervades the giant sleeper of the East.

Copper and gold mines and oil wells have been discovered, of a richness that has amazed the world financial.

More and more young Chinese are being educated abroad, in England, France and Germany, but chiefly in Japan and the United States. And these young men are specializing, not on the cultural but upon the scientific side. They are studying electricity, chemistry, civil engineering, mineralogy and similar subjects, and they are returning to China to enter the field of modern industry equipped with all the best the West can offer. They have imbibed the ideals of democracy and, very often, of revolution.

And the Chinese laborers who have found jobs working among the proletarians of other nations are also becoming

Socialists and revolutionists. Dr. Sun Yat Sen claims that thousands of men among both these classes are sending money to China to carry on the work of propaganda there.

Roads are being built and motor cars are making their way over them, and the Chinese are talking of automobile factories. Horses are almost unseen in China and the motor vehicle will probably be another great universal modernizing factor.

China contains 800,000 square miles of the richest farming land in the world. The Chinese have practiced intensive, highly fertilized and irrigated farming for centuries. Under the old system nothing was ever wasted in China. Small pieces of rags were saved by the working class, for insoles of shoes. Refuse was burned for fuel. Palatable roots were cooked and eaten, as were the stalks and stems of plants and some flowers. Watermelon rinds and seeds were eaten. Men fought over the possession of small heaps of

manure. Human excrement was sold by the ton for fertilizer.

But new methods will render these old ways unprofitable. A laborer will find that he can earn money to buy more than he could save through the expenditure of human energy. Labor power will become too valuable to be used in saving in the infinitesimal ways that formerly prevailed. Human strength will no longer be expended in pulling huge stones over miles of rough roads. Motors will displace it.

The Chinese will find that to compete in the world market the old hand methods of manufacturing cotton cloth must be superseded by the machine method.

China still makes the finest silk in the world and produces the best rice. Millions are still raising tea, and the people have developed a new process whereby cakes of dried tea may be shipped thousands of miles without suffering deterioration. These resemble plugs of chewing tobacco and retain their full strength and flavor.

Undoubtedly many wealthy Chinese

who saw the possibilities for money-making in modern machine production rendered much assistance to the rebels who overthrew the Manchus.

Many of these rebels are also revolutionaries, often Socialists. Among these the most noted is easily Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who spent several years in Europe and America studying the literature of revolt.

Dr. Sen is a Socialist and one of the most brilliant men of modern times. For twenty years he had gone about through China teaching the need for education and modern methods to the Chinese. His addresses were appeals to the reason of his hearers and he never asked any office or remuneration for himself.

It was a momentous occasion when the people of China made Dr. Sen the first president of the Republic, the highest position ever offered to any man. The people of China form over one quarter of the population of the world. But Dr. Sen resigned from the presidency because he

declared that he could do better work for the Chinese working class upon the industrial field.

A very large percentage of the Chinese are engaged in agriculture, who are overtaxed and exploited in many ways. To such Dr. Sen bears the message of single tax reforms, until such time as modern industry shall develop an overwhelming proletariat. To them he offers aid, and to the factory and mill and mine workers, organization. He believes that the Young Chinese movement will itself be fully able to carry on the new work of democracy, and that he can best spend his life in preparing the way for the Last Great Revolution that shall one day abolish exploitation forever.

"I am not essential to the revolutionary movement," Dr. Sen is reported to have said a short time ago. "Today there are thousands of educated Chinese who carry on the work." China may well be proud of her greatest man and her greatest revolutionist.



# THE AUTOMATIC PROCESS

## In the Cement Industry, Showing the Tendency Toward Automatic Machinery and the Minimum of Labor in the New Industries

By ROBERT JOHNSTONE WHEELER

Photographs Taken Especially for the Review.

**Note.**—This article presents a “new industry,” which begins with the use of the most advanced methods in mechanics; the reduction of laborers to a minimum and is rapidly approaching the “automatic stage.”

Capitalist economists contend that the “new industries springing up provide employment for workers displaced by machinery in old industries.” The Cement Industry completely refutes them. Here we have the most favorable conditions for the trial of this exploded theory: an industry producing a commodity necessary for modern civilization, a business expanding at a tremendous rate, a vast increase in yearly output. Yet we find the number of workers relatively decreasing. The important point is this: Though the wants of society increase and the industries to supply those wants spring up, the number of workers needed tend constantly to decrease, due to the development of machinery and “scientific management.”

There are no craftsmen to be displaced here. Craftsmen are not needed in the process of cement making. Outside of machinists to repair the machines and the expert heads of departments, the few laborers employed are “unskilled.”

This article is the second of a series being prepared from data gathered from the Committee on Industrial Education. With the publication of the material the Committee has no connection nor responsibility.

**C**EMENT is destined to become pre-eminently the building material of the future. Its cheapness, due to the inexhaustible supply of raw material and ease of production, its simplicity in use and its adaptability to any and all conditions of building, give it an advantage over every other kind of material in use or likely to be used. It was not until 1890 that the government began to give serious attention to the cement industry. In that year, all American plants reported a total production of 335,500 barrels. The demand for cement had increased to such an extent that we were importing nearly 2,000,000 barrels from Europe. After the year 1890, capital began to flow into the cement industry. The demand increased to such an extent as to far outrun American development, and importations continued to increase until the year 1900 when the amount of cement imported totaled 2,386,683 barrels. In that year, American companies produced 8,482,000 barrels.

Therefore, the year 1900 marks the beginning of the history of the cement in-

ROBERT J. WHEELER.

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dustry as a great American industry. Since 1900, production has increased by leaps of from five to ten million barrels a year, outstripping the demand, driving out almost all the foreign product and has built up an export trade of nearly 4,000,000 barrels. The year 1911 saw the industry producing the tremendous amount of 78,528,637 barrels, with plants located all over the United States; as far south as San Antonio, Texas; at Concrete and Metaline, northern Oregon; along the coast of California and through the Mississippi valley; but with the principal producing centers in the states of Kansas, Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania has always led as a cement producing state. The Lehigh district produced 25,972,108 barrels, or 33.1 per cent of the total production of the United States, in 1911. Located in this district, about the city of Allentown, Lehigh county, are the largest and most modern plants in the industry.

#### Definition of Portland Cement

"Portland cement is the product obtained by calcining to a clinker a finely ground artificial

mixture of properly proportioned calcareous and argillaceous substances and finely grinding the resulting clinker. Only such additions are permitted subsequent to the calcining as may be necessary to control certain properties, and such additions should not exceed 3 per cent by weight of the calcined product.

#### Raw Materials

"The raw materials consist essentially of lime, silica, alumina, and iron oxide in certain definite proportions, obtained by mixing limestone or marl with clay or shale, or by substituting low-magnesia blast-furnace slag for clay or shale. The clay, shale, or slag furnish silica, alumina, and iron oxide. Impure limestone, called 'cement rock,' in which all the ingredients are present in nearly the proper proportions, is also used alone or is corrected by the addition of purer limestone. The mixture of raw materials should contain about three parts of lime carbonate to one part of the clayey materials. The calcination or burning takes place at a high temperature, approaching 3,000° F., and must therefore be carried on in kilns of special design and lining. During the burning, chemical combination of the lime, silica, alumina, and iron oxide takes place. The product of the burning is a semifused mass called 'clinker,' which consists of silicates, aluminates, and ferrites of lime in certain fairly definite proportions. This clinker must be finely ground. A small and limited percentage of gypsum (hydrous calcium sulphate) is ground with the clinker. After such grinding the powder (Portland cement) will set under water.

#### Outline of Manufacture

"There are two methods of manufacture, the dry and wet process, differing from each other in certain details of mixing. In a modern plant using the dry process, the limestone and the clay or shale are brought to the mill in tram-cars are coarsely crushed, dried if necessary in rotary cylindrical driers, and are stored in silos. The raw materials are next charged in certain definite proportions by weight, as indicated by their chemical composition, into fine grinding mills which intimately mix the materials during grinding. This fine grinding is performed in various types of mills, such as steel ball, silica pebble tube mills, and mechanical mills. The product leaves these mills so finely ground that more than half of it will usually pass a screen having 200 meshes to the linear inch. The fine mixtures are then stored to supply the kilns. The modern kiln is of the rotary cylinder type. It consists of a cylindrical steel shell lined with highly refractory material. Recently built kilns range 110 to 240 feet in length and from 7 to 12 feet in diameter. The axis of the kiln is slightly inclined from the horizontal; the upper end enters into the chimney hood and the lower end receives the

fuel nozzles. The fine raw mixture is fed mechanically into the upper end of the rotary kiln, where it travels slowly through the kiln and is acted upon by the incandescent gases which are forced in the opposite direction. Pulverized coal in an air blast is the fuel most widely used for burning cement, but crude oil and natural gas are also used in localities where they are plentiful, and producer gas has been used in a small way. Under the influence of heat the ingredients in the fine particles are fused together into small, hard lumps called 'clinker.' The hot clinker falls in a stream from the lower end of the kiln into a steel bucket conveyor and is carried into the air and cooled, then dumped into heaps and allowed to age or become "seasoned." To this clinker after seasoning is added a small percentage of gypsum, after which the whole mass is crushed and ground to such fineness that 90 to 95 per cent shall pass a sieve having 100 meshes to the linear inch and 75 to 80 per cent a sieve having 200 meshes to the linear inch. The fine grinding is performed by mills similar to those used for grinding finely the raw materials. It is then conveyed mechanically to the stock house for storage prior to shipment. Most cement is sold in bags weighing 95 pounds each (4 sacks of 380 pounds of cement constituting a barrel). There are devices for automatically filling and weighing sacks so that a large output can be readily handled."—(From the U. S. Geological Report on Cement Industry, 1911.)

The quarrying of cement rock is an interesting and important part of the industry. Cement quarries are great gashes in the earth, sometimes running down several hundred feet if the rock is of extra fine quality. The illustrations show the quarry workers at work in what is said to be the purest vein of cement rock in the Lehigh district. The old style hand methods are here shown alongside of the latest and most modern way of handling the rock. The work is done on a large scale. Tons of dynamite are used in a single blast, tearing out thousands of tons of rock.

The steam shovel is fast driving out the old method of loading the stone. Since only the best and most economical systems are worthy of note in an industry like this, we will not deal with hand

#### THE PUMPMEN IN THE PIT.

methods where machinery is used. After the steam shovel has loaded the rock on the cars, it is hauled to the crusher and begins its progress through the mill, coming out at the other end bagged and ready for the market. At no time during the process is it necessary for men to handle the material. The rock flows away from the crusher on a wide belt. The belt carries it into the storage bins. From the bins both kinds of rock are carried to the weighing machine and mixed in proper proportions. Belts now carry the mixture to the "raw grinders." Next it flows into the kilns and is fused into "clinker." Elevators carry the "clinker" to "coolers." Belts now carry it to the grinders again. After it is ground for the last time, bucket conveyers and screw conveyers carry it to the storage house. From here it is delivered to the "Bates automatic bagging machine" through chutes, and bagged, weighed and carried out on a belt and dumped into the

very little profit being made by any company. Prices in the Lehigh district have been as low as 60 cents a barrel this year. The big Atlas company, said to belong to the Steel Trust, has just contracted to supply the Panama Canal commission with 4,500,000 barrels at 65 cents. The ruling price, however, is around \$1.00 a barrel.

Many attempts have been made to raise the price. Associations have been formed and "gentlemen's agreements" have been tried, but to no purpose, apparently. The Atlas company, with a capacity of over 50 per cent of the total output, cannot be depended upon to maintain the price. So, the smaller companies are driven to exert their utmost efforts to improve the process and cheapen the product, or face business failure.

Each company employs "efficiency engineers." These experts are constantly striving to cheapen the product. The mills are divided into departments and each department is studied daily by experts in their endeavor to reduce the cost. In one plant, an ash conveyor was installed in the boiler room and eight ash handlers displaced. An automatic water check system placed on the boilers displaced several more men. The same engineer invented a "filter system" which removed

The Big Quarry, 200 Feet Deep and a Quarter of a Mile Long. The Rock is Drawn Up Through a Tunnel.

car. Men tend the machines, of course, but the cement goes through the whole process, from the quarry to the car without being handled by hand.

The process is practically automatic and improvements are being made by the inventors and "efficiency engineers" which tend toward making the process so perfect that less men will be needed from time to time.

There is a compelling force behind the effort to improve. Since the industry overcame the domestic demand, fierce competition has driven the price down until today there is

AFTER THE BLAST—2½ TONS OF DYNAMITE—5,000 TONS OF ROCK.

the lime properties from the water used in the boilers and effected a saving of \$4,000 a year on "boiler compound" alone. In another mill, the rock was shipped in on cars, unloaded, carried to the crusher and unloaded again. Sixteen men were required. By moving the crusher and running the switch over it, the rock was dumped directly into the crusher. Two men only were then needed, fourteen were displaced by the improvement. One of the companies has a system of encouraging inventive genius among its men. A box was placed in a convenient place into which the men were urged to place any plan for an improvement in their department. A reward of \$5.00 was paid to any man whose plan was accepted. A certain man offered an improvement in the signal service in the quarry. It was adopted and the man received his \$5.00. When the plan was put to work, it was found that five men could be dispensed with. Perhaps it will fittingly illustrate how "genius is rewarded" in modern industry if I mention that one of the men discharged was the inventor of the improvement.

In one of the plants of the Alpha company, a new machine has been installed recently. This machine is so efficient that it can produce as much "flour," as the ground product is called, as four of the

The New Way of Loading Cement Rock with a Sixty-Five Ton Bucyrus Shovel.

style now in general use. This means the displacement of more men and a greatly reduced cost of production.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the cement industry is full of interest to the student of economic development.

For a new industry, it has reached a degree of mechanical excellence attained by no other in so short a time. Its engineers have worked wonders with the problems they have had to solve. They have given the industry the full benefit of modern mechanical science. The result is simple, effective machinery and a rapid decrease in the number of

The Bates Bagger—Two Men Do the Work of  
Sixteen Hand Workers.

workers needed. This can be seen in the figures given in the late census. Production increased, from 1904 to 1909, 111.6 per cent; workers, 53.2 per cent.

Enough has been shown of the cement industry to prove that it does not offer opportunities for the employment of men displaced by machinery in other industries. On the contrary, cement workers are being driven out by improvements. True it is that there has been a demand for workers in the industry during the last summer, due to causes which, for want of space, cannot be explained here, but as the industry advances, the number of men needed will relatively decrease.

Preparations are now being made to install electricity for power in the cement industry. The Lehigh Coal and Navigation company has a great plant in the coal regions, north of Allentown, and is ready to sell power throughout the valley. The Lawrence Cement company, of Seigfried, Lehigh county, will be the first plant to use the power. The electrification of the cement mills will mean the displacement of hundreds of men, and will be a considerable factor in reducing the cost of production.

So much for the cement industry. But it is in the ultimate use of cement which is of greatest importance to skilled workmen. The use of cement in building operations and construction work of all

The End of the Process.

kinds, is making such progress that the crafts in the building trades are beginning to recognize its seriousness.

Our industrial schools, as conducted at present, devote much attention to the training of boys in the arts pertaining to the building occupations. The school people seem to have but little idea of what is going on in industry. The idea is that all that is required is to give a boy good mechanical training and his future is assured, provided he has ambitions. But it never seems to occur to these good people that an entirely new system of production is developing down where the world's work is done.

The rough work of the world is nearly completed. We have mills, mines, factories, railroads and farms enough to supply society with all the comforts of life. Tools have evolved from the "stone axe" and the "crooked stick" of prehistoric times, until today we have mighty engines which work without much aid from human hands. Almost are we arrived at the time dreamed of by the great Greek philosopher Aristotle, when he said:

"If every tool, when summoned, or even of its own accord, could do the work that befits it just as the creations of Daedalus moved of themselves, or the tripods of Hephaestos went of their own accord; if the weavers' shuttles were to weave of themselves, then there would be

no need either of apprentices for the master workers, or slaves for the lords."

And what shall we do with all these marvelous things? Perhaps some day a

generation will arise which will understand that only by making these wonderful creations work for all humanity will the good they promise be rightly utilized.

## A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

BY

GRACE SILVER

THE 32nd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which convened at Rochester, N. Y., on Nov. 11th, marks a distinct advance in the labor movement. The old-time brother-of-capital unionist was there, of course; and Gompers had things all his own way when the votes were counted; but there was a militant minority which put up a gallant fight for progressive measures and made life miserable for the conservatives. The new unionism has taken firm root and, though unwelcome, persists in growing amongst the dead wood of the federation. The late convention was redeemed from the usual dullness by the activity of a large group of Socialist delegates.

The first real clash came when the radicals, led by John Walker and Frank Hayes, urged the national body to stand by the Danbury hatters, pay their \$240,000 fine and other expenses of litigation. The radicals felt that the hatters' fight had been for all labor and that all labor should therefore share its burden. Gompers replied, saying that the federation could not back up the hatters in any such manner. "If you do," he said, "you will simply be inviting more litigation. I want to warn you against injurious and dangerous propositions." Gompers evidently feared to tell the capitalists what a good thing the American Federation of Labor is—as if they could still be ignorant of that.

The delegates then plunged into a discussion of the Sherman Anti-trust act, under which suit against the hatters had been brought. Many favored its aboli-

tion, some its amendment. The Socialist delegates took occasion to urge upon the workers the necessity of a political party of their own and were rebuked by the leaders of the conservative side for bringing up a political discussion on the floor of the convention. The rebuke should not have been heeded, since Gompers had already endorsed Woodrow Wilson as a friend of labor in the last campaign. Dennis Hayes, of the Glass-Blowers and Militia of Christ, voiced the anti-Socialist sentiment. "I do not believe in class legislation." He tearfully remarked, "If we (labor) controlled the legislative bodies, wouldn't the rest of the community array itself against us?" Verily, the logic of a pure and simpler passeth all understanding. Gompers declared it was only necessary to elect labor men, of whatever party, to Congress, and to continue to agitate in the time-honored (?) trade union manner. When pressed for an explanation of a reported statement he had made, he publicly denied having commented gleefully upon the news of Berger's defeat for Congress, leaving it to be inferred that his private views were known only to himself and the Civic Federation. A Catholic priest was allowed to attack Socialism upon the floor, but Socialist delegates who attempted to reply were silenced with the plea of "No politics allowed." The proposition to form an independent labor party was defeated at the session of November 21. The federation will still continue its old policy of "rewarding its friends (?) and punishing its enemies" in politics.

The minority made a gallant fight for

the recognition of the principles of industrial unionism. The resolution recited that the lines are being more and more closely drawn between capital and labor; that the capitalists of the country have organized the National Manufacturers' association and other large employers' organizations for the purpose of destroying the trade unions of the country; and that in order to combat these powerful and compact organizations of employers against labor, the convention should "adopt and indorse the plan of organization by industries instead of by crafts, which often divides the forces of labor, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every effort to bring this about, and that they visit the different labor organizations and use their influence to mold sentiment along these lines."

The resolution was defeated by a vote of 10,983 to 5,929. It was vigorously defended by A. Kugler, Frank Hayes, John Walker, John P. White, Duncan McDonald, and Joseph Cannon. Even John Mitchell, acting under instructions from the United Mine Workers, worked and voted for its passage. One cannot but wonder how he will explain his conduct to Brother Capital and the Catholic church.

A motion to indorse the newspaper strike in Chicago was also defeated, but not without a heated discussion. The convention voted to send a committee to Chicago, the mission of which shall be to establish "amicable relations" between the newspaper trust and the strikers. James Freel, president of the stereotypers, branded the strike as illegal, and shamelessly gave a detailed account of the insubordination of the men who refused to return to work after he had ordered them to do so. Thus was union scabbery officially indorsed.

The convention voted to back up the structural iron workers on trial at Indianapolis until their guilt had been proven beyond a doubt. A few timid souls, notably Dennis Hayes, a sharpshooter of God, Militia of Christ, and incident-

ally a glassblower, objected. Corporal Hayes declared that he was opposed to taking action regarding the accused men until they had been proven innocent of the dynamite charges, when, of course, like Wm. Jennings Bryan after the acquittal of Haywood, he would proclaim eternal faith in their innocence. He whined about its being "a delicate situation," and said that the convention "must not put its foot into it." The colossal stupidity and treasonable depths of this particular labor fakir are conspicuous enough to distinguish him, even in a national gathering of the American Federation of Labor.

A resolution in favor of equal suffrage was passed and the body went on record as opposed to compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, indicating a certain amount of intelligence on the part of the majority. But the proposition to elect their own officers by referendum was defeated by a large majority.

Of course, Gompers succeeds himself as president. He has not the slightest intention of returning to the cigar makers' trade. Nevertheless, both as labor leader and as a personality, he is steadily decreasing in importance. He remains in office, re-elected by a vote of 11,974 to 5,074 for Max Hayes. Never before has so large a vote been cast against him. His opponent, an avowed Socialist, had no official machinery to aid him, had made no personal campaign. It is plain to be seen, therefore, that at least half the membership of the American Federation of Labor are tired of Gompers and the methods he stands for. Even Gompers can see that. Progressive members of his own organization feel that he and his ideas have failed utterly. These men refuse to be held back. They know that the American Federation of Labor must revolutionize its methods or it must give way to some newer and better organization of labor which can and will fight the battles of the working class. And the progressives have willed that it shall not decay, but that it shall be born again as a militant industrial union.

Miners' Wives with Rifles Guarded Their Homes at Eskdale Before Martial Law Was Declared.

## THE CABIN CREEK VICTORY

By JAMES MORTON

Photographs by Paul Thompson.

**T**HERE is rejoicing after many months in the Kanawha district in West Virginia. In spite of the subserviency of the Big Bull Moose governor to the interests of the coal barons, in spite of the steady flux of scabs into the coal district, the plutocracy has gone down to ignominious defeat before the splendid solidarity shown by the striking miners.

Twice the REVIEW has attempted to give its readers word pictures of the terrible brutalities of the thugs that have faithfully served the interests of the mine owners. But words fail to convey any idea of the conditions in the Kanawha district.

More than once the women and children were openly attacked and an attempt made to drive them off company grounds and into the river. It was thought such methods would drive the men into overt acts that would justify the soldiers

in shooting down the rebels. And the miners did not sit down tamely and permit their wives and children to be murdered before their eyes. In some instances, it is reported, they started a little excitement all their own so that the troops might be drawn off to protect the property of their masters. We have even read that some mine guards mysteriously disappeared.

Then, with wonderful dispatch, tents began to appear and were flung up in nearby vacant lots and the miners and their families settled down in grim determination to "stick it out" and *win*. They say that many women were provided with guns in order to protect themselves and their children from the armed thugs that came to molest them.

Every train brought hosts of scabs and again recently martial law was declared. The troops were on hand to protect the scabs and incidentally to see that they

remained at work. But the rosy promises of soft berths made to the scabs failed to materialize. They found coal mining anything but the pleasant pastime they had expected. They found they were required to dig coal and work long hours for low pay, and one by one, as the opportunity arose, they silently faded away for greener fields and pastures new.

The miners showed no signs of yielding. In spite of low rations constant intimidation and cold weather the strikers gathered in groups to discuss Socialism and plans for holding out for the surrender of the bosses. During the fall election the miners voted the Socialist party ticket almost unanimously. The strike brought home to these men the truth of the class struggle in all its hideousness.

And the scabs came and went. Individually and collectively they struck by shaking the dust of the Kanawha district from their feet. Probably the mine owners discovered that it would cost a great deal more for a much smaller output of coal than it would to yield all the demands of the strikers.

It is reported that the men are to go back after having secured a nine-hour

workday and a 20 per cent increase in wages.

The Kanawha fight has been one of the most inspiring in the history of the American labor movement. It has shown that when even a small group of workers in an industry learns to act as one man, they may sometimes wrest a little more from the exploiting class. And the Kanawha miners have learned that when the workers fight together as a class on the political, as well as on the economic field, they will be invincible.

In writing up the report of the commission appointed by Governor Glasscock to investigate the conditions of the miners and the situation in the Kanawha district, the *Huntington Socialist and Labor Star* says:

The commission, composed of a catholic priest, a tin soldier and a politician (note the absence of any representative of miners on it), after several months of junketing at the expense of the state, reports the following wonderful discoveries:

That every man has a right to quit his employment—

But—

He has absolutely no right to try to prevent any other man from taking his job.

Labor has the right to organize—

But—

Its organization has no right to induce peo-

ple to become members of it.

That the miners are clearly in the wrong in trying to induce others not to work on the terms they themselves reject.

That the miners seek to destroy company property.

That the effort to arouse the workers by public speeches be condemned with emphasis.

That it is "imperatively necessary" that the hands of the governor be strengthened so that he may compel local peace officers to perform their duty.

That the chief cause of the trouble on Paint and Cabin creeks was the attempt by the United Mine Workers of America to organize the miners into unions in order that they might act co-operatively in bettering their hard conditions.

That the West Virginia coal miners receive the lucrative sum of \$554 per year and there was absolutely no reason in their demand for higher wages.

Taken all in all the report is just what could have been expected from the Coal Operators' Association—or from the men who made it. It proudly points to the fact that the average miner receives nearly \$600 for a year's hard labor—but touches lightly on the cost of living as per coal company commissary prices.

As for the "guards," the inhuman hyenas which camped in the kennels of the coal operators—the commission recommends that they be called "watchmen" in the future.

The report says:

"Mild-eyed men, seventy-five per cent of them with usually cool Anglo-Saxon blood in their veins and with instincts leaning to law and order inherited down through the centuries, gradually saw red, and with minds bent on havoc and slaughter marched from union districts across the river like Hugheston, Cannelton and Boomer, patrolled the woods overhanging the creek bed and the mining plants, finally massing on the ridges at the headwaters and arranging a march to sweep down Cabin creek and destroy everything before them to the junction.

"Meanwhile the operators hurried in over a hundred guards heavily armed, purchased several deadly machine guns and many thousand rounds of ammunition. Several murders were perpetrated and all who could get away; men, women and children fled in terror and many hid in cellars and caves."

You would naturally suppose that the commissioners would have found some cause which would make mild-eyed men grab a Winchester and charge an operator's battery of machine guns—they did. It was the attempt of agitators to inflame the minds of the prosperous coal miners that caused all the trouble, and the commission recommends:

"That the efforts to inflame the public mind by wild speeches is to be condemned with emphasis."

The commission ends its report by pointing out that in many instances the coal miners have been able to purchase farms and even go into business for themselves. All that is

necessary for a miner in West Virginia to do in order to wax fat and rich is to stop his ears to the "efforts of agitators to inflame him" save a part of his munificent \$554 yearly salary for a year or two and purchase a farm—or a seat in the United States senate.

The *Huntington Socialist and Labor Star* is doing great work, and has helped very materially to show the public just what condition the miners have been fighting in the Kanawha district and how to improve them and abolish them altogether.

The United Mine Workers' Journal of December 12 says:

"The victory of the union miners at Coalberg, at the mouth of Cabin Creek, is one more step in advance. Some three hundred of the boys will be able to return to work under conditions that they have never enjoyed since the union was destroyed on Cabin Creek in 1904.

"But the fight is not yet won.

"On Paint Creek, and the great majority of the mines on Cabin Creek, our men are still fighting for an assurance of conditions that will justify them to return to work; conditions that can no longer be claimed impossibly exorbitant by the operators of those mines in the face of the fact that operators, competing with those others, have conceded the scale asked by the miners and expect to conduct their business with profit to themselves.

"We, in the organized fields, must remember that there are still thousands of men, women and children evicted from their homes and camped in tents on the hillsides this bleak December weather.

"In a little over a week the glad Christmas time will be with us once more.

Let us not forget these brave men and their families, cheerfully suffering untold hardships; uncomplaining, but grateful for what assistance they have already received from their more fortunate brothers.

"Remember the bleak, unproductive country in which they have had to make their fight; the fact that their exploitation was so complete while they were still working as to preclude the possibility of any savings of their own; and lastly, the bitter length of the strike, now over eight months; remember their loyalty; not a defection among them; men, women and children bravely bearing the hardships that necessarily accompany a struggle closely bordering on a state of war.

"And so, let us all give what we can possibly spare to help make at least the semblance of Christmas cheer on the bleak hillsides of West Virginia.

"We know you have not overly much of the good things of this world. But always it has been the workers who have shown the true spirit of brotherhood by sharing what little they can spare with their less fortunate fellow worker.

"The dawn is breaking in West Virginia; but the day is not yet. Let us all strive to make conditions less difficult for our struggling fellow workers."

# On With the Campaign

BY

Tom J. Lewis

**H**ERE we are on the firing line again; after one of the most remarkable campaigns ever waged in the political history of the United States, and we have come out of it victorious in spite of all the Bull-Reform.

We are victorious not by the number of comrades elected to office, but rather by the great vote cast, which means that we have more than doubled our strength of four years ago; and further, we forced the enemy to combine against us in many places, showing the class-struggle very clearly on the political field. At the same time we learned that we must hew to the line uncompromisingly without fear or favor, delivering the goods that will eventually educate the workers to organize both on the industrial and political field.

As the returns indicate, the rise was general with very few exceptions, and no doubt the reason the vote failed to increase in those exceptional places, was due to apathy more than anything else, for according to all accounts where the comrades were awake to the possibilities and worked, great gains were the case.

They were well paid for their activity, but we must expect such things owing to conditions on the one hand, and a lack of organized effort on the other. Also we must take into consideration that many were carried away by the promises of the "Bull-Moose" party, claiming to be a reform organization.

But we can be thankful for that. Such raw material would be a danger to the working-class party when it can be fooled and led so easily. Elements that still look for a leader or a saviour to lead them out of bondage would be a detriment to the Socialist party. They would have a tendency to weaken rather than strengthen us, as we could not possibly depend on them.

We must build on a solid foundation, the material to work on is here. We must take advantage of it by immediately getting into the harness with literature that will educate the new party member not only on the great class-conflict, but also as to the best method of organization.

The struggle for existence will become more intensified as capitalism keeps on developing. Machinery, evolving to a higher stage, will displace labor and increase the unemployed army to such an extent that poverty and crime will become rampant. People will be driven to desperation.

The spirit of unrest will become so prevalent that we must prepare to meet it with intelligence and decision. We can prevent the foe from using worker against worker by uniting them under the banner of International Socialism, the hope of the world.

# PUBLIC SPEAKING

BY

FRANK BOHN

SECOND ARTICLE

FRANK BOHN.

**T**HE question has been raised as regards the advisability of using certain text-books in the work of this course. It is thought by some that many will not be enabled to purchase the books required. Let me hasten to say that this course is intended for those who are seriously planning to speak or write on the subject of Socialism. If hundreds of people are to be invited to hear you speak or read your article you can spend five dollars for the books required in the work of preparation.

Now one thing above all others is absolutely necessary if you are to teach Socialism in America—that is a sound knowledge of the industrial and political history and government of the United States. To put the matter plainly: if you do not secure this knowledge you are quite likely to make a fool of yourself when you come to speak publicly. You cannot understand the theories of Marx and Engels by reading their theoretical works. You must go to the source from which Marx and Engels derived their theories.

## *The Colonial Period in America.*

For the coming month read the first chapters of Bogart's work and cover the same period in your political history of the United States. Read with especial care the part devoted to the European beginnings of American history. When you have completed the month's reading think over the following topics and write for your own criticism a short article upon one of them:

(1) The economic forces which led to the discovery and colonization of America.

(2) The economic and social effects of the physiography of the Eastern coast of America upon the life of the colonists.

(3) The commercial nature of the capitalism of the period of discovery and colonization as distinct from the industrial capitalism of the Nineteenth Century.

(4) The specific economic conditions and means of production used by the various groups of colonists.

Do not ignore the political, military and religious aspects of history. These are fundamentally a *part* of economic history. Note the significance of sea power in the three centuries' long struggle of England for the mastery of the world's commerce. Again, one of the great forces still at work in the social life of America is the old puritanic system of religion and morals. Its adherents are now striving to readjust this system to the changing conditions of social life. This is now finding expression politically in the Progressive party.

But you will meet it in the Socialist movement wherever there are a large percentage of Americans. Be careful to understand it. And you can understand it only by studying its history.

If you can possibly take the time, go to a library and read the chapters in Green's Short History of the English People, which deals with the English Revolution, and as much as you can of Cheyney's

European Background of American History. Make this work the chief business of life. You may have to train yourself to enjoy it. Whenever you have time go and read.

*Beginning to Speak.*

Naturally you will first begin to speak at the business meetings of your Socialist local or labor union. Your remarks will have to do with the very ordinary matters of business which come before the local. Of course, everybody who attends such meetings knows that the larger portion of the speaking heard on such occasions is done absolutely without thinking. Therefore:

(1) Understand the business before the house before you rise to speak.

(2) Be positive of your position unless you merely seek information.

(3) Have just what you wish to say clearly defined in your own mind.

(4) Do not speak unless you have something new to contribute or unless your voice will carry needed weight in the discussion.

(5) Speak in a low tone—exactly as though you were seated in your own home engaged in conversation with a few friends. Speak just loud enough to be distinctly heard by all in the room. Those who are careful to keep their voices under perfect control are apt to keep their minds calm. Let yourself become excited and you will make statements you never intended to make. When you wish to be emphatic do not shout.

Speak more rapidly or more slowly or let your voice suggest emotion. Form a habit of often pausing for an instant and taking a view of the situation, specifically as regards the effect of your remarks upon your audience.

(6) Be brief. If you are allowed five minutes, try to complete your remarks in two. Never repeat unless to summarize your statements at the close.

(7) Do not wave your arms, stamp your feet, or attempt to emphasize your words by making of gestures in so short a speech. Such action usually accompanies a shrieking voice and a wobbly mind. Those hands of yours—they are not needed in the least. Train yourself to stand straight always, with your head and shoulders back and your arms hanging quite inert at your sides.

Next month this whole matter of our bearing, gestures and breathing will be discussed for us by Professor Hawn. Once for all, do not make the error of presuming that the easy "natural" bearing of a good speaker is in reality natural. It is derived from careful training just as are all other elements of the education of mind and body. Study and practice will finally make of your body an efficient means of expression without self-consciousness on your part.

Do not spend time and money upon "elocution teachers." There are a very few teachers of public speaking in this country who really can teach. The average elocution teacher belongs in the category with patent medicine agents and umbrella menders.

NOTE: To the comrades who are able to spend some money in building up a library, we want to say that Gustavus Myers 3 volumes on History of the Great American Fortunes (\$1.50 each), and his History of the Supreme Court (\$2.00), are so full of facts relating to the great private fortunes in this country and the service the supreme court played in building up these fortunes, that these books will prove of irresistible value to the lecturer or speaker.

**A Working Socialist Library.**—I enclose money order for three dollars for the REVIEW to three names and books as marked on the enclosed list. Wish to state that I started a "Socialist Library" eighteen years ago, and have exactly three books on the shelves at present. Books kept on a shelf are worthless, therefore I continually keep lending them out to any and every one I can get to read (how hard to get wage slaves to read!) and the same will be true of those just ordered.—E. J. Beggs, Virginia.

MENDING A SAIL.

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# NEWS ABOUT THE ARMY AND NAVY

BY

EX SAILORS AND SOLDIERS

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The REVIEW is in receipt of another letter from Recruiting Officer Danforth, denying all the charges made in the REVIEW by men in the navy and ex-marines. Mr. Danforth questions the records of these letter writers. Doubtless it is true that some of them were driven to desertion by the persecution of tyrannical officers. Others are proud of being *dishonorably* discharged (see the report from Davis, of Chicago, on another page of this article), and one and all wish to avoid the long arm of retaliation that those who have openly attacked the navy have felt.

Again the REVIEW wishes to state here that it is not advocating reforms in the navy. Armies and navies are maintained to protect the property of the capitalist class. They are composed of workmen required to fight for the owners of the

world's wealth. The REVIEW is doing all in its power to abolish a system of society wherein workmen toil to make idle millionaires of others.

Mr. Danforth writes, in part:

I am a petty officer in the hospital corps. I have never at any time seen or heard any remarks or actions justifying the articles printed in the November REVIEW. No one can deny that punishments are inflicted in the navy, but I maintain that they are always justified. A man who neglects his work will find himself in trouble very quickly.

All ships are equipped with blowers, long tubes running to all parts of the ship, equipped with fans run by electricity. Cold air is sucked down and distributed to every part of the ship by these.

Every petty officer or enlisted man of the navy who is disabled in the line of duty may apply for aid to the pension authorities. The only thing not in line of duty is injury arising from venereal diseases. Do men expect the

U. S. to pay for their folly? Any sane person can see that the navy will do all that is possible for a man, even going so far in some cases, where a man is totally disabled, as to furnish a trained nurse for the rest of his life.

I never heard of any soldier getting the "water cure." If such things have been done, why don't the men appeal to Washington? They would certainly receive prompt redress.

I desire to call attention to another thing. It seems that these articles were written by men who have either served part of their enlistment and been discharged, or discharged for physical unfitness. But these men do not give their names. Some say they are applying for pensions. They despise the navy, but are perfectly willing to accept pensions from it.

Why does not the REVIEW publish letters from honorably discharged men? (The REVIEW has published quite as many letters from men with honorable discharges as from others. The letters from them do not differ at all from those received from men dishonorably discharged.)

I challenge any man whose articles will appear in the REVIEW, or whose articles have appeared, to let me procure from the Navy Department at Washington a synopsis of their records while in the navy (showing their offenses or marks while in the navy) and to let them be published in your magazine. We can then see how they behaved themselves and why. Also what punishment was given them, and why they were discharged.

R., a young man who served three years in the regular army, two years and five months in foreign service, writes from Tampa, Florida, "I have been on the job and I know what I am writing about. It is against the system that makes necessary the existence of an army that I protest at all times and at all places. I have lived to learn that I was not fighting for *my class* in the Philippines and have resolved that until it becomes necessary for my class to fight in its own interests, I will let the capitalists do their own fighting. I was honorably discharged Dec. 23rd, 1901, 'character excellent,' credited with participation in ten engagements and three battles; appointed corporal and later promoted to sergeant." R.'s letter was filled with many other interesting things, but the above is the most important of them all. Lack of space crowded out the rest.

Jac writes from Brooklyn: "In 1903, being *out of work* and having no place to go and honestly seeking a master, I joined the navy. I thought here was a

chance to get away from the starvation life ashore and have enough to eat and a few dollars every month. I was doled out an outfit supposed to be worth \$45, which was not worth \$15, and was then initiated by being forced to waiting on the table of men older in the service and to take the scoff of my fellow beings, as a rookie I must. I remember when a few of us laughed at a sergeant marine who stumbled down the companion ladder in a peculiar way. That laugh cost eighty-three of us (some of whom had not even smiled) five days on prison ship on bread and water, and little of that. Some time later we were all assigned to a sea-going ship. Imagine us trying to accustom ourselves to the new life and work, and all green hands. A former coal miner attempted to bring aboard a pint of whiskey for which offense he was given a general court martial and sentenced to three years in prison and a dishonorable discharge.

"We put to sea with the green crew, nearly all of us very sick but forced to work all the time anyway. Those who were too ill or who refused were placed in double irons and on bread and water at the first port. We never saw anything of "the world" except through the port holes. I was working in the fire-room, and it was the toughest kind of hard labor. We were ordered to the Caribbean station, patrolling the coast of Panama from Nicaragua to Venezuela. We put in at Colon for provisions; but as soon as we hove in sight of the flagship, were ordered out to sea again. Continually, for three weeks, we had black coffee, beans and hardtack, and no milk or sugar. A barrel of oatmeal was discovered—and served, filled with maggots. Remember what I have just written when you see that lying sign about *plenty to eat*. When we got back to Pensacola, one-third of the crew deserted. We were all driven to desperation."

Comrade Davis, of Chicago, came into our office and asked us to publish the fact that he had been "dishonorably discharged" from the United States navy and that he considered his discharge papers the greatest prize he possessed. He

said he was going to keep them framed for his children to cherish so that in the years to come they can boast of the fact that their father refused to become a legalized murderer in the interests of the capitalist class.

(This may give Officer Danforth something to chew over. Perhaps he will understand that dishonorable discharge may be a virtue when viewed from the angle of working class interests.)

This month we received an unsigned letter enclosing a REVIEW subscription. The writer said that he had deserted from the navy owing to the unbearable conditions he had encountered. He said that he is now a young man with a price on his head. He wanted the REVIEW sent to his parents, in the hope that when they read the Navy article they would realize that the deserted may be a man hounded to desperation instead of a coward, as they had supposed.

Again, we wish to call the attention of our readers to the fact that bad naval conditions are not the main point we wish to establish.

We wish, above all things, to get our readers aroused into studying the causes of war. We want them to realize what the army and navy are used for. We want them to understand that they are great institutions used by the men of great wealth to grab off more wealth, or to subjugate and keep down the workers who may try to better their working conditions.

The navy is maintained to protect *big property interests*, and to augment them,

#### AT SEA.

by war, if necessary; by bluff or a great show of strength, if possible.

The army is maintained for the same purposes, but it is used most often to shoot down strikers. Watch the events when there is a strike in your vicinity. You will see the millionaire owners importing thugs and hired murderers to cause trouble. Then you will see the troops sent, at the command of ye Rich Man, to shoot down a few strikers under the pretense of maintaining law and order.

America is not your country, working class friend, nor mine. It is the bosses country. Let him fight in his own interests, if fight he will. The only war that interests the Socialist is the great class war that will one day abolish wage slavery and let the workers come into their own.

# SOCIALIST THEORY AND TACTICS

BY

CHARLES A. RICE

3. *Marxian economics* is an analysis of capitalist production and its ultimate tendencies. Its main thesis is briefly this. The capitalist system is economically the production of commodities for exchange. Labor power itself is a commodity bought for wages by the capitalist and yields additional value over and above that contained in the wages, that is surplus value. This surplus value is appropriated by the capitalist class and is distributed among its several sections as industrial and commercial profit, financial interest and ground rent.

A part of each one of these three items into which surplus value falls is consumed by the various sections of the capitalist class, another part pays some of the bills for maintaining the state and other tools of capitalism (including all sorts of parasitic classes and *retainers*: the church, the press, etc.). The rest is accumulated and used in further production on an ever larger scale. This process gives rise to greater and greater increase of wealth, to ever greater elimination of competition and small production, and to the consequent progressive concentration of industry with the bulk of the wealth in the possession of an ever smaller section of the people, the upper crust of the capitalist class.

This process of accumulation and concentration with its counter-effects on the proletariat Marx sums up in the following classical passage ("Historical Tendency of Accumulation," *Capital*, Vol. 1, pp. 836-7, Kerr's edition, 1906): "Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending scale, the co-operative form of the labor-process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all peo-

ples in the net of the world-market, and this, the international character of the capitalist regime."

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and *disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself*. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.

"The transformation of scattered private property arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process incomparably more protracted, violent, and difficult than the transformation of capitalist private property, already practically resting on socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

Note then in this admirable sketch Marx has *entirely left out the* pure-and-simplist conception of the role that parliamentary action is going to play in this overthrow of the capitalist system. If Marx had any inkling of it, he is certainly guilty of an unpardonable omission. See how carefully he has outlined all the essential parts in this mechanism of expropriation, the part of capitalism itself and the part of the proletariat "*disciplined, united, organized by the*

*very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself*" (the italics are my own), but left out the parliamentary factor, which, according to our pure-and-simplers, is the most essential, as far as the proletariat is concerned, "the right arm," as one of the noted spokesmen of our own pure-and-simplers has phrased it recently in his debate with Haywood. Marx speaks of the "revolt of the *working class . . . . united, organized by the very mechanism, by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself*, while Kautsky (see "Grundsätze und Forderungen der Sozialdemokratie," 1904, p. 21): "The organization of the whole proletariat as a *class . . . . is only possible through its political organization as an independent labor party* (the italics are Kautsky's).

Now, if Marx thought like Kautsky, if this *political* proviso enunciated by Kautsky was a logical consequence of Marx's analysis of capitalist production and its ultimate, concentration and fall, he would have surely inserted it in the above sketch. The tactical credo proclaims pure-and-simple parliamentary action as the sole or even the principal lever for organizing the proletariat as a *class*, for forcing radical economic reform under capitalism, and for the final expropriation of the capitalist class, the overthrow of the whole system, the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery, and the inauguration and further development of the Socialist Commonwealth. We see now that this credo forms no part of, nor does it logically or inevitably flow from, the above three divisions of Marxism.

But what about the tactical pronouncement of Marx or Engels outside of their scientific works? Marx himself has nowhere even hinted at anything similar to the above credo. Engels (Socialism, from Utopia to Science, fourth German edition, 1891, p. 45), says: "The proletariat seizes the public powers (that is, the state, Translator), and by means of it transforms the means of social production slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie into social property." He does not state, however, that this *seizing* is to be done through parliamentary action. But, in the preface to the Communist Manifesto, edition of 1872, both Marx and Engels state: "The Commune (that is, the Paris Com-

mune, Translator), has proved that the working class *cannot simply take possession of the state mechanism as it is* ("die fertige Staatsmaschine"), *and put it in motion for its own* (i. e., the proletariat's Translator) *purposes.*" (Italics are mine.)

Engels, moreover, was careful enough to point out that the state, once captured by the proletariat and having accomplished the first act of the social revolution, that is the expropriation of the capitalist class, would quietly take a back seat. His exact words are ("Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," 4th German edition, 1891, p. 45): "In proportion as the anarchy of social production disappears, the *political authority of the state likewise dies off* ("schläft ein"; italics are mine), and on p. 40 (ibidem) we read: "The first act in which the state actually appears as the representative of society as a whole—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—is at once its last independent act as a state. The interference of any state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one domain after another and dies out ("schläft ein") of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the management of things and the conduct of processes of production. The state is not "abolished, it *dies off* ("stirbt ab"). While a presumably intellectual authority in our party and a fairly accurate exponent of the tactical credo professed by the pure-and-simple majority at the Indianapolis convention, gives in his outline of the functions of the *Socialist state* (in a footnote he adds that by this "*state*" he means the whole *political* organization of society. (Italics are mine), and among these functions are, "the maintenance of order, including the *juridical and police systems in all their branches* (italics are mine). We see, then, that this prophetic pronouncement, the quintessence or cream of pure-and-simplism beats anything that pure-and-simplers of western Europe with Kautsky at the head, have ever said on the subjects.

Moreover, Marx himself, in his correspondence with Freiligrath, the poet, emphatically disclaims any connection on his part with a political social-democratic party and adds: "I belong to the great party in a *historical sense*," meaning the Socialist movement in general (see Mehring's

article in the "Neue Zeit," vol. 29, dealing with the correspondence between Marx and Freiligrath).

Finally, the great principle enunciated by Marx and Engels as the basis of all proletarian Socialist tactics is: "The emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the workers themselves." This alone speaks volumes against pure-and-simplism. The workers themselves can and should do it, no other class or any chunk of another can do it for them. The "workers themselves," though the majority of the people, *are not the majority of the voters*. The parliamentary end of the class struggle they cannot run *without the help of other classes*. As a class, and without any lift from any other source, they can and must tackle a good part of the emancipation job *themselves*. But of this in a future chapter.

Whatever else the above principle implies, it certainly does mean the dynamic power, the revolutionary initiative of the proletariat itself, principally at the point of production. It is absurd to read into this principle the illusion that parliamentary action is the *only* or even the principal weapon to fight with or the tool to forge the emancipation of the proletariat.

We see, then, that the pure-and-simplist parliamentary credo cannot be traced either to Marxism itself or to any definite tactical pronouncements on the part of Marx or Engels. Where, then, shall we look for its origin? The next chapter will deal with this question.

### III.

#### *The Genesis of Pure-and-Simplism.*

OUR first glance at the credo of pure - and - simple parliamentary Socialism in its *present stage* has disclosed the singular fact that neither logically nor historically is it a corollary or outflow of Marxism, nor could it be traced to any important pronouncement of either Marx or Engels bearing on the fundamentals of Socialist tactics. But in order to get a clearer grasp of the full meaning of this credo and a larger view of its practical workings, we must go back to its beginnings in western Europe and especially in Germany; that is, we must go to its cradle and nursery; listen to its first feeble mew-

ings and cooings; watch the unsteady toddling gait during its babyhood until it grew to be what it is or as it came out of its last Indianapolis brooder.

Wherever the student is confronted with a complete organic growth, be it a plant, an animal, a stage in economic development, or a great social institution or movement, he has to adopt the mode of treatment known as the *genetic* method as the best way to approach the subject in question and the most apt to secure the best results. This method sends the investigator down to the *genesis* or beginnings of the phenomenon or organism we wish to study so as to trace there the essential conditions attending its embryonic stage and its birth and keep track of its gradual unfoldment and slow growth through infancy and childhood to its full maturity. What is true in biology and in all other departments of scientific research dealing with nature, man, or society, is also true in our present case.

Pure-and-simplism has not sprung into full shape at once. It is a social *growth* of a very complex nature, a complicated whole of ideas and facts, of theory and practice, that has gradually developed in the course of the last forty years as an outgrowth of a variety of economic and political conditions in the history of Continental Europe for that period. To understand its nature and its full possibilities, to make anything like a correct forecast of what the proletariat may expect from it, and to get at the true value of what it holds out to the workers in their world-wide historical mission, we must apply the genetic method or historical analysis. This method will also show that the minority in the American Socialist movement is historically inevitable and constitutes its advanced stage.

The nursery of parliamentary Socialism was neither in England nor in France. It is a singular fact that England, the classical home of modern capitalism, with the largest and best organized proletariat in all Europe, is just beginning to develop a Socialist political movement. Outside of the Chartist movement, that for 17 years (1838-1854) convulsed all England in a vain effort to secure manhood suffrage, the class struggle in this cradle

of capitalism was anything but political as far as the workers were concerned. Trade unions and the co-operative movement absorbed all the organizing and militant energies of the English wage-slaves. The 10-hour labor law (in 1847), and all the other labor and factory legislation were passed when the English workers had representation in parliament. long before the advent of the political cross-breed known as the Independent Labor party.

The French proletariat had a long and glorious revolutionary record. The French workers, and especially the proletarians of Paris, have done yeoman's work in the service of the different layers of the French bourgeoisie. The workers have many a time shed their own blood to put the middle class into power and were each time betrayed by that very middle class. In 1848 the Parisian wage-slaves rose in their own behalf, but were massacred by the ferocious bloodhounds of the "Party of Order" (June 13). The final and greatest revolutionary political effort of the Parisian proletariat in the Commune, was drowned in a sea of proletarian blood. This breakdown of the Communes had sapped the last militant political energy of the French proletariat. Exhausted and tamed, the French workers needed a long time to recover their class energy. It was only after a long stretch after the rise of the Third Republic that they began to stir at all even on the economic field, while the French Socialist parliamentary movement is of a still later date and was largely an echo from across the Rhine.

It is Germany that is the home and breeding place of pure-and-simple parliamentary Socialism, and the German Social Democracy was its wet-nurse who droned the soothing strain of the pure-and-simple lullaby to the German proletariat that began to toss in its age-long sleep. We must, therefore, take a peep at the beginnings of the Social Democratic movement in Germany, and take especial note of the economic and political conditions amid which this movement was born.

We are in the latter part of the 60's of the last century. The International Workingmen's Association, founded by Marx

and Engels, was on the eve of its dissolution, due in part to the internal strife between the Marxians and the followers of Bakunin. The Franco-Prussian war was looming near and began firing up patriotic fervor and jingoistic hot-air all over Germany, infecting bourgeois and proletarian alike. Soon the Commune fell, decimating the militant ranks of the French proletariat, quenching the last spark of its revolutionary energy. The whole working class in France lay prostrate and demoralized. The savage howl of the French bourgeoisie, drunk with proletarian blood and gone mad in its victorious frenzy, reverberated all over Europe in a deafening roar of reaction. It was felt by all the workers, especially east of the Rhine. It dampened and chilled any class aspirations they had cherished, cowed and stunned them into dumb submission.

Amid these conditions the workers on the European Continent were totally unorganized on the economic field and utterly powerless as a class. They lacked all the essentials, the civic and political facilities absolutely indispensable for any economic organization. They could not and dared not carry on any peaceful propaganda, not even for organizing conservative pure-and-simple trade unions. Without the rights of free speech, free assembly, and free travel, they could not attempt anything of the kind. True, a few workingmen's leagues sprang up in Germany before the Franco-Prussian war, but they were mere clubs, in which bourgeois liberals mingled with workers for discussing constitutional liberties and dreaming of a United Germany.

In this predicament it was no more than natural for the Marxians of the International Association abroad to lay great stress on the necessity of political organization on the part of the workers in order to wrest from the continental governments those constitutional rights which the workers of England had already, to some extent, secured. We must take a closer look at this point.

It had become clear by this time, and especially since the downfall of the Commune, that the tactics advocated formerly by Proudhon and later by Bakunin and his followers were sheer utopian rot, good

for the scrap heap of revolutionary by-gones. No dabbling in co-operative banking or production; no Socialistic schemes and peaceful makeshifts in the fields of production, credit, or consumption within the pale of capitalism and behind its back could free the workers from wage-slavery and reshape—fairy-like—the whole capitalist regime into communism.

On the other hand, conspiracies and revolutionary "subversive" manoeuvres hatched out at secret conclaves, and lilliputian uprisings organized by handfuls of "subversive" intellectuals hailing from disgruntled layers of the bourgeoisie and heading guerrilla bands drawn from the very thin ranks of advanced workers,—these were the tactical stock-in-trade of the Bakunians. These libertarians had no conception of the class struggle and of all it involves, nor had they any inkling of the laws governing social evolution or even suspected the forces which gave birth to private property, the state, the family, and all the other institutions and ideological products of social evolution serving as the bulwark and mirrored counterpart of modern capitalism. Their stock-in-trade and medicine-chest proved now entirely worthless. The collapse of the Commune had given them the finishing blow. It dawned upon the keen vision of Marx and his followers that the workers must be *organized as a class*, fully conscious of its permanent interests and its historic mission. But economic organization was impossible without a sufficient modicum of political and civic rights and political power in the state. Hence the conquest of parliamentary power became the next objective point and the demand for political organization of the workers for securing this power became the watchword of parliamentary Socialism and was crystallized in the famous slogan of "achieving the political dictatorship of the proletariat."

We must now turn to the other factors that helped shape this mere aspiration into the concrete bone and marrow of a strong political movement tending to pure-and-simple parliamentarianism.

Modern centralized capitalism was at this period almost unknown all over Europe and especially in Germany. Large

capitalist production was in its formative period, while the sway of modern centralized finance, the great power of centralized banking, could not even be dreamed of. There were no giant corporations, no trusts. Shipping and transportation were as yet in their infancy. Industrial capital was not as yet striving for foreign markets and colonial expansion. Production was carried on on a small scale and for the home market almost exclusively. When Comrade Bebel entered the Reichstag, the small shop was typical for all German industry. This pioneer of German parliamentary Socialism was himself a master turner in his own shop at Leipzig, where 2 or 3 "gesellen" (journeymen and apprentices) worked at the bench while Mrs. Bebel ran the plant as foreman, manager, cashier, shipping clerk, bookkeeper and all during the time her husband was stalwartly doing the rather complex job of representing the German proletarians—now at the Reichstag, now at the prison cell.

The German worker at this period had to pass through a long apprenticeship. He worked at his master's bench, boarded at his master's table, and did chores and ran errands for his master's wife. Then came his long traditional tramp through the country, his "Wanderjahre," during which he did odd jobs as journeyman, from which he graduated as "master," winding up his uphill climb as a full-fledged craftsman. Each craftsman cherished the hope of settling down in a little shop of his own with his wife lording it over his own apprenticed lads. Outside of mining, most of the larger industry was still in the manufacturing stage where the machine process was as yet unknown, and a great deal of the work was done outside of the factory as house industry scattered all over the breadth and length of rural Germany. This was notably the case in the textile industry.

Under these conditions of small industry, independent master craftsmen in conjunction with the fact that the workers had no civic and political rights or liberties of any kind, economic organization on anything like a large scale was out of the question. The only labor organizations of any size known at this period in

Germany were those of the tobacco workers and the printers, and even these and a few others had more of the character of fraternal or mutual-benefit societies than of bona-fide labor organizations for economic defense and aggression.

All these scattered groups of workers banded together, whether for mutual benefit, for co-operative trading, or for educational purposes, were too weak to promise anything from the Socialist point of view, i. e., anything definite or substantial to the working class as a whole. No one could even suspect that these embryonic and floating aggregations of workers without any civic and political standing would in time develop economic power and social initiative as to become the decisive factor in social reconstruction, let alone the ultimate overthrow of capitalism.

Even forcing mere radical economic reform, such as an 8-hour workday, was thought far beyond their reach, whether in the present or the future. In the passage above quoted\* from the chapter on "The Historical Tendencies of Accumulation," Marx gave a brilliant prognosis of the inevitable growth of the organization and consolidation of the proletariat in its class revolt against and hand in hand with the process of capitalist concentration and its tyranny. But even his colossal genius could hardly attempt anything beyond a mere shadowy sketch of this double process; from the look-out point in the process and stage of capitalism where Marx stood, even his piercing gaze could detect nothing definite in the

future or even as much as vaguely hint at the duration of the above process of double concentration. To make any forecast of the wonderful possibilities on the part of the workers for *economic class* organization, the gradual growth of their power at the point of production under the lash of more advanced stages of capitalism, and of the *concrete* manner in which this organization and power were to be brought about,—such divination was beyond the power even of a Marx.

If the giant mind of Marx could only very dimly make out the distant future, it is no wonder that a mind of far smaller caliber, like that of Ferdinand Lassale was stone-blind to see even the present. Though accepting Marx as his master, Lassale failed to see what labor organization, even in its raw form of trade unions, had accomplished in England and could accomplish with a more advanced type of organization under the spur of a more centralized capitalism. With his utter contempt for the trade unions and their possibilities in the future, he believed that all the workers had to do was to organize in a political party, wrest the franchise and through the ballot force the state to grant unlimited credit for financing associations of workers for production and thus transform capitalism into Socialism. He also believed in the iron law of wages, that is, that the price paid by the employers for the use of the labor power of the workers could not be forced up by them beyond the point of mere subsistence within the frame of capitalism and all organizing effort on their part for breaking this iron grip were futile.

(To be continued)

\*See International Socialist Review for December.

# The Acquittal of Ettor and Giovannitti

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

**E**TTOR, Giovannitti and Caruso were freed of murder or being accessories to the murder of Anna Lo Pizzo for various reasons, according to one's point of view, of course.

The capitalist press hailed the verdict of not guilty as proof of the fairness of our courts, though of course it was nothing of the kind. We haven't forgotten Parsons, Spies and their comrades or Jack Whyte whose declaration, "To hell with your courts; I know what justice is!" has scarcely died out of our hearing.

Some may think the prosecution was defeated because of its pitiful lack of evidence, though all of us know that men have been sent to the gallows before on evidence no stronger.

Others may say the defense won because of the array of able lawyers employed and their skilful handling of the case. It is true the defending attorneys were able, but if the three men on trial had had no other support they might have gotten a manslaughter verdict, for the lack of team-work among the lawyers was noticeable and but two of them showed evidence of adequate preparation.

I was present at the trial and if asked why the men were acquitted I should give the same answer that Ettor gave—the solidarity of labor, with this addition: That the trial was conducted by the prosecution against the principles and methods of the Industrial Workers of the World. It was District Attorney Atwill who introduced St. John's pamphlet on the history, structure and methods of the Industrial Workers of the World and other documents showing the aims, purpose and ideals of the Industrial Workers of the World emphasizing the stronger features of the organization. While the lawyers for the defense, with the exception of Moore, had no experience in labor cases and no conception of

the class struggle. It was the defendants who helped to keep the atmosphere clear and the case from becoming a mere murder trial. In many instances they met Atwill on his selected ground. Even Caruso responded to the question, "Are you a member of the Industrial Workers of the World?"

"No, but I am going to join as soon as I get out of jail."

Another factor was the threat of the defense to introduce testimony showing a conspiracy on the part of the mill owners and their allies.

If the attorneys for the defense had been allowed to try the case as if it were an ordinary murder case, the result might have been different. Early in the proceedings the district attorney "done his damnest" to arouse prejudice against the prisoners by introducing testimony showing that there was some violence and considerable disorder at times on the part of the Lawrence strikers.

So there was. The wonder is that there wasn't more; and a member of the jury so expressed himself afterwards. At one time counsel for the defense seemed tempted to combat this line of testimony by trying to prove that the strikers, of which Ettor and Giovannitti were the supposed leaders, were a flock of peaceful lambs of the utmost meekness and mildness; which they weren't, and everybody knew they weren't.

But wiser tactics were adopted and when the district attorney in horror called attention to the occurrences on the first day of the strike—a few broken windows, some damaged machinery, scabs with torn clothing, etc., the defense admitted everything and did not deny. What of it? they said. Here were a wronged, desperate, maddened lot of people. It is true that in their anger they did misbehave, but what would you

expect? We admit all this; but now let's see you connect Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso with it. And the commonwealth couldn't.

But Ettore and Giovannitti were right when they said they owed their liberty to the support given them by the working class; not only of America, but of Italy, of France, of Spain, of Germany, of Sweden and of England; for the workers of all these countries were heard from and in no uncertain tones.

The protest strike called by the workers of Lawrence made a tremendous impression on the capitalist class. I was in a big newspaper office the night the returns began to come in telling of protest strikes in Lawrence, in Lynn, in Haverhill, in Quincy, in Barre, in Penn-

sylvania and Ohio, and in Italy. The editors were appalled. "God!" they said. "Why, it will be chaos!"

American Woolen Co. stock began falling off the next day, and when out of a total of 250 veniremen only four consented to serve on the jury, respectable New Englanders looked at each other in wonder.

And then when the workers went back into the mills after that protest strike. I understand that they violated "Section 6" at a rate that made the managers moan in anguish and wish that Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso had been left free to roam where they listed.

Great is the power of the workers when once they choose to exert it. It can't be beaten.

## WHO KILLED CHICAGO DAILY WORLD?

BY

J. O. BENTALL

**T**HE *Chicago Daily World*, formerly the *Chicago Daily Socialist*, was thrown into bankruptcy on December 5, 1912, and placed in the hands of a receiver.

Many who put money into the daily, and many who have worked hard for years to keep the paper going are asking for the cause of its failure.

A naked statement of fact is due the people who have sacrificed for the daily and due the party that has backed it.

Had there not been a volley of misrepresentation by the very parties who are responsible for the suspension, this statement would not be as greatly needed as it now is. But for a management to first wreck such an important party institution and then shift the blame on innocent persons must not go without reply.

I am not going to deal with the policy which the daily pursued during the last two or three years. Leave that to the judgment of the Socialist party and let

the party decide if it wants a repetition of that policy.

The management is the immediate concern of this article.

Before the newspaper lockout and strike in Chicago, the daily had struggled hard for a mere existence on account of comparatively small circulation and lack of capital. Difficulty in obtaining advertising had been experienced since the paper was started. It was no easy matter to make ends meet, but the comrades contributed from year to year enough to keep it afloat.

When the newspaper strike was called, however, a new condition arose. The other papers were entirely out of the field for several days and the *World* had the whole territory formerly occupied by the big metropolitan papers all to itself.

Of course, the equipment was inadequate for this temporary condition, but the little press was set in motion and was grinding out about 300,000 papers every twenty-four hours.

For over one month this little giant kept pouring forth this enormous edition.

During this time the business manager kept his head pretty cool, so that during May and June the manager reported a surplus of about \$10,000. But a cry came from the managing editor, E. Val Putman, recently a Hearst employe and a late candidate on Hearst's Independent ticket, that more editors were wanted, and more presses, and more everything.

Fancy salaries with lots of overtime and extras became the rule of the house. Fifty people were put on in the editorial department, fifty in the advertising department, over thirty in the business department, eight janitors and a like proportion in other departments; in all 275 people were on the payroll.

Add to this an enormous telegraph and photograph and electrotype expense. Add \$333 a month rent for a want ad room and \$250 a month for a basement press-room under the Post building, besides the regular quarters, making a total rent of over \$14,000 a year.

On the 21st day of July I made a full statement of these and other extravagances to the Cook County Delegate committee, warning them of impending ruin, pleading for retrenchment and a sane business policy. As a member of the board of directors at that time I protested against the practice of the fearful recklessness of the majority of the board, John C. Kennedy, Seymour Stedman, Mary O'Reilly, W. E. Rodriguez and J. P. Dolson. I showed the symptoms of utter abandon, such, for instance, as voting Editor Putman over \$130 for one month's downtown expenses for eating, drinking and sleeping in addition to his regular salary.

The delegate committee agreed with me and ordered retrenchment, but the majority of the board, made up of the above mentioned comrades, have always defied the party and acted against its instructions.

Two big presses were added and a stereotyping outfit secured amounting to over \$25,000. Carpenter work one month alone, covering some minor changes in the building was reported at over \$3,000.

Attorneys' fees to Mary Miller for

\$1,296, of which \$800 were paid, and Clara Christensen for \$950, of which \$500 were paid, show another leak which could have been avoided by calling all of the lawyers of the party together and asking them to undertake the work in question.

Finally, the management got into such close quarters that it had to borrow money or suspend. This was in the latter part of July.

A promoting concern was found which promised a loan of \$10,000. To secure this the attorney for the concern was given \$800. In addition thereto the board spread a resolution on its minutes giving the loan concern stock to the amount of \$102,000 as collateral security, thus putting by far the majority of stock into the hands of this loan concern. This was done in violation of the express instructions of the delegate committee that stock should not be disposed of in such quantities as to jeopardize the control of the society by Cook County. Information concerning this transaction was withheld from Cook County for three months.

Moreover, this resolution is in the minutes of a meeting held on the 18th day of July. I was present at this meeting and am recorded voting against the squandering of money and other reckless motions. The resolution giving away the stock of the daily was, however, not brought up while I was at the meeting, but was either passed after I had left, or added after the adjournment of the session. Not until I returned from the campaign down state, in November, did I discover this miserable piece of work.

The \$10,000 first borrowed from the loan people grew to \$15,000, then to \$18,000 and then into sums aggregating over \$130,000. Part of this was paid back from time to time and new loans made. From the time the first loan became due the loan people put their own men in charge.

Comrade Leissemer, who was at the head of the advertising department, was let out by one Harrison M. Parker, former business manager of the *Chicago Tribune* and a son-in-law of Stubbs, the Union Pacific railroad king.

Parker was no small man. His attorney represented him as the greatest news-

paper man in America and that while with the *Tribune*, Parker received the fancy salary of \$23,500 a year, and was now worth much more to the *Daily World*.

This Parker put one Price, of the *Tribune*, and one Searsey, of the Hearst papers, on the advertising payroll at \$35 a week each. These two gentlemen were getting \$80.00 a week at the *Tribune* and Hearst papers and were paid the difference by some parties not yet revealed to the Socialists of Chicago.

Having gotten control of daily, these creditors now ran the whole outfit as they pleased. They came up to the delegate committee and asked even impolitely to be given the paper and the outfit in name as well as in fact, and that the party give its moral and financial support to them in their service of running a nice Socialist paper.

An agreement was reached to this effect between these good capitalists and the board, myself and comrade Dreifuss protesting.

Before the Delegate Committee, Stedman, Dolson, Kennedy and Mary O'Reilly argued that the only salvation of the daily was to transfer it to these nice capitalists, assuring the Socialist party that a perfectly good Socialist and trades union paper would be published by making a contract that Cook County could dictate the policy.

The Delegate committee turned down the proposition and declared that it was better that the paper die than to make it a power in the hands of the capitalists.

When the party refused to sell out, these capitalists began to pull off. They had already secured lien on the accounts to the amount of over \$85,000, which they still hold. The amount due them at present is about \$70,000, so they are well secured.

When the bond issue, amounting to over \$33,000, came due on December 1st, these capitalists wanted to put the bondholders off and exchange the old for new bonds. Most of the bonds were held by comrades, many of whom had given their hard earned savings to help the daily and were in need of their money.

On November 20th, only a few days be-

fore the crash, when it was well known to the management that the paper could not continue, a letter was written to the bondholders urging them to exchange their old bonds for new ones and also buy more new bonds. Here are some quotations from that letter:

"You are one of the original bondholders of the *Daily Socialist* which has achieved success as the *Chicago Daily World*. You came to our support when there was no security back of us. Now that we have security back of our bonds, it is fitting that we offer to you, before anybody else, our new 3-year 6 per cent first mortgage bonds."

"... The *Chicago Daily World* is a wonderful newspaper now."

"... A superb organization manages and our ideals have never changed."

"... We want you and every comrade who subscribed to our original bonds to take new bonds for twice the former amount."

"... Nearly \$100,000 in assets protects you."

"... You know us as comrades—know how honest our motives are. To you we're like a bridge that's carried you safely over."

"Almost any of your friends would be glad to invest in such a bond when they realize that our obligations can be paid."

"Let us hear from you today, comrade. You have been our friend in need, now be friendly in prosperity."

"The blessings of all humanity reward helpers of our cause."

This is the stuff that the management and the \$23,000-a-year *Tribune* man tried to bluff the comrades with. Only after I told the management that every man having anything to do with sending out this letter could be put behind the bars for obtaining money under false pretenses did they return such monies as came in response to the above letter.

The bonds fell due on December 1 and the trustee, Comrade Marcus Hitch, compelled under the law to take possession or himself become personally liable. He endeavored to get a friendly receiver, a Socialist, appointed so that the assets might not be squandered. Stedman, of

the board, opposed this and the next day some creditors threw the concern into the bankruptcy court and this court appointed the Central Trust Company of Illinois as receiver. What will be left after this company is paid for its services can easily be imagined.

The bondholders, who are almost entirely Socialists, are now trying to save the equipment as far as possible and put it into the hands of the Socialist party.

If the plant were to be sold and the type and machinery removed, it would probably not bring a total of \$10,000.

As it stands, however, without being disturbed, it could not be duplicated for \$50,000. It is this asset that the bondholders hope to save for the Socialist party, thereby avoiding a total loss both for themselves and for the party.

At its last meeting, the Cook County Delegate committee decided to co-operate with the bondholders, first to establish a weekly paper, and later when sufficient funds have been collected and when occasion demands publish a daily Socialist paper, thoroughly representing the Socialist party and not to be a cheap imitation of capitalist sheets.

In spite of this decision by the Socialist party and instructions to its representatives accordingly Stedman, supported by Mary O'Reilly, Rodriguez, Kennedy, and others, opposed the action of the Socialist party and made a counter proposition at a mass meeting called by themselves as members of the board of directors, held on Sunday, December 8th, to gather funds and organize a stock company outside of the control of the Socialist party and thus repeat the tragic performance of the past six years.

Had a sane business and editorial policy been adhered to during the strike, the *Daily World* could have paid off at least \$50,000 of its debts and been on a sound economic basis. It could have established itself as a real Socialist paper thoroughly supported by all the workers and keenly respected by all opponents to Socialism.

Many Socialists think that the management is responsible for the financial disaster and is guilty of having thrown

odium upon the Socialist party by publishing a paper that neither the unions nor the capitalist class respected.

They think that for these same individuals to come at this time and ask comrades and the workers in general to raise \$150,000 for another paper like the lamented *World* is only another evidence of the utter lack of good judgment on the part of these people.

Many of the comrades feel that it was by using the daily which was entrusted into their hands that they were able to advertise themselves and perpetuate themselves as members of the board.

The party has stood firm at all times for a clear policy and for good management and is not to blame for the failure of the daily. If it is to blame at all it is because it has been too lenient with elected officials who were allowed to continue in office even when they defied the instructions of the party.

The rank and file of the Socialists in Cook county are loyal and true to the principles of Socialism. The comrades in Chicago will yet build up a Socialist press worthy of the revolutionary movement of the working class. By a sane and conscientious use of the money of the workers a mighty instrument for the toiling masses will yet be secured and used in the struggle for emancipation.

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**Sible's Wager.** Comrade Harry Sible, the holder of the Socialist literature sales record in Canada, writes the *REVIEW*, "I will put up a set of Marx' 'Capital,' or value in other Socialist books, against a like offer from any comrade who thinks he can sell more *REVIEWS* than I can in the next year. This offer applies not to any local, but to any individual agent. Any one wishing to accept my challenge will put up the price for books with the *REVIEW* publishers and I will do likewise." We hope some of our crack hustlers on this side will enter the race, but we may as well warn them that they will have to "go some" to beat Comrade Sible. He sold 4,150 *REVIEWS* in ten months.

# EDITORIAL

**Now Is the Time to Unite.**—Every Socialist should read the inspiring call to arms by Charles Edward Russell in this issue of the REVIEW. What he says we wish to endorse most heartily and emphatically. Up to this time there has been an unavoidable line of cleavage in the party. On the right stood those who believed in political reform to be carried out through Socialist legislators, and who were over-anxious to win the favor of the leaders of the reactionary craft unions. On the left wing stood those who clung loyally to the principles of the Communist Manifesto, and who were beginning to realize the vital importance of the industrial union movement. A year ago, heated debates between these two wings of our party were necessary and inevitable. But within a year two great things have happened. On the political field, the Progressive party has taken the ground from under the feet of the Socialist reformers. For the Progressives, with four and a half million votes to start with, are not merely proposing most of the reforms to which our comrades of the extreme right had pinned their faith; they are likely to enact them into law in the near future. And meanwhile the Socialist vote did not diminish but doubled. Some of our half-baked reformers have gone to Roosevelt with whom they belong. Their places have been taken by a host of new comrades who will be satisfied with nothing less than revolution.

On the industrial field a still greater thing has happened. A year ago it was possible to becloud the issue by accusing industrial unionists of plotting deeds of violence, and lauding the craft unionists of the Gompers school as wise and prudent leaders who were taking care of the immediate interests of wage-workers by conciliating the capitalists. But during 1912, the Industrial Workers of the World won at Lawrence, a victory which has put terror into the hearts of the capitalists and has inspired the workers with courage and confidence for the greater battles of the near future. And this victory was won by a courageous

self-restraint that prevented all violence when violence was the one thing most desired by the capitalists and their jackals. And what were the conservative craft unionists doing meanwhile? At Lawrence their "leader," John Golden, was doing his little to help the capitalists defeat the workers. In Los Angeles they were using dynamite to destroy some capitalist property and incidentally the lives of a number of toilers. Mr. Gompers has "explained" this action, and it may interest our readers to know how his explanation and his general attitude impress the more intelligent capitalist editors. We will quote from the *Nation*, the weekly edition of the New York *Evening Post*, a paper which never "plays to the galleries," for the reason that it is read only in the box seats and the orchestra circle. Its opinions are, therefore, a pretty fair index of what the more intelligent capitalists really think. It said (editorial page Nov. 21).

"The prestige of Samuel Gompers is today badly shattered. To public opinion outside of organized labor he stands out as the head of a "conservative" labor movement which is now foully smeared with anarchy. To the members of organized labor he stands out as a leader who has allowed the odium of anarchy to be saddled upon them without the compensating prestige that comes from assuming a frankly revolutionary attitude. To throw bombs for the purpose of overthrowing the "capitalist" system is a comprehensible mode of procedure. But to pursue the conciliation of labor and capital by planting dynamite, is mad futility. With the stigma of McNamaraism upon it, the American Federation of Labor under Gompers is an object of fear to the conservative citizen, and an object of derision to real revolutionists like the Socialists and the Industrial Workers of the World."

Very significant was the vote taken at the national convention of the A. F. of L. when a third of the delegates, all themselves craft unionists, voted for industrial unionism. We are glad to note

that many Socialists who have been classed with the right wing of our party helped swell this vote. The meaning of all this is that the Machine Process has swept and is sweeping us on, away from the sterile controversy which absorbed too much of our energy during 1912. Some things are settled, some dangers are passed, new and greater battles are impending. The formidable showing of the Progressive party and the humiliation of the A. F. of L. have punctured the specter of a Labor party. There is full measure of glory and spoils in the Bull Moose camp for any of our politicians who care more for votes and offices than for revolution. And for the rest of us new battle fields are opening up where every ounce of energy will be needed, and needed soon. The conservative craft unions will soon be a thing of the past, or else will transform themselves into industrial unions touched with the new spirit of hopeful revolt that sees near at hand the day of victory and of happiness for the workers. The Masters of the Bread see these signs of revolt and tremble; it is for us to rejoice, to forget the petty disputes over dead issues, to close up the ranks and march.

**Frenzied Finance in the Socialist Party.**

—Elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW Comrade Bentall, Secretary of the Socialist Party of Illinois, tells the humiliating truth about the collapse of the Chicago *Daily World*. In this paragraph we desire to supplement his article with a few additional facts and to draw certain obvious conclusions. The Chicago *Daily Socialist*, as it was originally called, had its beginning in a temporary project for issuing a daily for two weeks preceding the November election of 1906. The new daily was greeted with such outbursts of enthusiasm from the comrades of Chicago and the whole northwest that plans were hastily matured for continuing it permanently. Immense sums of money poured in as loans and stock subscriptions, and right there the paper entered on its career of frenzied finance which has just closed in the manner described by Comrade Bentall. Instead of using the

capital for a reserve to provide for dull seasons, the directors and managers of the daily proceeded immediately to squander the entire amount on fancy salaries, high rents and similar extravagances. Again and again and again frantic appeals were made for financial help to "save the *Daily*," and again and again the trusting comrades "dug up." Worst of all, many invested their scanty savings in the bonds and notes of the "Workers' Publishing Society," in the vain hope of some time getting the money back. For years the *Daily* has paralyzed the Socialist party of Chicago. Its chronic deficits have exhausted the resources and dampened the ardor of the most willing workers. Its editors, with a few honorable exceptions, have cringed before the officials of the reactionary craft unions, and edited the news columns of the paper in a way to suit these officials. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of working people's money have been sunk in turning out a cheap imitation of a capitalist daily, with nothing in it to fire the spirit of a rebellious wage-slave. In 1912 came the one chance of a life-time to retrieve past mistakes and build up a great working-class newspaper. Now this chance has been thrown away, and our only legacy from the deceased daily is a valuable store of experience. Let us treasure this and when the time comes use it.

We have a new offer for the smaller Socialist Locals, and for comrades who are trying with small resources to scatter the best Socialist literature. For FIVE DOLLARS we will send five copies of the REVIEW to one address every month for one year, and will also send by express prepaid any of our books to the amount of \$5.00 at retail prices. The Reviews will sell for ten cents each, making \$6.00, or a total of \$11.00 for the Reviews and books. In selecting books be sure and include several copies of our new 10c book by Dr. Anton Pannekoek **MARXISM AND DARWINISM**. It gives just the information every Socialist wants, condensed into 58 pages. Full description next month.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**The International Protest Against War.** During the past month one thought has united the mind of the working class of all Europe. While the terrible carnage in Turkey has gone its course, while diplomats have been watching for a chance to steal an advantage, while military authorities have been getting their forces in readiness for a conflict of great powers,—the working class has been saying in a dozen different languages but with the same sense of responsibility and power that this conflict shall not take place. In resolutions, in mass meetings, in street demonstrations, in conventions, and finally in the special congress of international congress of the Socialist movement, the conviction and purpose of the workers has found such expression that it could not go unheeded.

On November 17, in compliance with the suggestion of the International Bureau, Socialist mass meetings were held in all the important centers of population. Berlin, Paris, London, Rome, Brussels—every great city in Europe presented the same sight on that day. In Paris alone at least 100,000 people gathered to voice their protest against being dragged into a fratricidal international butchery. The number of manifestants must have gone well into the millions. In point of mass alone this was the most impressive demonstration of the sort the world has ever seen. At all of the more important points addresses were delivered by representatives of the various nations most interested in the matter at stake. The greetings given the Englishmen in Germany and the Germans in England afforded immediate demonstration of the unity of interest existing between the peoples whom the diplomats attempt to represent as enemies.

The meeting of the International Congress was given added significance by the fact that it was preceded by three national Socialist congresses. The German Social-Democratic Party of Austria and the Socialist Party of Switzerland happened to hold their regular conventions

at just the right time to express the sense of these national movements; and in France a special congress was called for the purpose.

Besides international affairs the Austrian gathering had many important matters to consider. The party constitution was revised, the government's attempts to hamper the labor union movement was discussed and the relations with the organizations of the Austrian Czechs were taken up. With regard to the latter subject the congress was able to announce a vast improvement. It will be remembered that the International Congress of Copenhagen, a separate party organization of the Czechs, applied for admission and had its application denied. At present there are two Czechish party organizations, one, the smaller, is united with the German party in a national federation. The other, called "Separatist," is still working alone. But there is good prospect of its coming into the national federation and so re-establishing its relation with the international movement.

But, without being on the program, the international situation held the center of the stage at the congress. Austria is the great power most nearly concerned in the Balkan difficulty. For a considerable time during the last month the world has been momentarily expecting that the Austrian ministry would declare war because a certain consul to a Servian town had disappeared. It was evident at that time that the slightest pretext would be used to seize Albania. So our Austrian comrades faced a real condition. What they did was a credit to their common sense. They declared that the people of the country were absolutely uninterested in the prospect of a foreign conflict and outlined a plan of campaign for the crystallization of public opinion. The moment the congress adjourned a great peace campaign was started. Subsequent developments show that this move has not been without results.

In France the national Socialist congress had the conventional debate about

the general strike. It was evident from the start that the delegates were in favor of using all means available against a threatened war. The resolution adopted, however, was so worded that the French representatives at Basel would not feel bound to insist on any particular sort of tactics at the expense of introducing discord into the international assembly.

**The Special International Congress** met on November 24th. The chairman was Comrade Herman Greulich, only surviving member of the congress of the old International which met at Basel in 1869. In his opening address he mentioned the fact that on that occasion the *London Times*, referred to the International as "a great soul with a small body," and went on to say that in our day its body is gigantic and its soul is no smaller.

A committee of the International bureau had a carefully prepared resolution to submit. It repeated the antimilitary resolutions of the congresses of Stuttgart and Copenhagen and made a rapid analysis of the present situation. It then took up the countries involved, one by one, and outlined the duties resting upon the working class in each. The Socialists of the Balkan peninsula were praised for their sturdy opposition to the present war and had pointed out to them that peace for the Balkan region can be found only in a confederation of the small states for mutual protection and commercial interchange. Upon the workers of Austria-Hungary, the resolution declared, rests the chief responsibility for the warding off of the immediate danger of war. If a conflict of great powers is precipitated, it will be Austria that will make the first move. A recent protest strike in Russia against the attitude of the Czar's government was hailed as a fine exhibition of working-class power. The Socialist parties of France, Germany, and England were called upon to oppose to the utmost the attempts of capitalists, diplomats, and military powers to excite the public mind to the point of precipitating a war. If France and England refuse to back Russia, and Germany fails to come to the aid of Russia, it was declared, a great international conflict is

practically impossible. To convince the governments of these countries that the people will not endure being blindly steered into a war in which they have no possible interest is the duty of the Socialist movement. The International Bureau was warned that during this crucial time it must exercise special care to keep the working-class organizations of Europe well informed of developments in the various countries and, in particular, of all steps taken by the various Socialist groups.

The final paragraph read as follows: "So this congress turns to you, proletarians and Socialists of all lands, and depends upon you to make your voices heard in this crucial hour. Express your determination in all forms, in all places, make your protest in parliaments, unite in great mass demonstrations, utilize all means which are afforded you by your organization and by the power of the proletariat. See to it that the governments have constantly before their eyes the sleepless and energetic will of the people. Thus place over against the capitalist world of exploitation and wholesale murder the proletarian world of freedom and brotherhood."

This resolution received unanimous support. Jaures and Vaillant spoke for France, Adler for Austria, Haase for Germany, Soukop for the Czechs, Troelstra for all the small nations of central and northern Europe, Sakasoff for Bulgaria, Agnini for Italy, and Clara Zetkin for the women of the world. The veteran Bebel spoke a few words in conclusion, and with the cry "War on war" the congress was declared adjourned.

**Russia. Election of the Fourth Duma.** The Russian election has created little excitement. To be sure, the result was a foregone conclusion. Nothing but a reactionary majority could be returned by the electoral machinery perfected in the famous coup de d'état of 1907. But the course of the election as a whole—there was no campaign worthy of the name—is a matter of deep interest to the working class and to all those who are concerned in the spread of democratic institutions. Though the Fourth Duma will be the most reactionary Russia has yet



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had, the popular vote showed a tremendous increase in the following of the Social Democracy. This fact is due, apparently, both to an increase in the number of Socialists and to a turning away from the abstentionist policy of the so-called Revolutionary Socialist group.

In the third Duma the Socialists had a group of 13; according to early reports of the recent election this number has been cut down to 12. The party of the extreme right, on the contrary, is reported to have gained 112 seats. The Octobrists, who make a rather feeble stand for constitutional government, lost 56 seats. The general division of forces is reported to be as follows: Right, 163; Center, 144; Left, 125. In the last Duma the Socialists were the only ones who dared make any consistent opposition to the government; it is easy, therefore, to foresee what kind of history will be made by the new Duma.

To show how little is signified by these figures it is only necessary to go back of them for a moment. It will be remembered that the first two Dumas, which were chosen immediately after the revolutionary movement of 1905, refused to do the bidding of the government. Both contained large groups of Socialists and constitutionalists. Both were dismissed after short sessions, the Czar expressing his sorrow at the fact that he found it impossible to do useful, constructive labor with their help. Then came the election law of 1907. This measure is guaranteed to return a majority for the government under all circumstances. According to its provisions the voters are divided into "curies," or groups. The wage-earners, the farmers, the large land-owners, the large capitalists of the cities, the small capitalists of the cities, etc., form separate groups. Each group chooses electors to a sort of electoral college which, in turn, makes choice of the Duma members. In this electoral body the reactionists have, of course, a reliable majority. But there is one provision which makes it impossible for it to make up a slate entirely to its liking. The representatives of any group in the Duma must be chosen from among the electors sent to the electoral college by the voters of that group. Since the six

electors from the wage-earning group are sure to be Socialists, there is no escape from the choice of at least half-a-dozen real representatives of the working-class. But beyond this small number Socialism has little to expect. It may be able to return a few members from the small capitalist group, or from certain cities which, by special dispensation, have a direct election. But this is all.

In addition to difficulties inherent in the electoral machinery, our Russian comrades have had to fight the most illegal and violent opposition imaginable. Their papers have been suppressed and their organizations broken up. Whenever one of their candidates declared himself, he was forthwith placed under arrest or hounded out of the district in which his residence was established.

But in spite of all this, the Socialist vote increased tremendously. It is, naturally, impossible to obtain reliable reports of the popular vote, but it is evident from figures which have reached this side of the water that in the larger cities the vote for Socialist candidates more than doubled. In Petersburg the percentage increased from 9.4 to 19.5; in Moscow, from 9 to 29.

The cause of the working-class and of constitutional government has, then, won a victory in Russia. What is a merely popular victory now, will be transformed into a parliamentary victory as soon as the people are sufficiently organized to renew the fight for representative government. If men are more important than parliamentary majorities, the people are triumphing in bloody Russia.

This means that the noble work done by the tiny group of Socialists in the third Duma has borne fruit. For five years now these thirteen men have been the only open and effective nucleus of the Socialist movement. Protected by parliamentary immunity, they have criticized the government, introduced measures, and in general voiced the feelings of their constituents. In particular they have fought hard against the tyrannous annexation of Finland and the nullification of the right of the workers to organize in labor unions. Of course every measure they have opposed has been

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passed despite their opposition. Often enough they have been threatened with imprisonment or personal violence. But they have kept manfully at their work. Their speeches, the only propaganda matter which the government dared not suppress, have been spread throughout the

land and have served to keep Socialism before the people. The result of these conditions is seen in the fact that during the recent elections there has been a decrease in the number of those who responded to the "Revolutionary" appeal to boycott the ballot.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

## Latest Election Returns

Alabama	3,019
Arizona	3,144
Arkansas	8,153
California	80,000
Colorado	16,418
Connecticut	10,056
Delaware	556
Florida	4,406
Georgia	1,014
Idaho	11,960
Illinois	81,278
Indiana	36,931
Iowa	16,967
Kansas	26,807
Kentucky	11,647
Louisiana	5,211
Maine	2,541
Maryland	3,971
Massachusetts	12,616
Michigan	23,211
Minnesota	27,505
Mississippi	2,061
Missouri	28,148
Montana	10,885
Nebraska	10,219
Nevada	4,000
New Hampshire	1,980
New Jersey	15,901
New Mexico	2,859
New York	60,000
North Carolina	800
North Dakota	7,000
Ohio	89,930
Oklahoma	42,262
Oregon	13,222
Pennsylvania	80,689
Rhode Island	2,049
South Carolina	164
South Dakota	3,500
Tennessee	3,492
Texas	24,896
Utah	9,023
Vermont	928
Virginia	820
Washington	40,134
West Virginia	15,000
Wisconsin	34,120
Wyoming	2,713

894,206

These figures are official for many states. However the vote of several states is semi-official. In the state of Washington the vote of two small counties is missing.

**California.** Comrade Thompson of Eureka reports 781 Socialist votes in that county out of a total of 8,166. Other candidates made a fair showing. They already have a councilman in Eureka and expect to elect the mayor next time.

Comrade Lester Small claims 39 votes against 4 four years ago, for Debs in Sonoma.

Comrade M. M. Thorne of Uno, writes that the Socialists increased their vote 2,500 per

cent in their home precinct. Comrade D. W. Thorne, candidate for the assembly of the 16th district, put up a whirlwind campaign, doing great work.

J. Dahlstrom of Contra Costa county, running the second time for the assembly, received 1,241 votes against 609 last time. The Debs' vote was 1,297, nearly three times the 1908 vote. The women cast about one-third the vote. They are going to be a big help in the future Socialist movement.

Comrade Kelly of Chilcoot reports 148 votes for Debs in Lassen county.

Comrade Cothran reports the Socialist vote for San Diego county, 2,873 as against 1,342 in 1908.

Comrade Goodhue reports a gain in Plumas county from 61 votes in 1910 to 233 this year. It was only a few years ago when there was only one lone Socialist in this district.

Comrade Danner writes that the Socialist increase in his district is about 300 per cent.

**Idaho.** Comrade Herrington of Cataldo reports 45 straight votes in his precinct. This is a mighty encouraging bunch of trail blazers.

Laclede elected a justice of the peace and constable; 34 straight Socialist votes out of 130, according to Comrade Frank Drast. Bad weather prevented the timber boys from getting out. Better luck next time.

Recording Secretary Johnson writes: "We had two lone Socialists in Colburn two years ago and 19 straight votes this year." Isn't it great? Find one Socialist in a city one year and in two years you will find six. Who says we are not optimists?

**Illinois.** From Davis comes word through Comrade Vore that the single Socialist vote in 1908 has grown to sixteen. Congratulations to the propagandist. Hope the sixteen prove as active as he was.

The Springfield vote grew from 250 in 1908 to 458 in 1912; county total of 1,007 according to word received from Comrade Secretary Campbell.

Secretary Morgan reports 76 Socialist votes in White Hall as against 7 in 1908 and 38 in 1908. See what the 38 will do before next election.

Secretary Liimatainen reports 140 in Delalb.

**Indiana.** Comrade Kennedy of Shelbyville reports 97 Socialist votes in 1908 in Shelby county, 196 in 1910 and 319 this year. This is as good a showing as we have seen.

Comrade Frey writes from Wanatah, "Our vote jumped from 5 in 1908 to 35 votes this year in Cass township.

**Iowa.** Secretary Morton reports 161 Socialist votes in Oelwein and 188 in the county against 37 four years ago. The local secured 19 new members at its last meeting. Now is the time to educate our new members.

**Kansas.** Fred Stanton of Mulberry was

elected to the State Senate and Everett Miller, a miner of Cherokee, to the Legislature. A large number of township officers were elected. Good for Kansas!

Secretary Snyder of Columbus, giving the official report of Cherokee county, says, "Debs polled 2,006 votes and Brewer, running for U. S. Congress, polled 2,182 votes." The Socialists also elected eleven county officials, polling more votes than the Democrats and Republicans combined. Good for Kansas! This is great work! No old party alliance has any chance there.

Secretary Sease reports 20 out of 48 votes for Debs in Horace, a 140 per cent increase. Going up!

Secretary Barnett reports that Fort Scott more than doubled their Socialist vote, and that Bourbon county jumped from 388 in 1910 to 706 votes in 1912.

**Louisiana.** J. H. Helton, one of the boys of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, who were acquitted last month, in the Grabow riot, got out in time to be home to vote for Debs. He writes: "DeRidder increased her Socialist vote from 4 in 1908 to 103 in 1912." Comrade Helton thinks the Socialists will carry the Parish at the election in December owing to the strike.

**Massachusetts.** Many wards in Lawrence, the scene of the textile workers' strike, cast a solid vote for Socialism. The general increase in vote over 1908 was over 35 per cent, and this in spite of the fact that 80 per cent of the workers there have no vote.

**Michigan.** Local Bay City reports that there were 447 votes cast for Socialist president and 516 votes in Bay county.

**Minnesota.** Comrade Taltinen of Cloquet writes that 425 Socialist votes were polled in Carlton county.

**Montana.** Philipsburg polled 90 Debs votes. This is the first year the Socialist Party has been in the field in that neck of the woods, according to Dominick Vironda. That's a good healthy beginning.

The Finnish Local at Red Lodge reports 397 votes in Carbon county for Mayor Duncan as governor and 394 for the Progressive candidate.

Comrade Odegard reports 434 votes for Debs in his county, or nearly 13 per cent of the total vote and 42 per cent of the total vote at Rollins.

**Nevada.** The Socialist Party of Tonopah increased its vote from 159 in 1908 to 503 in 1912, a plurality of 10 over the Democrats, 274 over the Republicans and 271 over the Progressives. M. Scanlon, Socialist candidate for State Senate was elected by 666 votes—218 over his closest competitor. W. Morgan, the other state senator candidate, received a plurality of 18. Davis was elected assemblyman and Dunseath, justice of the peace. Several other Socialists were elected to the county offices. Tonopah is a mining camp of 5,000, so these are very evidently real working class victories.

## ELECTION DAY AT TONOPAH, NEVADA, SOCIALISTS ON THE JOB.

The Socialist party local has divided the city into districts for the distribution of literature. Thus they assure packed houses to every Socialist speaker. They made no attempt to catch middle class reformers, but appealed directly to the workers and 80 per cent of the registered workers voted for Socialism. Congratulations and then some to the Tonopah comrades.

Comrade Hempel and the prospectors in Copperhill are still on the job. They are few in number but more than half Reds.

**New Jersey.** Comrade Warner of Glasboro reports 205 Socialist votes in Gloucester county according to official returns.

**New Mexico.** O. W. Skorkowsky, Socialist committeeman, of Portales, reports 200 Socialist votes in Roosevelt county and says, "We have a hard row to hoe down here, but we mean to fight to the finish. We have a local that is doing work and we are making new Socialists fast."

**New York.** Comrade Millard, of Gouverneur, writes that they had 41 Socialist votes this year; there were none in 1908.

**Ohio.** Butler county gave 3,421 votes for Socialism this year, more than Taft or Roosevelt got. Ruthenberg polled 3,475 votes. Capitalist papers concede Socialist Party candidates ran second on all county offices.—Report from Secretary Shafor.

H. M. Byer, of Byesville, reports 82 Socialist votes in precinct C of Jackson township, out of 181.

**Oregon.** Secretary Dorfman, of Portland, reports official figures for Oregon, 14,874 Socialist votes in 1912; 7,339 votes in 1908.

Comrade Steiner of Port Orford, reports the election of their county coroner, also the Socialists lacked only 170 votes of electing their candidate for State Legislature.

Comrade Dorfman reports 14,112 Socialist votes in Portland as against 7,339 in 1909. Good work for Portland!

**Pennsylvania.** Secretary Mayo of Rochester, writes that the vote in his county was 1,738, a 256 per cent gain over 1908. Every one of the 15 branches in that county expect to have Study Classes organized before the first of the year. Comrade Mayo says they realize that it is education that counts. His letter carried a bundle order for "Shop Talks," the best book for a beginner studying Marx.

Comrade Dresch reports the Socialist vote of Grove City, 51 in 1908 and 183 in 1912. Mercer county, 1,708 against 607 in 1908.

Comrade Platt, of Sharon, in sending the official returns of Pennsylvania, gives 80,915 as against 33,914 in 1908. We do not believe any state will equal the Pennsylvania report, which is almost a 200 per cent gain.

L. W. Woods writes that Debs polled 1,464 votes in Erie, the county giving us 1,973 votes. The county vote for 1908 was 1,037. Congratulations to Erie.

Comrade Lindner writes, "Debs polled 663 votes in Beaver county in 1908 and made a gain of 1,805 votes this year. We fell behind the vote last year on account of Big Tooth. What we want is a class-conscious vote that we can count on."

County Secretary Gumbert claims 313 votes for Socialism in Bradford county against 190 votes in 1908.

**South Dakota.** Secretary Dinzy, of Sioux Falls, sends in the official vote for his state as follows: For Debs, 4,267; for governor and lieutenant governor respectively, 3,578 and 3,698. Comrades running for Congress also polled a surprisingly large vote.

Comrade Atwood, of Sisseton, reports 53 Socialist votes in Sisseton, as against 30 in 1908.

**Texas.** Comrade James claims 27 sound Socialist votes in Donna, being more than Taft and Teddy can muster.

## ST. LOUIS INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS.

1. Betts, Secretary.	8. _____	15. Mrs. Pollard.	21. Groetke.
2. Pollard.	9. A. Joseph.	16. Mrs. Graham.	22. Beinicke.
3. Lung.	10. O'Brien.	17. Graham.	23. Cohen.
4. Dr. Ray.	11. Justice.	18. Rieman.	24. H. Joseph.
5. Weideman.	12. Sanchez.	19. Levine.	25. Mrs. Neifend.
6. Neifend.	13. Lung.	20. Ballhans.	26. Mrs. Rieman.
7. Fisher.	14. Mrs. Betts.		

**St. Louis Industrial Socialists.**—Comrade W. H. Betts, Branch No. 1, sends the following interesting information: "We, of branch 1, accept as members only, those who earn their living by actual labor, as we doubt that one who is not up against the actual grind can be class conscious. As all branches have complete autonomy, they are at liberty to accept as members any one they wish, but no professional man can be accepted as delegate to the City Central Committee. We have ten branches represented at the Central Committee.

We "reds" are going to make a Socialist movement in St. Louis that will relegate the reform office seekers to the Progressive party where they have always belonged. The machine here is composed of A. F. of L. fakers and reform Socialists who have repudiated Comrade Debs in the past and they are at the present time doing all in their power to do away with the democratic spirit and membership control in the organization. We are holding a regular Lyceum lecture course at Aschenbroedel Hall every Saturday night. Speakers from the I. W. W. Syndicalists, So-

cialists and social reformers have presented their various points of view. A lecture by Dr. Ray on "The Red Flag" last Saturday night was conceded by all to be one of the best ever given in St. Louis. Our meeting are well attended and revolutionary comrades will always find the Red Flag flying here.

**Those Wide Awake Germans.** Announcement is made that S. Fischer, Verlag, the largest publishing house in Germany, will shortly issue a complete edition in German of Gustavus Myers' "History of the Great American Fortunes." By request, two new extensive chapters have been added by Comrade Myers—one on "The Carnegie Fortune," the other on "The American Proletariat." These chapters will almost make a volume by themselves, and will also be published serially in "Die Neue Rundschau," one of the foremost magazines in Germany. The translators of the work are Dr. Arthur Holitscher and a Berlin professor of economics. A French edition of the work is also a future possibility. In addition, announcement is also made that Gustavus Myers has in preparation a comprehen-

sive new work entitled "The History of the Rise and Development of Capitalism in Canada."

Hitherto the Canadian Socialist movement has had no original literature dealing with native conditions. This volume will be an exhaustive work, describing the vital economic forces and processes from the early part of the seventeenth century to the present, and will combine the narrative of the accumulation of great private fortunes with a complete account of the origin and development of capitalism which is rapidly reaching its climax in Canada.

**From the Toronto Central Committee.** New York Call: As secretary of Local Toronto No. 1 I have been instructed to ask you to publish the following in your paper:

Whereas, a motion was passed by Local New York (published in the *New York Call*) that Gustavus Meyers be suspended, the same be published in the Bulletin and that Local Toronto be written to and all facts explained to them, and,

Whereas, this action on the part of Local New York was taken some six weeks ago and as they have failed to communicate with us, we deem it but fair to Comrade Meyers that the rank and file of the Socialist Party of the state know that Local Toronto was acquainted with the facts of the case before Comrade Meyers was asked to join the party. Comrade Meyers insisted upon this. Therefore, be it

Resolved, that a copy of this be placed upon the minutes, a copy sent to the *Weekly Bulletin*, the *New York Call*, and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, P. C. Young, Secretary Local No. 1. S. D. P. of C.

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**Washington.** Comrade Dennis, of Port Angeles, reports official vote for Clallan county, 610; the vote two years ago was 300. It won't take long at this rate of increase.

Comrade Beals, of Okanogan, reports 824 Socialist votes in that county.

Organizer Atkins, of Sumas, sends in a \$5.50 order for books and says, "Our vote sprang from 16 four years ago to 110 last week; a result largely due to the use of your books, pamphlets and the REVIEW." This is the best endorsement we have had yet. And we are going to keep on improving.

**West Virginia.** Official returns show Debs received 1,077 votes in Harrison county. Secretary Maxwell writes that Debs polled more votes than any other candidate in that county.

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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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*The*  
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Solidarity—The Hand That Wins!

*From the New York Call.*

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# THE NEW YORK GARMENT WORKERS

By MARY E. MARCY

Photographs by Paul Thompson, New York.

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**A** WALKOUT which may yet involve every garment worker in the nation, was started in New York City, December 30th, when scores of thousands of men and women employed in the garment industries responded to the call issued by the United Garment Workers of America and deserted the shops and benches where they had toiled for years.

The response to the strike call was so great that the union officials declared the union was a great deal stronger than they had believed. One thousand five hundred volunteer red scouts, who were picked to carry the official strike declaration, were on the job at 4:00 o'clock in the morning ready to start out with bundles of strike orders to be distributed in all sections of the Lower East Side. Before

From the start the Rochester workers sent pledges of support, offering to go out in sympathy if their employers should undertake to make up any clothing for the strike-bound New York firms.

The garment workers are beginning to realize the futility of carrying on single-handed fights, by having one trade make up the work while another trade is out on strike and they seem determined to do all in their power to tie up an entire trade henceforth in times of strike.

The response to the strike call was practically unanimous among the Italians. There are also a score of thousand Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian and Jewish workers.

The cutters made a fine showing. They were the first to walk out in the large establishments as soon as the strike notice was delivered. For the first time in the history of the garment workers' organizations the cutters' response was prompt and almost entire. This end of the trade is most important, as it is impossible for the employers to secure trained cutters to take the places of the strikers.

Almost from the beginning the Socialists came to the front and offered to lend all the strength of the organization to aid

#### GIRL STRIKER.

night over 100,000 men, women and children had taken their working paraphernalia home to begin the good fight.

The garment workers are striking for:

The abolition of the subcontracting system.

The abolition of foot power.

That no work be given out to be done in tenement houses.

Overtime to be paid for at the rate of time and one half, double time for holidays.

A forty-eight hour work week.

A general wage increase of 20 per cent for all the workers in the garment industry.

The following scale of wages:

Operators—First class, sewing around coats, sewing in sleeves, and pocket makers, \$25 per week; second class, lining makers, closers and coat stitchers, \$22; third class, sleeve makers and all other machine workers, \$16.

Tailors—First class, shapers, underbasters and fitters, \$24; second class, edge basters, canvas basters, collar makers, lining basters and bushelers, \$21; third class, armhole basters, sleeve makers, and all other tailoring, \$17.

Pressers—Bushel pressers, \$24; regular pressers, second class, \$24; underpressers and edge pressers, \$18.

Women and Child Workers—Button sewers and bushel hands, \$12; hand buttonhole makers, first class, 3½ cents; second class, sack coats, 2½ cents; feller hands, not less than \$10 a week.

## CROWD OF WHITE GOODS STRIKERS.

the strikers in winning a victory. The *New York Call* threw open its columns and prepared to publish daily bulletins of the strike. The Socialist party arranged to supply speakers at the strike meetings and to help in the work of organizing the women in the garment industry.

As days passed the ranks of the strikers were continuously augmented by new acquisitions, and in many points, near to New York City, shops are tied up tight.

At the first hint of the strike the bosses attempted to fill the places of those who walked out, with scabs. The strikers quickly appointed their committees and began to picket the strike district. Enter then, as must needs appear in these little social comedies, the paid "guards" and the police to promote disorder in the name of Peace. Then it was that "peaceful picketing" became a thing of the past. Pickets had thenceforth to tread very softly and with circumspection to avoid a broken head, or arm, or arrest and a fine.

The employers extended to their new-found employes (the scabs) the utmost

graciousness and courtesy. Automobiles were promised to take them to and from the shops, with brass buttoned cops to see that trouble did not befall them on the journeys.

Such is the solicitude of the boss for the scabs he needs to break a strike!

But the taxicab drivers sent a thrill of pleasure through union and Socialist circles when they refused to take either the scabs, the guards or the policemen home. At one point fifteen taxicabs were ordered. When the taxies arrived the drivers found a crowd of strikers doing picket duty. As soon as they understood there was a strike in the shop and that they had been hired to take scabs home, they informed the bosses that they were union men and would not haul scabs under any circumstances. The employers threatened to have them fired, but the men only laughed and said they would stick to the union anyway.

The thugs employed by the shop bosses have proved very energetic and reliable. They have worked early and late beating

up strikers whenever possible, starting trouble and blaming it on the workers, while the police stood by (or took a hand) to see that nobody attacked or injured them.

During the first week in January the union officials conferred with the employers relative to a settlement of the strike, but the *New York Call* reports that all negotiations were broken off when the employers insisted upon a return of the strikers to the shops pending an investigation of the conditions in the trade by a special commission to be appointed for that purpose. The union officials declared that under no circumstances would "they order the men to return to work" pending an investigation or arbitration of their demands.

As the pickets began to suffer at the hands of the company guards, it was decided to take a lesson from the strikers at Lawrence, Mass., and chain picketing was employed for the first time in New York City.

Ten thousand pickets were asked to report each day, starting to work on the "Chain Picket Line" at 5:00 o'clock in the

morning, to pass constantly in a steady stream of pedestrians before the strike-bound shops.

On the day of the inauguration of the Chain Picket plan, the unions held various meetings which were well attended by the strikers. Hugh Frayne urged a general strike in every branch of the needle and garment industries, promising the support of the A. F. of L. while Abe Cahán closed one meeting begging the strikers to be true to the American Federation of Labor. He urged them to carry an A. F. of L. card in one pocket and a Socialist party card in the other (that is to work for class organization on one side and craft division on the other.)

This is very different from the calls of the Industrialists, all of whom insist upon a CLASS UNION card on the industrial field and a Socialist party card to represent their class interests upon the political field.

The Socialists have rallied around the striking garment workers to help them in this fight in many ways. We hope they will not neglect the greatest opportunity of their lives to teach class unionism as well as class political action. In the hope of a strike victory we should point out that strikes are only a part of the great class struggle and that if the workers would only unite in one great working class union and one great proletarian Socialist party they could forever banish exploitation and the wages system.

It is reported by Gertrude Barnum, one of the publicity agents of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, that some of the bosses in the wrapper and kimona industry are anxious to see the trade organized, as they believe the industry would become better systematized. They claim that they find it hard to deal with the workers individually.

Is it possible that the employers of labor find it easier to deal directly with labor union officials than the workers individually? There is something a great deal more than suspicious in such a statement. If the employers desire to have their factories or shops organized in order that they may treat with union officials over questions of wages and hours of labor, it is very doubtful if such unionism can be of any possible benefit to the workers. It is obvious that if a union brings

greater profits to the bosses it cannot at the same time give the workers a greater portion of the value of their own products.

But if the statements of Miss Barnum are true, it must be confessed that the employers are showing themselves a great deal more class conscious than she is, for

Minor in St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

they are employing scabs as fast as they can secure them, and their army of thugs and "guards" is daily on the increase. They very evidently understand that they cannot give higher wages or shorter hours to their wage slaves without cutting down dividends.

We hope the industrial unionists, both inside and outside of the party, are on the job in New York now, and showing up the class character of society so that the workers on strike today may hear, at least once in their lives, a class union talk, a revolutionary appeal. The rank and file of the striking garment workers are all right. The actual workers in the industries are always of open mind for the right kind of propaganda. Not one quarter of the garment workers are in any labor organization. Now is the time to talk One Big Union to them.

The Strike Committee of the S. P. of Local New York, is calling for funds and food to aid the strikers.

Late reports coming in show that in some cases the bosses are making heroic efforts to keep the girls in the white goods industry from joining the strikers. It was reported that organizers going to The Randall Underwear Company found the doors locked and girls protesting against their incarceration. When the doors were finally opened, 100 girls left and joined the strike.

Unlike the Lawrence strike, the strike of the New York garment workers is from the top DOWN; that is the union officials ordered the strike and have held the reins in their hands ever since. Without doubt they are trying to serve the strikers, but it is our opinion that they would build more permanently in permitting the strikers themselves to have the deciding voice in their own affairs; in teaching them self-reliance and class solidarity.

But the workers are finding out many things for themselves. They are thrilling with a new sense of power; they are learning the joy that comes when workers of whatever race or creed fight side by side in a great class struggle. The hope of victory and achievement is in the air and it is doubtful whether they will obey any orders from the union officials if their employers do not grant them appreciable benefits.

The heart of every true Socialist is with the strikers in this fight. We believe that the strike is a valuable form of direct action that teaches working class self-reliance and solidarity better than anything else. It teaches the workers to conduct their own fights. It brings out the class character of all existing social institutions. It teaches above all things, the necessity of revolutionary class unionism.

Later—The New York Call of January 19th announces that the **"STRIKE OF 20,000 WAIST MAKERS ENDS IN VICTORY FOR GIRLS WHEN PROTOCOL IS ACCEPTED."** Secretary John A. Dyche, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, is quoted as follows: "It has been a good fight for better conditions in the industry, and while it is a victory for unionism, it is also a victory for the broad gauge manufacturers—the manufacturers will benefit in the elimination of labor unrest in their shops and the workers will benefit by better pay, shorter hours and generally improved sanitary conditions." We are also informed that "the question of increasing the wages of strikers will be submitted to the Board of Arbitration for adjustment, but in the meantime the workers will receive an approximate increase of 10 per cent." It is also stated that the "Bosses Prefer Reliable Union," and that a Board of Grievances will be created, composed of five gentlemen from the manufacturers and five from the union, and that there shall be no strike or lock-out until any matters in controversy be submitted to the Board of Grievances and the Board of Arbitration.

SOCIALIST ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION IN BERLIN.

# WAR AGAINST WAR

By ANTON PANNEKOEK

(Translated by William E. Bohn.)

**D**URING the closing months of the year 1912 the war against war has dominated the thought and action of European Socialism. Geographical and historical conditions give to war an extremely important role in the social evolution of Europe. In America there exists one great political unit in which immigrants from all lands amalgamate into a single mass; therefore America offers the best conditions for a gigantic development of capitalism and the class-struggle.

But old Europe, with its hundreds of millions crowded into a small area, is divided into small nations; on account of the traditions of past centuries, when everything was still on a small scale, these nations stand to one another in the relation of for-

eigners, different in traditions, speech, customs, and political life. Each of them has developed into a capitalist state, with a government organized in the interest of its own bourgeoisie. This capitalistic development necessitated struggles against the survivals of feudalism and absolutistic monarchical power, but also struggles of each nation against the others; for in the restricted area available each found itself opposed by the others. In all of these conflicts there persisted an element of ancient barbarism and traditional dynastic interests. Thus it has come about that to the evil of division into small political units has been added the greater evil of militarism, which, through compulsory military service and heavy taxes, squanders much of the produc-

tive power of the nations and increases the strength of the governments as against the people.

The recent development of capitalism has increased these differences. While bourgeois idealists have been dreaming of the United States of Europe the facts of actual development have gone in the opposite direction. The imperialist policy has made each of the important European nations the center of a world empire. The cause of this state of affairs is the export of capital. The accumulation of capital outgrows the possibilities of the home-land; it seeks new fields of investment, where it becomes the foundation of new industries, which, in turn, bring about an increase in the demand for home products.

This phase of evolution requires the political domination of the new industrial region or, at least, an adequate influence over its government. Every government attempts, therefore, to take possession of the largest possible areas of foreign territory or to increase to the utmost its influence over foreign governments. To this end power and respect are necessary, and these are attainable only through military and naval equipment. Governments have thus become the representatives of big business. They find their support, however in the whole body of the bourgeois class, most of the members of which, without having any direct interest in the results of imperialism, feel a concern in whatever promises higher profits for capitalism as a whole.

Thus the various nations of Europe stand opposed to each other like gigantic camps of contending armies. They have divided themselves into two groups about the mightiest of the rivals, England and Germany. On the one side stands the Triple Alliance, made up of Germany, Austria and Italy, three nations poor in colonies. On the other stands Triple Entente of the three nations which control the largest colonial regions, England, France, and Russia. As a result of the present division of colonial possessions the members of the former group are naturally the instigators of any struggle looking toward a redistribution, and the members of the latter are the defenders of the status quo.

Especially in Germany, which has developed into a great industrial power in the

same class as England and the United States, there is a tremendous impulse in the direction of territorial expansion. The German government has been arming itself for fifteen years; it has now a mighty fleet which compels England to add constantly more vessels to its navy. Austria and Italy are beginning to imitate Germany. At the same time armies are increased and placed on a war footing. Throughout the world German capital and German political influence attempt to gain entrance. In China the Shantung railway is built and Kiaschou is held as a military station; in Asia Minor the railway from Constantinople to Bagdad is built; in Central Africa an attempt is made to enlarge German colonial possessions. Everywhere, however, England stands guard, jealous and suspicious of every German advance. This is the explanation for the enmity which the German bourgeoisie feels toward England.

The conflict between England and Germany is most acute in Asiatic Turkey. England has long had an eye on Mesopotamia, the ancient Babylonia, the cradle of human civilization, the biblical Garden of Eden, which now lies barren and waste but can be transformed into a fruitful land. But German capital, supported by the Turkish government, pushes on toward this territory along the line of the Bagdad railway. If this line is finally completed to the Persian Gulf, the shortest route to India will lie in the hands of Germany and her friends, and the English dream of uniting India, Egypt, Mesopotamia, southern Persia in a great English empire will have gone up in smoke. On this account England sought to prevent the construction of the Bagdad line and to undermine the Turkish government.

The break-down of Turkish power will involve a readjustment of all the interests involved, including those of the United States and other countries. Herein lies a constant danger of war between various European nations.

But it is to the west of the Bosphorus that the danger of a great international conflict has first become imminent. The agrarian nations of the Balkan region, which had hitherto been regarded by Austria as the national sphere for her expansion, began to develop their own capitalist systems; the familiar class lines appeared and a strong

national feeling developed. Hence there arose the necessity of nationalities large enough to permit of commercial development and the desire for the possession of seaports. This, in brief, is the cause of the present war, in which Turkey has been nearly forced out of Europe.

Austria, disappointed in the prospect of territories to the east scents new dangers in the results of the conflict. She fears especially the effect of a strong, independent Servian government on the Serbs at present under Austrian rule. Therefore a great war fever has swept over Austria and the Austrian government has made the most strenuous opposition to Servia's efforts to secure a port on the Adriatic. This situation contained the threat of a conflict of the great powers. Russia and Austria began immediately to mobilize their troops. This was the time for the proletariat of Europe to arise and assert its influence.

## I I.

The international policy of Socialism has not always been opposed to war. Marx and Engels repeatedly (in 1843 and 1853) urged the nations of western Europe to declare war against Russia in opposition to the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie. In this Marx and Engels represented the interests of the working-class and of democracy. Throughout the nineteenth century Russia was the protector of the reactionary governments against the revolutionary peoples. So long as Russia maintained its position it could restore the absolutism which had been conquered by the German revolutionists in 1848; in order to secure the results of the revolution, Marx, called upon the German bourgeoisie to take up arms against Russia. But the bourgeoisie did not answer this call to arms; it feared Russia less than the political power of the German people. Even later the influence of Russia remained an element in the situation of the rising working-class of western Europe. It was on this account that Bebel declared himself ready to shoulder a musket in a war against Russia.

But since this time conditions have changed. The liberation and increasing poverty of the Russian peasants, together with the development of capitalist industry, led, after the Russo-Japanese war, to a revolution which broke the military power

of Russia for a long time to come. Russia can no longer play the part of guardian over the governments of Europe. It has become, like the others, a capitalist state which must reckon with capitalist interests and proletarian opposition. No fear of Russia need turn the working-class from a policy of international peace.

But in the meantime the society of western Europe has undergone a transformation. As capitalism developed, the necessity of being prepared to meet other nations in battle took hold of the imaginations of all classes. Even the working-class came instinctively to believe in the purposes to be attained through warfare. This was the case in Germany in 1870, and history has repeated itself in the Balkans during the past year. Such wars as these are called national; they are supposed to be waged in the interest of the national good. The Socialists, who see deeper and farther than this, were in both instances a negligible element in the situation. But at the present time Socialism has behind it in western Europe great masses of the working-class; in Germany a third of the entire population. In all countries these masses are in opposition to the government and they know that wars between modern governments are not national, but imperialistic. This means that they are conducted in the interest of big business, for the purpose of increasing profits. This conception destroys any enthusiasm which the proletariat might develop for a foreign war.

On the other hand, the workers have every reason for striving to maintain a state of peace. A war in modern Europe would be far more devastating than any which has ever occurred. The armies which stand opposed count their soldiers by the million. And the weapons which they carry are far more murderous than any which have been employed in the past; especially the rifles of modern infantry are calculated to destroy life with a rapidity which has hitherto been unexampled. War in the future will be far more bloody than in the past; a far larger proportion of the forces will be killed or wounded. For those who remain at home, moreover, war will be far more terrible. Formerly the greater part of the population lived by agriculture, which could be temporarily carried on by women, boys and men too old

And this organization of the working-class is international. Across all national boundaries and all distinctions of race and language the workers join hands; they regard one another as brothers, as comrades, and see in the bourgeois and the government of their own land only enemies. There can be for them nothing more disgusting than the notion of massacring their brothers at the command of their enemies. They do not wish to see their international brotherhood, the growing unity of mankind, destroyed by the capitalistic quarrels of their governments. Therefore they make war against war with all their might. For these reasons the international policy of Socialism must be a policy of active devotion to the cause of peace. "War against war!" is the cry of the proletarians of all lands.

This was clearly expressed by the Congress of Stuttgart in 1907. In the resolution there adopted, after explaining the capitalistic nature of war and the determined opposition of the proletariat to militarism, the representatives of international Socialism declared: "In case there is danger of war, the working-classes of the countries involved and their parliamentary representatives are in duty bound to oppose the resort to arms by the employment of the means which seem to them most effective, the character of which means will naturally be adapted to the degree of acuteness which has been developed in the class-struggle and to the general political situation."

Since this resolution was adopted have the workers more than once been forced to oppose the war policies of their governments. When, finally, the Balkan war broke out the Socialists recognized immediately the danger to European peace. Our journals resolutely opposed the imperialist statesmen and professional chauvinists. In the countries immediately involved there were immediately held great anti-war demonstrations. In Berlin there occurred on November 17 a meeting participated in by 300,000 persons. In Russia a strike demonstration was made. The International Bureau met in Brussels and called a special congress of the international Socialist movement.

This congress met in Basel, where the

#### THE SILENT DELEGATION. *New York World.*

for military service. Only within the region of actual military operations did the population know the real hardships of war. But through the development of capitalism our social organism has become more complicated and sensitive. Every disturbance which upsets credit or otherwise interferes with production may bring about a crisis. Every war which removes great masses of workers from the field of production, hinders transportation or blockades the harbors; means a crisis, a terrible industrial catastrophe which reaches the smallest village and brings bankruptcy, unemployment, poverty, and starvation in its train. A great European war at the present time would destroy civilization, force the world back to a low plane of industry and in general bring about a condition approaching that of primitive barbarism.

Such a possibility concerns especially the working-class, which is exerting its energies to raise civilization to a higher plane. The proletariat bases its activities on the new order of society; it is bringing into being strong organizations in which the egoism of the bourgeois world is to be replaced by the communistic virtue of solidarity. It is through the cultivation of this virtue that it is gaining the power to conquer capitalism and throw off its domination.

fine old minster, the chief church building of the place, was placed at its disposal. What an extraordinary spectacle, the red revolutionary hosts of Socialism gathering there in the old church to the swelling tones of the great organ! This would have been impossible in any other land than Switzerland, for everywhere else the bourgeois is committed to the policy of violence and detests the activities of the workers; it was possible here only because the Swiss bourgeoisie consists for the most part of bondholders in state enterprises, which could only be injured by an international war. This incident was tantamount to an acknowledgement by the only peace-loving section of the bourgeoisie that the Socialist proletariat is at present the only group which has the power to prevent an international conflict.

The proletariat stood before all the world as the standard bearer of civilization. And for the working-class of the world the Congress of Basel was the visible demonstration of their international unity. Previous international congresses had made possible the exchange of ideas and the attainment of mutual understanding; they left the practical struggles of the proletariat to be carried on by the national organizations within the national boundary lines. Here the international policy became for the first time the most vital problem of the working-class. Therefore the Congress of Basel was more important than any similar gathering which preceded it. Formerly internationalism was but a feeling which dominated the heart; now it became an important political fact.

The work of the congress consisted of the resolution accepted without opposition and the speeches which were made in connection with it. The resolution reaffirms the statement made at Stuttgart that the workers will attempt to prevent war with all the effective weapons at their disposal. And the addresses delivered by the representatives of the various nations left no doubt as to the determination of the working-class. "Not only in words," said Jaures, "but in the deepest passion of our natures, we declare: We are prepared to make the utmost sacrifice." And Victor Adler, speaking in the name of the working-class of Austria, which now bears the

THE CANNON'S BRIDE. Ulk-Berlin.

brunt of the struggle against war, said: "All the power of the proletariat, all the means of each individual worker, must be concentrated in this struggle." "In the use of the means determined by our conditions, by our political and industrial organizations," declared Haase in the name of the German Social Democracy, "We will devote our utmost power to the securing of that which we all desire to have secured, the world peace and our common future."

With regard to the declaration of policy contained in the resolution there can be little difference of opinion. Oppose one another as we may as to the wisdom of the separate demands which are made, in devotion to the general principle we are all united; everywhere peace and friendship shall be maintained between peoples; all oppression of nation by nation shall be opposed; and for every people the fullest measure of self-government shall be demanded. In making these demands, expressive as they are of the desire of the workers for peace on earth as against the oppression and violence characteristic of the ruling class, the Congress of Basel set up for the masses of the people everywhere a great torch which shall illumine for them the path to the new world.

# FARMER JOHN and THE UNION LABEL

BY

BERT WILLARD

WELL, I'm still wearin' 'em. You bet I am. I don't know how long I will hold out faithful, or unfaithful, as the case may be, for Mary Jane swears she won't live with me any longer if I persist in my evil way. You see, it all came about like this:

"'John,' said Mary Jane to me as I was goin' to work 'long about daylight one mornin' last week, 'You do be needin' some new clothes.'

"'Aw, you're jokin', ain't ye?' I parried. 'Why, 'Ive been wearin' these self same clothes each and every day for nigh onto two years if my mem'ry serves me right.'

"'Yes, said Mary Jane, 'an' they're ain't enough of 'em left to tie a patch onto. They're frazzled in front and frayed at the bottom, while from behind—well,' she laughed, 'they may be a bit more decorous than a holiness camp meetin'.'

"'Well, now, Mary Jane,' says I—but the upshot of it all was, on Saturday mornin', bright and early, I hitched old Tom and Jerry to the farm wagon, throwed a board across the wagon-box to sit on, an' started for town—seventeen miles away.

"I will pause here to state, by way of introduction, that I'm a farmer, born and raised on a farm—the self-same farm I'm living on now. I commenced stearin' old Tom and Jerry down a corn-row on this very farm when I was ten years old; we were colts then, Tom and Jerry and me—that's been thirty-two years ago this comin' spring. This was Dad's farm then, but I inherited the mortgage; and, owin' to the kindness of a benevolent mortgage com-

pany, I am still permitted to stear that same old Tom and Jerry down that same old corn-row, usin' that same old plow. Some how or other, neither Tom nor Jerry, nor the plow, nor the corn-row, nor me, seem to be holdin' our own very well, but the mortgage is doin' fust rate, thank you.

"Well, I arrived in town at about an hour by sun, an mosied down to Bogerman and Boodlenthalk Mammoth Dry Goods Emporium, where they're havin' a big sale, closin' out at less than cost—says so in big letters all over the front end of the building. The sale has been on all summer, but they don't seem any nearer sold out than they were early in the spring.

"Well, I went in, and a dapper young clerk, a real cute little fellow, with fancy socks and a made-to-order smile slid over and asked my wishes.

"'Sonny,' says I, 'I want to buy me a new suit of clothes.'

"'Very well,' he warbled, displayin' the aforesaid socks and smile, 'You came to the right place; and at the right time, too,' he added, 'as it is very near closing time.'

"'Closing time?' I exclaimed, 'w'y you all must take out pretty early these days.'

"'Oh, yes,' he answered. 'You see, we formed a union last month, got all the clerks to come in, and we have enforced our demands for shorter hours and more pay.'

"'Good! Good!' says I. 'That's what I like to see; workin' men and wimmen unitin' for their mutual interests. What we need more than anything else is the solidar-ity and united action of the laborin' people.'

"'Yes, of course,' the clerk replied, 'but really we are not laboring people, we are clerks—we are, in fact, salesmen.'

"'Yes?' says I.

"'Yes, says he. 'One of the first moves made by our union officials was to arrange for a course in salesmanship for every member of the union.'

"'You don't say?' says I.

"'Yes,' said he, 'step this way, please.'

"'I suppose you clerks will be takin' up the study of the dry-goods and clothing business in all its details.'

"'The sales department, only. What style of garment would you like?'

"'Why nothin' but the sales department?' I asked.

"'That we may increase our efficiency, to be sure,' says he, shiftin' his smile a little. 'This garment, I think, is just what you are looking for.'

"'Why increase your efficiency?' I asked next.

"'That we may, as it were, sell two dollars worth where we sold one before,' says he. 'What size? please.'

"'But I was gittin' interested. 'An' who gets that extra dollar?' says I.

"'Why, our employers, of course. Would you care to—'

"'Then the boss must pay for your bein' instructed in how to get a feller to spend two dollars when he ain't got but one dollar in his pocket, an' already owes that to somebody else,' says I.

"'You mean our instructions in salesmanship?' the clerk inquired. 'No, our union pays for them out of our general fund. Our employers, however, collect our dues, which they deduct from our salaries. Now, this garment is—'

"'Then the boss ain't opposed to your organizin'?' says I.

"'No, no, not at all,' says he. 'Our leaders and officers are constructive, conservative men, warm friends of our leading merchants; therefore, we are on very friendly terms with our employers, and it is our wish, no less than their's, that this feeling of friendliness and good-will may ever continue. Now, in this garment we have the bargain of the season.'

"'And will the boss still be handin' your leaders bokays when you begin curtailin' his profits preparin' to—'



"'What? me join the I. W. W.? Nothing but workmen belong to it. I am a clerk! I expect a raise pretty soon and then my salary will be twelve dollars per week.'

Mr. Block, whom we have just quoted, is a very common type of working class mutt. He has several side lines of conservative ideas and is always on the job when it comes to defending patriotism, craft unionism, the courts, current morals, the church and so on.

You can meet him face to face in the pages of the *Industrial Worker* published at Spokane, Wash.

"We do not seek to reduce the profits of our employers," interrupted the clerk. "Our merchants are not in business for their health; and we clerks realize the fact that they, as employers, cannot pay us large salaries unless they are getting good returns on their investments."

"Then you fellers are what the boss calls 'safe and sane,'" says I.

"Yes," says he. "As I said before, our leaders are constructive, conservative men. Furthermore, we are too intelligent to tolerate in our organization any of those wild-eyed agitators who seek to deprive our business men of their just reward for business ability, enterprise and sagacity," orated the clerk.

"I reckon," says I, "that the boss has been puttin' in overtime here of late, exercisin' that aforesaid sagacity."

"I don't know," says he. "Our employers have been spending the past year at their old homes in Europe."

"Their sagacity and enterprise ain't on a salary nowadays, then," says I.

"Sir?" chirped the clerk, liftin' his eyebrows.

"The boss ain't gettin' no income now—sorter lettin' his enterprisin' sagacity go to seed, I reckon."

"O, they get the returns on their business investments, to be sure. If you do not care to look at these—"

"I reckon you fellers couldn't run this establishment if you didn't have it arranged so's you could turn the proceeds over to the boss; an' I lows further, that bein' as your leaders are constructive, conservative and all that, that they will take good care of the boss's interests, while he is pasturin' his wonderful sagacity on the green fields of Europe."

"Do you wish to look at these—" began the clerk, but I was more interested in constructive sagacities and things—not havin' none of that myself—, than I was in overalls.

"What else might your enterprisin' union find to do with its constructive abilities?" I interrupted.

"O, we held a chocolate fudge party last night," the clerk replied. "We met at the home of one of our brother clerks and spent a most delightful evening."

"I didn't seem to think of anything to say in reply."

"We are giving a ball at our hall tonight," he continued. "We have engaged the best orchestra in the city and are anticipating a splendid time."

"Well, I do say," says I. "Now I haven't been to a dance since I was married,—that's been twenty-two years ago, come June; we danced all night till broad daylight in Si Hopkin's barn—Si, he's my father-in-law. Now I'm stayin' in town tonight, an' I'll just—"

"We will have a select crowd at our ball," chimed the clerk, with much of that what they call suavity. "What size? please."

"Gimme a 38 jumper, and a 33-36 overall, with the union label on," says I.

"We don't handle the union label goods," says he.

"You don't?" says I. "W'y I've been wearin' union label clothes for ten years. See here on my shirt,—that's the union label; an' on my overalls, my shoes, my hat—there ain't much left of my old hat but the holes, but there's the union label under the sweat band on the left side."

"Yes, that's it," says he.

"Do you know," says I, "that little piece of cloth with some ink marks on it, means a whole lot to me. It means that the workers in that shop are united, an' are workin' together—"all for each and each for all"—for the final overthrow of capitalism and the complete emancipation of the workin' class."

"Here is just what you want," the clerk declared, "a fine garment put out by the Shark & Grafter house."

"Um-um," says I. "Their employes are on strike now, I believe."

"Yes. That is, some of their men are still on strike, others have gone back to work. The strike is practically won now."

"Then the men will have won another word in the management of the shop," says I.

"The men?"

"Yes, the men who were on strike."

"O, they will go back to work under the same conditions—or worse."

"But didn't the men win the strike?"

"The firm won; the men couldn't possibly have won."

"'I reckon not,' says I. 'Not with all you other union men scabbin' on 'em.'

"'Scabbing?'

"'Yes.'

"'O, that was their battle. We clerks had settled our grievances, and had signed an agreement with our employers—'

"'Yes, an agreement to scab,' says I.

"'No, no. Not that. You are a farmer, are you not?'

"'Guilty,' says I.

"'Being a farmer,' he continued, 'you naturally could not be expected to understand how we manage the affairs of our union.'

"'I reckon not,' says I.

"'Would you care to look at these garments,' inquired the clerk. 'Just notice how strong the fabric, how well stitched the seams, and the buttons—'

"'How much do you want for 'em?'

I asked.

"'They were one dollar and thirty cents per garment, before the strike,' he replied, 'but the strike was so expensive to the firm,

we've had to mark them up to one-thirty-six per garment, and they are a rare bargain at that money.'

"'Them's the articles,' says I, plunkin' down two-six-bits an' not askin' for change.

"'On the way home I kept thinkin' and thinkin'. Them self same thoughts kept bobbin' up in my mind, just like the villain at the nickle show:

"'How soon will we win workin' class emancipation by constructively caterin' to the capitalist class, an' chocolate-fudgein' the workin' class?'

"'I dunno. I couldn't see the answer to that question—I reckon it was because I'm a farmer.

"'But bad as that was it warn't nothin' to what happened when I got home and Mary Jane seen them clothes. Trouble shore did begin then. An' it ain't settled yet. Mary Jane just declares she will not have the life-blood of workin' wimmen an' children hangin' on a chair by her bed!

"'I dunno. But I'm still wearin' 'em—you bet I am!'

### A LETTER FROM DENVER, JANUARY 7th, 1913.

Comrade Wm. D. Haywood spoke to a packed house Sunday in Normal Hall. All the Socialists were out to welcome the genial miner back to Denver. When he was introduced and walked up the aisle from the rear with a quick, swinging gait, he received an ovation. He talked for two hours, first discussing the conviction of the Iron Workers, expressing sympathy for them. His description of the Lawrence strike took the crowd. The dreadful sabotage committed by them was "Keeping their hands in their pockets," he explained, to their amusement. He thanked the Socialists of Massachusetts and New York, and said they assisted greatly in winning the strike. While advocating industrial unionism (a form of organization I believe in myself) he dwelt at length on the necessity of the working class allying itself with the Socialist Party. Comrade Haywood always comes out strong for the use of the ballot for the workers, his critics to the contrary notwithstanding. As to direct action, Comrade Haywood said, "I am in favor of the sort of 'direct action' that won eight hours for the miners and Typographical Union, and so are you"—and so we are. At the close of his address he was heartily applauded and cheered. Resolutions were then passed declaring that our hearts are with the convicted Iron Workers, expressing doubt of their guilt, and promising assistance in their defense.—Una G. Roberts, M. D.

SCHENECTADY SOCIALISTS WELCOMING LITTLE FALLS STRIKERS AT CITY HALL.

## THE FOURTEEN IN JAIL

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

**I**N the Herkimer County jail at Herkimer, N. Y., are fourteen strikers, organizers and speakers—Legere, Bocchini, Vaughn, Hirsh, Lesnicki, Władya, Morlando, Preta, Scitrona, Bianco, Flamera Cornacchio, Furillo and Capuano. They must stand trial on serious charges because the authorities of Little Falls and Herkimer county hold that:

Ten persons who gather together during a strike constitute a "riot."

An open-air meeting in which quotations from the Bible, Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States are read constitutes "an unlawful assemblage."

Speakers who encourage strikers to stand firm but urge them to be peaceful and orderly are guilty of "inciting to riot."

Organizers who are present in an orderly assemblage which is broken up by police and in which two detectives are hurt by unknown persons must face long terms in jail for "assault in the first degree."

Workingmen who are members of a strike committee are conspirators and should be locked up where their influence will not be felt.

If convictions are obtained in these cases then the working class of America might as well abandon all agitation and education

both for political and economic action unless they are prepared to serve from one to ten years in the penitentiary.

The Little Falls strike is over, but the big fight has just begun. The commonest rights of human beings and citizens have once more been annulled and spit upon by the capitalist class and their legal lackeys. Are they going to be allowed to get away

with it? These cases were originally set for the second week in January, but they may be continued. Meantime send your protests to Governor Sulzer at Albany, N. Y., who says he is the "workingman's friend"; to District Attorney Farrell at Ilion, N. Y., and Mayor Shall at Little Falls, N. Y. It is time the voice of labor be heard.

## A RED BRIGADE

**How the I. W. W. of Columbus, Ohio, Collected \$40 for the Little Falls Strikers**

**T**HE accompanying photo will show how Local No. 54, I. W. W., with good results, took advantage of New Year's day to raise funds for the fellow workers on strike at Little Falls, N. Y.

We secured two pots swung on tripods stationed on High street and placed signs in a conspicuous place above them. We sold fifty copies of the REVIEW, all that we had and could have sold five hundred additional copies.

This being our first experience we have learned how to better conduct the next campaign. Local No. 54 has a small membership and the work fell upon the few active rebels that are striving hard to build up an organization, yet, what was lacking in numbers was more than made up in the true revolutionary spirit always found among the Industrial Workers of the World. We operated in reliefs as the day was very cold, especially when standing on the damp sidewalk.

The spirit with which we entered into this fight for justice seemed to permeate the winter atmosphere and become contagious as the day's work netted \$41.35, and after deducting \$1.00 for the expense of the signs, immediately a check was mailed to the strikers for \$40.00.

We secured permission to gather the funds from the Chief of Police, but had he refused we were determined to go ahead and fill up the jails if necessary.

Our experiences were varied and the coins ranged from a one cent piece to a ten dollar check. Little newsboys dropped in their hard earned pennies. Little children contributed, their sweet faces beaming with joy at being able to help along so worthy a cause. Workers, their faces covered with that unmistakable mark of the bitter struggle, dropped in their coins with such remarks: "That's me, keep up the good work," or "Sure, this is our fight." Often during the day there came along the down-and-out with an empty pocket and stomach. These, of course, could not give but assured us they were with us. Even two policemen were seen to contribute.

Upon one side of the pot a fellow worker rang a little bell to attract attention and on the other side another sold REVIEWS, holding open the pages showing the picture of the strikers in jail, explaining the strike and our object in collecting the funds. Naturally we were the center of attraction, this being something never before attempted

upon the streets of this masters' town. We had many arguments during the day, some amusing, others serious. We must relate one in particular.

A bourgeois from Little Falls happened along and, of course, had to give his version of conditions by blaming the strikers. During the course of his remark a big, fat plute dressed in faultless attire appeared upon the scene and lost no time in joining forces with the speaker by saying, "Sure it's their own fault, if they did not spend all they made for booze they could live comfortably and each one buy a home." By this time the crowd had increased, blocking the sidewalk and even standing in the street. A worker in the crowd whom we recognized as a blacksmith, asked, "Why is it that I am in my present condition bordering on poverty all the time? I work six days every week and I don't touch booze." This was too much for the plute. His discomfiture was plainly noticeable and he looked appealingly around expecting someone to come to his rescue, but no answer was forthcoming and the crowd enjoyed itself immensely at his expense. Hot shot after hot shot was poured into him mercilessly and he was seen to edge his way out of the crowd muttering, "It isn't fair, you are all against me. You fellows don't know when you are well off and the d——n I. W. W. is the cause of it all."

Thus we spent the happiest and most satisfactory day in the history of our short existence, fully establishing the fact that the I. W. W. knows how on occasion to adopt original tactics. These tactics are becoming a power in the labor world today and can no longer be resisted. In labor's war for freedom we will continue to grow until the time when we will overthrow the cruel and murderous system and upon the scrap heap of wage slavery establish the Industrial Democracy of Freedom and Justice for the working class.

# PUBLIC SPEAKING

BY

PROFESSOR HENRY GAINES  
HAWN

President of The Speech Arts New York City

*Sense before Sound.  
Strength before Grace.*

**I**T IS well for all students of the Art of Speech to keep these two mottoes constantly in mind, both while practicing and while facing an audience.

The speaker's first duty is to be heard; his second to be understood. The first is a matter of breath control and tone production; the second is dependent upon correct enunciation, pronunciation, pause, emphasis and inflection. My purpose is to attempt to be as clear as possible in explaining the processes and application of each of these elements of speech.

Breathing for the speaker is not so much a matter of amount as of **control**. There is nothing mysterious or difficult about this function. When all is said we can do only two things with the breath, inhale and exhale. Even for life processes (health) the habit of correct breathing is most important, and for the speaker an essential.

## **Exercise:**

Stand with weight on both feet; shoulders thrown well back; lips slightly parted, inhale noiselessly (mentally) counting "1-2-3-4"; during this first inhalation the abdomen must be allowed to become inflated; count (always mentally), "1-2-3-4" a second time, and neither inhale nor exhale; count four again, resuming inhalation, but now allow the chest to lift. This is called the "Separated Breath," and is recommended as of special service. It calls conscious attention to

the act of **deep breathing**, and causes us to fill the lower portions of the lungs before we use the upper chambers. Note the direction to practice these exercises with the lips parted.

In mere life-breathing the lips must be kept closed and the nostrils used for both inhalation and exhalation; but neither singer nor speaker shuts the lips to breathe through the nose.

Before continuing these directions for a complete system of breathing exercises, it may be well to be explicit on two points; the breath must not be **sucked in**; it is a **drinking** process, entirely noiseless; and secondly, the expansion of the abdomen and of the chest must not be muscular, but the effortless result of your inhalation. The chest once inflated, **leave it so**, and from this time on, inhale and exhale on the rhythmical count "1-2-3-4" at the waist-line only. Once in a while it is a good thing after exhaling from the abdomen to continue the letting out of breath by allowing the chest to sink. This will show the quantity of breath which you have on hand as a **surplus**. In art language the extra and unused breath gives what is called a "supported tone," and in speaking gives a sense of ease, a sustaining power.

When quite expert in this exercise, change the count to "1-2-3-4-5" (mentally) and practice accordingly. In other exercises increase the count to 6, etc., up

to 10. If you practice on only the "1-2-3-4" you would find that in speaking you would feel the inclination to inhale after every few words.

These exercises so far are intended to show the process, but when actually speaking you cannot take the time for slow inhalations; they must be made quickly and imperceptibly.

**Exercise:**

Inhale as before; when abdomen and chest are inflated, count audibly "1-2-3-4" (leaving chest up and allowing the abdomen to sink), and immediately drink in as if in a gulp (noiselessly) a full breath and repeat over and over. These simple exercises are all that are needed for acquiring complete control of the breathing apparatus, and prepare us for the next step: tone production.

To be heard loudness of tone is neither necessary nor desirable. It is largely a matter of purity of tone. In a pure tone all the breath is vocalized—that is used in sound production. There is no need of going into the scientific explanation of this fact; but we cannot make it too emphatic that no breath is in any way made manifest in a good tone. Prolong an "O" sound and hold a lighted candle or match close to the lips and you will see that, no matter with what loudness you produce the tone, the flame will continue to burn perpendicularly, and show not the slightest indication of escaping breath. Another test is to hold a mirror close to the mouth, and if your tone is "pure" no haze will show itself on the surface.

**Exercise:**

Breathe as before—form the lips into a circle—say "O", and prolong it as long as the breath in the abdominal region can be comfortably sustained; do this with the candle or mirror, and when either records any breath, mentally reduce the breath pressure.

The first requisite for good speaking—public or private—is good tone. A musician seeks the best instrument obtainable, and wants it kept in tune.

So with the human voice, the most wonderful of instruments, we have the same laws governing tone production.

The strings upon a violin are the least important part of its mechanism; and the same strings used upon one instrument will give only raucous noise, and used upon

another will give music. The controlling influences, then, in tone making are the resonance producing cavities. This is particularly so with the human voice.

Nearly all singing teachers are guilty of this error; they say to their pupils: "Bring that tone forward." I, too, want the tone "brought forward," but not until it has had time to be directed backwards to arouse all possible resonance from the cavities. This directing the tone first backwards is a mental process; the thinking of it as thrown backwards into yourself. The word "resonance" means just that: a re-sounding. In light, the rays thrown backwards to the polished surface are the ones reflected; and in a sound, likewise the vibrations thrown backward into the resonance chambers are the ones which are intensified and made to "ring."

If you want the man furthest away in your audience to hear you, you must think of him as catching your voice on the rebound, not that the tone goes to him from the tip of your tongue, but that it is first re-inforced by being reflected.

Here is a test: Call an imagined passing car. "Hi! Hi! there!" first by directing your voice directly to the motor-man; note the strain in your throat, and the harshness of your tone. Now, relax your throat, and opening the mouth to form a big cavity, yell: "Hi there!" thinking of throwing the tone backward, as if through an opening in the back of your neck. The added amount of tone, and its singing quality will surprise you.

**Exercise:**

Breathe as before. Choose any pitch of voice (mentally); keep all muscles of the throat relaxed; chin a little depressed, and open on the syllable "mo." (The "m" places the tone in the nose cavities), and while repeating "mo-mo-mo" think of the purity of the "O" quality and direct it backwards the moment after the first impulse has been given.

Do this, at first taking a noiseless breath after each "mo" and then after a sequence of several.

Next: Employ such words as "old," "bold," "cold," etc., seeking resonance rather than loudness.

Then employ a spoken sentence: "On thy cold gray stones, O sea." This is the mechanical way in which to train the voice.

# PUBLIC SPEAKING

## The Great Orations of American History

BY

FRANK BOHN

**N**APOLEON once observed that there was but one method of mastering military science—by the careful study of the campaigns of successful generals. Though as much can hardly be said of public speaking, still the study of great historical orations constitutes an essential part in the preparation of a public speaker. In our present work we shall confine ourselves to the most distinguished speeches of American political history. In this we are very fortunate indeed. While the crises in the life of this nation have produced little good poetry and almost no music, they have found expression in an extraordinary number of public speeches which rank with the best the world has produced. These great utterances can be understood and appreciated only in so far as the reader has a basis of sound historical knowledge. Lincoln's Gettysburg address, for instance, is quite meaningless unless the forces struggling for mastery in the Civil War are clearly understood.

During the coming month it is to be hoped that all students pursuing this course may have access to a public library or be enabled to purchase or borrow copies of the speeches herein discussed. They are four in number—James Otis, on the Writs of Assistance; Patrick Henry to the Virginia House of Delegates; Alexander Hamilton before the New York Convention; and Fisher Ames on the Jay Treaty. These four speeches mark the four stages in the development of the political power of the commercial capital-

ist class which ruled America from the outbreak of the War of Independence to the election of Jefferson, in 1800.

James Otis' speech on the Writs of Assistance was made in court against the King's revenue officers in 1761.

Patrick Henry's famous speech made to the Virginia House of Delegates at the outbreak of the Revolution, contains less vital matter than that of Otis. It was purely a call to arms and today sounds quite bombastic. But it is illustrative of the speech-making of that day.

The most important by far, of these four orations is that delivered by Alexander Hamilton in 1788, before the New York State Convention, which met to consider the Federal Constitution. Hamilton was the great constructive statesman of the period of reorganization which followed the break-up of Colonial government. Therefore, his speeches and writings must necessarily be of a totally different character from those which mark the period of revolutionary propaganda. The series of speeches including the one we here mention, turned a Federalist majority in the New York State Convention into a very decided majority.

We are not here concerned with Hamilton's undemocratic attitude toward the mass of people. We must study it as a masterpiece of cogent reasoning from accepted premises. It might be added that the average young socialist speaker will profit much more by a study of speeches of this type than by those, for instance, of Johann Most. Ardor and

destructive criticism is something we are not likely to lack at the outset of our careers as speakers. Sound processes of thinking and constructive argument are qualities much harder to attain. Following this speech of Hamilton read some of his famous papers in the *Federalist*, a volume which will be found on the shelves of every town library.

Fisher Ames' speech on the Jay Treaty, like that of Hamilton, was made in the face of bitter popular opposition. The great mass of the people was crying for war against England; the commercial capitalists, represented in Congress by John Jay, wished a continuance of peace and profits. If a crowd is standing up and shouting almost any empty-minded rant can get it to stand on the chairs and shriek. But to get that crowd to remain quiet long enough to carefully think over the proposition before the house and change its mind—that requires an Alexander Hamilton, or a Fisher Ames.

### **The Study of the United States Constitution.**

Not very long ago an otherwise very intelligent comrade remarked to me that "If we capture the Congress of the United States there is not much need of controlling the Senate." Even those of us who lay very little emphasis upon political action should know enough about the Government of the United States, of the separate states, and of municipalities to speak of them intelligently. Ignorance upon this subject in the ranks of the Socialist party is fraught with very grave danger to the future of our movement. Therefore, if you have the time, read in addition to the chapter in your text-book of political history on the making of the constitution, John Fiske's "Critical Period of American History," and J. Allen Smith's "The Spirit of American Government." The former of these is favorable to the work of the constitutional convention while the latter is critical.

The work this month should begin and end with a careful reading of the Constitution itself. Notice specifically the distinctions between the powers of the Federal Government and those of the state governments. If the Socialist party should

capture all the machinery of government in the state in which you live, what could it do and what could it not do with that machinery, according to the law of the Constitution? Examine the matter of the separation of the powers of the Federal Government into departments and be able to describe the functions of each. Remember that this constitution is in reality only the skeleton of our government—that its flesh and blood has been added by a century and a quarter of national growth and judicial interpretation. Of this more in the future.

A word might be added as regards the attitude of a Socialist in the study of this period. Not until the development of the Socialist movement was the United States Constitution studied as a class document. This criticism has often resulted in a very peculiar and unscientific attitude on the part of Socialists. Many of our critics whose feelings in this matter far outweigh their knowledge of history, somehow adhere to the notion that the constitution was in reality written by a gang of conspirators whose sole motive was antagonism to the poor of that day. When we study the history of a great and triumphant social class, which for the time being governed the processes of social progress, we should conduct our investigations in an understanding and sympathetic manner. During the revolutionary and constitutional period of American history it was absolutely necessary that the commercial capitalists should dominate the situation.

The small farmers of that time were as little capable of organizing the Revolution and writing the constitution as Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and their followers are today able to reorganize the industries of the nation on a Socialist basis. That is, the class which later triumphed under Jefferson still lacked class consciousness, cohesion and political efficiency. The work of the Federalist party under Washington and Hamilton was in general brought to most successful results in a high-minded manner by men who fully grasped the larger problems of the time.

Only a very strong system of government could stand the strain of the class struggles of the century which followed.

In the study of history we must free ourselves from all idealistic notions based upon general concepts of right and wrong. We must also, for the time being, divest ourselves as much as possible of our peculiar class emotions and experience the thoughts and feelings which furnish the motive forces of the great social movements of the past. For wherever we discover social movement we must find in it not only useful knowledge but also inspi-

ration. This is doubly true when our purpose is primarily the appreciation of public speeches which were in themselves great historical forces.

NOTE—The cheapest possible adequate reprint of the great orations has been published by Funk, Wagnalls & Co., in ten small vols., edited by Wm. J. Bryan, and sold in cloth binding for three dollars.

I hope in the near future to edit for Kerr & Co. a single volume of revolutionary orations selected especially for Socialists.—F. B.

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## THE PORCUPINE MINERS OF ONTARIO

BY

### J. D. BARRY

ON CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEARS THE WORKERS PARADED THE DISTRICT, CARRYING REVOLUTIONARY EMBLEMS IN A DOZEN LANGUAGES; NO PATRIOTIC BANNERS WERE TO BE SEEN, THE WORKERS KNOWING NO FLAG BUT THE REVOLUTIONARY FLAG OF THE WORKING CLASS.

**T**HE Porcupine Miners' Union, No. 145, of the Western Federation of Miners, is on strike at Porcupine, Ontario, against a reduction of wages and an increase in hours.

On August first, when the mining companies posted a notice of the wage reduction, the local organization of the miners protested and applied to the Minister of Labor to appoint a Board of Conciliation under the Industrial Disputes Investigation

Act. The mine companies altogether disregard this law which provides a 30-day notice must be given of any change in wages or working hours.

As the miners showed an intention to fight, the companies postponed the cut till September first and a board was appointed to investigate. The board (as has been the way of arbitration or investigation boards from time immemorial) dawdled and dallied for about two months. The

mine owners got their report promptly, but the union boys got theirs ten days later, when the companies posted notices that the reduction would take place at once. As usual the "Uninterested" third party was in the service of the Bosses.

The miners held a mass meeting and resolved to demand the union scale of wages and the adoption of an eight hour work day and decided to strike. Not only did the boys affected walk out, but every miner in the whole camp joined them and made the tie-up complete.

Immediately the mine owners wired for Thiele detective agents and these thugs began to appear with guns and clubs prepared to beat the strikers regardless of methods. Fortunately they soon overplayed their hands and the general public refused to stomach the rowdies who were on trouble bent. Also the Ontario police held aloof. They were not only disgusted but jealous of these bragging looters who were kicking in on their own graft. So the plug-uglies abandoned the field and the police took to scab herding, and are saving the mining companies a lot of money thereby and placing the burden upon the tax-

payers who have no interest in the struggle between the bosses and the men.

The mining companies not affected by the findings of the board, are entering proceedings against any of their ex-employees that they can reach for **ILLEGALLY QUITTING WORK**, also against the active members of the Union for "inciting others to go on strike."

All of the forces of the government, except the military, are now lined up against us. It is easy to distinguish friend and foe. The Porcupine boys, who speak in a dozen different tongues, are standing together as one man. After five weeks of strike, their ranks still remain unbroken. The mining companies have scoured all over eastern Canada and the adjoining states, but have been unable to get competent men to fill the places of the strikers.

The line-up of all the existing social institutions against the workers is showing the boys the class character of society better than a million words could have done. Strikes are wonderful eye-openers and this is going to be a great benefit to the strikers when the final conflict comes.

## A CALL FOR HARMONY

It is with the deepest regret that I have read the attacks upon Comrade Haywood which have appeared in the National Socialist. It fills me with amazement to see such a narrow spirit, such an ignoble strife between two factions which should be one, and that, too, at a most critical period in the struggle of the proletariat. What! Are we to put difference of party tactics before the desperate needs of the workers? Are we no better than the capitalist politicians who stand in the high places and harangue about petty matters, while millions of the people are underpaid, underfed, thrown out of work and dying? While countless women and children are breaking their hearts and ruining their bodies in long days of toil, we are fighting one another. Shame upon us! The enemy is at our very doors, and the hand of the destroyer does its fell work, while we leave the victims helpless, because we think more of our own theories—theories that have not even been tested! It is well for us to disagree and discuss our differences fully and vigorously. But it is stupid to make the issues personal. If the points of controversy are ever so weighty, they are not so great as to justify the mischief which springs from the quarrels of Comrades. How can the workers, whom we urge to unite, look to us Socialists for guidance if we fail to unite? What are we organized for? What is our chief bond of unity? What is our avowed object? The welfare of the working class and the abolition of capitalism. By our fidelity to the working class and to our ultimate purpose we are to be tested. Our rise or fall depends, not upon theories of party tactic, but upon what we do or fail to do in the practical contest. There are many ways to work for the coming of the Co-operative Commonwealth. But those who hope for that commonwealth and work for it, those who are on the workers' side of the battle are our Comrades. They can never cease to be our Comrades, even though they withdraw from our party, or are dismissed from our party. We are the friends of all who serve the worker, of all who labor for the social revolution, for the uplifting and enlightenment of all men. When will the champions of the oppressed unite, and thus hasten the day of deliverance? With New Year's greeting, I am faithfully yours, HELEN KELLER, Wrentham, Mass.

HOPEFUL EMIGRANTS ON THEIR WAY TO THE "LAND OF THE FREE."

# Capitalist Agriculture in Argentina

By ERNESTO F. DREDENOV

**T**HE Argentine Republic is comparatively a very young country, its rapid development dating back only about 25 years. As the country depends mostly upon agriculture and as only one-third of the total area is under cultivation, one should think the conditions for the small farmer and farm laborer ought to be excellent.

But the man who believes that, forgets that capitalism is near to its climax and therefore has its claws upon everything.

How different was the colonization of the United States some 60-70 years ago, when capitalism was in its early stage of development, from the present day well organized capitalistic colonization in Argentina.

In the United States at that time anyone who had strong arms could go out west and occupy a piece of free land, more than sufficient to nourish him and his family. In Argentina, although two-thirds of the country are "unoccupied," there is no more room for a man with only strong arms, except as a beast of burden.

Today, big land companies, mostly branches of railroad companies and backed by an enormous capital, send their agents out west to select immense areas suitable for agricultural purposes. As these companies go hand in hand with crooked government officials, they obtain large territories practically for a sandwich. As soon as they are in possession of the property title, they build a railroad across their estates,

which, of course, raises a hundred fold the value of the land. When the company considers the prices high enough, it sells the land at public auction.

In order to stimulate keen competition, the sale is advertised in every newspaper during three months in advance. On the day of the auction the company runs special trains, free of charge, even if the place is several hundred miles from the federal capital, Buenos Aires. Secret agents (drivers) do the rest in artificially pushing the prices. Now as in Argentina it is necessary to have at least several hundred acres of land to do farming in an economical way, it is clear that the man who has nothing more than strong arms, will be out of place, even if the land is sold on easy payments.

No doubt there are thousands of wealthy men who came to the country without a cent; but this was 20 or 30 years ago, when 100 acres didn't cost more than one costs today.

Suppose a man after a number of years has been successful enough to become owner of a small farm, he still has a hard struggle against capitalism, in which he finally must lose. The big landowner who can afford to use the most perfected and powerful machinery, is enabled to produce the cereal, or most other agricultural products at a lower cost than his small neighbor and therefore can sell them at a lower price than the latter. Here, like everywhere in the economical field, the strong tries to destroy the weak.

Also from another side is the existence of the small landholder threatened. If the capitalists do not control his ground, they certainly control its products. At the present time there are about six big cereal buying concerns, so it may happen that the agent of one concern offers a few cents more for a bushel than another. But before long the world's cereal trust will be organized and then the days of the small farmers are counted. The trust offers prices which just allow a living to the farmer, who is forced to sell his products to the trust or else incubate them. As the price must be based upon the cost of production of the farmer's method, the big landowners escape again because they make still good profits on account of their economical way of tillage.

In no time in the past have conditions for exploitation in agriculture been so favorable as at the present day, and all the so-called progress in this line during the last centuries were for the interest of the exploiters. During the period of slavery, the slaveholder had to nourish the slaves and care for them during the winter when there was no work, or in time of sickness. The wage slaves of today have to tramp over the country during winter and beg for the permission to work or for a piece of bread.

The conditions become sometimes so untenable in Argentina during the winter, that thousands of workmen leave the country. In July, 1912, the emigrants exceeded even the number of the newcomers by 1,500. The steamship companies promptly take advantage of this state of things and charge as an inducement only \$22 for the passage from Europe but \$36 to Europe, because a good many of the immigrants are bound to return by any means.

On the other hand, the present day means of communication and operations of commerce make it possible for the capitalist to exploit millions of acres of land without the least trouble for himself.

He knows, perhaps, no more about agriculture than a cat does about Sunday. He may live in Buenos Aires, Paris or Bermuda enjoying life to the limit, while his manager whom he interests in a small percentage of the net profits, will arrange everything for him.

Under these conditions big companies are formed to still more intensify the exploitation of the land, which are therefore better adapted to outdo the small farmers. To this end only lately three land companies have organized—Sociedad Forestal Lda, the Cia de Tierras de Santa Fe and Sociedad Quebrachales de Santiago—have joined their forces together; they own 2,000 square leagues, more than 12,000,000 acres of land. Argentina imported during 1912, \$6,000,000 worth of the most up-to-date agricultural machinery to be used on these monstrous estates.

There are a good many ranches of 50,000 to a 100,000 acres that use several hundred men during the summer months. The best ranch the writer found during his long journey through Argentina, is one of 150,-

## THE MOTOR OF A MOTOR WAGON DRIVING A THRESHING MACHINE.

An Important Factor in Fighting the Small Farmer. Besides the work of any ordinary wagon, an electric motor, or mechanical milking system, to cut wood, to pump water, or to do any other imaginable work where motor power is necessary.

000 acres in the most fertile region of southern Santa Fe. The workers got \$26 during the six summer months, of which \$10 were kept back until the summer was over, so that those who left before received only \$16 a month. The bosses called this arrangement a kind of a saving bank, but it certainly was something else. The most striking difference on this ranch was between the horse stables and the men's sleeping quarters. The former were high and airy buildings, while the latter was a small room without windows, where three "beds" (two beams and three boards), are placed one above the other. The only excuse for these bad conditions is that the owner hasn't spare room on his ranch. Horses cost money and men don't. This explains the difference.

The owner of the ranch, the Norwegian consul and a very wealthy man, is the same man who financed the South Pole expedition. I wonder whether Amundsen, who stayed for some time on that ranch, found out who really financed the discovery of the South Pole.

On these big ranches hardly any women are employed except as cooks, so only single men are accepted and if they are married their wives must stay away. Only a few watchmen, whose little houses are scattered over the estates, are allowed to keep their families with them.

Here, like everywhere in the world, Socialism will come too late to break up the family. As a consequence of these unnatural conditions, there is a house of tolerance at every second or third railroad station

where this system of capitalistic agriculture is in practice. At some stations it is, beside the shanty of the policeman, the only house in the neighborhood. And as a true capitalist country the Argentine Government asks licenses ranging from \$500 to \$5,000 a year. Nobody must be surprised, then, that it happens that immigration officials offer to young newcomers girls, easy positions with nice dresses and plenty of money.

Not always do the ranch owners refuse married people. For instance, down in the territories of Santa Cruz or Chubut in the sheep raising regions, they are welcomed. On account of the difficult traveling, married couples do not move away as readily as single men, when they are tired of the loneliness in the Patagonian steppes.

Another form of capitalistic agricultural exploitation are the so-called "Colonias" which rent out their land in parts of 200 to 1,000 acres. The rent usually has to be paid half in advance, so that the owner is always in safety, no matter whether there is good or bad harvest. For all debts the renter incurs he must pay 12 per cent interest.

The writer of this article has been several months in the administration of such a colonia and was witness of an incident which showed most evidently that the renters are robbed of the fruits of their work like the wage slaves. The proprietor of said colonia, which aggregated about 90,000 acres (who owns in all more than one-half million acres in several parts of the country), bought that land some 25 years ago for less than one-thousandth of its present

valuation. Laborers of probably all European nations who built a railroad across it from the sea coast, brought it to its present worth.

A renter on this colonia had very bad harvests for two years in succession and, of course, the poor harvest of the third year wasn't sufficient to pay his debts. As the renter was also heavily in debt with the storekeeper, the majordomo (manager) ordered him to bring his wheat to the colonia's barn, and appointed an assistant to the effect that the order was carried out. The renter who considered his debts with the storekeeper, who provides him on credit with the means of living during the winter, started to bring at least a part of the wheat to the latter, which the assistant reported at once to the administration. When the majordomo arrived, drunk at night, and heard of this crime he threatened to put in the renter the fear of death. He had two horses saddled and went out with an assistant into the dark night to the shanty of the renter. Arrived there he actually discharged his army Colt twice into the roof of the poor man's home, who came out to answer the two shots. Thereupon the majordomo and his man slept upon the wheat bags in order to prevent their being taken away during the night. The next morning the wheat was brought to the depot of the administration.

As the value of the wheat wasn't sufficient to pay the rent for the last three years, the majordomo gave orders to the sheriff in the next village to seize the belongings of the poor farmer, that is to say, to do the robbing "legally." A few days later the sheriff came, accompanied by a policeman armed with a rifle, and a whole gang started for the renter's home. The latter was absent and only his wife, his young daughter and a few children were at home.

The woman protested and the children cried, but nothing could help. On the contrary, when the poor woman in her excitement tried to prevent the sheriff from opening the corral of the horses, the policeman pushed her against the breast so that she nearly fell to the ground. The wolves drove away all the horses they could gather, 21 in all, a binder, two wagons and a number of harnesses.

So it happened in 1912 in Canada Ma-

rriano in Argentina, where millions of acres are waiting to be broken up. On that particular colonia or immediate neighborhood about 25 or 30 seizures have been made; in whole Argentina they probably amounted to tens of thousands among the farmers during the harvest.

Last year (1912) two regular farmers' strikes occurred consecutively in Argentina, during which a good many farmers emigrated to Brazil or Uruguay.

The first strike started in July in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Santa Fe, and lasted over three months, and the second one started at the beginning of November in the province of Cordova. It is not ended at the time of writing this. Although most farmers had contracts for several years, they went on strike. Why? Because they had nothing to lose. Many have had their harvests seized several times; one, Matias Tustrivo by name, even seven times.

Best will be understood as to how these people are sucked by bringing up a few of the demands formulated by the striking farmers:

1. To be free to sow the seed they consider best.
2. To be free to thresh their cereal with the machine they judge most advantageous.
3. To be free to sell the harvest to whom they like.
4. To be allowed to raise poultry, six pigs and the necessary number of milk cows for their exclusive use without giving part of it to the owner.
5. Obligation to the owner to secure a shelter, etc., etc. (Newspaper *La Argentina*, August 4, 1912.)

To make a worthy finish of this agricultural exploitation we reprint without comment a report of the Buenos Aires *Standard* of February 15, 1912, which is certainly no labor paper:

"The Argentina press denounces that slavery practically exists in the North. This is in obrajes or plantations of the Chaco and the yerbales. There, it is said, hundreds of lives are sacrificed annually to make a little extra profit. The men, owing to distance from the seats of labor supply, go on contract and once there are sweated with impunity and under threats of force. They cannot get at any official to complain and cannot escape, as traveling alive in the

## MEETING OF STRIKING FARMERS IN SAN JOSE DE LA ESQUINA.

forest means death by starvation, Indian attacks or wild beasts. The Department of Public Instruction has officials there who have called attention to this slavery. Orphans are enslaved and nothing is done to

improve or educate them. The National Labor Department, as usual, has no knowledge of what is going on and limits itself to sending emigrants to places whence there is no return."

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## LETTER FROM JAPANESE COMRADE

(The following letter was received from a well-known Japanese comrade whose name we are not publishing for fear of the consequences to him.)

Dear Comrades:

It is nearly eleven months ago since I wrote you. I remember I wrote you about a big strike in the city of the street railway company. There were arrested over 80 strikers and I was arrested with four other comrades on the 15th of January last. Two of them were released but three of us were kept in prison 110 days to get us punished. I shall not give you here much of prison experiences for it is all the same everywhere except ours are more barbaric, often brutal in treatment of criminals. Our prisons are all built in European style of wing systems surrounded by high brick walls and wardens and officers are in the military

discipline. Rules and regulations of the prisoners are also modeled after the western, but they are mostly only in form, observed in the interest of not prisoners but of officers.

Well, I got five months' imprisonment with hard labor. I began to serve my term on the 7th of May at Sagamo prison; then after two weeks was transferred to Chiba prison. It is one of the worst prisons where the most dangerous criminals are kept in separate cells. It was a very rainy and nasty day when we were transferred through awful roads in a gang of fifty criminals, handcuffed very tightly, hardly

able to move our hands. It is about thirty miles from the city of Tokyo, where the Sagamo prison is, to Chiba where Socialists have suffered in the past and seven of whom are still there.

At Chiba, I occupied a single cell and worked on wood shaving tape, which is exported to Europe for making hats. It is, of course, contract labor. We worked in the month of May 13 hours, ten in day time and three at night. In June, it is increased to 13½ hours. A daily task imposed is 300 feet of the tape. If you cannot do the required task, your food is reduced indefinitely until you do the work and this is on an average of once a month. I was condemned thus, being unable to do the task for two months after a trial of 40 days. Food is of 70 per cent barley and 30 per cent rice, hardly enough to satisfy hunger. Daily food is served with some sort of vegetables worth just 7-10 of one cent in American money. It costs the state to feed one criminal about 2 cents a day. But to give an idea to you: A pound of bread costs 4 cents and a pint of milk 5 cents in Tokyo. Salt costs in retail about \$2.80 on 100 pounds. So you see the prisoners' food is not inviting.

Twice a week we were supposed to have baths, about five minutes each time, and 10 to 15 minutes exercise daily, provided it is fine weather and a dry yard. If it is wet or rainy, we are kept any number of days in our own cells without exercise at all. In a little while I disliked to get out of the cell, my health was so undermined and I had no desire or strength to take exercise. I could not get water to wash my face

daily. In fifty days I got three times enough water to wash my face and mop the floor (wooden) of my cell. The rest of the days I got along without water. I asked many times for water, but in vain. I got only about two pints of lukewarm water to drink. With it I wet my towel and wiped my face through the heat of summer days.

It was almost unbearable. It was terrible to hear the cries and weepings of prisoners when they are whipped, fist-cuffed, kicked or trodden down and knocked with a sabre. To hear these cries that come from next or opposite cells is heart-rending. I may make some mistakes, be put in the same treatment. But fortunately I was not punished in this manner. Of course, this brutality is utter violation of the prison discipline. It, however, goes on from day to day in this manner.

On the 27th of September I got out by the amnesty granted to political criminals—just nine days earlier than the full term of five months. I got out the prison in fairly good health but very frail and soon my health broke down and I suffered much and am still too weak to do much work. The unnatural life I led in the prison and such a change caused the break-down. I am now worn out and used up, although I am struggling to better my health under strained conditions, financially and socially. In the two months since I got out of prison, I appeared only once at a public meeting to speak.

Socialists here are oppressed and dogged by the police, but we are all doing our best.

Hearty greetings to our American comrades in the revolution.

A COMRADE.

# SOCIALIST THEORY AND TACTICS

BY

CHARLES A. RICE

III.—Continued.

## *The Genesis of Pure-and-Simplism.*

Lassale, accordingly, organized, in 1863, the Universal German Workingmen's Union, and through this carried on a vigorous propaganda of his views above outlined. The Lassaleans, after his death in 1864, emphasized still more his attitude toward trade unions, and his advocacy of political organization on the part of the workers. His *indifference* to labor organization became intense *hostility* on the part of his successors, and the fight for the ballot became the all-absorbing aim of the entire Lassalean movement until it merged in the united Social Democracy in 1875 at the Gotha Convention.

The Eisenachers, that is the strictly Marxian section of the Socialist movement, were far more favorably inclined to the trade unions and helped a great deal in their formation and development. Their parliamentary creed, if any they had, was rather negative in character; far from showing the fervor and persistence in the purely parliamentary aspect of the movement for which the Lassaleans were noted, the Eisenachers were either lukewarm or downright averse to pure-and-simple politics.

For a long time before the Eisenachers fused with the Lassaleans, the former and especially those of them who stood nearest to the "two old men" in London (Marx and Engels), harbored, deep down in their Socialist conscience, a sense of suspicion with regard to parliamentary action; they foresaw its treacherous pitfalls of compromise, and Liebknecht used to say, "Parlamentieren heisst Pak-tiren"—"Parliamentary action is compromise." But in the course of this period up to 1875 the Lassalean emphasis on political action in the parliamentary

sense became more and more pronounced and put its dominant impress upon the whole German Socialist movement.

We may say that Lassaleanism in entering the movement became as a strong leaven for brewing the over-stressed devotion to the ballot or acted as *one* of the chief levers that gave the Social Democracy a decided swing and tip down to the parliamentary scale. The Eisenachers, though outwardly victorious over the Lassaleans, whom they have seemingly absorbed beyond recognition, really swallowed a powerful dose of Lassalean blindness to proletarian class action on the economic field; the Marxians were spiritually conquered.

This Lassalean conquest found its classic expression in Kautsky's commentary to the Erfurth Program of the Social Democratic party adopted in 1891. Kautsky says there:\* "The active interest of the workers in politics must sooner or later lead . . . to the formation of their own independent party, the *labor party*. This party forms the keystone to the organization of the proletariat. *Its economic organizations, no matter how far permeated by the consciousness that the interests of all proletarians are identical, must primarily serve to guard the special interests of the separate branches of the working class. The organization of the whole proletariat as a class . . . is possible only through its political organization as an independent labor party.* (Italics outside of the words "labor party" and "class" are mine.)

We must now turn back to the other factors that helped still more in fostering

\*See "Grundsätze und Forderungen der Sozialdemokratie, Erläuterungen zum Erfurter Program," 1904, p. 21.

the pure-and-simplist credo professed by the Lassaleans. The Franco-Prussian war was over and brought forth what the German bourgeoisie needed: a united "fatherland," and the abortive Prussian brand of a constitution. The workers gained a modest dose of civic rights and some approach to manhood suffrage, and so they threw themselves into the political fray with all their fervor and all their proverbial racial thoroughness.

Capitalism being then in its infant stage, its political tool, the bourgeois state, was, of course, correspondingly weak and seemed easy of capture. The workers seemed economically hopeless as a class, but they now had the franchise and could, presumably, outvote the bourgeoisie and vote in the Socialist commonwealth. It seemed quite plausible to assume that since the workers constituted the *majority of the nation* they were, or would soon *eo ipso*, become the *majority of the voters*.

This assumption, as we shall see in a future chapter, is sheer groundless hypothesis, an untenable theory in violent clash with modern facts, or pure myth. But this myth still forms the unconscious basis of pure-and-simplism even at the present time, and so it is far more natural that it was tacitly assumed at the period in question as an ultimate fact. All it was thought imperative for the workers to do was to organize into a political party of their own, carry on vigorous political campaigns, and send more and more representatives to the Reichstag.

At this Imperial talk-shop the delegation of the proletariat was to vote against the military budget and all other legislation for maintaining and strengthening the bourgeoisie state, fight from the tribune *against* militarism and *for* all the immediate demands outlined in the party programs. These demands as adopted later at the Erfurth Convention in 1891, were:

Universal suffrage irrespective of sex, and the secret ballot; proportional representation preceded by periodical redistricting of the empire for electoral purpose in connection with the census; biannual parliaments; elections to coincide with legal holidays; remuneration for elected representatives; abolition of all kinds

of political disfranchisement; direct legislation; provincial and municipal home rule; election of executive officers by popular vote and their responsibility to the people; physical education and military training of the young; militia as a substitute for the standing army; questions of war and peace to be decided by parliament; arbitration of international conflicts; abolition of all restrictions of the freedom of speech and assembly; abolition of all laws making women inferior to men in their civil and political capacities; separation of church and state and abolition of all public subsidies for maintenance of the church and religion; secularization of schools and compulsory state education; free administration of justice and legal defence facilities; popular election of judges; the right of appeal; compensation to persons innocently prosecuted, arrested or convicted; abolition of capital punishment; free medical and obstetrical service and medicines; free funerals; graduated income and property tax and the duty of self-assessment; progressive inheritance tax; abolition of all indirect taxes; an 8-hour work day as a maximum; prohibition of employing children under 14 years of age; prohibition of night work except where strictly necessary, a continuous period of rest of at least 36 hours each week for every worker; Imperial and provincial governmental bureaus and labor chambers for inspecting industrial establishments, investigating and regulating conditions of work in city and country; thorough industrial hygiene; equalization as to civic and political right of agricultural laborers and domestics on a par with industrial workers; guaranteed right of assembly and organization; state insurance of all workers and their decisive participation in the management.

And so our German comrades went into politics to the point of almost neglecting the economic side of the movement to such an extent that as late as 1900 the number of German workers organized in trade unions reached only 700,000, and 300,000 of these, that is 43 per cent, were of the kind that is caught in the snare of Catholic priests and bourgeois foxes of the Hirsh-Dunker stripe! Forty-three per cent of them led by reactionary scabherders! But the parliamentary end of the movement was doing a "land-office" business; one election district after another was wrested by our comrades from the bourgeois parties.

Rapid progress, though not nearly so fast, marked the history of parliamentary Socialism across the Rhine in France and in the rest of western Europe. The political prospects seemed brilliant; the Socialist pulse began to beat at a high fever; conquest loomed invitingly big and seduc-

tively near. The "political dictatorship of the proletariat" seemed to advance with giant strides, nearer and nearer, and Socialists felt they were on the eve of the Social Revolution rapidly hatching its way through the great political shell at the Reichstag with the Social Democratic delegation acting as mid-wife.

In 1877, a year before the "Socialist Law," that is the draconian laws of repression passed by the Bismarck regime against the Social Democrats, "a part of the German Social Democracy," says Kautsky\*—was lulling itself in the most daring illusion; the hardest part seemed to have been overcome and many already saw the day coming when a social democratic majority in the German Reichstag would decree the inauguration of the "Socialist state," and racked their brains about how to carry it out in the simplest and most painless manner."

The scheme of pure-and-simplism gained more and more in force in spite of the twelve years of the Anti-Socialist Law, under which our German comrades were hounded and baited like outlaws. The movement grew under this martyrdom; heroic enthusiasm rose higher and higher, and victory followed victory at the polls, until, in 1899, the Anti-Socialist Law capitulated before the onslaught and grit of the Social Democracy. The end of repression revived the parliamentary side of the movement and gave it new elasticity, a new springy, buoyant force and added speed. Higher and higher rose the political tide of the Social Democracy; seat after seat was gained until their number reached the 110 mark and the Socialist votes cast swelled up to over 4,000,000.

This continued success on the political field could not, and did not, fail to impart cumulative force to the pure-and-simplist credo and relegate the economic movement more and more to the background, to a very subordinate or subsidiary place in the great struggle for the ultimate emancipation of the working class from wage slavery and for achieving substantial economic improvements within the frame of capitalism.

The program was clear. The Socialist representatives in parliament were to skirmish with the political retainers of the bourgeoisie for obtaining political and economic reforms of vital interest for the workers until the "reds" became the parliamentary majority with Comrade Bebel or his successor as speaker. At this dramatic point our comrades would decree the ban on private property in the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and knock out the whole of capitalism by vigorous raps of the red speaker's gavel. This was to be done either at one stroke or by installments, industry by industry, as soon as the capitalists should have brought the industry in question to the required degree of concentration and efficiency and ready for socialization.

We must not forget that according to the pure-and-simplist scheme this trifling feat of expropriating capitalism was to be engineered and carried out by a parliamentary mechanism *without* the intervention of *the proletarian producers economically organized as a class*, that is *without the economic action of the proletariat or an indispensable and decisive factor in this gigantic process or irrespective of whether or not such a proletariat previously and adequately organized and industrially trained for this purpose was already in the field*. Having accomplished this feat, this parliamentary majority would constitute itself into the Socialist state with all its paraphernalia and trappings known to the bourgeois state.

The state would not *die out*, as Engels and other Marxian backnumbers maintained, but, on the contrary, would *purely and simply* be given a new long lease of life along with Socialist ministries, bureaus, judiciary, police and all other governmental clap-trap with a Socialist badge. This Socialist state would then proceed to organize, maintain, direct and run, from the same central legislative and executive powerhouse, the whole complex process of social production and distribution on a collectivist basis. As to where the *workers themselves* come in as a factor or what part their present or future economic organizations will play in this complex business, in what manner, and

\*See "Friedrich Engels, Sein Leben, Sein Wirken, Seine Schriften," p. 23.

to what extent they will have a say in the matter,—on all these points the pure-and-simplists' scheme is modestly reserved.

This eloquent silence is occasionally broken by some pure-and-simplist in a vague and timid hint that the workers will probably have some control in the shop in a sort of "collective bargaining" with the Socialist state as to wages and hours of work. Beyond this the exponents of the above scheme, even the boldest and hardiest among them, do not venture; they prefer to be non-committal.

On the political side of this control, however, pure-and-simplism is quite explicit. The workers *elect* this huge Socialist machine, at certain periods vote for these functionaries, heads, chiefs and all subordinates of the various departments of the government and from time to time *recall* them in case of misbehavior in office. The initiative, referendum and recall thus constitute, according to pure-and-simplism, a sufficient amount of control on the part of the workers and an adequate guarantee that the whole regime, as above outlined, will be free of abuse, despotism, and incompetence, and will insure the maximum of productive and distributive efficiency of the work done for society by the Socialist state.

The above scheme gradually gained acceptance in the German Social Democracy and was afterwards taken over almost verbatim into the political platforms and tactical dogmas of all the other Socialist

parties on the European Continent. Bebel and other comrades in and out of the Reichstag and other parliaments, it is true, were tactful enough to answer their bourgeois opponent, that they, the Socialists, could not and would not give an itemized account of the detailed workings of the future Socialist state; still, the outline of pure-and-simplism as given above is pretty well understood and accepted as good Socialist credo, whether officially in the various Socialist parties, or by pure-and-simple parliamentary Socialists in general.

We must add what pure-and-simplism tacitly maintains with regard to the present labor organizations, the craft unions and the co-operative societies, as well as industrialist unions. These organizations are regarded as the *left* arm of the entire movement, which means that they continue their small humdrum work within the frame of capitalism; they fight for crumbs from the capitalist board, for "a fair wage," for small improvements in the conditions of work, and so forth. The great work of the Social Revolution and even the forcing of radical economic reform is to be done for them by their political delegations in parliament.

In the next installment we shall take up the question as to what was the consequent effect of this marvelous growth of the pure-and-simplist credo upon the general development of the European Socialist and labor movement, and shall see how this credo worked in practice.

## THE ARMY AND NAVY

**D**URING the past month our mails have continuously rained clippings from the capitalist dailies exposing the terrible conditions in the U. S. Navy. So much material has come in that we shall only be able to quote from a few letters and clippings.

The *Virginia Pilot* writes that the men in the Navy are complaining of short rations and that there is likely to be an investigation involving every ship of the Atlantic Fleet. Graft irregularities are alleged in the purchase of commissary supplies. We

are not at all surprised that attempts are being made to curtail the food supply of the marines who are only hired and paid in the interests of the great exploiters of the working class and we distinctly hope conditions will continue to grow so much more prosperous for the purchasing agents and so much worse for the enlisted men that neither panics nor industrial depressions may be able to force them into joining the service.

From another clipping we learn that Floyd Richer, a sailor on the battleship

New Jersey committed suicide rather than continue serving in the Navy. This young man was a mechanical draftsman for a large manufacturing company with a bright future before him. But, fascinated by the stories of the interesting travels of sailors, he enlisted. A few months of the drudgery and routine of the life sufficed.

Says the *Post*: "Hugh Faulkner, private in the sixth infantry, stationed at the Presidio, is at the General Hospital in a dangerous condition from drinking carbolic acid. Faulkner took the poison with suicidal intent in a fit of despondency because he had enlisted."

From the *Telegraph Republican*, Pinesville, Ohio, we quote passages from a letter written by a private who was one of those sent to quell the disturbance in Nicaragua and pave the way for more capitalist grabs there:

"The other fight we had was at Leon, where the rebels had agreed to surrender to us and turn over their arms and ammunition. We were lined up in front of a church ready to receive the guns; the rebels were in a line facing us about 75 yards away. One of our officers, Lieut. Long, was conferring with two or three rebels midway between the two lines. Everything was quiet until one of the rebels drew a bolo and made a pass at the marine officer, who jumped back and shot him with his revolver; even then everything might have gone all right if one of the rebels had not started to wave his arms and make a speech to the rest of his tribe. No one knows whether he was trying to quiet his men or was urging them to attack us; anyhow his men began to assume a rather aggressive attitude, so this same *marine officer quietly put a bullet through the agitator or pacifier*, Lord only knows which! *Just as the officer fired, all the marines lined up and did the same with-*

WASH DAY—AFTER SCRUBBING THE CLOTHES.

out command. They seemed to have a hunch that that was the psychological moment. *Maybe we didn't pump the lead into that bunch. We killed over a hundred and forty before they got their breath, and all of our officers were yelling for us to cease firing, but nothing doing; we continued to fire as long as we could see anything to shoot at.* When we got through we discovered that four more of our men were killed, two marines and two sailors. No one had seen them fall or heard them cry out.

All reports show that the Navy is now some 6,000 short of the needed number of men. The *New York Times*, Dec. 29th, says:

In the big office building at 153 West Twenty-third Street one whole floor is rented by the United States Government as an office for the Publicity Bureau of the Recruiting Service of the Navy. There Commander George C. Day, U. S. N., is supreme, and under him he has a corps of picked enlisted men whose duties involve among other things the sending out of about 150,000 letters every week to young men in various parts of the country, to whose attention is called the advantages offered by an enlistment in the navy.

In the record rooms of the bureau are the names of more than half a million American boys and young men who have been reported to the navy as good material for the enlisted personnel of the service afloat. These names have been sent in by postmasters, by enlisted men who have sent in the names of friends, and by friends of the service everywhere in the country. At present the enlisted strength of the navy is about 4,000 men short, but the

indications are that within the next few months the full enlisted strength will have been reached, for the recruiting forces are bringing the average of 1,200 young men into the service every month.

Whenever Commander Day or one of his subordinates receives the name of a likely youngster who may turn out to be a good bluejacket, a letter is mailed immediately to that young man, in which he is politely asked to consider the advisability and advantages of a tour of service in the navy.

The following is a quotation from *The World*:

Each day hundreds of advertisements inserted in *The World* by young men in search of work are answered by recruiting officers of the United States Marine Corps.

The fact has been called to the attention of *The World* by a mother, who says in her letter, dated Dec. 5:

"My son put an advertisement in your worthy paper yesterday and this is an answer he received from the United States Marine Corps. I think it is a disgrace. Why should the United States issue such advertisements as they do and what is their purpose?"

"Are they trying to entice boys to leave home? I can just imagine where good boys disappear when such propositions are offered them. Kindly give this your attention and you will do many a mother justice in the future."

The letter was signed by Mrs. Leavy of No. 1429 Fifty-seventh street, Brooklyn. The letter to her son was as follows:

Marine Corps Recruiting Office, No. 24 Myrtle avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 4, 1912.

Dear Sir: I noticed your advertisement in the paper this morning and am writing you thinking that you might not have been successful in securing employment, or, if you have obtained a position, that it is not satisfactory to you.

How many young men in this and other cities get a place only to lose it in time through the laying off of help or from other causes? How many have to advertise for a position for weeks and then fail to obtain the employment they desire? The result is simply so much money wasted and life takes on a dull-gray appearance to the man out of a job.

Why not get away from all this uncertainty—the uncertainty of not knowing just where you are going to be this time next month.

Have you ever thought of entering Uncle Sam's service? Let me tell you that the service of today is a fine place for a live young man, and there is no uncertainty. It offers many opportunities for advancement, and besides the easy and congenial employment you would have, everything is furnished free.

I am inclosing some literature telling you all about the United States Marine Corps; what it does for the young man of today and what it will do for you.

Think it over and drop in and see me. I am sure you will not regret it. Write to me

if it is not convenient for you to call and I will be pleased to give you any information you desire. Very truly yours,

J. H. SWAN,  
Sergeant, U. S. M. C.

Sergt. Swan said last night that the Marine Corps sent thousands of such letters weekly.

"We want the best class of men and take every means of trying to secure them," he said. "You will find that the main bureau in Manhattan has been working along these lines for some time. Probably 100,000 letters are sent out each week. This is the first time that I have ever heard of a complaint when an honest job has been offered to a young man."

At the last Rock River Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Evanston, Illinois, the Rev. George P. Eckman, editor of the *Christian Advocate* of New York, in discussing superannuated preachers asked the question if they should not be shot.

"Men of wealth should see that they owe their wealth to Christian preachers," he said in making a plea for an endowment fund for discarded preachers.

"Christianity is the only thing that *keeps the great masses of poor people from assaulting the rich, and tearing from them their riches.* An endowment would not be a charity. It would be a small payment on a small debt. Why doesn't Carnegie or Rockefeller endow aged preachers. We might as well shoot them as to let them starve to death."

It does not occur to him that they might go to work. This is almost the first time we have known a Christian(?) minister to come right out and state flatly that the church is an institution of the capitalist class. We congratulate the Rev. Eckman. If others who serve their masters as diligently as does he, will only as frankly admit it, there is hope that either these men will have no more congregations to talk to or that the church will have to throw its weight on the side of the proletariat.

After the naiveté of the eminent clergyman we are not surprised to note that the Y. M. C. A. is joining in the strenuous campaign to lure young men into the Navy. When young men apply to these institutions for work, they are urged to join the Navy. All sorts of lies are told them, innumerable inducements held out to ensnare.

From Washington: "The Surgeon General of the Army estimates that \$85,000

will be required for the purchase of artificial limbs during the coming year."

The following is from the Survey:

**Men Wanted for the United States Army.—  
Easy Work, Good Pay.—A Chance to See  
the World.**

This advertisement is made the basis for the following reflections by two frequenters of the Interpreter's House in the *American*:

I wonder whether Uncle Sam is telling the truth—said the Observer. Let's look that list over a little closer: Private soldiers, \$15 per month; cooks, \$30 per month; bandmasters, \$75 per month.

He is and he isn't—said the Reporter. He doesn't tell a lie exactly, but he shaves it as close as you'd peel an apple. I know something about a soldier's life. There's his "steady employment" at fifteen dollars per month. Up at six, has breakfast and makes his bed. Drill at 7:30 for an hour and a half. Then a lot of useless routine duties up to about one. Two months a year target practice and special drill. That's his apprenticeship for three of the best years of his life.

What does he get out of?—asked the Observer.

Exactly—answered the Reporter. What has he to show for those three years that will help him to be successful as a carpenter, a mechanic or a merchant or anything else that is useful? For three years his mind has been turned away from all of those things whereby he might make a living. He has acquired a habit of idleness and a distate for civil life. Much of the training and knowledge which he previously had have lapsed from disuse. In their place he has acquired the vices of the camp, but he cannot live on those. If a man were receiving fifteen dollars a month and at the same time a training that would fit him for something useful, well and good; but at what

price can a man agree to throw away his future?

"A chance to see the world." No man sees less of the world that is worth seeing than the private soldier. He sees the inside of forts and brothels. He is not stationed where there is much to see, and what travel he gets does not educate him.

The boys in the Army and Navy are just like any other young men. Some of them become sickened of hardships and brutality and some of them become brutalized. Some of them, when called out on strike duty, are able to shoot down men and women who were former comrades—without a pang of remorse and others learn to so hate war and the tools of warfare that they long to wipe them out altogether.

We are glad to mention the Boys of the Company K, State Guards of La., who were recently sent down to coerce the Fighting Timber Workers into submitting to the yoke of the Lumber Robbers. They got their orders straight and they knew just what was required of them. But instead of obeying orders they fraternized with the strikers and gave them, at all times every possible assistance. So impossible was it to force them to turn scabs, thugs or murderers that Company K was withdrawn.

When we can reach the enlisted men in the Army and Navy with the propaganda of Socialism, these two arms of the Capitalist class will no longer be raised to oppress the workers.

# The Strike of the New York Hotel and Restaurant Workers

By FRANK BOHN

NEW Year's Eve is the greatest festal occasion in New York. The whole city turns out. The hundreds of fashionable cafes and hotel dining rooms are thronged with guests. Places at the tables must be reserved weeks before. The fashionable of the metropolis literally eat themselves out of the old year into the new. Up and down Broadway and nearby streets a million of the poor who cannot afford to eat an extra meal march for hours blowing tin horns.

To twenty thousand or more hotel and restaurant workers the holiday season is a time dreaded for weeks before and remembered with bitterness for weeks afterward. Twelve hours a day for the cooks, kitchen helper and waiters lengthen to sixteen or eighteen hours. The ordinary meal-time rush becomes a frenzied effort to satisfy the demands of the plutocratic gourmandizers.

On the night of January 31st, 1912, something happened. Thousands of cooks, kitchen helpers and waiters left the food uncooked and the guests sitting at the tables and rushed to Bryant Hall where they were organized for the fight. In many hotels the managers, dumbfounded by the swiftness of the attack, capitulated and surrendered to the demands of the union. These included some of the most fashionable resorts and largest hotels in the city. Rector's, which was put out of business for thirty days during the strike last summer was among the first to give in as were the Fifth Avenue Restaurant and the Folies Bergere. In all twenty establishments have now been conquered. About thirty others have been declared on strike. Among the latter are the Astor, the Ansonia, the Gotham, the Holland, the Waldorf-Astoria, the Belmont and others.

## THE UNION.

The International Hotel Workers' Union is a new-comer in the field of the labor movement. It is an industrial union includ-

ing all the workers of all the trades, from the basement to the roof of all hotels and restaurants in America. The engineers asked to take a stand beside the chambermaids, and the captain of the waiters must fight for the interests of the window washers. Perhaps in no industry, not even in railroading, is it harder for the workers to attain industrial solidarity. But the International Hotel Workers' Union is accomplishing this result. Some of the highest paid hotel workers in the city left their places to take their stand with those for whom the union is demanding a minimum wage of \$30 per month.

This union is not only industrial in character. Its membership is revolutionary in spirit. In New York City the character of the union is largely determined by its French and Italian members. These foreign born workers, trained in the labor movement of the continent, are well equipped for the present crisis. Without them it is inconceivable that the movement in New York City could have made such headway.

## THE DEMANDS.

Among the most important demands are: better sanitary conditions for the workers, better food, semi-monthly payment of wages, abolition of fines, the six day week, the ten-hour day, and a minimum scale of wages.

In many of New York's most fashionable hotels and cafes there are kitchen helpers who receive no more than fifteen dollars a month, and a great many who receive less than twenty dollars a month, and this for work which often runs to fourteen or sixteen hours out of twenty-four. Boys and old men who run elevators very often work sixteen hours a day regularly.

The degrading tipping system has become so general that many waiters draw no wages at all—being forced to depend entirely upon tips. In some hotels, where tips are largest, they even pay a stipulated

price per week or month to the management for the privilege of holding their jobs and receiving the tips. This degrading system of payment is deeply resented by the hotel workers and all reference to its future abolition in the meetings of the union is met with applause. But the time does not seem to be ripe to strike against this evil.

#### STRIKE TACTICS.

It is only natural that a new form of organization should develop new methods. Means never before employed in a hotel strike are successfully used and the whole city has been keenly interested in the somewhat sensational tactics which have been developed. Take, for instance, the calling of the strike in the Hotel Astor. This hotel is one of the greatest and most magnificent in the world. It is patronized by the ultra-fashionable. Robert Lackey, general secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Machinists, and Harry Kenter, member of the I. W. W., accompanied by three women who are friends of the union, entered the hotel during the busiest hour and proceeded to dine. When they paid their bill Lackey blew a shrill whistle—the signal for a walk-out. The waiters and other employes rushed for the doors to find them locked by the hotel detectives, the guests and employers alike being held prisoners for a considerable time. Of course, great excitement was produced and numbers of women fainted—from lack of food, perhaps. Meanwhile, a small army of private detectives and plug-uglies rushed upon Lackey and Kenter, beating them with black-jacks and imprisoning them within a room for an hour and a half. Later they were taken to court and each was given ten days in jail for raising a disturbance. The plug-uglies who had brutally beaten them were set free. Later in the night an employe who escaped from the basement of the Astor was pursued across the street by three plug-uglies, kidnapped and brought

back into the hotel. When the news that members of the union were being forcibly detained at the hotel reached Bryant Hall, five hundred members of the union marched down Broadway and started mass picketing. Bricks and stones thrown at the strikers by the hotel plug-uglies crashed through the plate glass windows, at which the police proceeded to arrest seventeen strikers.

#### SABOTAGE.

The French and German cooks and waiters declare that if they have to get jobs in non-union hotels they will burn the fried potatoes, boil eggs hard which were meant to be soft and spill bowls of gravy on the shirt-fronts of well-dressed guests. Somebody is said to have gone to Bryant Hall to tell them that this is all very immoral and that the workers ought to have more respect for those who eat at the Hotel Astor for no other purpose than to give jobs to the unemployed hotel workers. The reply made by the French and Italians has not yet been translated. In no other industry can sabotage be so successfully employed as in that of preparing and serving food. The workers say they will use it to the limit.

During this fight the members of the Socialist party and of the I. W. W. have been very active in assisting the officers and committees of the union. It is hoped that readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW will lend all assistance in their power to this young, active and progressive union. Five houses in Albany are already organized and on strike, and on January 11th, the Local at Philadelphia made a clean sweep at the Hotel Majestic, taking out two hundred men. The national headquarters of the union is at 72 West 36th street, New York City.

May the new year's message of the hotel workers of New York result in industrial solidarity among their fellow slaves throughout the land.

# WHAT HAYWOOD SAYS

~~~~~ON~~~~~

## POLITICAL ACTION

**W**HEN William D. Haywood collaborated with Frank Bohn to write *Industrial Socialism*, his enemies asked for an interpretation of the booklet. Since that time, in more than two hundred lectures, speeches and articles, Haywood has tried to make plain his message to the working class. Hundreds of thousands of men and women have heard him on the public platform. An equal number has read his published articles. Everywhere and at all times he has borne the same message. He has advocated class action on the political field. He has made it his life work to teach the necessity of class unionism on the economic field.

He has sought to interpret his booklet in his lectures, in his writings and in his deeds. And now his enemies have asked for an interpretation of his interpretation. And yet again will they desire an interpretation of his interpretation of his interpretation. And so on ad infinitum.

For the benefit of those who do not already know and who will be content with plain English, we take pleasure in reprinting quotations from Haywood's various articles and speeches published in Socialist and capitalist periodicals during the past few months:

**From speech delivered before the National Socialist Convention, 1912,** after the adoption of report on the committee on labor. "This is the greatest step ever taken by the Socialist party of this country. I can go out and talk Socialism from a Socialist party platform to the entire working class, to the eight million women and children who have no votes, to the four million non-workers in this country, to the blanket stiffs of the west and the timber wolves of the south, who are disfranchised by the nature of their jobs. I have said that the Socialist party should urge the organization of working men and women in the shops so they will be ready to carry on production when Capitalism is overthrown. I likewise urge that every working man use the ballot at every opportunity."—From *Metropolitan Magazine*, August, 1912.

**From Cooper Union Speech, New York City,** on Socialism the Hope of the Working Class. Referring to the Western Federation of Miners Haywood said, "But remember! We also believed in political action, and had elected one of our own class as governor of the state. And he called out the militia to protect the miners and put them in between the warring factions and told the deputy sheriffs that if they didn't disband he would fire on them as insurrectos. You understand, then, why I believe in political action. (Applause). We will have control then of whatever forces the government can give us, but we will not use them to continue to uphold and advance the present system. (Applause). And instead of using the powers of the police to protect the strike-breakers, we will use the powers of the police to protect the strikers. (Applause). "From *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, February, 1912.

**From speech delivered at the annual picnic of the Socialist party, Luna Park, Cleveland, Ohio,** "Haywood said that the object of the gathering was the discussion of the greatest social force in the world today. It is the world wide organization of the Socialist movement and is not confined to any one country. Don't join the organization unless you can cut relations with all other parties for all time to come. The Socialist party is the political expression of the working class. Its object is to get control of the government and organize the industries of the nation for the benefit of all the people. His powerful address aroused intense enthusiasm in a vast audience of over 5,000 people." From *The Cleveland Socialist*, July 20, 1912.

**From Industrial Socialism.** "The great purpose of the Socialist party is to seize the powers of government and thus prevent them from being used by the capitalists against the workers. With Socialists in political offices the workers can strike and not be shot. They can picket shops and not be arrested and imprisoned. Freedom of speech and of the press, now often abolished by the tyrannical capitalists, will be secured to the working class. Then they can continue the shop organization and the education of the workers. To win the demands made on the industrial field it is absolutely necessary to control the government, as experience shows strikes to have been lost through the interference of courts and militia. The same functions of government, controlled by a class-conscious working class, will be used to inspire confidence and compel the wheels of industry to move in spite of the devices and stumbling blocks of the capitalists."

## RESOLUTIONS OF PROTEST.

*Whereas*, The State Committee of Local New York, seconded by the State Committee of New Jersey and the Committee of the District of Columbia, has initiated a referendum for the recall of Comrade William D. Haywood from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and

*Whereas*, Local New York, through its Executive Committee and its Central Committee, has further passed resolutions demanding that steps be taken to expel Comrade Haywood from the Socialist Party, and

*Whereas*, Both the attempt to recall Comrade Haywood and to expel him are based upon alleged statements made by Comrade Haywood at public meetings, at which no authorized stenographic reports were taken and which are therefore founded upon unauthorized, individual verbal reports which are, from the nature of the case, necessarily inaccurate and conflicting, and

*Whereas*, The said resolutions were adopted without granting Haywood any hearing or even attempting to procure a statement from him as to his position upon the disputed questions, and

*Whereas*, The so-called Section 6, Article II of the Constitution of the Socialist Party, relied upon in part by the opponents of Comrade Haywood in their attempts to expel him, is not only too indefinite to be capable of enforcement, but also has, we believe, never been actually carried and should never have been officially printed in the Constitution; for the adoption by national referendum of *both* the proposed section and the substitute section, according to parliamentary law, really disposes of the original section by carrying the substitute, and brings about a result which, according to any interpretation, is so ambiguous and contradictory as to be without effect.

*Therefore Be It Resolved*, That we, the undersigned members of the Socialist Party, believe the action of the New York State Socialist Party in attempting to recall Comrade Haywood from the National Executive Committee and to expel him from the Socialist Party to be unwise and unwarranted, and to tend to create dissent and ill-will within the ranks of the Socialist Party. That furthermore, we believe no such action should be taken against any

member unless he definitely repudiates political action or some other principle of the Socialist Party.

*Be It Further Resolved*, That we know Comrade Haywood to believe in political action, and to have been of great service to our party in helping it to solve the difficult problems that confront the working class upon the industrial field. We also believe that instead of exaggerating inevitable differences of opinion, instead of reviving DeLeonistic tactics of personal incrimination, heresy-hunting and disruption, we should make use of the special talents of every member within our ranks, and in this way secure loyal service and co-operation. We believe in a united working class.

*Be It Further Resolved*, That we protest against the attempt to recall Comrade Haywood from the National Executive Committee and to expel him from the Party. We call upon all Party members throughout the United States who are in sympathy with these resolutions to join us in this protest, and we urge them to immediately bring this matter before their branches and locals.

*Be It Further Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Socialist press.

|                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| JAMES P. WARBASE    | SOL BROMBERG        |
| OSMOND K. FRAENKEL  | HELEN MAROT         |
| ROBERT M. LACKEY    | WALTER LIPPMAN      |
| MARGARET K. SANGER  | ANNA STRUNSKY WAL-  |
| STEPHEN G. RICH     | LING                |
| ANNA SLOAN          | WM. ENGLISH WALLING |
| JOHN SLOAN          | JESSIE ASHLEY       |
| MARY S. OPPENHEIMER | KARL HEIDEMAN       |
| MOSES OPPENHEIMER   | ROSE PASTOR STOKES  |
| GERTRUDE M. LIGHT   | J. G. PHELPS STOKES |
| MARION B. COTHEREN  | COURTENAY LEMON     |
| IDA RAUH            | ROSE STRUNSKY       |
| MAX EASTMAN         | PAUL KENNADAY       |
| ARTHUR LIVINGSTON   | MITCHEL LOEB        |
| GEORGE S. GELDER    | TIMOTHY WALSH       |
| ALEXANDER FRASER    | BERTHA W. HOWE      |
| HERMAN SIMPSON      | LOUIS B. BOUDIN     |
| GRACE POTTER        | JOSEPH MICHAEL      |
| FRANK BOHN          | HUBERT HARRISON     |

## FROM MONTANA.

The following motion was passed at Butte Local No. 1 at their regular meeting, held in Finlander Hall, Thursday, Jan. 2, 1913, at 8 p. m.

Whereas, a referendum to recall William D. Haywood from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party has been inaugurated by the state

committee of New York, and seconded by the state committee of New Jersey, and

Whereas, this referendum is founded upon the, as yet, unproven allegations and probably unfounded charges of enemies and opponents of the accused, and

Whereas, we believe justice between man and man to be a cardinal principle of the Socialist movement of the world over, and we look upon the high-handed procedure of the state committees of New York and New Jersey as an act that should merit the disapproval of all class-conscious Socialists, and

Whereas, the charge that he advocates sabotage and fails to emphasize political action is but a subterfuge to have him summarily removed from any position of trust he holds in the Socialist party. The real reason being his activity in organizing the working class into industrial unions. Therefore be it

That, The Butte Local No. 1 of the Socialist party does hereby most emphatically protest against such arbitrary methods, and we call upon an enlightened party membership to express their immediate disapproval by defeating this referendum, which has for its object the suppressing of one whose only offense is in organizing the workers on the industrial field in the only form that will properly express itself on the political field.

By W. A. WILLIS, Sec'y.

#### FROM MINNESOTA.

In accordance with the instructions of the State Executive Board the following letter was written regarding Referendum "D."

John M. Work,  
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Comrade:

At the last meeting of the State Executive Board the form in which referendum

"D" has been sent out was brought up, and I was instructed by the Board to protest against the placing of arguments in favor of the referendum upon the ballot. We feel that this is establishing a precedent which will open the way to all sorts of arguments so that if any three large states were opposed to some official they could place all sorts of charges against him in the form of statements in the motion for his removal and the membership would thus have on the official ballot the statement of only one side and that being of the one interested in the removal of the official. The resolutions and all the whereases could be drawn out into quite an argument in favor of the motion whatever it might be. We feel that it would be wise for the National Office to take the position that nothing except the question at issue which in referendum "D" would be: shall William D. Haywood be removed from membership on the National Executive Committee. I note that by the last weekly bulletin that the state of Washington has introduced an equally long resolution asking for the recall of Job Harriman. If this should be endorsed by sufficient states, it would be sent to referendum according to the action on referendum "D," and the whole resolution would have to be printed on the ballot. As time goes on longer and longer resolutions may be permitted giving arguments of those in favor of the resolution which makes the referendum entirely unfair as it places the argument of one side to the membership on the official ballot.

We do not question the justice of the referendum, but we dislike very much the political tactics adopted by Berger and Hillquit in presenting this resolution.

Fraternally yours,

T. E. LATIMER,  
State Secretary.

# EDITORIAL

**The Motion to Recall Haywood.** The state committees of New York, New Jersey and the District of Columbia have suddenly sprung a referendum for the recall of Haywood from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party. It is accompanied by a preamble falsely charging Haywood with saying things he never said. On another page of the REVIEW we publish extracts from Haywood's public speeches and writings showing exactly how he stands on the question of political action. Haywood himself makes no reply, in view of the fact that the New York State Committee voted down a motion inviting him to make a statement before the motion for his recall should have been voted on. How the rank and file of the party who have listened to Haywood in the past feel about this motion is well illustrated by the following letter just received at this office from Comrade R. S. McAuley of Rock Springs, Wyoming:

Comrades: I have a ballot given me by Sec. John Ramsay, Rock Springs, Wyo., to vote yes or no on the recall of Bill Haywood as member of the National Executive Committee. I have heard Comrade Haywood speak twice during the last year. Both times he made such a talk against the Republican and Democratic parties and capitalism in general as to make more class conscious Socialists than all those Sunday-school fellows that ever went over the pike. On the day that the membership of the party shall be so unwise, ungrateful and unjust as to turn down this man, I shall cease to be a dues-paying member. Have talked with several others who will take the same action. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Yours for the Co-operative Commonwealth.

R. S. MCAULEY.

We believe that the motion was proposed with the deliberate intention of driving industrial unionists out of the party, but we urge Comrade McAuley and all who think and feel as he does to think again and stay inside, no matter how the vote may result. If the motion carries, it will simply be because thousands of loyal party members have been deceived by the lying preamble and have voted under a misapprehension. We believe that more than ninety per cent of the membership care more for the working-class movement for the overthrow of capitalism than

for votes and offices, and that when the issue comes clearly before them they will act accordingly. As for the politicians in the party, let us not worry about them. Many of them sincerely believe that they are doing good, and part of them will be intelligent enough to see their mistake when the change of front of the capitalist politicians becomes fully apparent, and this will be soon. Meanwhile, let us all vote against the motion to recall Haywood, and go on fighting the biggest enemy, Capitalism.

**A Change of Front in the Class War.** A most significant article, entitled "The New Freedom," appears in the January issue of *The World's Work*. This article is so full of important lessons for the Socialists of the United States that we shall quote from it at some length. The writer says:

There is one great basic fact which underlies all the questions that are discussed on the political platform at the present moment. That singular fact is that nothing is done in this country as it was done twenty years ago.

We are in the presence of a new organization of society. Our life has broken away from the past. The life of America is not the life that it was twenty years ago; it is not the life that it was ten years ago. We have changed our economic conditions, absolutely, from top to bottom; and with our economic society, the organization of our life. . . . We are facing the necessity of fitting a new social organization . . . to the happiness and prosperity of the great body of citizens; for we are conscious that the new order of society has not been made to fit and provide the convenience or prosperity of the average man. The life of the nation has grown infinitely varied. It does not centre now upon questions of governmental structure or of the distribution of government powers. It centres upon questions of the very structure and operation of society itself, of which government is only the instrument.

Society is looking itself over, in our day, from top to bottom; is making fresh and critical analysis of its very elements; is questioning its oldest practices as freely as its newest, scrutinizing every arrangement and motive of its life; and it stands ready to attempt nothing less than a radical reconstruction, which only frank and honest counsels and the forces of generous co-operation can hold back from becoming a revolution. We are in a temper to reconstruct economic society, as we were once in a temper to reconstruct political society, and political society may itself undergo a radical modification in the process.

These paragraphs are not written by a Socialist, nor a near-Socialist, though they show a clearer understanding of economic determinism than many of our Socialist writers display. They are written by Woodrow Wilson, president-elect of the United States. Moreover, to anticipate an objection which might arise, they are not written to catch votes. The article appears in a magazine read by a comparatively small number of prosperous people rather than by the mass of the voters. Besides, the next election is a long way off. The article is a warning to the capitalist class by their own chosen leader that they must change front in order to keep their power. It is doubly significant in that it comes from a man whose own record, like that of his party, would lead us to expect extreme conservatism. The conclusion is forced upon us that an era of social legislation is at hand which, to say the very least, will bring the United States abreast with the most advanced countries of Europe. In other words, most of the "immediate demands" for which we Socialists have been contending, are likely to be enacted into law by the representatives of the capitalist class.

**State Capitalism or Industrial Unionism.** The more intelligent capitalists already see that if they are to continue drawing their profits, they must submit to an increasing measure of state control, in return for state protection against the exploited wage-workers. We may, therefore, look for a speedy extension of the principle of state capitalism to industry after industry. This will no doubt be accompanied by an actual improvement in the wages and working conditions of the laborers, but also by a further increase in the total profits of the capitalist class. Meanwhile the extension and improvement of the machine process will wipe out faster than ever what remains of the craft unions. Industrial unionism will be the inevitable resort of the mass of the workers. A war greater than any war of all the ages past is impending between the workers organized industrially and the capitalists and their retainers organized under the capitalist state. If the Socialist Party of America is to play any part in this war that is coming, it must

be unequivocally on the side of the revolutionary unions, obstructing the efforts of the capitalist state to crush them out by force, and otherwise aiding them on the political field in every way opportunity offers. Let the Socialist Party take this stand boldly, and it will be the rallying point for every wage-worker who learns by the object lessons of the near future that the Class Struggle is a fact. But let the Socialist party bow before capitalist ideals of morality, and ally itself with the conservative rather than the revolutionary labor organizations, and it will be pushed aside to make room for the aggressive politicians of state capitalism who will really do nearly everything that our timid reformers talk about doing.

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we want to

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already know many things *that are*  
*not so*, you can learn from The New  
Review *the things that are so*.

### Vital Questions

**The Balkan War**—The New Review has had two articles on this subject, "Austria and Serbia," by Gustav Eckstein of Berlin, and "The Eastern Question," by Theodore Rothstein, of London.

**Industrialism**—The New Review has had an article on Industrialism or Revolutionary Unionism, by William English Walling.

**The Negro Question**—Prof. W. E. B. DuBois has written for us on "A Field for Socialists."

**Sabotage**—Moses Oppenheimer writes on the advisability of labor making use of "Sabotage."

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# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**The Balkan War.** As the REVIEW goes to press the Conference of diplomats meeting in London has not yet decided whether it is to be war or peace. The Turkish representatives have refused to agree to give up Adrianople; the allies declare that they will have Adrianople or resume hostilities. Sir Edward Grey, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has said in Parliament that the great powers will insist upon peace. Just how they will enforce their dictum does not yet appear.

The fact that the danger of a conflict of the great powers has passed is, of course, cause for rejoicing. Just how much the international protest of the working-class has had to do with this happy result it is impossible to say. It is certainly true that the war talk ceased very suddenly and that its cessation took place shortly after the International Congress of Basel. As a correspondent of the *New York Times* reported, "Last night London went to bed convinced that a great war was inevitable; this morning it awoke, scratched its head, asked, 'well, why go to war if nobody wants to?' and then decided that all the war talk had been nothing more than a false alarm." There is no doubt of the fact that a great part of the inspired press of Europe suddenly changed its tune. And there is every reason to suppose that the responsible authorities who do the inspiring were not unmindful of the International Congress and the tremendous demonstrations which followed it.

## **Austria—Suppressing the International.**

Events following the International Congress of Basel throw a good deal of light on conditions in central Europe. In Austria the Imperial Attorney-General confiscated the entire edition of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* containing the text of the anti-war resolution adopted at Basel. The government was at that time making the most of a fabricated excuse for war against Serbia, and in fact was actively preparing for the opening of hostilities. The propaganda of the Socialists inter-

ferred with these plans, therefore it was put down with an iron hand.

For ten years past the Austrian government has suppressed working-class periodicals with the most ruthless tyranny. There is, theoretically no official censorship in Austria. But there is something much worse. Periodicals are compelled by law to submit a copy of each edition to the Attorney-General's office. If, in the opinion of this potentate, anything in the issue seems calculated to make difficulty for the bureaucracy, the entire issue is confiscated. This arrangement is much more onerous for the labor press than any censorship law could be. As a matter of fact no papers outside of Socialist and labor journals are ever confiscated. After the publishers have printed their edition and have been forced to delay the distribution of it, they are constantly in danger of losing the money and labor expended.

In the particular case involved the government went farther than usual. The Socialist representatives in the Austrian parliament were denied the right to present their case before the representatives of the people. They hoped, by means of a public interpellation on the subject, to read the Basel resolution into the parliamentary proceedings and gain for it immunity in the press. The speaker, however, under instructions from the ministry, refused to allow the formal interpellation to be read. Thus the purpose of the Socialists was defeated and a precedent was set for limiting the freedom of discussion in the Austrian parliament.

The result of all this has been the same as on many other similar occasions. The fuss the government made attracted more attention to the Basel resolution than Socialist propaganda could possibly have aroused. About the same time it became known that the stories upon which the ministry had based its intention of taking up arms against Serbia had been fabricated in Vienna. So, though all the bourgeois journals kept up their attempts to heighten the war fever, the bubble burst. The immediate danger of a war against

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Servia has passed. The stupidity of the bureaucrats has once more defeated itself.

**Germany—The New Way of "Bucking the Trusts."** It seems a pity that the German government's plan for starting a new oil monopoly to take the place of our own Standard Oil Company has been defeated in its first stage. Here in the United States we attempt to fight the trusts by ordering them to dissolve or to discontinue the resort to certain methods by means of which they have driven competitors out of the market. The German government knows a trick worth two of this. Its plan was a very good one indeed. There was only one difficulty about it: the Standard Oil Company had the oil.

Some months ago the government submitted to the Reichstag a carefully elaborated scheme for the formation of a German company which was to be given a monopoly of the oil business. It was an open secret that the power behind this move was the Deutsche Bank, and especially its director, Herr von Gwinner, the "most powerful man in Germany." This bank was to take a leading part in the organization of the monopoly and was to enjoy most of the incidental privileges which would result from its operations.

All the powers of the government and of the bourgeois press were enlisted in the support of this scheme. Its success was regarded as a matter of vital interest to every true patriot. Sad to relate, however, it was defeated by a combination of Socialists, Centrists and Liberals. And when one comes to look at the arguments which were made for and against it, its defeat is not a matter for wonder.

The government solemnly affirmed that it had made arrangements which would assure a sufficient supply of oil from sources other than the Standard Oil Company. Russian and Roumanian wells were to supply the greater part of the quantity needed. Independent American companies, also, were to deliver a considerable portion. The German representatives of the Standard, however, were able to show that all these sources combined could not furnish much more than fifty per cent of the petroleum consumed in the country. This was, moreover, good proof that the new trust intended to charge more for its product than had the old one. It was

clear, then, that the powers of government were not being invoked in the interest of the German people, but merely in the interest of German capitalists as against their American rivals. So the plan was defeated.

As I said above, this result seems unfortunate. The whole world would have enjoyed the sight of a set of solemn German government officials and bankers, with a staff of scientific experts, going about the production of a sufficient quantity of petroleum to supply the needs of a nation of 60,000,000 people.

**Russia—The Fourth Douma.** Final figures with regard to the recent Russian elections give the Socialists a slightly larger group than was at first reported. There are 16 Socialists members sitting in the Fourth Douma as against 13 in the third. In other respects, also, the outlook for the Russian people is improving. For one thing, an incident which occurred immediately after the elections shows how impossible it is for an autocratic government to maintain itself. The very means it fosters are sure to defeat it. The Russian government has made a farce of the constitution which it was forced to grant after the uprisings of 1905. Even the election law of 1907, unfair and undemocratic as it was, has hardly anywhere been adhered to by the bureaucracy. By means of force and subterfuge it has prevented the people from returning a majority openly in opposition to the Czar and his ministers. But now subterfuge has been used against subterfuge, and the government finds itself in a most uncomfortable position. No sooner were the lists of successful candidates published after the elections than several men who had been chosen as members of the Extreme Right, the group of the Black Hundred, declared that they belonged to one or other of the liberal groups. They had misrepresented their positions in order to escape being jailed or otherwise prevented from being elected.

Moreover, the government now finds itself with an opposition majority on its hands. During the sessions of the third Douma it had the support of a bloc made up of three groups—Extreme Right, Nationalists, and Octobrists. The last group, the Octobrists, are a mild sort of constitutionalists who thought they could get



something by supporting the Czar. All they got was a crushing defeat at the polls. Their group shrank from 133 to 95. The government opposed them and the people lost faith in them. In revenge they have now turned against the government and joined the liberal opposition, thus giving the opposition a majority. What the government will do under the circumstances it is impossible to say. There may be a dissolution and a new election. At any rate Russia is sure to be stirred up.

The Socialist group refused to take part in the election of the speaker of the Douma and in so doing issued a manifesto which defines their position and their conception of their function as representatives of the working-class: "We are convinced that we can accomplish our purpose no matter who is speaker of this assembly . . . in spite of all machinations and combinations we shall make ourselves heard on this tribune conquered at the price of the people's blood. We shall know how to achieve liberty of speech in this parliamentary assembly notwithstanding the recent ukase of the Senate which threatens to subject us to an inqui-

sition of the Okrana. We shall not permit any majority to deprive us of our rights. It is in the interests of the people that we shall make use of our position here; the organization of the assembly is a matter of indifference to us."

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

## GERMAN COMRADES MEET AT NEWCASTLE, PA.

**German Comrades Convention.**—A conference of the German branches from various parts of the country was held at New Castle, Pa., December 27 and 28, to consider methods of organization and propaganda. A very successful meeting is reported. Forty-one delegates were present from fifteen states, representing ninety branches with a total membership of 4,500. It was decided to apply for affiliation with the national organization on the same terms as the other foreign speaking organizations, and Adolph Dreifuss, of Chicago, was elected translator-secretary.

**Hollanders Organize.**—On December 22, 1912, some Chicago Hollanders organized themselves into a Hollander Socialist Propaganda Club with the aim of spreading the principles of Socialism among their countrymen all over the United States. The idea is a fine one and we hope all sympathizers will communicate with the secretary, J. Veltman, 6159 S. Elizabeth street, Chicago.

**From England.**—Comrade J. V. Wills, who is lecturing in England before the Trade Unions and Socialist organizations, is pushing the REVIEW everywhere. He has nearly trebled his order and hopes to make it rise every month. The English Trade Unions are showing themselves very much interested in industrial unionism.

**From Australia.**—Enter our order for 101 REVIEWS for January.—O. W. Jorgensen.

**Money Well Spent.**—"I enclose herewith my proxy. I wish to state that no money I have ever spent for Socialism has given me such satisfaction as my small investment in your publishing house. I intend to buy a share of stock every summer because I approve of your real revolutionary stand. It seems that some Socialists believe that the party is in need of a censor and a dictatorship."—(Signed) Comrade Hisel, Fairfield, Iowa.

**From Melbourne, Australia.**—Please increase "Review" order by 39 copies, making a total of 180 until further notice. Enclosed find check £5, which please place to our credit, and acknowledge.—Will Andrade.

**From the Miners.**—Please find enclosed draft for \$30 for which send 100 copies of the International Socialist Review for six months. It is a great magazine and the boys all like it, or at least it seems that way as they are anxious for the next number all the time.—G. S. Roth, Sec'y of Local 106, W. F. of M.

**From Out West.**—Dear Comrade: Enclosed find \$1.50 for which place my name for one year for the best magazine in America and one copy of "The Rose Door."—Bert Westover.

**From Rhode Island.**—Please hustle those "Reviews" along. I notice the Milwaukee politicians are still knocking you. The hell with them. Go right along.—John T. Preston.

**All Red.**—We are all "reds" and would rather boost your paper or rather "our" paper than any other Socialist publication as it voices our ideals as no other seems to dare to. Yours for the revolution and nothing else.—F. E. Fick, secretary, Local, Sandusky, Ohio.

**Froma Montana "Red."**—I recently ordered from you 20 Reviews and sold them for ten cents each. The profit goes on the sub card. I will make it to the comrades here for half price. I hope to get every one to reading it. By the way, when I got the last bundle of Reviews I sold the twenty out in one hour in the postoffice lobby. And the best part is this is a farming community and I sold but two copies to Socialists. I considered it quite a stunt. Things are livening up here; several members who had let their dues slide are coming with the coin and are getting squared up. That article on the Chicago *World* is good noise for me, but think that I could have told it some different. Especially about some of these half baked labor unionists. I am a craft union member myself, but lord, don't I see the futility of it. I don't want a fair day's wage, I want the whole thing.—W. S. Morrow.

**A Correction.**—In pasting together pages 1 and 2 of Miss Helen Keller's letter, the photographer covered one line which was accidentally omitted from the photograph reproduction in the January REVIEW. What Miss Keller said was, "Until the spirit of love for our fellowmen, regardless of race, color or creed, shall fill the world, making real in our lives and our deeds the actuality of human brotherhood—until the great mass of the people shall be filled with the sense of responsibility for each other's welfare, social justice can never be attained."

**From Kapowsin, Wash.**—Commence this subscription with the January number. By the time he reads it twelve months he will be a Socialist.—Joseph Parks.

**From Los Angeles.**—I am surprised and appreciate the knowledge I gain every month through THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Keep it up comrades. We are with you.—Dave H. Koch.

**From Wellington, N. Z.**—The year 1913 will be a bright year for the cause we love so well and hope that the REVIEW will maintain its high standard of revolutionary Socialism. Wishing you and staff a happy and prosperous new year.—Patrick Joseph Flanagan.

**Sounds Good to Us.**—Enclosed find subscription card for my renewal. I will never be without the REVIEW so long as I am able to raise the subscription price. It is the one publication in this country that savors of the spirit that dominated Marx and Engels as they together labored on the *Communist Manifesto*. As a workingman in the shop, I admire and honor you for your uncompromising position—on with the good work of working class education. Yours for the Militant Brand.—Carl G. Harold, Chattanooga, Tenn.

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**Annual Stockholders' Meeting.**—The annual stockholders' meeting of Charles H. Kerr & Company was held at 118 W. Kinzie street, Chicago, on January 15, 1913, at 3:00 p. m. Out of the 3,723 shares of stock issued by the company, 2,473 shares were represented either by shareholders or proxies. Among those present were: Dr. J. H. Greer, R. H. Huebner, August Heidemann, J. O. Bentall, Jacob Bruning, R. B. Tobias, H. A. Levinson, Marcus Hitch, Walter Huggins, Joseph Novak, a stockholder and also representing the Bohemian Publishing Society, L. H. Marcy, Charles H. Kerr and Mary E. Marcy. Comrade Charles H. Kerr presided and Mary E. Marcy acted as secretary.

Charles H. Kerr read the following:

#### ANNUAL REPORT

The year 1912, in spite of several unusual difficulties, has been the most successful in the history of the publishing house. Our cash receipts increased from \$63,276.75, our previous high-water mark, to \$73,025.51. On the other hand, the cost of paper and printing, like the cost of living, has been advancing, and our necessary expenses have increased in proportion to our receipts. Moreover, to keep down the cost of printing, we have found it necessary to print books in larger editions, and we close the year 1912 with a larger stock of books on hand than ever before. This fact has made it impossible for us to pay off loans as rapidly as we had hoped, but our total liabilities apart from capital stock are less than a month's average receipts. The loans from stockholders are for the most part at four per cent interest, so that our expenditure for this purpose is trifling, but the outstanding loans are a constant source of anxiety, and we hope to pay off most of them during the year 1913, so that we may plan for enlarging our work without the risk of failure. The late Chicago Daily World is a good example of the results of reckless expenditure from borrowed capital.

#### RECEIPTS FOR 1912

|                                       |             |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Book sales .....                      | \$47,120.91 |
| Review subscriptions and sales.....   | 23,075.68   |
| REVIEW advertising .....              | 2,811.42    |
| Donations .....                       | 17.50       |
| Increased value of books on hand..... | 2,717.23    |

Total.....\$75,742.74

#### EXPENDITURES FOR 1912

|                                                |             |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Manufacture of books.....                      | \$19,252.14 |
| Manufacture of Review.....                     | 14,450.43   |
| Wages .....                                    | 11,989.10   |
| Postage and expressage.....                    | 12,620.98   |
| Advertising .....                              | 7,518.61    |
| Review circulation expense.....                | 688.37      |
| REVIEW articles and photographs.....           | 1,111.48    |
| Authors of books.....                          | 1,470.05    |
| Books purchased .....                          | 707.09      |
| Rent .....                                     | 1,200.00    |
| Insurance .....                                | 107.25      |
| Taxes .....                                    | 133.63      |
| Miscellaneous expenses .....                   | 1,702.43    |
| Interest .....                                 | 135.34      |
| Lost through failure of <i>Daily World</i> ... | 56.66       |
| Profit .....                                   | 2,599.18    |

Total.....\$75,742.74

#### ASSETS, DECEMBER 31, 1912

|                                     |           |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| Cash on hand and in bank.....       | \$ 105.97 |
| Books, bound and unbound.....       | 11,025.45 |
| Electrotype plates .....            | 14,258.76 |
| Copyrights .....                    | 10,232.21 |
| INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW..... | 5,000.00  |
| Office furniture and fixtures.....  | 764.00    |
| Accounts receivable .....           | 558.39    |
| Real estate .....                   | 450.00    |

Total.....\$42,394.78

#### LIABILITIES, DECEMBER 31, 1912

|                              |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| Paid-up capital stock .....  | \$37,230.00 |
| Loans from stockholders..... | 4,517.84    |
| Bills payable .....          | 500.00      |
| Accounts payable .....       | 46.94       |

Total.....\$42,394.78

The profits of \$2,599.18 are represented in the increased stock of books and paper on hand, amounting to \$11,025.45, as compared with \$8,308.22 at the end of 1911. It should be noted that we figure these books at the actual cost of paper, presswork and binding, the electrotype plates being figured separately. The books on hand would sell at our usual prices for more than \$30,000.

The real estate included in our assets consists of a 25-foot building lot on 103rd street, Chicago, not far from the Pullman Car Works, and a forty-acre tract of woodland near Manchester, Tennessee. Both of these we took in exchange for REVIEW subscription cards, and we are holding them temporarily until some chance offers for realizing on them at something like their value.

The summer of 1912 found the REVIEW bitterly attacked by a certain faction of the Socialist Party, and its natural growth was in this way delayed to some extent, but its subscription list is now growing more rapidly than ever before, and all signs point to a rapid growth for the REVIEW as well as for our book publishing business in the near future. This is due to the constant co-operation of thousands of working men and women, whose ideas we are trying to carry out to the best of our ability.

Dr. Greer moved that the report be accepted; seconded by R. B. Tobias, and carried.

Comrades Jacob Bruning, L. H. Marcy, Dr. J. H. Greer, J. O. Bentall, Walter Huggins, Charles H. Kerr and Mary E. Marcy were unanimously elected directors of the company for the coming year. All are members of Local Cook County, Socialist Party, in good standing.

The meeting was thrown open for discussion and questions, and a few good suggestions made that will help the officers of the company to make their work more efficient in the cause of Socialism.

At the meeting of the directors, which followed the stockholders' meeting, Charles H. Kerr was re-elected president, and Mary E. Marcy secretary of the company. L. H. Marcy was elected vice-president.

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Offers a grand opening for all kinds of business as the demands are greater than the supply. Hotels, Rooming-Houses, Restau- rants, Carpenters, Masons and Painters in great demand.

Work commences this Spring on expenditure of \$5,000,000 for WATER WORKS, and ELECTRIC PLANT.

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Address .....

**Thomas J. Morgan.**—On the morning of Tuesday, December 10, Thomas J. Morgan, a veteran in the Socialist movement, was killed in a railroad wreck at Williams, Ariz., while on his way to California to make his home and spend the declining years of an active life in company with his wife, daughter and granddaughter and grandchildren, on a ranch in San Diego county, which he and his son-in-law had recently purchased.

By this untimely accident the Socialist and labor movement lost one of its most untiring and unselfish workers. Born, as he was, amid the slums of an English factory town, denied the advantages of education or elevating environments, he epitomizes in his career the lives of millions of wage workers. As a child his first schooling was received in what was then called "Robert Raikes Ragged School." Even at this early age he resented the unjust discrimination which placed him, the unfortunate child of poverty, in a "ragged school." The finger of scorn was pointed at him by better dressed and more fortunate children and was resented by him and probably led to his first fight.

When he was approaching his fiftieth year and was already a grandfather, he took up the study of law. After working ten hours a day for the Illinois Central Railroad as a machinist, he attended night school at the Northwestern College of Law and graduated with honors and established an extensive practice especially among the wage workers and people of small means who sought his services which were generously rendered at a moderate charge.

In addition to this his talents were always at the call of the party. In one year he defended thirty-five Socialist street speakers and secured a verdict of not guilty in every case, and made no charge for his services.

The foreign-speaking Socialist and labor organizations always sought his services whenever legal advice was necessary and he gained their love and highest respect for his devotion to their interest.

His death ends a long life of service for his fellowmen. Himself a product of the capitalist system and for the major part of his life a wage worker, he felt the limitations of his class strongly and deeply, and his entire public service was centered in the establishment of a new and better system in which those who worked would secure the full product of their toil. The central thought of his whole activity, if it could be expressed in one sentence would be that the right to live and the right to work are synonymous terms.—Robert H. Howe.

**Public Speaking.**—Principles and practice, by Prof. Irvah Lester Winter, professor of public speaking at Harvard University, published by Macmillan Company, New York, price, \$2 net, is a volume that every student of public speaking ought to demand in the public library of his town. Part I takes up technical training at great length; also platform practice. Part II gives innumerable excerpts from famous poems, speeches, etc., for the

cultivation of tone, for acquiring vocal flexibility and expressing feeling. And Part III is chiefly a collection of the best-known campaign speeches, orations and debates. Prof. Winter drives home every point he makes in his comprehensive work by illustration. A great reference and guide book for young speakers.

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say is a good thing. It does not excite the body with alcohol, but it tones the body and cures its disorders with the remedies nature intended to tone and cure the body. Thus, Iron gives life and energy to the Blood, Sarsaparilla drives out its impurities, Phosphate and Nux Vomica create new nerve energy and force, Lithia aids in the Kidneys, Gentian does invaluable work for the Stomach and Digestive forces, Chinese Rhubarb and Oregon Grape Root promote vigorous Liver activity, Peruvian Bark raises the tone of the entire System, Golden Seal soothes the inflamed membrane and checks Catarrhal discharges, Cascara gives the Bowels new life in a natural way, and Capsicum makes all more valuable by bettering their quick absorption into the blood. A remarkable combination that does wonderful work for health.

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and gains in so many cities were won because the comrades there have been studying all sides of economics and government—or to put it in plain words—Socialism. Then when the election fights were on they were able to show the rest of the people just what Socialism is and the reason for it. Men will vote right, you know, when they know what right is. They have not been satisfied with the government of greed, privilege and plunder—they have been merely kept in the dark, but now when the comrades open their eyes, they VOTE RIGHT.

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for the great work you have offered the public. The book is worth its weight in gold. We have followed instructions and are feeling like new persons. My husband has been a dyspeptic all his life, could eat nothing without feeling the greatest of pain, and now he does not know what such troubles are. I suffered with headaches since a little girl, doctor for it, and physicians told me it was neuralgia and could not be cured. I suffered untold agonies, but today I am well. Have not felt anything of those dreadful spells since I have followed instructions in Autology. We hope that humanity will open their eyes to the great gift that you have put in front of them." Mrs. Droz, Torrington, Conn.

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn,  
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## DEPARTMENTS.

*Editorial:* A Straw Man : Sabotage : International Notes : News and Views.

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# **DO YOU WANT MONEY?**

# *The* INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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No. 9

## ON THE STRIKE FIELD

### The Fight in the Mountains

Two months ago it looked as though the West Virginia miners would win their long fight against the operators. As cold weather came on and troops and police drove the families of the miners off company property, they were not permitted to stop on public land. So the miners secured tents and took their families and few belongings up into the mountains.

And all through the cold of winter, they have gathered together to talk unionism and Socialism and to weld the group into a band that would hold out until the strike was won.

The company-employed trouble-makers have been always on the ground looking for an opening to start something. Children have been kidnapped; women have been assaulted. Men have been deliberately picked off and shot by brutes hiding in ambush.

There occurred many clashes between "guards" and strikers. It seems to be the business of the "guards" to kill a few miners now and then to stir the others into violence.

The miners who have withdrawn from the property district of the mine owners, who have taken refuge for their families in the mountains ARE NOT TO BE ALLOWED ANY PEACE.

Sheriff Hill of Kanawha County, with a posse of twenty-five deputies was unable to enter the strikers' camp. The miners declared he was going too far to try to take armed men into their peaceful camps after the mine owners' thugs

had virtually driven them into the mountains by actual murder. All approach to the miners' camps were carefully guarded by strikers who occupied commanding positions on the mountain sides.

The mine owners were at their wits end. The United Mine Workers promised the strikers aid. The strikers swore they would GAIN something or stay out forever.

Then came His Honor, Governor Glascock, the colleague of Theodore Roosevelt, the vaunted PROGRESSIVE—the "friend of the workingman." Five companies of militia were ordered to the scene and a sixth company called from Mucklow. Martial Law will probably be declared again.

Put this where you will never forget it. This Progressive Governor has shown himself more surely the servant of the mine owners than any old time politician could possibly have done. He has sent troops into the mountains who will SEARCH OUT and shoot innocent women and children and miners who have been persecuted in their retreat.

Telephone and telegraph wires have been cut. More troops are on their way to the mountains. February 11, at the first encounter, the long range rifles of the militia killed thirteen miners and wounded fifteen more. The capitalist papers report that "three mine guards were also killed."

If there has ever been any doubt in your mind before, this strike ought to be an eye-opener, as to the functions of capitalist governors and the militia.

The CHIEF FUNCTION OF THE

ARMY IS TO BREAK STRIKES. Gov. Glascock seems to feel it his chief duty to serve the mine *owners* in their efforts to crush the mine WORKERS. This was the consistent attitude of the First Progressive Leader in all troubles between capitalists and laborers.

Report comes in that several hundred miners, employed in a union mine near the Kanawha District, have armed themselves and started for Paint Creek, declaring they will avenge the death of their comrades who were shot by paid thugs, hiding in ambush.

The United Mine Workers have promised a \$200,000 monthly benefit assessment for the striking miners.

The strikers have learned to fight, in and for, One Big Union. They are learning, in this strike, that they must put their own men in office to USE THE TROOPS IN THEIR BEHALF NEXT TIME.

### **Mother Jones Arrested and Jailed in a Box Car**

Last June, when "Mother Jones" traveled across the states from Butte, Mont., to aid the West Virginia miners in their fight, a reporter on the *Charleston Gazette* interviewed her. The following is quoted from this paper June 11th.

"Mother Jones . . . from the stump and through the press has shown a desire only to do something for the betterment of the great American laboring class. She is 80 years old. On the day of her arrival here she addressed a miners' mass meeting for an hour and a half—and unassisted she climbed a steep hill to the speakers' stand and made a stronger effort and a more telling address in every way than that of any of the others whose names appeared on the list of speakers, and most of whom were only half her years.

"Some people never get old, and Mother Jones is one who, no matter how long she be spared to her stormy career, will be gathered to her ancestors in the bosom of youth."

The reporter had heard a lot about the woman he was about to interview—and seen her pictured everywhere—had heard of her making fiery speeches in places

where her life was in danger, and he expected to encounter a cyclone.

The reporter, however, was wrong.

What he really found was a kindly-faced woman of apparently 50 years—the only evidence of her four score years being an abundance of snow-white hair. She gave the reporter a kindly greeting—a greeting that reminded him at once of the name that had attached itself to the woman he had come to see—the name was that of "mother"—and the reporter knew whence the name had come.

"Mother" was right.

A few brief questions, and as many brief answers and the interview was over—for "Mother" Jones does not seek to be featured in the daily press.

"I am simply a social revolutionist," she said. "I believe in collective ownership of the means of wealth. At this time the natural commodities of this country are cornered in the hands of a few. The man who owns the means of wealth gets the major profit, and the worker, who produces the wealth from the means in the hands of the capitalist, takes what he can get. Sooner or later, and perhaps sooner than we think, evolution and revolution will have accomplished the overturning of the system under which we now live, and the worker will have gained his own. This change will come as the result of education. My life work has been to try to educate the worker to a sense of the wrongs he has had to suffer, and does suffer—and to stir up the oppressed to a point of getting off their knees and demanding that which I believe to be rightfully theirs. When force is used to hinder the worker in his efforts to obtain the things which are his, he has the right to meet force with force. He has the right to strike for what is his due, and he has no right to be satisfied with less. The people want to do right, but they have been hoodwinked for ages. They are now awakening, and the day of their enfranchisement is near at hand."

That, in substance, is what Mother Jones had to say about her mission on earth. She bowed the reporter from the room. He had seen "Mother Jones."

For eight months "Mother Jones" has been working, speaking and fighting with the West Virginia miners. In spite of her

eighty years she has suffered with the miners, their wives and children, sharing every hardship, the cold of winter in the mountains, the coarse food and the insults and brutality of the "guards" and militiamen.

Many were the speeches she made and every one a battle cry for class solidarity. The most weary and disheartened group gathered courage and inspiration when she addressed her "Boys."

But it became evident to the mill bosses that the beautiful, white-haired woman was a militant figure that it would be

well to eliminate. So, on February 13th, "Mother Jones" was arrested on a charge of murder. It is claimed that she advised the strikers to arm themselves. Many times the mine "guards" crept up upon strikers in their mountain retreat, and coldly murdered them. Several "guards" were discovered and shot by the miners in self defense. An attempt will be made to hold "Mother Jones" responsible. Evidently the true Progressive believes in murder only where the gun is in the hands of a servant of the owning class and directed against working men.

### The New Disease: Protocolic

As this is written, the great strike of the garment workers in New York is in its seventh week and, according to present indications, it may last even longer than the historic struggle of the cloakmakers in 1910, which endured for nine weeks.

At present the garment workers' strike seems to be suffering from a bad attack of the new industrial ailment that might be described as the "protocolic." Twice the officials of the United Garment Workers' Union, who pulled the strike, have tried to get an agreement approved which involved the signing of a protocol, but both times got severe jolts from the strikers as a whole who made known their opinions of compromise in no uncertain tones. The attempt to induce the strikers to accept the protocol has so far produced little but dissension and has had much to do with smothering the spirit of the workers which at first was militant and aggressive.

The waist makers have already gone back to work under the terms of a protocol, though a considerable part of them did so reluctantly, and so great opposition was manifested towards it at one meeting in Cooper Union that a serious outbreak was narrowly averted.

A protocol is simply the old-fashioned contract or agreement in a new guise. It retains some of the most vicious features of the time-contract along with some modern trimmings hidden in a mass of legal verbiage. It is as full of treacheries as a bank of quicksand. It is, in brief, a document, agreed to and signed by both sides, which assures the capitalist of so many months or years of "industrial peace," in which he can resume his grinding of the faces of the workers with a feeling that he is secure from strikes. By allowing their union officials or attorneys to fix up and sign a protocol, the workers enter into a contract with the capitalist system and agree to prolong it for a certain length of time on condition that their employers introduce certain reforms such as sanitation, abolition of sweating, etc. It is as if a man consented to allow a beast to suck his life blood on condition that the beast did it slowly and in a nice, clean way. And the shameful part of it is that Socialist lawyers have had a hand in drawing up and enforcing the provisions of these protocols.

The protocol promises to become the principal bar to revolutionary unionism in the garment-making industry of America. It absolutely prevents the workers from taking measures to remedy their own conditions by removing their affairs out of their own hands and putting them into the tricky claws of a court of arbitration.

Of course, not all employers are in favor of settling a strike by signing a protocol. The more obstinate ones fight it because in a sense it involves "recognition of the union," and independent manufacturers are inclined to oppose it because it places the industry too much in the hands of the "big fellows."

But that the protocol is essentially a capitalistic scheme is proved by the laudatory remarks of Julius Henry Cohen, attorney for the cloak manufacturers in the 1910 strike, in an interview printed in the *New York Times*, Sunday, Jan. 26.

Cohen says that intelligent capitalists are no longer fighting the trade unions and obstinately holding out for the "open shop," because the open shop is a shop "where Ettor, Giovannitti, Haywood and Rose Pastor Stokes, may come in at any time and raise trouble. In the preferential union shop the employer has something to say as to which union he will deal with, and if he selects the stronger and more rational union he precludes Mr. Ettor and Giovannitti. To that extent he truly runs a closed shop."

In other words, the rise of the I. W. W. has taught the capitalist that the craft union is his principal bulwark in preserving and sustaining the system which makes wage-slavery possible.

Cohen goes on to show what a friend the craft union is of the capitalists in the following words:

"Now, why should not sensible business men realize that if they want peace in an industry, it is not a question of union or no union? The real situation is, which union. Shall we do business with a union which is strong enough to make and maintain a treaty of peace, or shall we do business with a band of guerillas who attack us at every point, with whom we cannot reason, and *who, if we succeed in beating them in a strike, come into our shops and destroy both our product and our machines?*

"And, after all, what can we get from

STRIKERS' LUNCH ROOM, 148 EAST 103D ST., ORGANIZED BY BRANCH 7, SOCIALIST PARTY AND HARLEM CONSUMERS LEAGUE.

a group of people who regard us as enemies? Must we not create a proper factory atmosphere in order to turn out our work? And what good will it do us to take orders and buy goods if our machines are idle? We cannot by any power under the sun compel people to work against their will. Must we not realize, therefore, that sooner or later we must deal with the recognized representatives of the working people in whom they have confidence, and, having convinced them of the reasonableness of our side, secure a working arrangement that will *include the discipline of those who violate it?*

"I believe that all that practical business men need to know is that the thing is really workable to wake up to its necessity. The necessity is here, sure enough. The hotel proprietors were warned four years ago that if they did not deal with the American Federation of Labor they would have to deal with the International Workers of the World. Now they have them. The mill owners of Lawrence refused to deal with John Golden of the textile workers, but when Ettor and Giovanitti arrived, *they were only too glad to ask for John Golden's help.*

"The great thing about this whole experiment which is being tried in the garment-making industry, is not merely that it brings peace and economic order to an industry, but that it is a method of education and discipline. That is why it is so vigorously opposed by the Industrial Workers of the World. They don't want any individual restraint. They don't want any discipline by executive officers of the order. They don't even want any organization. But when a powerful union is held responsible for all of its members, *the shop workers must obey orders, and there can be no uprising in the shop over such incidents as the discharge of a co-worker.* Under protocol conditions, no grievance will be considered either by the union leaders or the Manufacturers' Association *until the men return to work.* This kind of moral discipline is new for the working people in the needle workers' industry. The discipline of the union whose officers the people themselves select, is the moral force which makes for order and sanity."

PHILLIPS RUSSELL.

### At Porcupine

On January 21, Wm. Holowatsky, organizer for the Western Federation of Miners, and Peter Cleary, member of the Local Union were convicted of a charge of inciting the employees of the Hollinger Mining Co. to go on strike in violation of the "Industrial Disputes Investigation Act," and sentenced to pay a fine of \$500 or three months in Sudbury jail at hard labor. Percy Croft was convicted on a charge of going on strike November 15, 1912, and sentenced to pay a fine of \$50 or sixty days in Sudbury prison at hard labor.

On January 23, these fellow workers were taken from this district apparently to be landed in Sudbury prison, but on investigation we find that they were not taken to Sudbury, but to another prison at North Bay. Sudbury is a mining camp, the home of the Canadian Copper Co., whose proud boast has been that no organizer for the Western Federation of Miners could remain in the camp. Apparently they were afraid to even have one locked in the district jail on account of the demoralizing effect it might have on the wage slaves.

An appeal has been taken in the cases of Cleary, Holowatsky and Croft, but they are being held in close confinement in North Bay jail pending the result of the appeal. No bail would be accepted in their cases. According to Canadian justice, men guilty of exchanging ideas with their fellow-workers on how to better their condition and men who quit work without first begging permission of the boss are such heinous criminals that they cannot be liberated on bail, pending an appeal of their cases.

There are summons out for some 350 ex-employees of the Hollinger Mining Company for quitting work without first asking the boss if he has sufficient supply of scabs to take their places—going on strike in violation of the "Industrial Disputes Investigation Act" is the way the legal sharks put it.

The workers of Canada are beginning to realize that this so-called "Conciliation Act" is one of the most deadly weapons in the arsenal of the master class. It can be used against them whenever they show signs of rebelling against the

## STRIKING MINERS DEMONSTRATION.

conditions imposed on them. The imprisonment of these fellow-workers will assist in getting the iniquitous measures wiped off the statute books of the Dominion.

The Ontario police are still active on the job as scab herders, having almost entirely displaced the Thiele gun men. They have proved by far more efficient for the bosses than the Thiele plug uglies and cost the mining companies nothing for their maintenance.

The strike situation is unchanged; the

companies are unable to get strike breakers. Intimidation by the police as well as their attempts to disrupt the workers on race lines, have failed. The Legislature of the Province of Ontario is in session with an eight-hour day in the mining industry as one of the most important pieces of legislation to be considered. The solidarity of the workers on the industrial field has forced the politicians to act.

It may be necessary before the fight is over to call out all of the workers in the

mining industry of northern Ontario, who are organized into the Western Federation of Miners, and as Industrialism as opposed to Craft unionism, is one of the cardinal principles of the miners' organization, no doubt prompt action will be taken when this time arrives. We, as an organization, would not stand for the workers in one camp digging out the war chest to defeat the members of the organization in a sister local only a few miles away.

J. D. BARRY.

### Rubber Workers Rebel

Akron, Ohio, is the industrial capital of the rubber trust in the United States. Twenty thousand rubber workers go to work there every morning including six thousand girls. They have been whistled in and out for years. The machines have been speeded up and wages cut until last week five thousand workers walked out and hundreds are joining their ranks daily.

Last year the rubber barons who owned the Fire Stone, Goodrich-Diamond, Good-year and Buck-Eye plants, declared a divi-

dend of 800%. Still not satisfied, on the first of this year they installed the Taylor Efficiency System of Exploitation.

When the rubber industry was small, skilled workers made from \$3.50 to \$7.00 a day but now skilled workers are forced to work ten hours at high speed in order to make from \$2.25 to \$2.50 a day.

The Industrial Workers of the World have four organizers on the ground and the work of organization is being rapidly pushed.

Socialists are actively supporting the strikers by holding mass meetings in the Socialist hall and digging down in their jeans for good hard cash to keep the strikers from starving. We urge REVIEW readers to do the same. Sending your remittance to Margaret Prevey, Akron, Ohio, 140 South High street. Comrades Frank and Margaret Prevey are on the firing line and we should do our part in assisting the workers to win.

Latest press reports announce that six companies of militia have been ordered to Akron.

## HARD TIMES AND HOW TO STOP THEM

BY

MARY E. MARCY

I NEVER met a working man or woman who did not know that something is wrong with things as they are today. No matter how hard we may work and save, you and I know that 99 out of every hundred of us are always "up against it."

You slave along for a year and manage, perhaps, to save up a few dollars and some day you find a notice nailed up on the factory door telling you that the boss has closed down indefinitely.

If you think it over, while you are living along on your savings, and trying to get another job, you will realize that the boss has not shut down because folks have more food and clothing, or more homes than they need. He shut down because he could not make any PROFITS.

The sole end and aim of Business is PROFITS. No matter how much the bosses may talk, in public, for newspaper

advertising, you know that they consider everything connected with the shop, the business, the mine or the mill from the standpoint of whether it will bring MORE PROFITS to them.

They install automatic machinery because it will enable them to discharge men or women and thus make more PROFITS.

They put cotton seeds in their canned preserves because they are *cheaper* than real strawberries. They adulterate bread and food. They use poisonous preservatives in meat; they dye beef red to make it appear fresh; they sell condemned hams, and monopolize the egg supply; they skim the milk or adulterate it—all for the sake of MORE DIVIDENDS.

If you work in a shipping room, or a department store and you or your associates secretly report the fact that the elevators are notably unsafe, you learn that the

Building Inspector appears, interviews the boss, in private, and declares they are all they should be. Later a workman is injured in one of those elevators. He is whisked away secretly to a hospital. His family is not permitted to see him until he has signed a statement exonerating the company.

You know the newspaper reporters know about this accident and the criminal negligence of the boss. But they do not print a word about it.

Why does the boss refuse to install safe elevators? Why did the Inspector lie? Why was the newspaper silent? The answer is *profits*. It costs money to buy good elevators with safety devices. The boss finds it cheaper to "see" the Inspector. The newspaper gets good paying advertising from the company. It will not and CAN not tell the truth and compete with the other newspapers that go to all lengths for PROFITS.

You will find almost everything in the world today, almost every social institution directly related, in one way or another, to PROFITS, if you stop to think about it.

You go on strike with the other boys in the mill—for shorter hours and higher wages. The boss opposes you, because higher wages and shorter working hours for YOU will mean lower PROFITS for HIM.

You see the police force used to protect the scabs and the property of the boss. They beat you up. The militia comes and helps to break your strike. You see the police and the army called to serve the interests of the Boss in order to prevent you from gaining higher wages and cutting down his PROFITS.

You see the preachers teaching contentment and thrift and economy and honesty, because the rich men pay their salaries and the master class want you to be honest and saving, contented and obedient. These things mean more PROFITS for him.

The newspapers never print the truth about a strike. They always side with the employers because the employers ADVERTISE and advertising means PROFITS.

When you are sick doctors pretend they know how to cure you whether they do or not. If you have enough money, they are more than likely to operate or to keep you sick while they take it away. Every time

you have the misfortune to be sick or injured, the doctors talk about good times, and begin to buy new furniture for the house. Even rich men ought to be afraid of the doctors because their Good Times are other peoples' time of trouble. The longer they keep us in bed, the larger is their bill.

Congressmen, and senators, judges and ambassadors always line up behind the Captains of Industry instead of behind workingmen and women. It PAYS better. You never heard of any law that actually benefitted the working class (unless it benefitted the bosses still more). About the time a law gets past the legislature, prohibiting young boys from working in the coal mines, we generally find the mine owners have installed new machinery that does not need boys.

You can scarcely turn around without hitting somebody in the pocket-book. If you read late at night the landlady will be rapping on the door and lamenting the gas. The waiter at the restaurant is instructed to give you a cube of butterine so small you can scarcely discover it with the naked eye.

The grocer puts postum or beans in the coffee. The cashier short-changes you. The fruit vendor insinuates bad apples in the bag, if you so much as turn your head. You can't get anything without encroaching upon somebody's profits.

Profits are the cause of Poverty. And Socialism proposes to abolish Poverty. This is why every workingman and woman ought to be a Socialist.

Because the bosses own the factory, the mine, mill and shop, they are able to buy your working strength for less than the value of the things you produce or make. This leaves a profit for the bosses. Socialism intends to make the factories, farms, mines, mills and shops the collective property of those who work in them; to do away with bosses and to abolish the PROFIT system.

Think this over. Read this article again. If you are a factory owner you will oppose Socialism. If you are an intelligent worker, you will join the Socialist movement. It is the only movement in the world composed of workers who mean to abolish Poverty and the Profit System. It will give to every worker the full value of his product.

# Old Japan and New

By S. KATAYAMA

S. KATAYAMA.

**I**N FIFTY odd years Japan has awakened from its semi-barbaric slumbering satisfaction with the old feudal system.

It has passed through two big wars in ten years, while draining national resources by military expansion, heavy taxation and directly through labor exploitation prevalent all over the country. There have been growing up formidable capitalist classes that are squeezing the workers' blood by unbounded exploitation and the high handed protective system of industry and commerce. The protective tariff, that was legalized a year ago last July, gave the capitalists free hands in charging monopolistic prices on manufactured goods up to that time supplied by the foreign market cheap. Consequently the working class is suffering more acutely than ever before on account of low wages.

The cost of living has been increasing steadily for the last two decades but wages have not, so the losers always have been the wage earners.

We do not lack an Astor in Tokyo. Such

being the case, some rich capitalist owns a pet dog that costs him 10,000 yen (\$5,000), and Mitsubishi owns some thirty hunting dogs each dog costing to feed 80 to 100 yen a month. This means wages of 150 to 200 days of a day laborer just at present.

While many workers unable to pay car fare walk along the rough or muddy roads, by their side there goes an American or French made automobile that costs 5,000 to 7,000 or 10,000 yen. The rich are paying 100 yen an ounce for Hoobigan's perfume, but many poor children of workers go to school without breakfast. We watch aeroplanes or balloons flying over the sky across the city of Tokyo, while the poor can not ride in trains, but must walk on rough country roads with coarse straw sandals, and carry burdens on their backs or shoulders. Most modern machines are imported or home made for use in industry and commerce and often next door to them the most primitive tools are used to conduct the business or industry. A few pictures will convey the idea of things in Japan to your readers.

## IMPERIAL PALACE.

Although old Japan is passing away pretty rapidly, yet you can see many feudal relics surviving everywhere in Japan. Side by side of the most advanced ideas of the western world are old Japanese customs long unused and forgotten elsewhere.

Harikari or suicide was taken up by Count Nogi, the so-called hero of Port Arthur at the time of the late Russo-Japan war. Nogi sacrificed over twenty-five thousand soldiers in order to take Port Arthur; now this stern old soldier killed himself at the death of the late emperor, and this act has been praised by the people as divine. Many thousands of persons are making the pilgrimages to the self-destroyer's grave.

It is impossible to read the signs of the present moment, but this much is certain, scientific knowledge has been steadily applied to every sphere of life more and more and in consequence the old order of society will be bound to pass away whether conservatives like it or not.

Just now we have no freedom of speech or association; everybody is talking or writing differently from what really they think or know. Most people become hypocrites or philistines for the time being. But this state of things will not continue indefinitely. It will change sooner or later; and I have a bright hope in the near future. Intelli-

gent men fear the present status and are attempting to remedy conditions by half-way measures or charitable undertakings, but the social reforms of bourgeois men will never succeed in helping the working class. Capitalism itself will drive the workers to Socialism. There is nothing else that can help them.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN 1912. . .

The year just passed has been an eventful one in the Japanese labor movement. It began with the great strike of the street railway workers in Tokio that threw the whole city into confusion upon the greatest national holiday, when everybody wanted to ride in the cars. I have already reported this strike for the REVIEW, which was a great victory for the men, coming as it did just when their labor-power was most needed.

On January 14 the sailors on carrier boats from Yokohama to Tokio struck for higher wages. Owing to police interference and brutality, their efforts resulted in utter failure.

March 28 saw the strike of the Yugen dyers, whose wages with their employers is based upon the price of rice. They demanded a wage increase to equal the rise in the price of this staple article of food. The heavy hand of Authority again crushed

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A JAPANESE BOAT TOILER OF THE SEA WITH PRIMITIVE FISHING NET.

out the rebellion and the workers returned with a promise of a future rise.

During March came also the strike of 30,000 navy yard employes. The last Diet voted them a sick and accident benefit, so they desired to distribute among those who had paid in to their own mutual aid society the funds in their treasury. They demanded also a wage increase.

Policemen and gendarmes were sent to

arrest all strikers. They succeeded in arresting some thousand men, it is claimed, and repressive measures were so severe that the men knew they were beaten.

The sailors' strike was more successful. They possessed some measure of organization and demanded increased wages. On April 22 over 80 per cent of the sailors and firemen struck at Yokohama and the companies acceded to most of their demands.

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#### JAPANESE PORCELAIN WORKERS.

Strikes are a new thing in Japan and the past year has seen many of them. But the rule has been defeat through lack of education and organization and through police interference.

Up till very recently the Japanese have been an obedient people. They have toiled long, without questioning their hard lot. But times are changing very rapidly. Large bodies of workers are being drawn

together by new methods of industry. They are coming to feel a common bond. Class consciousness is being born of the very conditions of Capitalism itself.

In quoting from the February number of the Century Magazine, we find new information on industrial and political Japan:

"The (Tokio) strikers received an increase and went back to work. Several of the leaders were severely punished on the

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TRANSPLANTING RICE SHOOTS ON JAPANESE FARMS.

ground that they put the public of Tokio to serious inconvenience, hence had committed a crime against society. The men punished were regarded as martyrs by their fellow workers . . . and since then there has been a marked and unusual hesitancy on the part of those in authority in dealing with such cases in a summary or harsh manner.

"As yet the Japanese laboring men have not acquired sufficient boldness to strike for an avowed purpose, but by concerted action

they fail to report for duty. When asked why they do not appear they plead physical ailments and *thus escape legal action*. They accomplish the desired end, however, and the result is the same.

"At first and up to a recent date, the government dealt with strikers and labor agitators as criminals, and punished them as such. But as the *disturbances increase*, it has become apparent that this method is not practical.

"The price of rice per bushel has in-

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COMING GENERATION OF JAPANESE SCHOOL CHILDREN.

creased from 72 cents in 1892 to \$2.12 in 1911. Western ideas and the increasing cost of living are bringing about a state of restlessness and dissatisfaction potent with serious possibilities."

**From Comrade Rea Now Touring Japan**

To those of us who are accustomed to liberty for carrying on a regular system of socialist propaganda and union agitation, the attitude of the Japanese authorities toward these movements comes as a distinct surprise. This is especially true because only a few years ago the emperor is supposed to have granted his subjects a

constitution granting them at least a few personal liberties.

Within the past month I have visited many comrades in Tokio. From what I could gather, the heart of the little propaganda movement lies in this, the capital city, where a few faithful Socialists gather occasionally to exchange views and plan for further carrying on the great work.

As they are not allowed to meet as a political body, these functions are always more or less of a social character. Tea and cakes are served, cigarettes are lighted and a pleasant time is enjoyed by all. Speeches are made by different comrades

and all things possible are done to continue the work.

Upon the evening I attended one of these gatherings, a Japanese comrade, carrying a child strapped to his back (the national way for carrying the children), told us how he had just been discharged from his job because it had become known that he was a Socialist. The employer of this man informed him that he never employed Socialists. He was an experienced shoemaker and earned 42 yen, or 21 cents, a day.

As soon as a man is known to belong to the movement he begins to receive, what he naturally believes to be, more than his share of attention from the police.

During my visit the police were doubly vigilant. When I left home in the morning with a comrade, to visit various places of interest in Tokio, we found them waiting for us outside the door. They stayed with us all day; took the car when we did and were more than attentive. Comrade Sakai, with whom I was visiting, introduced me to some of them. I feel sure

many were disgusted with their jobs, but they have to obey those higher up.

Nearly every Socialist I met had served time in prison. Comrade Sakai has served several terms—two years on one occasion. Comrade Katayama has not long been free, having been sentenced to a term for advocating the cause of the striking street car employes in Tokio. Another comrade recently died in prison while serving a two-year sentence for writing a pamphlet exposing the horrible conditions of the Japanese peasantry.

Out of a population of 50,000,000 in Japan, only 1,500,000 possess the ballot. There are as yet no such things as either industrial or political freedom in Japan.

But every year brings home students who are teaching the message of Socialism, and every day brings greater hardships to the workers in Japan. And with the great organizing power of modern industry and the misery of the people the seeds of revolution are bound to grow with ever-increasing speed.

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# WAR AGAINST WAR

By ANTON PANNEKOEK

Translated by William E. Bohn.

## PART III

### THE CONGRESS OF BASEL.

The Congress of Basel was a demonstration of the proletarian opposition to war, but such a demonstration cannot prevent war. As was said by Vaillant, the veteran of the Commune, "The international congress has finished its work; but the real struggle has just begun." What will be the plan of campaign of this battle? What weapons will be used? In what manner can the workers of the world prevent a war? These questions were not answered at Basel. As at Stuttgart, it was definitely declared that in each country the means employed are to be adapted to the conditions. In order to avoid even the appearance of a lack of unity, discussion of methods was avoided. The Congress contented itself with drawing the attention of governments and peoples to what has hitherto been achieved, our international unity and our unanimous opposition to war; it did not suggest any definite line of action. It showed to all the world the goal toward which we are bound, but failed to mark out the way which is to lead to it. The finding of the way has been left to the workers themselves.

Fortunately, our future line of march is not entirely unknown. In the actual practice of the labor movement, it has already been discovered. Both theoretically and practically the working-class has concerned itself with the methods to be employed in this phase of its struggle.

There are Socialists for whom political struggle and parliamentary struggle are identical. For them the entire political struggle of the working-class consists of political campaigns and speeches in parliamentary assemblies. The narrowness of this view has been demonstrated again and again. Wherever the right of franchise is a limited one, the representation of the proletariat necessarily remains in

the minority; the task of the workers is, then, the conquest of a democratic electoral law. This is possible only by means of political activity of the masses outside of the halls of parliament, what we have to come to call mass-action. The same is true of the struggle against war. This is a political conflict of the greatest importance, but it cannot be carried on inside the parliamentary halls. There the representatives of the workers can voice their protest, but they are in the minority against the bourgeois majority which supports the government. And the diplomatic negotiations upon which depend the great issues of war and peace are not carried on in the open before the representatives of the people; these matters, so vital to the nations' life, are debated behind closed doors by a small coterie of ministers. In order to prevent war the proletariat must bring to bear a sufficient weight of public opinion to compel the government to keep the peace. This can be done only through mass-action.

The mere existence of a Socialist proletariat constitutes a strong influence for peace. In view of the great influence exerted over the masses of people by a revolutionary party any government conceives at last a secret dread of war. For an unsuccessful conflict with a foreign power may always bring in its train revolutionary uprisings and the danger of complete downfall of the existing government. This fear of the proletariat has done much toward maintaining peace in Europe during the past forty years. But this gives the workers no excuse for deceiving themselves with a sense of security. The forces of international competition which make for war grow constantly stronger. And because the bourgeoisie, as the ruling class, is accustomed to command and have the working-class obey, and because

it knows that it has under its control a strong governmental machine, it feels certain of its ability to drive the masses of the people into a conflict with a foreign power which it points out as the enemy. On this account the workers must bestir themselves, must take the initiative. No one will take account of the desires of those who simply hold their peace. But if the masses of the workers make energetic protest and declare with all possible emphasis that they will not have war, then the government will be forced to proceed with caution. No government would dare at the present time to undertake a war against the energetically proclaimed desire of the great masses of the people.

This the workers have instinctively felt as they have been carrying on mass meetings and street demonstrations. These activities do more, however, than express the will of the participants. As a method of propaganda and agitation their effect is wide-spread. They attract the attention of those who have hitherto remained indifferent and waken hope and confidence in those who have remained aloof from the struggle. They draw increasing numbers into the struggle and so heighten the courage and enthusiasm of the entire proletariat. And the very fact that the government recognizes the effect of these demonstrations is reason enough for its fear of them and its tendency to give way before them.

But it is evident that in case bourgeoisie and government had definitely decided upon a war, such demonstrations as these would not suffice to compel them to relinquish their purpose. Such means as these could not force the will of the proletariat upon the government; they are effective only in case the forces making for war are not great. In the presence of them, governments will not declare war to satisfy a mere whim or to gain an unimportant advantage. They know how much is involved and whenever possible attempt to get on without war. If they do decide to declare war, it is because very important capitalistic interests are to be served. But the development of big business in the direction of new fields of investment is so persistent, so peremptory that they sometimes compel governments to go to war and plunge

the entire bourgeoisie into a war fever. When this happens the influence for peace proceeding from mass-meetings and street demonstrations remains ineffective. Against the peace agitation of the proletariat a wave of fanatic nationalism is set in motion. Street demonstrations may be forbidden. Patriotism serves as an excuse for the suppression of any opposition, and the mobilizing of troops places the most active elements of the proletariat under military law. Under these circumstances, what is to be done?

It is at this point that the conflict really becomes serious. Then the workers must resort to more effective means than the ordinary ones. Concerning the exact form of the struggle, however, it is impossible to go beyond conjectures. At Copenhagen Keir Hardie and Vaillant proposed as the ultimate weapons to be used against war a strike of those employed on railways and in arsenals and ammunition factories. This form of tactics is adapted to the French and English conditions. In England the great mass of the working-class is indifferent to war, for to the English war means a naval conflict or a land campaign carried on by professional, hired troops. On the other hand, military operations would be dependent upon the groups of workers employed in the arming of troops and the carrying on of transportation. In France the situation is substantially the same, for small capitalists and farmers make up the bulk of the population. On this account the proposition of Hardie and Vaillant is a perfectly natural one for them to make. But the fallacy involved in it lies in the fact that it places upon a comparatively small group the burden which belongs to an entire class. Any such group might be easily overcome by the superior forces of the government; popular opinion would approve of any violent means utilized against it. Not by means of such rather mechanical devices can a war be prevented, but only through action of the entire working-class. The struggle against war is a political struggle of class against class; it can be carried on successfully only when the entire proletariat exerts its whole strength against that of the government and the bourgeoisie.

The strongest weapon of the working-class is the strike; the political mass-

strike is the great weapon of the revolution, the one most adapted to the conditions of the workers. Its tremendous power has been repeatedly demonstrated, especially in Belgium in 1893 and in Russia in 1905. Concerning the question as to whether it can be employed against war, and how it can best be used, there is great difference of opinion. In the countries of Western Europe where great meetings and street demonstrations are commonplaces, Socialists have discovered that a protest strike for a limited time is the least exhibition of power that will make an impression. On the other hand, the leaders of German Socialism have little patience with the proposal to use the mass-strike as a means of preventing war. In part their opposition is due to the fear of precipitating unnecessary conflicts which might lead the government to such ruthless suppression of the labor movement as would set it back and postpone for many years the victory which it confidently expects. But another important element in the situation is the fact that the German labor movement leads the world in organization and power of numbers. Whereas a weak movement feels obliged to use immediately its strongest weapon, a strong movement may achieve the same result by the simple pressure of its mass. In addition, it must be remembered that street demonstrations, the right to make which has only recently been wrung from the police power, have in Germany a much greater influence than in other countries.

This does not mean that a political strike against war is impossible in Germany. It is not the desire of the leaders which gives the ultimate decision, but rather the force of circumstances, the masses may be compelled to act in a manner quite unforeseen, and in that case the leaders will be carried along despite their predilections and prejudices. In case the danger of war becomes really imminent, this will unquestionably take place. Such a socialistically trained working-class as

that of Germany will not allow itself to be dragged into a war at the command of the ruling class. The greater the danger, the more the working-class will be roused, the more energetically will it defend itself with any and all weapons.

Hitherto this has never been necessary; in every case the danger of war has passed away after a period of greater or less excitement. Germany has been the greatest trouble-maker in Europe, yet the fact that the workers have not been prevented from making their demonstrations shows that the government has not seriously and definitely planned for war. But the danger constantly recurs, and constantly in more threatening form. So, what is now but theory must eventually become practice. Then the conflict concerning war will become one of the most important features of the class-struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat. In this conflict for peace the workers will be compelled to use their sharpest weapons and to perfect their fighting power for employment against the whole strength of the ruling class. Thus the development of imperialism is calling into being the revolutionary force which will put an end to capitalism.

A new epoch in world history is beginning. Hitherto wars have been a necessary element in the development of the race; under capitalism they have been inevitable. The ruling classes simply had the masses at their disposal and without opposition were able to lead them into war in the interests of capital. Now, for the first time, a new power has appeared as a force in world history, the power of the self-conscious workers. Thus far the working-class has not been strong enough to overcome the bourgeoisie. But against the militarism of the competing capitalistic governments they now heroically declare their determination to have peace. And this war against war means the beginning of the process of revolution which is to lead from capitalism to Socialism.

# INDUSTRIALISM vs. SYNDICALISM

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

A NEW organization has just been formed—the Syndicalist League of North America. And the case for Syndicalism has been very ably and honestly presented by its secretary, W. Z. Foster, in his pamphlet under that title (Syndicalism).

The new organization is directed largely against the Industrial Workers of the World. It opposes Syndicalism to Industrialism. Whether it succeeds or fails is a question of the future. There is a similar organization under the leadership of Tom Mann in Great Britain, and it seems to be a success; it is the publisher of a well-edited and influential organ, "The Syndicalist." But what interests us here is not the prospects of Mr. Foster and his organization, but the very clear distinction they draw between the semi-Anarchistic and semi-conservative "Syndicalism" of the French Federation of Labor, which some writers have been trying to import into this country, and the Industrial Socialism of Wm. D. Haywood and the I. W. W. The bourgeois journalists and magazine writers have unfortunately used the term "Syndicalism" in speaking of the I. W. W.—which only leads to confusion. And what is still more important is that the public, including a large part of the working class, are employing the new word. So that it is possible that what we call "Industrialism" today will also be spoken of as Syndicalism in the future.

The Syndicalist League of North America, however, uses the word in its correct sense—as opposed to political Socialism. Mr. Foster says:

"Syndicalism is a revolutionary labor union movement and philosophy calculated to answer all the needs of the working class in its daily struggles, in the revolution, and in the organization of the new society. It rejects entirely and bitterly opposes the working class political movement—whose chief representative is the international Socialist Party.

"The Syndicalists insist that the labor

unions alone represent the interests of the working class and that the Socialist Party is an interloper and a parasite.

"The Socialists have noted this and correctly view the Syndicalist movement—even as the Syndicalists do the Socialist movement—as a rival to their own. They recognize that every great victory it wins pulls working class support from their party and is a defeat for their movement, and that every defeat the Syndicalist movement suffers, by driving workers back to the Socialist party, is a victory for the latter."

There is no question that the majority of the leading Syndicalists of France and Italy are opposed to the Socialist Parties of those countries, though there are many exceptions. The daily Syndicalist organ of France, "La Bataille Syndicaliste" is as bitterly opposed to Gustave Hervé, the revolutionary Socialist and Industrialist, as it is to the most conservative of labor politicians. And it was the Syndicalists who broke up Hervé's meeting in Paris a few days ago. This anti-political Syndicalism is also represented by such writers as Odon Por and Gaylord Wilshire, though their policy is to belittle political action rather than to attack it absolutely.

The basis of the Syndicalist opposition to the Socialist Party is the belief that "the state is only an instrument of oppression." The Socialist view on the contrary is that the state is only an instrument of *exploitation*—as long as it remains in capitalist hands.

Mr. Foster and Earl C. Ford, his collaborator, claim that Syndicalism is opposed to Anarchism. But their discussion of this point brings out the real truth of the situation, that Syndicalism and Anarchism in its modern form, which is that of an economic and class struggle movement, are identical. The pamphlet says:

"Syndicalism, besides its continual warfare with Socialism, which has already been sufficiently explained and described, has also an important point of quarrel with Anarchism. Though both movements are

at one in the matters of principle, ideals, etc., there is much friction between them. The cause for this is not hard to find.

"The Anarchist movement proper is an educational one. It says in effect: 'The misery of society is due to its ignorance. Remove this ignorance and you abolish the misery.' Consequently it places strong emphasis on its attempt to found the modern school; its educational campaigns against the state, church, marriage, sex slavery, etc. Anarchism is striving for an intellectual revolution.

"The Syndicalist movement, on the other hand, is a fighting movement. It ascribes the miseries of the workers to the wage system and expends practically all its efforts to build a strong fighting organization with which to combat and finally destroy capitalism. Syndicalism is striving for an economic revolution."

Individualistic Anarchism, it is true, is still an intellectual movement, but the communistic Anarchists, led by Prince Kropotkin, and supported in this country by Emma Goldman, have gone over bag and baggage to Syndicalism. Indeed, the Anarchists of France and Italy claim, with apparent truth, to have founded the movement.

To those unfamiliar with the American movement, it may seem strange that the new tendency, which is Anarchistic on one side, is conservative on the other. But those who know the history of the American unions, those who for example are fairly familiar with the McNamara case, especially in its ramifications, are aware that many of our Civic Federation, Democratic-Republican "labor leaders" are Anarchistic both in theory and practice.

The Syndicalist League of North America is very hopeful concerning the American Federation of Labor and its craft unions. It is aware that it will be impossible to secure a revolutionary majority in these organizations, whether of a Socialistic or of an Anarchistic character, and it has imported for this contingency the French Syndicalist theory of the power of "The Militant Minority."

"The militant minority, which is such a potent factor in the French labor movement, is utterly disorganized in the American labor movement. Even its existence as a factor in the labor movement—to say nothing of its potentialities—is unsuspected by all save a comparatively few observers. This state of affairs is directly due to the I. W. W.

"Ever since its foundation, seven years ago, the I. W. W. has carried on a vigorous propaganda of the doctrine that the old conservative unions are incapable of evolution and must be supplanted by a 'ready-made' revolutionary movement."

Like all the Syndicalist proposals, this "militant minority" policy is supported by volumes and volumes of theory. In reality it is the direct opposite of the class-struggle and is a reversion to sectional unionism. At the bottom of this theory is the proposition that when a minority secures control of any industry it is justified in using its power to the full against all the rest of the community, including the workers of all other industries. We can picture the reactionary character of this theory when capitalist governments, impressed with the power of the railway workers or miners, combine with these elements against the other ninety per cent of the working class. "The steel industry dictates to the rest of society in matters pertaining to the steel industry."

"There is nothing democratic in this procedure; but it is that of modern industry. And it has been so successful in the development of the industries under capitalism that it is very unlikely it will be changed in the future society. And why should it be?"

Here we see what must be the final outcome of Syndicalism—the combination of Anarchism and pure and simple unionism against revolutionary Socialism. And in the present attack of the French Anarchists, Syndicalists, and pure and simple unionists on the revolutionary Socialist and industrialist Gustave Hervé, we already see the beginning of this final stage of Syndicalism.

# The Passing of the Skilled Mechanic

What Ails the International Association of Machinists?

By HUGO LENZ

**A** WAIL is rising from the ranks of the organized machinists. In the January issue of the *Machinists' Journal* an international vice-president in his monthly report voices the dissatisfaction that has been agitating the rank and file of the machinists' union for a long time.

The machinists are standing still. For the last seven or eight years, according to the admission of this international officer, their organization has not gained ground. But one can safely go further and say that, comparing its progress with that of other craft organizations, it has not only not gained, but actually lost ground.

The machinists have always considered themselves the backbone of the iron trades. The skill which had been required in the past to do the fitting and assembling of machinery gave them a place which could well be called the front rank of the manufacturing industries.

But there have been startling inventions in the iron and steel industry which have at one blow knocked the props out from under the craft superiority of the machinists.

In the early days the skill of the machinist depended largely upon his ability to measure, with the aid of calipers, the size to which the work was to be machined. The sensitiveness of his touch, the "feel" of the caliper, as he put it, determined the quality of the machinist as a close worker.

That stage of infant industry is now past. Today the machinist has the micrometer and it has superseded the calipers for accurate measurement. The instrument is similar in appearance to a horseshoe with a screw put through one side of it. This screw has forty threads to the inch and one revolution of the screw extends it twenty-five thousandths of an inch. By placing the micrometer over the piece of work to be measured and adjusting the screw until it touches the work, the graduations upon it will register the exact measurement in one thousandths of an inch or

in ten-thousandths in the finer make of instruments.

A boy or a woman can use the micrometer. In the large manufacturing plants women and boys do the finest quality of workmanship with the aid of mechanical measuring tools. That is why the I. A. of M. has had to admit women to its membership, but for the boys it still reserves an obsolete apprenticeship system which spells the deathknell of the craft union.

The machinist's apprentice no longer "puts in his time" learning to caliper. It takes too much time and the employer demands that he use micrometers or gauges. And so what has been considered the strong point of the machinists' skill is being relegated to the scrap heap of primitive industry.

But this is not the only thing which heralds the doom of the machinist as an independent craftsman. The automatic machine is here and most of the tools, cutters, gears and duplicate kinds of work are fed into the maw of the automaton.

Jigs, templates, snap gauges, gang cutters, the micrometer attachment on machines, and a multiplicity of other kinds of tools make it possible to do accurate work without any special adaptability on the part of the workman. The machinist in the large manufacturing plants has become an automaton—an adjunct to the machine. He is no different from the machine tender in any other industry where subdivisions of labor and specialization are supreme.

The automobile industry is a good example of intensified industry which has so thoroughly subdivided the work that such a thing as an "all around" machinist is as scarce as the "dodo" bird.

That does not mean that there no longer are all-around mechanics, but that in this particular industry, expediency and the pressure of competition force the automobile manufacturers to standardize and specialize the work. This makes it possible to take "green" country boys (corn-fed, the employers call them) into the shop and

make automobile mechanics of them in a few weeks or months. They may be able to do but one particular job or even but one operation, but that is all the company asks of them. This advance in industry has brought into being the specialist—that nightmare of the skilled mechanic.

The specialist is undermining the International Association of Machinists. A reactionary constitution, which accepts only "an intelligent white machinist" with four years' experience in any branch of the work and an exaggerated idea of craft superiority has made it impossible to organize this class of workers.

The automobile industry as such is unorganized and known everywhere as a notoriously open-shop outfit. The A. F. of L. has repeatedly tried to organize this industry, with no more success than it has had in the steel industry. Only One Big Organization of Automobile Workers along industrial lines can meet the emergency. The I. A. of M. realizes this and has lately been turning its efforts to the organization of specialists, but there will be no appreciable effect visible in the automobile industry until craft lines are obliterated in imagination and practice, as well as in fact.

Thus is the automobile industry being taken away from the machinists. The chauffeurs have already been lopped off and attached to the Teamsters' Union. The linotype machinists have been detached and hitched on to the Typographical Union. The Elevator Constructors have taken that branch of work away from the machinists. Those in the mining industry have been absorbed by the Mine Workers' organizations. The Electricians have torn away a big chunk in the electrical shops and made it a tail for their kite. The Carpenters want control of certain work. The American Flint Glass Workers' Union has been given jurisdiction by the A. F. of L. at the Rochester convention over the Mold Makers (machinists) over a protest from the officials of the I. A. of M.

The machine hands, steam fitters, pipe fitters, coppersmiths, millwrights, gas engineers, boiler makers, marine engineers, steam shovel engineers, and a number of other craft unions can all trace their lineage back to the machine shop.

All the big labor organizations are reaching out for the control of the machinists in

their particular industry. Nor can they be blamed. The miners know that when they go out on strike, it is imperative that they pull out the men who build and repair the machinery with which they work. This applies as well to the printers, electricians, teamsters and other organizations which use machinery.

But in the meanwhile what is going to become of the machinists? They have been wavering around the 70,000 mark for a long time and the mercury is falling. The International Association of Machinists as a craft organization is doomed. The dividing-up process will go on until the machinists are distributed among the industries in which they belong. And it is evident that as machinery is introduced into more and more industries the machinist will have to follow the machine and take his card along with him.

There is no need of an international officer asking what is wrong with the machinists' union. Those near the top should be able to hear the rumbling of the mass. The evolution of modern industry demands that the machinists, boilermakers, molders, patternmakers, blacksmiths, steam fitters and every other man in the iron and steel industry down to the last sweeper and oiler-up get into an Industrial Union of Metal and Machinery Workers. All those machinists who are not in a general manufacturing line should be turned over to the industry which they supply with machinery. That will answer the question, "What's Wrong."

In San Francisco we have the farce of the Steam Fitters objecting to having machinists work on the installation of refrigerator plants for \$3.50 per day while they are getting \$6.00 per day and Saturday afternoons off. Has the A. F. of L. any solution to this problem? Of what use is an Iron Trades Council when it cannot keep two of its affiliated unions from scabbing upon each other?

What excuse have the machinists for remaining a craft organization? According to our Vice-President's figures Philadelphia with 11,000 machinists has 1,100 organized. New York with 20,000 has 3,000 within the fold of the I. A. of M. And this ratio holds good wherever specialization is advanced.

In the west the organization is stronger

because industry is still largely in the competitive stage. It is easier to fight a number of small competing establishments than a Trust but wherever the Trust has invaded the field, there you find a weak machinists' union. Witness how the Steel Trust has weeded out the organization.

The machinists' union is fighting terrible odds. New inventions, standardization, specialization, efficiency systems, jurisdictional disputes, a re-actionary apprenticeship system and waning craft-skill are sapping the strength of the organization. Its

craft life is flickering like a wind-blown candle. It has lived its life and neither Father Time nor Economic Expediency know favorites. Unless it gets busy and brings itself into harmony with the development of industry there will soon be no craft organization of machinists.

But there is consolation in the hope that from the ashes of burned-out craft-unionism will rise a Phoenix to herald the dawn of an Industrial Republic which will know no divisions in the ranks of the Producers.

## WILL PROSECUTE MILL OWNERS

**T**HE barons of the textile industry in New York are bending all their efforts to convict those who helped men and women to wrest more bread from the mill-owners, in the now famous strike of Little Falls, N. Y.

It is the same old story. The so-called riot of October 30, 1912, was a police frame-up, manipulated by hired thugs, imported from tenderloin districts and paid by the mill-owners. The methods and the tactics of the **One Big Union** had closed the mills and success was unquestioned. The mill-owners faced a serious situation, alike to that of Lawrence—the "leaders" had to be secured. The public mind was prepared for the artificial drama, the capitalist press raised its clamor of the red flag and anarchy, the "Citizens Committee" was organized and on the morning of October 30, the trick was turned. For the first time during the whole strike, James J. Long, chief of police, was on the street in the mill district at 6 o'clock. Why was he there? Did he know that something was going to happen? All the rest of the hired thugs were there and they had their clubs and blackjacks. The strikers came peaceably marching down the street singing the "Marseillaise" but they knew not the plans laid against them. James J. Long, chief of police, struck the first blow, and the prisoners, now facing penitentiary terms, are the result.

These members of the working class are in serious danger. This is the first real fight made by the **One Big Union** in the State of New York. Every power of organized capital—with ex-Senator A. M. Mills, general counsel for the textile interests as special prosecutor to assist the district attorney, will be used to railroad these prisoners. They represent the best of the new labor movement—youth, virility and courage.

**We must save these prisoners from being railroaded to the penitentiary and we must prosecute the real criminals.**

As long as the labor movement is satisfied

with acquittals it gains nothing. Every fight that the **One Big Union** has been engaged in, has seen an attempt to railroad the so-called "leaders" on trumped-up charges. At San Diego 23 men were indicted for assault with intent to murder. When the time came for trial the district attorney dared not proceed. The same with Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso. We are out, not alone to secure the freedom of these prisoners, but to put the stripes on the **real criminals**. Are you willing to do your part?

We want ten thousand petitions sent the Hon. William E. Sulzer, Governor of the State of New York, Hon. Frank Shall, mayor of the city of Little Falls, New York, Hon. Charles Bell, county judge, Herkimer, New York, and to the Hon. William Farrell, district attorney of the County of Herkimer, Herkimer, New York, all demanding: (1) a fair and honest trial of these prisoners; (2) the removal from public office of James J. Long, chief of police of the city of Little Falls, New York; (3) a public hearing of formal charges against the said Long for brutalities which he himself committed or was party to; and (4) a search of the record of every public official of the city of Little Falls who was in any way a party to the inhuman brutalities and the judicial outrages of that city.

**Men and women of the working class, you must act.** These prisoners gave their liberty that the world may become free. These workers must restore their freedom. Capitalistic justice and judicial chicanery must be placed on trial on March 3, 1913.

**Raise your voices in protest, hold meetings, raise funds for the defense, create agitation and be loyal to those who were loyal to you.** Remember that these comrades and fellow-workers are in jail because their motto is, "**An Injury to One Is an Injury to All.**" Act at once. Send donations to Little Falls Defense Committee, Matilda Rabinowitz, secretary, Box 458, Little Falls, N. Y.

Photo by Paul Thompson.

## SHEEP HERDERS BY ONE OF THEM

**I**N addition to being exploited by his boss, the shepherd is deprived of all semblance of the pleasant social relationships, the companionship of friends, all the joys of a home and the association of those that make life really worth the living.

Nearly all our days are spent in complete isolation, except for the occasional visit of the camp tenders with supplies and our wages. Nearly all shepherders develop an erratic, hesitating or a voluble manner, according to his individual reaction against an unnatural environment.

In spite of all the modernization in other industries, little or nothing has happened in the United States in herding sheep. In

Australia and England a portable sheep shearing machine is becoming generally used. These machines carry electric motor driven clippers that can be moved from place to place. But modern invention has not touched the sheep herder. We cannot even join a union.

Sexual emotions having no natural outlet or opportunity for transformation into other channels, such as love of home, children and social activity, take more or less unnatural forms. When a shepherd gets into a town, he usually falls an easy victim to gamblers, drink or red light inmates.

Wages average from \$35 to \$55 a month. A usual herd is from 1,250 ewes, with their lambs, to 4,000 "dry" sheep, valuing from

\$4,000 to \$20,000. A camp-tender takes care of from two to four herds, hauling supplies and moving the camps.

Sheep still show a decided preference for certain bedding grounds, a heritage from their wild ancestors, and it takes experience to pick places for the night where the flock will give least trouble. The herder sleeps close to the sheep, ever on the alert to keep them from wandering away or to protect them from the ever-present enemy—the coyote.

One outfit handling eighty bunches of sheep loses, on the summer range, at least 5,000 sheep and lambs, due to the attacks of coyotes. There are many more lost through the crowding into bunches and trampling of lambs. Sheep have probably "bunched" for protection from the beginning of time—when in the vicinity of predatory animals.

It is estimated that fencing the range, and making it coyote and bob-cat proof, would pay for itself within three years; but this advance may be long in coming while

the herds are privately owned. This will be one of the tasks of social ownership. The increase in the number of sheep will be from 10 per cent to 30 per cent.

Owners feeding most hay have been permitted to "summer range" most of the government ground, cutting down the fall, winter and spring range and crowding the "other fellow" in the use of the "public domain."

Figuring in all expenses in sheep raising, I have estimated that the average cost of sheep meat is one cent and of wool three ts a pound. Recently I bought an "all wool" coat, containing about two pounds of wool and four of cotton. No doubt the strikers at Lawrence or some other "foreign element" that did the washing and weaving—rioted in the leavings of that \$5.50 after the expenses of government, dividends, the army, freight and factory had been deducted. The sheep raisers probably got four cents. It would be interesting to know where the rest of that \$5.50 went.

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**THE WORKERS BACK IT.**—Butte, Montana:—Enclosed please find check for sixty dollars (\$60.00) to pay for a bundle of 100 REVIEWS for one year. Send the Bundle to Workingmen's Union, Box 588, Butte, Montana. Begin with the current January issue if you have them.—J. F. Mabie.

# The Art of PUBLIC SPEAKING

By HENRY GAINES HAWN

## II.

President of the Hawn School, Inc., Carnegie  
Hall, N. Y. City

IN OUR last talk I indicated all that is necessary to do, in the way of exercises, to gain control of the breath, and to produce good tone in the speaking voice. That is, I told all that is essential for the merely mechanical training of the voice; now, not only is this not sufficient unto itself, but will lead nowhere unless this breath and tone are moulded into language according to the scientific and artistic demands of the tongue in which we are to speak.

The statement was made that the muscles, tensing or relaxing the vocal bands (to give pitch), were voluntary but *indirectly controlled*. This *indirect* method should be employed in all possible ways throughout the whole speech function. It is true that the organs of speech adjust themselves into certain relative positions to give the sounds of a language—but to take those positions consciously, produces a pedantic utterance, a stilted delivery, and interferes with the free and flexible flow of *thought*, not only disturbing to the auditor but hampering the speaker.

The phonetics of a language should be acquired through the *mental ear*; the attempt to reproduce them should be made by trying to cause the sound, when spoken, to correspond with the *imagined one*, the student paying no attention to position of the organs.

To illustrate: We can take *any* position of the articulating organs, and if the mind so wills, produce any or all other sounds in the language, while still maintaining the first, predetermined position. For instance: Take the position of the *soft* "th," and you will find that you can hold it and, if the

mind so wills, go through the English alphabet; not, it is true, with clearness or beauty of tone, but with enough approximation to the changing sounds to prove that you cannot talk correct English by making muscular changes in the tongue, teeth, lips, uvula, glottis, etc., etc. Simply hear the sound, mentally, reproduce it (in silence), and make the effort to do so orally.

On the printed page I cannot tell you how to make any sound in the English language—even the markings of the dictionaries are no guide whatever except to tell you to pronounce one word, with which you are not familiar, as you do one with which you have a speaking acquaintance. Suppose you look how "bask," is to be pronounced. You will find a diacritical marking over the "a"—and if you search the tables to see what the marking implies—you will see that the "a" is to be given just as you see it in "ask." So, if you have been accustomed to say "assk"—you will say "bassk"; if "ahsk" you will say "bahsk"—and neither is correct.

You cannot speak good English until you know every *individual sound* in the language.

How are you to learn them? By *listening*. Even if you had the time, money and inclination to study under some capable instructor, I am not sure that this part of English speech is not best acquired by the simple art of listening.

No matter of what nationality you are, you hear English spoken all around you—mostly badly it must be confessed—but listen to the speech of the highly educated men and women with whom you come in

contact, and pay especial attention to public speakers of established reputations. Concentrate your mind upon the individual sounds in their words, and upon single words.

Pay no attention, at first, to a speaker's so-called big words, but listen to his "and," "but," "again," "as," "was," "often," "love," "is," "the," "thought," "won," "have," "had," "man," "boy," "are," etc., etc.; for such words are the backbone of English speech, and the whole fabric of this wonderful tongue is woven out of these sounds found in the simplest words.

The biggest word in the language is only a combination of little words (syllables), closely put together. I have chosen these words for your first study—because not even one in a hundred of native-born American can (or does), pronounce the whole list correctly.

"And" is one of the most important words in the tongue. Not because of its frequent use, but because the "a" being followed so quickly by the "n" sound, the almost universal habit is to give it such a "flat" sound and nasal twang that the effect of a man's whole speech is "flat and nasal." Hear some educated speaker say "hand," then make yourself a table of words rhyming with it.

Exercise:

|            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| "and,"     | "fanned," |
| "hand,"    | "grand,"  |
| "land,"    | "manned," |
| "stand,"   | "tanned." |
| "planned," |           |

Hear a good speaker say "thought," and make another table as follows:

Exercise:

|            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| "thought," | "naught," |
| "bought,"  | "sought," |
| "caught,"  | "taught." |
| "wrought," |           |

These are perfect rhymes. Simple? Yes, but often mispronounced. Only a few days ago a pupil was complaining about her uncomfortable bed in her boarding house and said to me, "So I just went down-town and *bot* myself a *cawt*." She meant "bought myself a cot."

Before going farther it may be well to go back to my list of simple words and try to show with the printed word how they are often mispronounced. "But" is often made "bot." "Again" should be "agen," in this country. (In England nearly always "agane.")

"As"—the "s" should be given here as a "z." (It takes a long while for foreigners to learn to soften this final "s" in this way.)

"Was"—often made "woz"—should be "wahz."

"Often"—the "t" should not be sounded. "Love," not "lahve"—nor "lof," but a perfect rhyme with "glove."

"Is," not "ees"—nor "eez."

"The," not "thee," unless in an emphatic position.

"Won" should be sounded as if spelled "wun."

"Have," should be easy to give correctly, but ninety-nine in a hundred say, "I haf ter do it."

"Boy"—not, in reality, a monosyllable in sound but "bo(i)i"; that is, the "o" has the sound of "o" in "or," and the "y" the sound of short "i" in "fire"—and in this combination of "oi" or "oy"—they never quite coalesce.

"Are"—another word rarely given correctly—most people say "ah you?" The word is really "ah-er."

This is enough to show that we must be able to give the individual sounds of a language if we are to use it with precision and accuracy, and doing so is what is called enunciation.

## DEBATING

By Jack Morton

**P**ERHAPS nothing prepares the young speaker for soap-boxing so well as local debating clubs. This statement is based upon the supposition that he is well informed on the three sa-

lient points of Marxism, summed up in three cardinal divisions. To quote from Comrade Charles Rice's excellent article in the December REVIEW:

1. *Historical materialism or the materialist*

conception of history, often erroneously called economic interpretation of history and sometimes referred to as economic determinism. 2. *The theory of the class struggle.* 3. *Marxian economics.*

The two first doctrines, that is the materialist conception of history and the class struggle theory, are usually and briefly stated together as a coherent whole. To quote Engels (preface to the Communist Manifesto, German edition, 1883): "In every historical epoch, the economic production (that is the mode of production and exchange. Translator) and the social organization necessarily following from it form the basis upon which is built up the political and intellectual history of that epoch, accordingly all history (since the dissolution of primitive communal ownership of land) has been the history of class struggles, struggles between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes at the different stages of social evolution; this struggle, however, has now reached a stage in which the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot emancipate itself from (the rule of. Translator) the class—the bourgeoisie—that exploits and oppresses it without, at the same time and once for all emancipating all society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles."

According to historical materialism, all written history can be understood only in the final analysis, by considering as the basis the economic structure of a given epoch—slavery, feudalism, or capitalism—that is the mode of production and exchange of the means of life prevalent in that epoch.

We wish particularly to call attention, in this course, to this series of articles now running in the REVIEW. Note the Class Struggle, page 476, December number and Marxian Economics, page 550, January issue. These articles will prove particularly enlightening to the young student of Marx.

\* \* \*

Local debating clubs should be organized in every city, town and village in the country. One night every week should be set apart for debates and the subjects announced at least two weeks in advance. This will give the opposing sides time to prepare.

Be very careful in your choice of a subject. Do not choose a nebulous or abstract one. These cause endless confusion and the entire evening may be spent in defining your terms instead of debating the question.

I shall never forget the time I heard two of the best known debaters in the United States discuss the question: "Is Socialism Scientific?" The Socialist in question is one of the ablest men in the American

movement. His opponent was a man of culture and wide reputation. But the Socialist, able as he was, failed to DEFINE Socialism. As a result his opponent opened the debate by reading quotations from numerous writers most of whom knew absolutely nothing about scientific Socialism. One paper claimed that "Government Ownership," was Socialism. Another declared "Socialism is NOT Government Ownership." Jones made Socialism a philosophy and Smith saw in it a FUTURE state of society. The clergyman proclaimed it christianity and the atheist wrote on the working class materialism. Somebody said it was a movement of the proletariat (working class) to abolish the wages system.

Now the opponent of this Socialist debater read aloud during the entire time allowed him, all the misleading, ignorant and even scientific quotations on Socialism that he could find. Before he was half through the audience began to titter with the humor of it. The opponent closed somewhat after this fashion:

Now that we have found that Socialism is spiritual and *not* material; is material and NOT spiritual; is a philosophy and NOT a philosophy; since we know that it does not exist but is only an ideal in the minds of a few men; a FUTURE society instead of a present FACT, I maintain that Socialism is not scientific. The crowd broke into roars of applause and the debate was lost beyond recall. The Socialist spent his time discussing scientific Socialism. But he was too late. His opponent replied that since terms had not been defined before the debate he was compelled to go to Socialist books and newspapers for his definition; that he had read definitions from the writings of many writers and editors and that they seemed to be not at all in accord.

Debaters cannot be too careful in the choice of a subject. Define your terms if necessary.

In a previous article Comrade Bohn suggested books to be read on the Materialist Conception of History. It is, as Comrade Rice says, almost impossible to take up this subject without understanding the theory of the class struggle. True, one might take the side in a debate to prove that the Supreme Court was instituted to serve the economic interests of large owners of private property. But it is only through

the OPPOSITION to this class, through the struggles of an exploited class against its exploiters, that the Supreme Court has had opportunity to function.

Society is not a fixed thing, having no connection with the past and no bearing upon the future. And it is the struggles of classes in society for greater economic advantage that make it move that produce history.

Kautsky's *Class Struggle* (Kerr & Co., cloth, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents), and Simons' *Class Struggles in America* (cloth, 50 cents; paper, 10 cents, Kerr & Co.), are two books that cannot be overlooked. They will furnish the speaker with unlimited subjects for debate.

### Topics Suggested.

The old theory that society stood still until now and then a Great Man came along and pulled it a step forward, is directly opposed to the Materialist Conception of History. These two interpretations of history are rich in material to the debater.

The man who still holds to the Great Man theory points to Columbus, Washington and Abraham Lincoln as great makers of history. But the scientist looks for the economic needs underlying great movements. He finds all Europe intent on finding a shorter and cheaper route to India at the time Queen Isabella of Spain financed the expedition of Columbus.

We find the father of his country fighting to protect his newly acquired and immense domains in America against the English, stirred not by a love of universal freedom, justice or democracy, but by a desire to protect his private property interests. And so on.

Perhaps in your local you may find martyrs to the cause in your debating club, who will argue for the Great Man theory. There are men in every neighborhood, outside the Socialist Party, who may have the hardihood to be willing to stand up against the whole club in debate.

It will be their task to prove that social progress is due to the activities of a few great men. Those who debate on the Materialist Conception of History must have facts at the ends of their tongues to show

why the economic causes underlying social progress: the results following the discovery of steam as a motive power, the invention of the spinning jenny, the cotton gin, factory and trust production, etc., etc. They will need to show how the material needs of society or a certain class in society determined the form of that society—its government, religion, armies, educational system, ethical ideals—all its institutions.

In other words, the way food, clothing and shelter are produced and distributed determines the form that society will take whether it be a master and slave society, lord and serf or whether it be a capitalist and wage slave society. Material bread and butter interests are the chief stimuli back of all social institutions even those bearing the banner of justice, freedom, or morality. The Socialist will need to show the economic or food, clothing and shelter forces back of any given social stage.

It should always be an easy matter for Socialists to beguile outsiders to debate on these questions.

Then take any great movement associated with a well-known historical figure. Historians have preserved and eulogized the name of the Great Man believing that it was he or his idea that led the common herd one step further in the road to progress.

Marx and Engels have taken these various movements and studied, dissected and found the great economic needs expressed by them. Material needs were necessary to make them popular and possible.

Socialism, for example, is not a plan for a future co-operative commonwealth evolved out of the brain of one or several great men, but a movement based upon the material—economic needs of the working class.

Wars are fought at the urge of some great, usually hidden, economic interest. During the various stages in social evolution, governments have evolved to maintain and protect the changing DOMINATING economic interests. Human institutions are but the reflex of some powerful economic interest. Analyze them and the forces they foster or protect may be readily seen.

Photo by Alfred S. Witter.

THRESHING ON THE BIG BEND.

# THE MODERN FLAIL

BY

JEAN L. HASKINS

**T**HERE is some contrast between "Grandad's Old Flail" and the "Modern Flail" that beats out the wheat to make biscuits for hungry humanity. Grandad planted a little patch of wheat about the size of a garden. When harvest time came he got out the "old cradle," whetted it up with a scythe stone, went down in the field and cut the crop by sheer muscle force and perspiration. Crude and primitive as his methods were, yet there was some satisfaction in his work. He could stop occasionally to spit on his hands, rest a few moments in the shade of the old tree in the fence corner, or talk with neighbor Smith who was passing along the road.

In due time the grain was hauled in to the barn floor, and again with "muscle force" and perspiration, the berries were mauled out of the straw with the old "flail stick." If it was warm and dusty, the

doors were opened and grandad took a drink of cider. The necessity of providing bread for the world along with inventive brains has changed grandad's methods and if he could see his grandson today, holding down a job on a modern flail he would be apt to say, "That beats my time."

Inexperienced travelers, no doubt, often wonder where all the wheat is raised to feed man, and how it is harvested. And their wonder would grow were they to see a modern flail stick being used.

In the wheat producing states there are fields with nothing but roads along the section lines to divide them from fields of similar size.

Already the barb-wire fences that once cut up the land into small patches are fast being removed.

The large farm is steadily growing larger. This is strikingly true of Washing-

ton. Hundreds of original homesteader shacks in this district are tumbling down and wasting away. Hundreds more have been torn down and the land put to better use. The country was once worked by a much larger population than now. Many of the more determined and persistent ones who stayed and bought out their neighbor's homesteads have since become wheat growing capitalists or the capitalist farmers. They couft their acres, not by hundreds, but by thousands.

Most of the plowing and seeding is still done with a force of men and horses with the sand plow, and press drill, the common traction engine not being practical on account of the loose nature of the soil. But the "caterpillar traction engine," a recent invention, is proving a success and it is only a question of a very short time before they are in general use on the large farm, displacing men and horses.

The writer saw three of these engines at work in a radius of a few miles recently. One of these "outfits" with three men handling it, plowed 160 acres in one and three-fourths days, which formerly meant the work of 12 days for one man and 6 horses.

There are three methods of cutting and threshing at present. 1st. The stationary machine with two headers, which moves into the fields, cuts and threshes directly from the cycle. This method is not very practical. It is too expensive, wasteful and dependent. If the machine breaks down the headers must stop, or while the machine is moving and setting again, if the headers break down the machine must stop, this involves a loss of time and profit to the owner. 2nd. The one in general use at present. A force of seven men to a header, with twenty-two horses, cut and stack the grain in ricks, generally 65 feet long, and 10 feet wide, and as high as the men can pitch handily. Later the stationery machine moves about the fields from one setting to another and threshes them out.

As shown in photo, the third method is the "combined header and thresher," and the one that is fast gaining supremacy. It is more adapted to the large farm. Five men with 36 head of horses take the place of an entire threshing crew, and heading crew combined. One of these machines in this neighborhood cut and threshed 80 acres

in 9¾ hours. The latest improvement in this machine is a gasoline engine to drive the machinery, with just enough horses to pull it about the fields. A few are using the "caterpillar" for motive power, which is soon destined to become the machine driving force on the "large farm." The small farmer cannot possibly compete with his capitalist grain growing neighbor who uses this machine.

A few words regarding the "nondescript" that follows the route of the harvest fields. When the harvest is ready he seems to appear instinctively, like the birds in the spring, only his route is not north and south like the bird, but in every direction; wherever work can be found. So you find him flocking to the harvest fields in large numbers. Most of these men have been crowded out of their jobs by the constant incroachment of the "labor saving machine." A great deal of extra help is still needed at harvest, but soon this gate-way of temporary relief for the unemployed will be closed, with the adoption of the more modern farm machinery and the extension of the large farm. He will not be needed. What is to become of these men when every avenue of employment is closed against them, and their numbers constantly increasing? These are questions the old party politicians are up against, and only the Socialist can answer. These farm laborers have been dubbed "Blanket stiffs." Jesus said to the man, "Take up thy bed and walk." But today he would need to say, take up thy home and walk.

The "blanket stiff" carries a roll of bedding on his back wherever he goes. His blanket is virtually his home. He knows no other when in the harvest fields. Whenever you see a man with a bundle of bedding on his back you will know that he is a working man; is willing to work, and does work. But the moment he throws away his blankets he becomes a tramp. The inducements to come to the harvest fields sound good to the ear; \$2.50 to \$3.50 per day and board, sounds big, but it is not, considering working conditions and the number of hours one must put in, and the short season. In the threshing season, you are awakened in the small wee hours of the morning by a shrill blast from the engine whistle; you scramble out of your nest of blankets and straw and put on your

clothes (if you have taken them off). The machine starts in a few moments, and threshes one hour. You have now worked up an appetite for breakfast. The machine stops and you hurry to the cook wagon, which is always nearby and swallow a few bites of food. The machine starts again in 20 or 30 minutes and you work until noon. A few moments for dinner and you are at it again. The sun goes down, night comes on; it grows dark. Lanterns are then lighted and placed around in various places so you can see to work. The machine keeps on grinding until 7 or 8 o'clock. About that time the whistle blows and you are ready for a big supper. Overloading your stomach, you crawl into your nest again for a few hours of rest. In the morning the dose is repeated, and every day as long as you stay with it. You can never stop to rest in the shade or talk. When you take a job on the modern flail you are just as much a part of the machine as if you were bolted fast to it. You have

a certain work to do, no matter where your position is, in the dust and dirt, heat and cold; you stick to it or someone else will take your place.

There is very little singing, joking or laughter about the modern flail. If the machine stops for a few moments when something goes wrong, the men sit or lie down at their posts, but they are up again the moment it is started, as though they were controlled by some mechanism worked by a hidden lever.

You may wonder why men will work under such conditions, but the work is only temporary, and they are forced to endure. Until recently, owing to the isolated nature of their work, it has been impossible to organize them and men are willing to do much in order to have something laid by for their families when cold weather comes on. Then there are single men who will slave awhile for a small stake that may pull them through part of the winter if jobs are scarce.

## The Recruiting Officer and His Reward

**R.** K. DANFORTH, the valiant young naval recruiting officer of Pittsburg, Pa., who challenged the men writing naval exposures for the REVIEW to prove their charges, is an officer no more. He has been relegated to the quiet of home life in Milwaukee.

The little comedy in which the REVIEW took part is at an end. Thanks to the splendid work of Fred Merrick, on the Pittsburg *Justice*, a Socialist made the acquaintance of the young recruiter, pumped him dry on recruiting methods and imposed upon his young confidence.

While Danforth was valiantly flourishing his pen in behalf of the U. S. navy and the War Department at Washington the Socialist reporter camped on his trail and kept the printers busy working overtime.

Thereupon the Pittsburg *Justice* let loose the whole disgusting story which reached over 40,000 men and women in Pennsylvania.

About this time the report got out that Danforth had contracted pneumonia and

had returned to his home in Milwaukee to recuperate.

The following is a part of the stenographic report made of the Edw. Shay end of a telephone conversation between him and Mr. Fanger, Danforth's successor at the naval recruiting station:

"What trouble did Danforth get in with the (war) Department? Telegram received from the Department (at Washington) saying his discharge was authorized? Why was he sent to the hospital? Nervous prostration? You told me over the phone before that he had pneumonia.

Did he get married here in town to a girl at the Home Hotel, and did he get in bad with that girl? That is all you know about him? Running into consumption was the cause of his discharge so he could be sent to a sanitarium?

You never did anything about Danforth's articles that appeared in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW? I am going to publish why Danforth left the service. It was not because he was a consumptive,

but because the Department does not want to let the people on the outside know the other side of affairs in the Navy. You know the Navy does not like to have such stuff appear in the papers and magazines. It was published in the REVIEW and in *Justice* here. This is not good for the Navy and this is why Danforth was really pushed out of the service. He was too loud-mouthed and drawing people out on this position. That is why he had to leave it."

Danforth, directly after the announcement appeared in *Justice* the middle of last month, received a communication from Washington which was everything but encouraging. Immediately after that he was taken suddenly ill. After coming out of the Presbyterian Hospital on the North Side, things began to go from bad to worse. The Navy Department at Washington was completely up in the air over the hornet's nest this recruiting boob had stirred up in this neck of the woods.

Danforth started something that he could not finish and the way he handled it reminds me of the fellow who got hold of a bear's tail and while racing around the tree cried, "Lord, help me to let go of this bear." We will patiently await the appearance of the next Hercules.—*Pittsburg Justice*.

We want to congratulate Comrades Shay, Fred Merrick and the others on the *Pittsburg Justice* for the splendid work they have done for anti-militarism in Pittsburg. The methods of one recruiting officer there are known from one end of the state to the other.

Mr. Danforth was, until very recently, we infer, a very positive young man, always ready to wield the cudgels in behalf of the masters of his job.

We take a great deal of pleasure in re-

printing, for his edification and consolation, quotations from Mr. Danforth's letter published in the January REVIEW:

"No one can deny that punishments are inflicted in the navy, but I maintain that **THEY ARE ALWAYS JUSTIFIED.**"

This ought to be a great comfort to Danforth. He spared neither his tongue nor his pen in behalf of his masters, and he has (been?) retired to private life. This is the usual reward of the humble man in the Service. He fights for his masters or scrubs for his officers and gets nothing. We are glad to have Danforth enjoy the Common Lot. He continues in his letter to the REVIEW:

"Why don't the men appeal to Washington? They would certainly receive prompt redress." Good advice. Follow it, Doughty Champion. "Punishments in the Navy are ALWAYS justified" and if you are not satisfied with your portion "appeal to Washington." You will receive prompt redress. This is more than consoling.

Some reports have it that Danforth contracted consumption while in the service. In that case his lot will be an easy one, for—again referring to his enthusiastic letter in the REVIEW:

"The Navy will do all that is possible for a man, even going so far, in some cases, as to furnish a trained nurse for the rest of his life."

Although we have not been consulted upon this point, we are free to admit that we believe the Navy Department owes Mr. Danforth this much. Whatever other virtues he may have possessed, he met his undoing while championing the cause of the Department. While we are not at all certain of the nature of his ailment, we are confident of his need. We hope that in this extreme case the Navy Department will go the limit and count Mr. Danforth a particularly worthy case.

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**A Live One.**—As you know, I ordered 20 copies of the REVIEW last week and thereby hangs a tale. I got them from the office at 4 o'clock that night and had them all sold and six orders taken on another bundle. I haven't hardly recovered from the shock yet, as this was my first attempt here with the REVIEW.—J. Jay Hisel, Iowa.

HOUSE BOATS ON THE YANG TSE.

## STANDARD OIL IN CHINA

BY

MARK SUTTON

**A** FRIEND who has spent many years in China tells an interesting story of what he calls The Standard Campaign in the Celestial Empire.

According to his reports, years ago the Emissaries of His Excellency, John D., were for ever battering at the gates of the ancient cities to make known their wares.

Christian missionaries and missions all over the empire were supplied with free oil and kerosene lamps. With non-sectarian generosity the shepherds of the "heathen" flocks were likewise blessed. It mattered not what Gods they worshipped, nor the manner of their creed. In the sanctuary of great numbers of priests in the far corners of the land, there shone forth in the darkness of the night, small kerosene lamps bearing witness to the pushing abilities of the great American oil company.

Some of the most imposing dignitaries deigned to accept hanging oil lamps and palaces began to be illumined in a truly

marvelous manner through the courtesy of his Majesty, the American Capitalist.

When the Chinese wall was at last demolished and the Open Door policy adopted, "foreigners" began to appear in China as if by magic. Soon little streams of Standard Agents were making their way over the Empire, sometimes by river or canal, or in wobbly rickshas and occasionally by rail. Often they were accompanied by coolies bearing great burdens of tiny red kerosene lamps.

In nearly every village some poor Chinaman was made the happy owner of one of these delightful inventions, which was filled with oil. Aladdin's Lamp was nothing to compare with the wonder of it. You had but to ignite the little rag sticking up in the middle and behold! light came into your hut or your house in the middle of the night!

But the poorer classes of China were not accustomed to sitting up in the evening. From the breaking of dawn until it be-

## HUTS OF THE POOR IN NANKING.

came too dark to work, they toiled assiduously. After that they went to bed. Besides, cheap as was kerosene offered them, they could not afford to buy it except for gala occasions. But their ideal of a standard of living had been raised. Every Chinaman wanted to own and use one of the little red lamps.

For a long time the Standard made only uphill work among the "private consumers," although almost every new industry that opened up in the Empire was forced to use some of its products. Gradually the canal and river boats learned to BURN oil, and sometimes on a night of festivities, the little house-boats swarming the rivers would celebrate by lighting up for an hour or two and set their less fortunate neighbors chattering with astonishment.

But it was the factory workers, the mill hands and mine workers who first began to use lamps regularly. All of their hours during daylight were spent at work. Lamps became an actual necessity to them. Besides they were earning more than they had under the old regime and could afford them.

Several years ago it was discovered that China possessed some of the richest oil fields in the world. The *Popular Mechanics Magazine* tells a story of the sinking of

an oil well in the good old-fashioned Chinese way, in the province of Szechuen.

The Chinese drilled by hand through 2,000 feet of solid rock to reach oil. When everything was running smoothly as much as twelve inches was drilled in twelve hours. It required about three years to dig a well.

Although things are moving with incredible swiftness in China and modern methods have probably reached the oil fields by this time, the first Chinese oil wells were drilled after the following manner:

"If there is a depth of 3 or 4 feet of soil above the underlying solid rock, the Chinese plant a tube of hollow wood in the earth, the lower end touching the rock. A large stone through which a hole 4 or 5 inches in diameter has been cut, is placed above the upper end of the tube, the hole in the stone being directly above the hollow tube. The boring machinery is next erected. A large hoisting drum is set up vertically a little way from the well. The axle of the drum is 7 to 8 feet long, made of wood, and terminates in an iron pin at each extremity, the lower pin working in a dressed stone, the upper in a strong crossbeam mounted on two firmly fixed wooden tripods. At about 5 inches from either end of

## CHILDREN SWIMMING AT END OF ROPE.

the axle there is a row of wooden spokes projecting 4 to 4½ feet, and to the outer ends of these are affixed upright rods parallel with the axle. The skeleton drum is thus formed, and upon it is wound the cable used in raising and lowering the drill. This cable, of rattan cord, passes from the drum to a wooden lever resting on a wooden frame, where it is attached by means of a swivel. It next passes down the hollow tube, its end being attached to the boring bit, an iron rammer weighing from 200 to 400 pounds, which is notched and made a little concave above and convex below. The length of the cable is so adjusted that the lever is horizontal when the bit is just resting on the bottom of the well. To depress the lever and raise the bit, two sets of men jump from side platforms onto the lever and back again to the platforms. Sometimes, however, only one man is employed. The bit is raised about 2 feet and then let fall by its own weight. About 720 to 900 strokes per hour are delivered. While the bit is in the air, an-

other man twists the swivel a little so that the teeth of the bit strike on a fresh surface. This man, also, from time to time, throws into the hole a few pails of water to soften the material composing the rock, and reduce it to pulp, which is removed by lowering a cylinder of about 60 pound weight in which is cut large cup-shaped grooves, into the well. The pulverized rock is forced into the channels of the cylinder by moving the cylinder up and down a few times, whereupon it is drawn up and the powdered rock removed.

To draw water from the well, a 24-foot tube of bamboo, at the bottom of which is a valve or sucker, is sunk into the well until it reaches the bottom. A strong man works a rope connected with the valve so that every shake opens the latter and permits the water to rise in the tube. The tube being full, a great spindle-shaped cylinder, upon which the rope of rattan is wound, is turned by two or more buffaloes until the tube is drawn up.

# Industrial Socialism

## In Italy

BY

Samuel W. Ball

**T**IME was in Italy when the trust owned all the glass factories and gave employment to about three thousand men.

The men employed in that industry were paid such wages and worked under such conditions as the master saw fit to determine. In due course of time the men employed at one of the glass furnaces went on strike against an employer who had refused to accede to a series of demands made by the union.

This strike lasted a year and out of the incidental troubles and hardships there was born the idea of starting a glass factory to be owned and operated by the workers themselves.

To accomplish this required a tremendous effort. Nevertheless, the Union Glass Blowers succeeded in starting a factory of their own, raising the necessary funds by their own efforts. Many of the bottle blowers sold all their belongings, including the beds they slept on, to contribute their share. In this manner was started an Industrial Union Glass Factory, owned entirely by the union.

This factory was an immediate success and it was not long until a second one was founded which gave employment to other members of the union. Without the help of masons or mechanics the second factory was built and in operation at the end of six weeks.

By this means the great glass trust of Italy was whipped; the strikers going to work in their own factory and thus compelling the trust to grant union wages and conditions for the men in the bottle industry.

But still another problem presented itself to the owners of the trust. The Industrial Union Factory began to draw heavily on the trade and the Bottle Blowers' Union became a most formidable competitor of the trust.

The trust therefore began an aggressive campaign against the Bottle Blowers' Union, which resulted in more strikes. As each strike occurred, the strikers contributed what money they had, and started a co-operative bottle factory, the consequence of it all being that the trust was forced to relinquish much of the profit on their goods, and much of their patronage.

Thereupon, the trust began to introduce some of the tactics employed in the United States, cutting prices and underselling the union in the bottle market. Finally, as a last resort they attempted to induce the banks to refuse the union credit.

But even by these tactics the trust failed to obtain results, owing to the growing demand of the public for union factory goods. These men employed greater care and efficiency in the manufacture of bottles, and their product was so superior that their entire output was sold in advance and

higher prices were obtained than the trust could command, for their goods.

Today there are in Italy about 3,500 members in the Bottle Blowers' Industrial Union, 2,500 of them being employed by themselves in the factories owned by the union and the remaining 1,000 employed by the trust. All of the men are members of the union and all are shareholders in the union bottle works, including those who still remain in the employ of the trust.

All the bottle blowers of Italy are owners of their factories and the trust magnate realizes that he has in his employ men to whom he pays wages, who are at the same time in competition with him for the bottle trade of southern Europe. The trust uses the man's time, but any new knowledge he acquires or new inventions introduced, he gives to the union to help his fellow workers to make a better bottle for the market. He draws wages from the capitalist but his heart, and mind are with his brothers in the union factory. If the boss fires him the union employs him and in this way, the Bottle Blowers' Union of Italy dominates the trade.

That the workers have made a brilliant success of this venture is no longer questioned. Odon Por writing for an English review attributes the success of the bottle blowers to two factors, as follows:

First, the technical efficiency of the glass blowers, developed through their effort to create collectively something new and posi-

tive. Second, their moral solidarity evolved through this Socialistic training.

"In their struggles," he says, "they forget their immediate interests and work with all their might for the liberation of their whole class from the tyranny of capitalism. They are dominated by a social vision, by a greater sense of human fraternity. In all the factories of this union there is not a single overseer, and the technical and business managers are all bottle blowers."

When the men came to a realization of their success it revolutionized their lives. They gave up drink and dissipation and are now devoting their spare time to the study of industrial and social problems. They take no profits or dividends for themselves but contribute such money to the support of mutual aid societies. The desire to become capitalists and prey upon their fellows has left them. They realize that the sooner they and the rest of the working class learn to free themselves from the tyranny of capitalism the better it will be for them and the world.

The Bottle Blowers' Union of Italy has given a practical demonstration of what the workers can do when left to themselves. These men are directing their own affairs and doing it ably.

After this manner the Italian railway workmen, bottle blowers and other workers have demonstrated the power of labor, and the idea of industrial Socialism is fast permeating the educational and political institutions of Italy.

## THE BOOM IN MEXICO

For some months past the financial journals have been yodeling their praises of the New Mexico between demands for peace, and complaints because Madero refused to "put down all uprisings" via the gun route, as did his "estimable predecessor."

The truth is Madero is a really kind-hearted man. Instead of silencing, with machine guns, men who voice their wrongs, he prefers to seek Reforms. But reforms are slow and not always efficacious anyhow, and the capitalist class has become disgusted. What does it care for the lives of a few unhappy rebels!

Better that there be Peace at any price, in order that Business and manufacturing and railroad building proceed, and profits come by and by! Is it not so?

Just inside Monterey the new \$10,000,000 steel plant is turning out steel rails that are used for the new railroads. Nearby are the huge smelters controlled by the Guggenheims, representing a capital of millions and still farther is a great brewery that looks as though it might have been picked up bodily from Milwaukee or St. Louis and planted there.

There are rich mineral lands yielding silver and gold. The railroads supply iron

and coal. There are in many cities million dollar hotels built of reinforced concrete. The brick and concrete age has set in in Mexico.

Cities are putting in sewers, water works and electricity plants as well as street railways. There are nearly 50,000 Americans who are engaged in mining, manufacturing or other lines in Mexico.

The soil produces almost every kind of crop desired by man and American companies are now setting out banana plantations not far from the Mexican gulf. The mines in Mexico are now turning out about \$80,000,000 worth of gold, silver, copper and lead every year. Its coal fields have scarcely been touched. It contains mountains of iron. And it has the greatest oil fields now being operated in any part of the world.

Mexico contains over 16,000 miles of

railroads and over 1,000 miles are in course of construction. But during times of turmoil, such works cease and it is for this reason and in order to promote a Peace profitable to American manufacturers that the United States is being asked to send troops into Mexico today.

The water powers are being "harnessed" and are developing their own electricity. In this connection new factories are springing up everywhere. There are now 142 cotton mills in operation. Large smelters are to be built and oil refineries to be erected.

In the name of Business, say the great American capitalists, Let there be Peace!

Doubtless the iron hand of another Diaz regime will bring it—the Peace of Death that knows no rebel awakening. If it does not, American capitalists will see to it that the U. S. Army does.

## STEREOPTICON LECTURES

trated lecture by Wendelin A. Diebold, one of the best known and most brilliant young speakers on the Pacific Coast. He has already toured Illinois and Ohio and dozens of requests are coming from locals that want him back again. On Feb. 9th, Diebold gave his stereopticon lecture in Chicago. Of it the chairman writes:

"Every Socialist local that can make arrangements for a stereopticon lecture on 'The March of the Machine' should do so. The initial lecture, delivered at the Twenty-first Ward Branch, Chicago, by Comrade Diebold, was a tremendous success."—Walter Huggins.

In order to make it possible for small as well as large locals to secure Diebold and his wonderful pictures, we are going to give every one a date that agrees to send in \$25 worth of REVIEW subscriptions—25 yearlies, 50 six-month subscriptions, or 100 three-month subscriptions. Several hustlers have written that they can ALONE dispose of \$25 worth of REVIEW subscription cards and secure a FREE lecture for their local. Five wideawake members can get five yearly subscriptions each in one evening. Get the local to authorize you to write for cards and a DATE. The first to respond will have their choice of dates. We pay all expenses, except hall rent. Each three-month subscription card is good for admission to the lecture.

WENDELIN A. DIEBOLD.

**F**OR several years the REVIEW has had its photographers in the thick of every strike and the class struggle in many lands. We have gathered the best working class group of photographers in America.

We have decided to give Socialist Party locals in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio a chance to see stereopticon slides of these photographs during March and April in an illus-

# SOCIALIST THEORY AND TACTICS

By CHARLES A. RICE

## IV

HAVING traced the beginnings of the pure-and-simplist dogma, let us see how it worked in practice and what were its far-reaching effects upon the entire Socialist and labor movement of western Europe.

To get a clearer view of its practical workings, we must again first turn to Germany. Nowhere else has the Social-Democratic movement reached greater dimensions, nowhere else is it better organized and disciplined, and nowhere else was its march more steady and irresistible than in Germany, the classic home of consistent and persistent parliamentary Socialism.

The German Social Democracy has become the model for all the other sections of the International Socialist movement. In spite of its enormous size, the great scope of its activities and the complexity of its make-up, the Social Democracy is notably singular for its stability, its well-knit wholeness and compactness; it defies all friction and frowns down any tendency to split. It has wonderful power for reconciling and harmonizing divergent tendencies arising within its own frame. This mechanism, well-oiled and frictionless, drives and steers the whole complex ship amid the clash of Bernstein's revisionism to the right, Kautsky's orthodox Marxism in the center, and the revolutionary swing of Parnas, Pannekoek, Rosa Luxembourg, and others to the left.

The eyes of all Socialists are trained on our German comrades. Our heartbeats quicken and our attention becomes keenly alive at the reports from every Parteitag; we are stirred by the issues raised and discussed, the decisions arrived at, and the slogans formulated at these annual conclaves of the Social Democracy. Our German comrades adopt or reverse their policies and tactics only after thorough discussion and investigation carried on through the medium of the party press and in party meetings. This collective thinking and research bearing on grave issues and questions that the movement in Germany has

frequently to face, find their climax and their finished expression in the prolonged debates and intellectual bouts in connection with exhaustive reports presented to each Parteitag. Here the data are thoroughly digested, the issues fought out, and a course of action is mapped out for the parliamentary delegation, the party executive, and the general activity within the various sections of the movement all over the country. The tactical methods adopted after such exhaustive mental effort on the part of a whole party naturally fetter the attention of all Socialists and assume an international value; such decisions become as it were universal standards of Social-Democratic thought and action.

All of us eagerly watch the fortunes of the Social-Democracy; we are flushed with its triumphs and feel depressed at its defeats; the struggles of our German comrades, their strivings and aspirations, their achievements and failures, and all their doings and efforts we regard in a sense as our own. We have a responsive chord for every new development within that movement.

In view of all this, we must view at close range what pure-and-simple parliamentary Socialism has given the German proletariat, since this is the best method for "sizing up" pure-and-simplism in general. We must study pure-and-simplism at its best, audit its account, find its assets and liabilities, its *pluses* and *minuses*, its lights and shades, before we can strike a correct balance. This close survey of the field in Germany will help us to find our bearings amid the maze of pure-and-simplist zigzags in the rest of western Europe and will prove a powerful searchlight for disclosing and correctly evaluating the tendencies and prospects of the movement nearer at home.

### A. Effects of Pure-and-Simplism in Germany.

1. BRIGHT FLASHES AT THE PLUS END.
  - a. *Political training and organization of the German proletariat.*

All Socialists are proud of the German Socialist movement and of its splendid work along the lines of educating the German wage-workers in theoretical Socialism and organizing them politically. Our German comrades can point to a brilliant record of achievement in unremitting up-hill work against tremendous odds. From the very pioneer days they had to face a formidable array of political and social foes and parasites.

Foremost and fiercest among these was, and is, the powerful horde of Prussian Junkerdom,—the landed nobility—this predatory caste with its feudalistic prerogatives and baronial rapacity; they are the agrarian vultures that still prey upon the vitals of the German proletarians. These medieval Junker parasites are at the helm of the government and the army. They are principally responsible for the fact that German workers are practically disfranchised in Prussia under the three-class electoral fraud. They have tightened their grip upon the German consumer, bleeding him with extortionate tariff on foodstuffs until he is driven to dog meat and a starvation diet.

Next in order was the cowardly pack of town burghers, prosperous farmers, and other gentry of a lick-spittle bourgeoisie capped by the cringing and fawning crew of professors, bureaucrats, and sky-pilots of all denominations. These layers of the middle-class, satisfied with the constitutional sop thrown to them from the Hohenzollern heights and their flesh pots, forgot all their revolutionary traditions of 1849, threw overboard all their former liberalism and freethought, and went on their knees before "the personal regime," "by the grace of God." In their fright at the awakening of the industrial proletariat, they began to worship the Prussian sabre and to kiss the police club. These simpering loyalists hated and feared the class-conscious workers still more than the landed aristocracy and the clergy, and so they surrendered completely to the semi-autocratic, semi-feudal regime, cut their own political liberties and spat upon their own democratic manhood in order to keep down the under dog and deprive him of any chance at the political end of the class struggle.

Then came the magnates of centralized industry and high finance with their voracious appetites for profits, their lust for power and colonial plunder. These espe-

cially needed a strong government with its standing army and navy to protect and promote their loot at home and abroad,—a government that could trample upon the civic and political rights of the wage-workers and put down its iron heel upon their class aspirations. These were and are the strongholds of dark reaction which the Socialist battalions of Germany had to storm for the conquest of the very modest dose of democracy they now enjoy and for forcing economic reform.

In the teeth of such foes, the Social Democracy fought a noble fight and braved the fierce persecution during the twelve years of the Anti-Socialist Law. It has organized the German workers in the solid ranks of the political army and has materially helped in developing their political class vision, solidarity, and discipline to a high pitch unparalleled elsewhere. It has weaned them away from political bondage to bourgeois parties and has trained them to think, feel, and vote for their own class. This itself is an achievement of no mean merit. No other section of the Socialist movement the world over can point to a similar item in its credit column, since none but the German Social Democracy has armed the workers with such bullet-proof armor of class discipline on its political side as to induce them year after year, for forty years, to vote for the party of their class.

But the German Social Democracy has been and still is something more than merely a huge and efficient machine for turning out millions of Socialist votes and filling up the extreme left of the Reichstag. Every great social movement, on close inspection, is bound to disclose two separate structures which we may conveniently call the *core* or central *nucleus* and the *outlying fringe*. They are to each other what the nucleus of the cell is to its surrounding nutritive protoplasm and vice versa. This nucleus or *core* in a social organism is the essential structure around which gathers the peripheral *fringe*. The first performs the functions of cell-building and reproduction, the second supplies the building material. The activity of the first is confined to the cell as such, while the latter may and does extend the scope of its operations far beyond the cell proper; it may and does come into close contact with other cells and profoundly affect them in various ways.

This is especially the case in a Socialist movement of such dimensions and complexity as the German Social Democracy is. These two structures, of course, usually touch elbows and shade off one into the other to such an extent as to elude detection. The trained observer, however, will easily sift them out on close inspection, his searching eye will distinguish them by their difference in function and especially by their specific effects or reactions on their environment. In order to arrive at a true estimate of the total effect of the Social Democracy upon the entire Socialist and labor movement in Germany, we must sharply mark off the *fringe* from the *core*.

The parliamentary activity of the party proper, that is all the work connected with election campaigns, the activity of the party delegations at the Reichstag, the various provincial Diets (Landtags), municipal councils, and executive bodies in the several kingdoms, dukedoms and other political and administrative subdivisions of Germany, as well as the organizations, bodies, or personnel in charge of all these activities,—this is the *core* of the pure-and-simplist Social Democracy.

Its *fringe* consists of all those activities and organs that lie essentially on the outskirts of the sphere covered by the *core* proper, and comprises a variety of functions and agencies to a great extent out of the sway of pure-and-simplism. These are: the party press and literature, the schools and the general educational activities; the non-parliamentary part of the propaganda carried on by various sections and groups of the party membership; the activities and personnel connected with supporting strikes and boycotts, organizing demonstrations out of campaign time, or with extending various forms of financial aid and moral support, both within and outside of the party, for advancing the movement at home or abroad.

Now, the positive, energizing, and constructive action of the Social Democracy over and above what it has accomplished in point of political education and organization of the German workers, that is the other items in its credit columns, was largely if not entirely due to its *fringe*. These items come under the following heads:

#### b. *The Press and Literature.*

The party has built up and developed a Socialist press and a literature on a scale so vast and of such solid worth as to stagger the imagination of non-Teutonic Socialists. Their magnitude far surpasses anything done along similar lines on both sides of the English Channel, and within the bounds of Yankeedom combined. The quantitative strength of this German effort is out of all proportions either to the area of Germany or of its population, while its compelling educational force is simply beyond gauge. We leave out of account what German Socialists have accomplished along these lines outside of Germany in the "Little Germanies," all over both hemispheres—as indirectly due to the inspiration and help of the Social Democracy at home. We are dealing here with production for the home market only.

The Socialist printing presses all over the Fatherland are humming away for their dear lives day in, day out; they work at high speed, turning out a vast succession of newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and books,—all of them containing scientific "red" stuff of a high grade. This does not take in the enormous bulk of all kinds of printed matter for propaganda, such as leaflets, appeals, etc. Over 100 Socialist dailies, weeklies, and monthlies are published in Germany. The circulation of the "Vorwärts,"—the central party daily published in Berlin—alone almost reaches the million mark. Let us glance at what this press accomplishes.

The German wage-worker, if he is a Social Democrat, which is mostly the case, has no need for the capitalist press. His Socialist daily supplies him with all the news and information that is at all of any real interest, political, social, scientific, or artistic, general or local in character. Sport and all other varieties of "yellow" news and trashy matter so dear to Tommy or Jimmy on both sides of the Atlantic, with all the cheap excitement and low swagger that befog *our* wage-workers,—these are far below the mental and moral level of a class-trained German proletarian. His party weekly and monthly supply him with all the facts and comment that an up-to-date, intelligent, and class-conscious worker wants to know. Politics, domestic and international, the developments and doings in the

world of technology and economics, in the shop, mine, or field, science and art, and all other important matters reach him through his Socialist daily, weekly, and monthly.

His habit of reading his Socialist press and literature had several effects upon the German worker that were of the highest importance for the development and strength of the Socialist movement in Germany.

In the first place the German wage-worker is thus kept away from the bourgeois press, and to feel the full import of this fact, we must consider the case of the American worker. Our yellow sheets of all dimensions and varieties, high-brow or low-brow, directly or indirectly, stultify our proletarians, sap their thinking powers and their feelings or wear them out with matters that lie far out of the pale of their *permanent* interests as a class, or that are positively detrimental to those interests. The bourgeois press stirs and feeds in our workers the low passion; it crams their brains with sensational accounts of murders, horse shows and other "Society" clap-trap, and fosters a sickening non-proletarian admiration for the "smart set." Again, the cheap detective story and other printed trash of the Sunday editions and the "best sellers," are rammed into our workers to an extent as to leave no room for thinking and feeling along class lines of any kind.

Then come all the cant and unctuous wiles handed down from the pulpit and other stalls where big doses of narcotics are given out free by sky-pilots and other peddlers and dealers in articles of "the beyond the grave." These celestial pills are specially compounded at the behest of capitalism as a very effective drug to keep our wage-slaves staring skywards, into the realms of "the Great Beyond," and thus shut out from their view this our planet and their own class position and aspirations on it. All this oily talk, all the hypnotic spells coming from the press, the pulpit, dime novels, sport, and other varieties of befuddling trash, attack the brains of English Tommies and American Jimmies, blur their class vision, dull and dampen their feeling for class, their economic and political solidarity, and stun their will power for intelligent effort to realize class aspirations. Their intellectual horizon is narrowed down by the above tools of capitalism to such an extent that they have neither the time, nor the

ability to think, realize their class position, and revolt as a class.

The German worker has been made proof against all the above disastrous effects in two ways. *Not* reading the capitalist press and other literature in the service of capitalism, he has *not* imbibed any of the poison administered through these channels intended for the intellectual and moral degradation and degeneration of his class. On the other hand, the habit of reading the Socialist press and close study of his party literature has widened his mental outlook, sharpened his critical sense, and stimulated and satisfied his thirst for knowledge, and trained him in scientific thinking. This has rendered him immune from the virus of superstition, the pulpit drug, and all the other bugbears and crazes in the service of capitalism.

The vast literature developed by the Social Democracy covers the entire field of the Socialist movement both at home and abroad and serves all its needs in a most comprehensive and thorough manner. It is a powerful tool for agitation and propaganda and a wonderful means for giving the workers an intellectual training of a high order. It is, besides, a sensitive apparatus assembled, mounted and attuned for recording and reflecting every new phase, every wave and pulsation felt at any point of the whole movement. It gathers all the facts and data that have any bearing on Socialism or the movement as a whole. It dissects, sorts, sifts, and groups this huge mass of material for the benefit of the German wage-workers and, indirectly, for the proletariat of both hemispheres. It beats the record as a medium for collecting and bringing under one focus the entire field of experience in and about the movement, and has no rival in subjecting it to critical interpretation.

This instrument keeps the greater bulk of the German workers in close touch with the entire movement and goads them to do solid thinking down to the very bed-rock of the social present and the historic past,—that is it gives them excellent pointers along the lines of historical materialism, the meaning of the class struggle, and Socialist economics. This equipment gives them their bearings indispensable for steering their course amid the tortuous windings of so vast and complex a movement as the Socialist movement is.

# EDITORIAL

## A Straw Man

FROM time immemorial it has been the custom of men who were afraid to attack their enemies openly and upon their own ground, to erect a *straw* man, roll up their sleeves and beat him up with a great show of valor.

This is what the enemies of the REVIEW are doing. They dare not attack upon our own ground, which is *industrial unionism* and so they have builded a great Man of Straw, which they have called Individual Violence. Just now they have him in the ring and are pummeling him mercilessly before the cameras of their own manufacture.

Their *only fear is that we will continue* to teach revolutionary unionism.

The REVIEW is, above all Socialist Party periodicals, the journal of the working class. This alone is our offense.

As opposed to Labor Partyism, we have advocated the Socialist Party.

As opposed to Fusion with capitalist parties, we have stood for No Compromise.

As opposed to middle class propaganda, we have offered proletarian literature.

Instead of Craft Division, we have taught Class Unionism.

We have ignored the leader in our desires to make the working class self-reliant. We have insisted that elected officials are to take their orders from the workers who elected them. We have demanded of them—service and not rule.

Instead of dynamite, we have urged industrial unionism.

In place of tiger fighting behind street barricades, we have taught organization and the general strike.

Against individual violence, we have made our plea for revolutionary unionism.

It profits the working class nothing to kill scab workmen or tyrannical bosses. It would benefit them not at all if an individual smashed his machine.

But it would help them in many ways if the workers, as a class, *went very slow on the job*.

Class action alone counts and to have class action, we must have: Class education and class organization.

We hope the enemies of the REVIEW will go right on killing that Straw Man, Individual Violence. It will keep them from obstructing the way when the industrialists in the Party are out with their Class Union propaganda. It will keep them from fighting us when we insist upon a working class Socialist Party instead of a fusion or labor party.

It is time for our friends to cease replying to the enemies of the REVIEW. We don't propose to be dragged off the main road. We are going right on teaching industrial unionism.

We will continue to educate the workers along class lines on the political and the economic field.

We are not concerned with the acts of individuals in the shops or elsewhere. We are glad to know there are individual rebels in the shops who refuse to be exploited to the limit of human endurance. But *our* concern is the great class war. And the main things are: No compromise on the political field, and revolutionary class unionism on the economic field! Agitate! Educate! Organize!

M. E. M.

### Pouget and Giovannitti on Sabotage.—

The Socialist party voted last year to strike out the "Sabotage" clause from its constitution, and by the same referendum vote adopted the clause. This indicates a deplorable confusion on this subject in the minds of the membership. Our publishing house, therefore, will publish shortly a book entitled "Sabotage," by Emile Pouget, with an introduction by Arturo Giovannitti, which will explain exactly what sabotage means to those who advocate it. The book will also contain a prefatory note explaining our own position on the subject. The price will be 50c in cloth and 25c in paper, with the usual discounts to our stockholders.

**Special to Review Readers.**—During the month of March we will make a clubbing offer of the REVIEW and the *Masses* one year for \$1.50. This is the greatest magazine bargain ever offered our readers. Revolutionary artists have made the *Masses* a magazine you must have in your propaganda work.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**The International News Letter.**—The International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers, of which Carl Legien is secretary, has begun the circulation of a labor news letter. Hardly anything of the sort could be of greater importance to the labor movement. The letter goes to about 1,200 working-class papers outside of Germany. The first regular number is dated January 10, and it is to appear weekly from now on. It carries condensed labor news concerning all the countries of Europe, America, and Australasia. It may be, of course, that the Secretariat has been led to take this new step as a result of the publication for some time past of a similar letter by the French syndicalists. But no matter what led to its appearance, the news letter furnishes the best means yet available for improving the relations of the labor movements of the world.

**The Balkan War and the Bulgarian Labor Movement.**—First place among the items brought to the notice of the public by the new publication must be given to a letter with regard to present conditions in Bulgaria. One of the incidental results of war is the almost certain destruction of labor organizations in the countries involved. The trades unions of Bulgaria are nearly wiped out. To put them on their feet again is a work of international importance. In order to place the demands of the situation before the working-class of the world, Mr. Dimitroff, secretary of the Bulgarian central organization, has sent out the following letter:

"Owing to the strict censorship in this country, which affects even private correspondence, I regret very much that I am unable to present to my foreign comrades a clear picture of the situation here. I can not give all the facts necessary to this end. Nor can I inform them definitely of the probable consequences of the war so far as they will affect the fighting proletariat.

"On September 30th the order was given for the mobilization of all the armed forces throughout the land, and on October 18th military operations against the Turks were begun. All who had served

in the army and had not on the issue of the order completed their 46th year were called to the colors. All recruits who would have been called up in 1913 were enlisted. Orders were given that those who were under obligation to serve in 1914 should be summoned before the attestation committee and attested for service. Macedonians living in Bulgaria were compelled to serve in the Macedonian Volunteer Corps. Only those who had not reached the age of 18 were free from compulsory military service. To the elder men fell the duty of guarding magazines, some being attached to the Red Cross contingents. Employees in the postal and telegraph services, likewise workers in the state-owned collieries and railways, were placed under military control so as to ensure the continuation of their work during the time of war.

"The effect on industry was immediate. Goods were turned out exclusively for the army. All tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths and factory employees were obliged to work for the Army Purveyors Commission with no pay except their keep.

"The workmen's clubs and meeting rooms were turned into workshops for the military authorities or into magazines and hospitals.

"The entire country was placed under military law, and the strictest censorship of the press and correspondence was established. Public meetings were forbidden, and even private talks in public places were placed under the ban. And in order that the labor press might not be able to disturb the efforts of the bourgeois press to engineer an outburst of patriotism, the authorities suspended all working-class publications.

"Under such circumstances all activity of our organizations has been suspended. It has become impossible for them to do their work. Out of 10,000 Socialist trades union members only 500 at the most—not counting the railway, telegraph and post-office employees—remain at home. And these are either out of work or expect to become so at any moment.

"To the Bulgarian Trades Unions falls



the task of providing for their members and, especially, of saving from misery the families of members who are on the field of battle. The desperate state of the workers and their families is indescribable. The cost of food is constantly rising and the cold weather of the winter season adds greatly to the suffering.

"From the following few details one will be able to picture the inhuman way in which the families of the workers, whose bread-winners pour out their blood upon the field of battle, are being plundered.

"A sack of grain which before the mobilization cost 25 francs now costs 40. In the same way all the necessities of life, including coal, have risen in price. The Socialist representatives on the municipal boards have been successful in some cases in obtaining money relief for needy families. In Sofia 500,000 francs were voted; in Varna, 50,000, etc. But one can easily imagine that this assistance is not enough; to make matters worse, a good part of the money goes to persons not entitled to it.

"The trades unions are, therefore, compelled to support their own members and their families. Out of the 30,000 francs in the union treasury at the beginning of the war only a very small amount remains. Should the present state of affairs continue much longer the unions will not be able to do anything without help from comrades in other lands. The burden becomes constantly worse as those wounded on the battlefield are brought back to be cared for by their families and friends.

"Whatever may be the outcome of the war, one thing is certain: the labor movement of Bulgaria will experience a period of extraordinary difficulty. In these troublous times we have but one consolation and hope, and that is that we may reckon on the support of the international proletariat."

**The Pope and the Labor Unions.**—The Roman church is more and more taking an active part in the affairs of labor. There is no lack of signs that the authority of the papacy will before many years be invoked to reinforce the conservative forces in the various organizations making up the American Federation of Labor. In view of this fact it is rather surprising that so little attention has been given to

the recently published encyclical dealing with the relation of Roman Catholics to the various unions in Germany. In this pronouncement Pope Pius X states definitely what are the duties of members of his flock to the church on the one side and to the unions on the other. If it is to be taken for granted that the law laid down for Germans applies to Roman Catholics throughout the world, this encyclical is of the utmost importance.

Besides the "free" unions there are in Germany "Christian" and "Catholic" unions. The free unions include, of course, the great body of organized labor, some 2,000,000 men and women. The other organizations together include a few hundred thousands. For years past there has been a bitter conflict among Roman Catholic labor leaders as to whether workers of their faith should be allowed to join the Christian unions, which include in their membership adherents of other churches, or whether they should be exclusively organized in the Catholic unions. In Cologne, the center of the chief industrial region dominated by the Catholics, the leaders are in favor of membership in the Christian organization; in Berlin, on the contrary, the Catholic leaders have fought bitterly for their own organization and against the Christian unions. The struggle between these two tendencies, dubbed the Cologne tendency and the Berlin tendency, has caused bitter dissension within the Centrist party.

More than once this conflict has been carried to Rome. Formerly, however, the influence of Cardinal Fischer, Bishop of Cologne, was able to prevent a clear declaration against the unions of mixed religious confessions. Now Cardinal Fischer is dead and his diocese is soon to pass into the hands of a man who bitterly opposes the solidarity of Catholic laborers with those of any other faith. And the Pope has spoken definitely in favor of the Berlin idea. Henceforth German Catholic laborers are to be organized separately and definitely under the authority of the bishops.

"Concerning the organizations of workers," says the encyclical, "though their purpose is to gain earthly advantages for their members, yet those are to be regarded as most suitable and best calcu-

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lated to secure permanent good which are founded upon the Catholic religion and recognize the church as their leader.

. . . It follows from this that Catholic unions are to be organized and supported in all Catholic regions and in all others where it can be taken for granted that such unions can satisfy the needs of their members. As concerning organizations which have to do with religion or morals, it can on no account be justifiable to found and support in the regions just mentioned such organizations composed of Catholics and non-Catholics.

. . . We give, then, our fullest approval to all exclusively Catholic labor organizations and wish them success in their efforts on behalf of the working-class and hope to see them enjoy a constantly increasing measure of success."

In another passage it is provided that Catholics who, in case of necessity, join an interconfessional union shall have a separate organization of their own under the direct supervision of their bishop. In this separate organization all activities of the general union are to be passed upon and the members are to do nothing without the ecclesiastical approval. Specifically, all Catholics are ordered, in their unions and outside of them, to encourage "no enmities between the classes of capitalist society, on the contrary to labor for peace and mutual affection."

It is interesting in connection with these peremptory commands to remember that there has never been any attention given to the fact that Catholics and non-Catholics labor together in employers associations. There seems to be no danger to faith in this sort of association.

So far as Catholic workers are concerned, the upshot of the whole matter is that they are placed absolutely at the disposal of their bishops. And this means that in case of strike they will be forced to play the part of strike-breakers.

The encyclical is dated September 24, but already we have had an example of its working. It will be remembered that last year the free unions lost their great strike in the coal mines of the Ruhr district because the Christian unions remained at work. Early in January they had the tables nicely turned on them by their Catholic brethren. The Christian unionists in the Saar district decided to

go on strike. Wages in the government-owned mines had been reduced beyond what even they were willing to bear. The strike was to be called on January 2. The Catholic clergy of the region simultaneously directed their members to remain at work. Suddenly, at the last moment, the Christian leaders called off their strike.

A leading Roman Catholic journal, published at St. Louis, asks: "What, then, must we Americans do to conform with the Pope's encyclical; or, if Rome would have to speak to us—as seems most probable that Rome will do before very long, on account of the growth of Socialist influence in the unions—what must we do to convince the Holy Father of our loyalty in this respect?"

**Hungary—The General Strike as a Political Weapon.**—In Hungary, as in Belgium, the general strike is to be used to obtain a modern electoral law. After being promised universal adult male suffrage the workers of Hungary are now about to have given to them a five-class system. The wealthier and better educated classes are to count four or five times as much as the poor and uneducated.

To meet the threat involved in the presentation of this law to parliament the Socialist Party of Hungary held a special congress at Budapest on January 28. With perfect unanimity and great enthusiasm a resolution was adopted calling upon the party executive committee and all labor organizations to take all measures necessary to the calling of a general strike. In case the general strike does not prevent the passage of the law, the Party declares its purpose of refusing to take part in the elections under the law.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

**Denver on Haywood**—Whereas, Comrade Wm. D. Haywood is a member of the 2nd Ward Branch of the Socialist party of Denver, and, whereas the New York State Committee of the Socialist party has instituted a referendum for his recall from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party, declaring that Comrade Haywood never advocated the use of the ballot by the workers, but advocated sabotage instead, and, whereas Comrade Haywood during the miners' strike in Colorado constantly warned the strikers to beware of violence, and, whereas Comrade Haywood has been a Socialist for many years and has delivered many addresses in Denver in which he always advocated the use of the ballot by the workers, therefore, be it resolved that we value Comrade Haywood as a Socialist and comrade and respect his position on Industrial Unionism.—A. G. Bruhm, secretary.

**Local Alameda.**—In view of the fact that THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, has through its policy of adhering to straight revolutionary Socialism, drawn upon itself the criticism of so-called Socialist writers, and in our opinion such writers and the results of their efforts are more fitted for a "Bull Moose" outfit, and further considering the fact that there is but one kind of Socialism really worth our efforts, Be it resolved that we, the Socialists of Branch Alameda, Alameda, Cal., at a regular meeting held December 17, hereby express our confidence in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. And at the same time commend the management of said publication for the able and fearless manner in which the magazine is edited. Pledging our support, it is our wish that the present policy of the REVIEW be adhered to, regardless of the screaming of the reformers, and the criticism of some of the 57 varieties. Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be mailed to the *National Socialist*, the *Oakland World*, the *California Social Democrat* and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Yours for the Revolution, Branch Alameda Socialist Party, per E. J. Paterson, secretary.

**From Australia.**—A comrade from Australia writes us a letter in which he says: "An establishment that is acting as a bomb factory, so to speak, in shattering tradition, conventionalism, patriotism and all latter day offspring of bourgeois morality, must experience great difficulty in maintaining itself, as all the battering rams of capitalism will be used to sink it into oblivion. The REVIEW is the best and most fearless American magazine.

**Seventeen From One.**—Comrade Morgan of St. David, Illinois, sends in \$17.00 for seventeen yearly subscriptions and is getting \$17.00 worth of our Socialist books free as a premium for his library. This is the kind of work that makes for a strong Socialist movement. Seventeen party members will receive the REVIEW each month and these books are a splendid beginning for a real Socialist library.

**From New Zealand Socialist Party—Auckland Branch.**—Dear Comrades: Enclosed please find five-pound money order for REVIEWS. REVIEW is selling splendidly and most of our chaps can't do without it. Last month we sold over eighty copies on a Sunday night at the Opera House. Don't forget one hundred copies per month. As long as the REVIEW is uncompromising we shall enthusiastically support it.—E. Jensen, literature secretary.

**From Australian Comrades, Melbourne.**—Herewith find money order for one pound one shilling, please send us twenty-four REVIEWS a month for three months. Your Comrade, H. J. Cruickshank.

**Jamestown, N. Y.**—In looking over my files find that the REVIEW contains the true history of every strike of consequence of recent years. No Socialist can afford to be without a complete file.—Mary S. Cornwell.

**Here Is a Hot One.**—The getting of the REVIEW may cause me to lose my job, but I don't care so much for that as long as I get the REVIEW. Yours for the Revolution.—J. F. G., Big Eddy, Ore.

**Lemmon, S. Dak.**—Enclosed please find \$1.00 for renewal to that grand old guard of the Socialist movement, THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Yours for Socialism, Leon A. Potter.

**Bellingham, Wash.**—I am very well pleased with your magazine, the articles are very interesting and want to assure you I will remain one of your subscribers and some day will work to enlarge its sphere of usefulness.—B. E. Musser.

**Luzerne, Pa.**—Enclosed find \$3.00 money order, for which please send me a bundle of 60 REVIEWS. The last bunch sold fast and I really didn't have enough.—Harry Seward.

**Ashland Library.**—The Socialist Party Local of Ashland, Pennsylvania, has a new plan for building up a library which we want our readers to know about. The first order was for \$30.00 worth of books at cost. Comrade Lessig writes: "This is the beginning of a Socialist library for Branch Ashland, to which we will add from time to time. The branch gets these books by borrowing one dollar from each comrade. The name of each comrade is placed on a card and deposited in a box and when the library is opened each person wishing to use the books will pay a membership fee of 25 cents and 5 cents a week for the use of the books. From this income we will pay back the money borrowed, drawing a card from the box as soon as a dollar is on hand and paying it to the person whose name appears on the card. In this way we get outsiders interested and get a library for nothing."

**Forty Subscriptions More.**—Comrade Goldstein of Rochester, New York, sent in \$10.00 for 40 three-months' REVIEW subscriptions, all sent to new names. As a premium for these, she received \$10.00 worth of our books free.

This is the kind of work our hustlers are doing and it is what is building up the REVIEW and getting it into the hands of new readers. We hope others will write for our free book plan offer and help to double the REVIEW subscription list this year.

**A Good Idea.**—Comrade Maule from Cholame, California, writes: "I commenced taking the REVIEW in September (1911), and ever since that I have been taking every four numbers as they came each month and fastening them together with a stout cord. Then I would paste a heavy cloth over them, making one large volume out of the four issues. Four REVIEWS bound in one volume contains about as much good reading matter on Socialism as any large book, besides, they are handy. I lend them out to neighbors because they do good propaganda work."

**Local Springfield** has initiated a referendum whereby every party member shall be assessed \$1.00 for the purpose of buying national headquarters for the Socialist party. The comrades say this would enable us to save about \$5,000 a year on rent and give the party a building of their own.

**Comrade Dutler of Goldfield** sends in the cash for twenty yearly REVIEW subscriptions. He says the boys in the mines think the REVIEW is the best magazine published, and he intends to push the circulation everywhere he goes. Hope our other friends in the shops and mills will do likewise. We always know we are on the right track when our friends in the industries tell us to "go ahead."

**The Esmond Strikers** who are out demanding an increase in wages are putting up a good fight at Centerdale, R. I. There are only 350 of them, but they seem likely to win if they are not driven back by hunger. Put a dollar in an envelope and send it to Charles Carpenter, Box 50, Centerdale, R. I., and help feed them while they fight. This is our battle as well as theirs.

**The Banner to Washington.**—State Secretary Bostrom of Washington holds the banner on orders for scientific literature this month. During the past three weeks we have received orders for over \$300 from him for our books. This explains why the Socialists in Washington are among the most intelligent and revolutionary in this country. Where sound literature goes, the movement is always clear and permanent. Congratulations to the Washington comrades.

**From Northville, Mich.**—Dear Comrades: Enclosed please find P. O. order for \$1.00 for which you will please send me the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for one year. I have been trying to get it lately through the news stands and sometimes I get it and sometimes not. I have been honored (!) lately by receiving free copies of that publication known as the *National Socialist*, or *Berger's Bellyache*. I had formerly fondly imagined that the Socialist party existed for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism. Nothing of the sort. The Socialist party exists for the purpose of overthrowing one, Wm. D. Haywood, everybody help. Sometimes I have a lurking suspicion that the

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capitalist class, despairing of holding the working class in check with the old weapons, A. F. of L., profit sharing, forward movement, etc., have enlisted the aid of a few of the intellectual, political Socialists to help out on the job. Let the good work go on. Suppose they do split the party. The should all go get a bible and read the story of Gideon's Army and find out what sort of guys done the fighting. Not the step at a timer's, but those who went the whole distance in the least possible time. The road stretches out broad and, straight today to Industrial Liberty. Let us hurry and get there and enjoy it while we are yet young and know how. Yours for a two-fisted fighting working class, Lloyd C. Clifford.

Renew my subscription to the REVIEW. Wouldn't be without it at any price.—F. W. Battenhouse, 515 33rd street, Oakland, Cal.

Another Live One.—I enclose P. O. order for 50 cents. Please mail me five copies of the January INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. I enclose order for five copies of your January issue which gives me an opportunity of introducing the Red Flag into several households where it is unknown or allowed with Helen Kellar as chaperone. The cover is excellent. If it could be retained and the picture below changed monthly, it might help to sell the magazine; besides, in handling cattle, I have found it expedient to get my bulls used to the sight of a red flag. For my purpose the January issue is a very good one. The article on the A. F. of L., the Chicago Daily and the Acquittal of Ettor, read with Russell's "What Next," your editorials and Bohn's Notes, make it what its name claims, a REVIEW. I should like the editorial columns extended to cover the whole field when, in any month's issue, any matters necessary to be understood are not treated in the body of the magazine. One minute more of your attention before this goes into the W. P. B. You will say that you are not catering for a capitalist like me (a poor devil of a farmer whose ownership of land has kept him broke for thirty years), but it seems to me that industrialism and direct action will only win their way in Socialism, and Socialism in society generally, to the intent that they are rightly understood. Yours very truly, Tom Swain, Paradox, Colo.

From Shelbyville, Ind.—Enclosed find M. O. for \$1.00 for which please send to my address, 20 copies of the February REVIEW. Just received my last order for 20 copies Saturday night, and yesterday, Sunday morning, I put them under my arm and started out and before returning I had disposed of all of them, making \$1.00 profit to the Socialist local at this place. I donate my time and give the profit to the local.—C. E. Kennedy.

From Shattuck, Okla.—Enclosed find \$1.00 for which send me the "Fighting Magazine," INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. What you advocate is true and the workers are beginning to wake up to the fact. The article "You and Your Vote" in last August number is exactly right; I wish every worker in the world could read it.—L. T. Green.

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*The*  
INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW

April  
1913

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A 15-000 MAN-POWER PLANT WHERE WORKING PEOPLE MAKE RUBBER GOODS AND RUBBER BARONS DECLARE ENORMOUS DIVIDENDS.

## 800 Per Cent and the Akron Strike

By Leslie H. Marcy

**T**HE Rubber Aristocrats are having "tire trouble" in Akron, Ohio. Their mammoth 75-acre, 25,000-man-power, profit-making machines—known as the Goodrich-Diamond, Good-year, Firestone and Buckeye rubber factories, have been badly punctured by a strike of 20,000 wage slaves.

The workers who have slaved for years laid down the bosses' tools, rolled up their greasy working rags and walked out unorganized, on February 10, as a protest against tyrannical working conditions and repeated cuts in wages.

They are standing shoulder to shoulder in their first strike and their arms are

folded. There is no fire under the boilers; nor smoke issuing from the hundreds of industrial spires; the belts are on loose pulleys and even the wheels refuse to run.

The Rubber Barons refused to arbitrate with the state officials and threatened to move their plants from the city. Meanwhile the strike was rapidly being organized by militant members of the Socialist party working with the Industrial Workers of the World. The Socialist headquarters became the home of the

work of taking care of those who were in need. Here was a hive that hummed twenty hours out of the twenty-four. Of course the Capitalist hirelings suddenly discovered that this was "an Agitators' meeting place," and made dire threats.

But the Rubber Barons in their palaces out on West Hill were also busy moulding public opinion through press and pulpit against this "foreign devil" called a strike. Were not collections dwindling on Sundays and business becoming "bad"

GENERAL MANAGER SHAW ANNOUNCED THAT IF THE FACTORY CLOSED DOWN ON ACCOUNT OF STRIKE IT WOULD BE REMOVED FROM AKRON.

strike committees while larger halls were secured for mass meetings, where thousands of workers hear the message of Revolutionary Socialism and Industrial Unionism. Comrades Frank Midney, "Red" Bessemer, George Spangler and fellow-workers George Speed, William Trautman, Jack Whyte and several more "live ones" are on the job speaking daily, organizing committees and strengthening the picket lines.

The home of Comrade Frank and Margaret Prevey was thrown open to the strikers and became a busy center of strike activity—sending out appeals for support, press notices and planning the

during the week, and is not idleness the devil's workshop?

Thereupon a great cry arose from the Citizens' Welfare League and the Akron *Times*, warning the honest, respectable, patriotic law-abiding American citizens against the strike as "an attack on the prosperity of our city," and announcing that "the powers that be are ordained of God." This league was organized by Rev. Atwater and the Rubber Heads have donated him an automobile for his services in organizing slugging crews.

As city, county and state governments are but committees to do the bosses' bidding, so likewise the pulpit, press and bar

are proving themselves ready to prostitute themselves for a few crumbs from the rich man's table. The following item from the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* shows how eager are these lickspittles to do their master's bidding:

SWEAR IN CITIZENS TO PROTECT  
AKRON.

Police Officials Arm Ministers, Lawyers  
and Business Men of City.

"Following the issuing of a proclamation by Sheriff David Fergusson today prohibiting parades and crowds congregating on the streets, 700 prominent Akron citizens, including merchants, lawyers and physicians, presented themselves at police headquarters and asked to be sworn in as special policemen.

"All were accommodated and with police badges and heavy police night sticks were assigned to duty this afternoon. Among the men made special police were: M. O'Neil, proprietor of the May Co. department store; Francis Seiberling, J. H. Adams and W. E. Smoyer, lawyers; Rev. George P. Atwater; W. C. Hall, insurance agent; W. B. Baldwin, postmaster; Dr. D. H. Morgan; George Bates, banker; George W. Cornuchael, contractor.

"For hours they were sworn in as fast as Mayor Rockwell could repeat the oath. Clubs and ax-handles were distributed among them and each man was given a yellow ribbon, designating his authority."

The entire Young Men's Christian Association was sworn in as deputies.

Tuesday evening March 13th, a squad of these thugs clubbed a group of girl strikers, as they were going up the stairs into the Socialist headquarters. On Friday, March 14th, Comrade Haywood was met at the depot by the Citizens' Committee and the chief of police started to recite his little piece about no revolutionary speeches, etc., etc. But Comrade Haywood rudely interrupted with the query: "Have you a warrant to serve?" Upon the chief's replying that he had none Comrade Haywood said, "Please step aside," and passed through the crowd to the waiting strikers, who cheered him lustily. Thus the class lines have been drawn and the struggle is on in Akron.

Fifteen years ago the rubber industry

was in its infancy, but during 1912 the wage workers of Akron, in the factories, produced commodities valued at \$99,462,944 and the valuation placed on Akron plants, which were also built by the workers was placed at \$46,966,509. One company which started with a capital of \$100,000 is now capitalized at \$10,000,000 and during last year dividends were declared by several rubber companies ranging from seven to eight hundred per cent. And one company paid 100 per cent dividend for the month of August, 1912.

But gradually competition became keener and the Rubber Barons began to install labor-saving machinery. A stock-cutting machine now does the work of ten men. Four years ago a beading machine was invented which completely wiped out hundreds of hand bead workers. Four men operating a machine could produce as much as a whole corps of trained hand workers. Before the advent of the tire building machine a hand tire builder turned out ten three-inch tires in ten hours, receiving 35 cents per tire on piece work. Now the tire building machine pro-

## PUTTING ON THE LAST PLY.

duces 112 three-inch tires all trimmed and ready for the finishers in ten hours. In the Diamond factory alone the force of tire builders was cut down from 510 to 112. The coming of these machines has cut the force 75 per cent.

The machine process has cut the cost of manufacture in two and tire builders who formerly averaged \$4.20 per day now make \$2.70. But the Rubber Barons were not satisfied, so the Taylor Speeding-Up System of Exploitation was installed, which means that the company's "stools" were sent around with stop-watches in the various departments and the fastest workers were timed. Then the piece scale was set according to what the pacemaker could turn out.

As the Rubber Barons grew in wealth they became more arrogant to their employees. Fines were levied for the most trivial mistakes. Mike Flynn, superintendent of the tire department of the Diamond plant "fired" fifty men because someone threw a small piece of rubber out of a window. Such is the way the free American rubber workers have been treated in Akron for years, and they have at last revolted.

Under the old hand-method of making tires, the cutting of "stock" or fabric was

all done by hand. The tread-builders also worked by hand, rolling and pressing the duck fabric for the tire builders. In the builders' room, an iron core, weighing from 100 to 500 lbs., the exact size of the cavity, was covered with glue, or cement, and a light fabric pulled over it. The core then went to the tire builders.

Starting the fabric which was held by "sewing-in" with a rotary wheel, the builder stitches his stock  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches to every foot. Stock is sometimes cut so close that the operator has often to release and restretch the fabric many times before the ends meet.

One of these photographs shows the builder putting on the third ply with edges trimmed. The last ply is carefully worked over the beads and "sewed in" ready for the gumming pits.

After the final cut the tire is sent to a calendar room to receive a coat of composition.

One of the strikers informs us that very recently the Speeding-Up System has forced the tire builders to produce 2,000 more than the regular output of tires in a single night. The same man reported that while it formerly took three hours to "cure" a tire, the time had been cut to 55 minutes in one plant. And that the "cur-

## STOCK CUTTERS—NOW DONE BY MACHINES.

ing process" depends altogether upon the quantity of rubber used in the compound.

Five hundred to six hundred pounds of compound are made up at a time. In the good old days THREE POUNDS of

actual pure rubber was used in a batch; much less is used now. A gum plant is one of the ingredients, also old rope, rags, alkali and shoddy (old rubber, such as worn-out tubing, worn-out rubbers, etc.).

Although the price of pure rubber is lower than it was a few years ago, the rubber companies have cut down the quantity used steadily. Formerly tire curers earned \$5.00 for curing five tires. They are now forced to cure 50 tires for the same sum. And there is NO LET UP IN THE SPEEDING UP SYSTEM. And the pay per worker goes steadily down.

The same is true of the girls in the hot-water bag and rubber goods departments. Everything is piece work. The companies offer premiums for the girl (or man) who produces the most bags, tires, or whatever it may be, and when the utmost limit has been reached, the maximum number becomes the basis for piece work pay. An old experienced operator may be able to glue together 40 hot-water bags in a ten-hour day, working at top speed for a cash

premium. But she cannot possibly keep up this pace. But the day's wage, for such work is based upon this record pace. Girls are compelled to get to work at 7:00 a. m. in order to cement hot-water bags and then are compelled to wait for hours at a time for them to be pressed and trimmed. The girls are paid 5½ cents for making a \$2.00 hot-water bag.

The girls making rubber shoes (rubbers) have been paid only 15 cents per 100 pair of tops. For every rubber that was imperfectly trimmed they were docked 5 cents. Three slips would force them to make 100 pairs of tops for nothing, while the companies sold the imperfect pairs at a good profit. We saw many time checks showing that girls had received as low as 45 cents a day. The reports of the rubber companies of their salary or wages lists are very misleading because they include

the time. We would not be eating on the company's time for we work piece work.

The cores upon which the tires are built are solid iron and a great many are so heavy they are all one man can lift. The cores are so hot that the men are compelled to wear two pairs of canvas gloves, one over the other in order to handle them at all.

Some men have been there two years; some have to be changed because they are worn out in eight months. Some come down, look at the men and say, "I don't want that job" and leave.

During the night shift when the men get a few minutes to sit down, you will see their heads nod and they will fall asleep, utterly exhausted and unable to keep awake. I have seen men stand at their tables dazed for the want of sleep.

I have seen these men walk over to the water cooler and hold their head under the faucet and let water run on their heads so as to revive them and I was one of them. One night I saw a "stripper" walk over to the night foreman and asked to be "fired." The foreman told the man that he knew just how he felt, and advised him to go back and try and stick it out until morning.

In conclusion I wish to say that thirteen hours is too long for that kind of work, or any kind of work, for that matter. We are too tired to even get out of bed at all during the day; it wears a man down; he has very little time to

#### TIRE PRACTICALLY FINISHED—BY HAND.

the high-salaried officials who refuse to make known how much money they draw.

Many of the workers work in a poisonous compound wearing rubber gloves. Whenever a glove "springs a leak" they are burned to the bone. A "nurse" treats these burns and the worker returns to the job.

The following letter from one of the strikers printed by the *Akron Press*, is a telling picture of life in the factories:

I am a worker in the Goodrich "pit" and the reason I do not go before the probe committee is because I feel like a great many others that I would become too prominent.

I feel that what Mr. Pollock has told the probe committee is merely a circumstance to what we have to suffer in the Goodrich "pit." We work thirteen hours on the night shift and eleven hours on the day shift, with no noon hour to rest and eat.

We are allowed to eat any time between 10 a. m. and 2 p. m. if the work permits. If the work comes out so that we are not able to eat our lunch during those hours, we are not permitted to finish the meal at any time during the rest of the day. If we are caught eating we are liable to be discharged, even though we may be idle at

MACHINE TIRE BUILDER.

spend with his family and his life is a cheerless, endless struggle.

A WORKER.

It is hardly necessary to inform the readers of the REVIEW that the piratical rubber kings have always vigorously opposed any organization of the workers.

Eight years ago the American Federation of Labor organized 500 men. Shortly after, the union headquarters were broken into one night and the books, containing the names of the union men, secured. Mysterious as it may sound, the fact re-

strike and the I. W. W. boys were on the job, eight organizers were rushed into Akron. They promised the strikers a \$30,000 weekly strike benefit if they would join the A. F. of L. But being stung once was enough in Akron, and the strikers have stuck to the I. W. W. The Akron Central Labor Council of the A. F. of L. has backed up the strikers and the I. W. W. from the beginning. They are out to help their brothers and sisters WIN no matter what organization they are in.

"ON THE JOB" PICKETING.

mains that EVERY SINGLE MAN who had joined the union lost his job.

Another unpleasant story is told of an A. F. of L. organizer who went to Akron three years ago, organized 1,500 men, whom he registered in his little book by numbers instead of names. This, he assured them, would prevent the companies from knowing who was who. He collected \$1,500, and went away and that was the last of Mr. Organizer and the \$1,500.

But the Akron rubber workers have learned much by experience. As soon as the A. F. of L. learned that there was a

The real cause of the strike probably originated in the \$2,000,000 contract submitted by the Ford Automobile Co. to the tire manufacturers of Akron. We believe the Goodyear, the Buckeye, the Firestone and Goodrich-Diamond Companies all bid for the big job. Soon there arose a violent cutting of wages. Strikers say the Firestone Company declared a 35 per cent cut. The grade of tires was considerably reduced according to strikers, also.

The first walk-out occurred in the Firestone plant which had secured a part of the Melon contract. Soon there were 18,000 men and women out. As tire con-

tracts are not made subject to labor difficulties, it is probable that unless the Akron companies speedily yield to the demands of the strikers the Ford contract will go elsewhere.

The following story printed by the Akron *Press*, a paper which has tried to give the strikers' side some showing in this bitter struggle, is the general answer of the women and girls who joined the strike:

"Annie Fejtko, eighteen, joined the Akron rubber strikers Friday. She's all

or \$9. I can't save anything and I haven't seen papa or mamma or the little brothers and sisters since I came here.

"They only live in Pennsylvania, too, but I can't save enough to go and see them."

The last day Annie worked she made 75 cents. Lots of days she said she made less.

"Some days I can make \$1.25 and once in a while \$1.50, but that's only when I work on certain kinds of work, and just as fast as I can all day, without resting."

The highest Annie has ever been paid for a day's work, was \$2. She never made

EVERYBODY ON THE PICKET LINE!—3,000 STRONG. THE CAPITALIST IS THE ONLY "FOREIGNER."

alone in Akron—her own provider, housekeeper, washerwoman—and a mere child.

This is Annie Fejtko's own summary of what she pays and how she spends it:

Average weekly pay, \$4 to \$4.50.

Weekly board bill, \$3.

Left for dress, amusements, etc., \$1 to \$1.50.

She came to Akron about a year ago and has been working for the B. F. Goodrich Company ever since. She started to work on 10-hour day work, for \$1, a day.

"I only worked that way three weeks," said Annie. "Then they put me on piece work. My average two weeks' pay is \$8

that much again, she says. That day she was cutting paper rings to hold the rubber bulbs in packing. When Annie went home that night her hands were blistered from the scissors.

For some time before the strike Annie had been working in what is known as department 17-B, of the Goodrich. This is the rubber bulb branch. Her work is constantly changed, but for the most of the time she has been inspecting the hard rubber stems for the bulbs, she said. She is paid 9 mills a hundred for this work and makes around \$1 when kept doing this all day.

But there's stamping of time cards to be done, and the work is passed around. "Two mills a hundred is paid for this work," says Annie, "and if you don't work all day you couldn't make over 25 cents."

"In some of the departments the girls make more," Annie states. "The buffers (a line of rubber bulb work), make as high as \$2 a day when they get to work all the time, but lots of times there isn't enough to keep them busy. Sometimes they are sent home and other times they stay around all day expecting more to do and only get about 25 cents worth of work.

"But I can't make that much," the girl says. "I suppose I'm not fast enough or something. But I work hard, ten hours every day and I have to do my own washing in the evenings, and skimp awful."

When the strike started Annie didn't quit. It ran from Tuesday until Friday. She wanted more money for her work, but she didn't have anything saved and thought she couldn't afford to lose a day.

"Friday Charlie, one of the pickets talked to me at noon. I decided I couldn't be much worse off so I laid down my tools and

four other girls in that department followed me out," she explained.

"I haven't any money and I have to pay board and—" she looked seriously out of the window, "but I suppose they'll help me."

"If I don't get any more, though, when I go back, I don't see how I can ever catch up out at Santo's where I board."

The general demands of the strikers may be briefly summarized as follows:

Universal 8-hour day.

Abolition of piece work.

Abolition of Taylor speeding-up system.

Time and one-half for overtime.

A general 25 per cent increase to the lowest and a 20 per cent increase to the highest paid workers.

One feature of the strike that was unexpected by the factory owners was the senatorial probe instigated by Comrade Margaret Prevey, and introduced in the state senate by Senator Wm. Green.

Comrade Allan Cooke ably represented the strikers in this probe. His questions gave proof to the public that the factory owners had put through some very mysterious deals in the way of what looks extremely like DROWNED (instead of "watered") stock; also that unheard-of dividends had been declared even upon these inflated issues. He also brought out the real conditions of the rubber workers.

The following is the report of one of the strikers showing that the harder he worked to keep his earnings up to the old schedule, the lower his wages seemed to go under the speeding-up process.

"Last summer Leonard Gowin, forty-seven, father of 13 children and a stuffer of hard tires in the Diamond plant of the ninety-million-dollar B. F. Goodrich Company, was earning about \$4 a day.

Through the winter, when there have been added coal bills, heavy clothes, school books and other things to buy, he has been paid only about \$2.50 a day and sometimes as low as \$2, he says.

Gowin is a typical victim of the speeding-up, piece-work system which has led directly to the present rubber strike.

It isn't because Gowin works shorter hours. It's been a 10-hour day ever since he started. "I've worked lots harder this winter," he adds, "but I can't make as much. And I tell you when a fellow has

LISTENING TO THE DEMANDS.

VOTING FOR THE DEMANDS.

as many little tots as I have, he needs every cent he can get.

Gowin has bought a little lot out at Shop 97 on the Barberton line. Working evenings last summer and on Sundays, he made the cement blocks, bought lumber and lone-handed built a home. He had visions of a cozy winter.

"My wife and I talked it all out," he said. "But it hasn't worked out very well. Seems like the pay gets less all the time, under the piece work system."

One of Gowin's daughters, a girl in her teens, has gone to work. She'd have liked finishing school, but there were a half dozen little tots to clothe and buy medicine and milk for.

Less than six months ago, the children had nice clothes for Sunday school. Now the dresses and little suits are bought for wear.

"Back under the day work system men made \$4 to \$7 for skilled labor," said Gowin. "But this piece-work speeding has hit them all about like me—only most of them haven't so many children.

"This strike hits me pretty hard. I'm not complaining, you understand. I went out on my own hook, even if I did stick till Monday because I thought I couldn't spare the money.

"I hope it comes out right for us. If it's the same when we go back, I think I'll have to sort of start life over again—working at something else.

"It's pretty late, when a fellow gets nearly fifty, but the pays keep shrinking and the children grow bigger and more expensive, and I guess it's the only way."

The strikers early opened a soup kitchen and the way the workers elsewhere are responding now show that they do not mean to have any of their comrades suffer. Several hundred rubber workers walked out in Cleveland and the bosses of the scab factories in Detroit are wringing their hands and "laying off" men because automobiles without tires are about as useful as snow shoes on the sea.

One night early in March a stranger to Akron dropped off an evening train. He saw the groups of men gathered about the city and asked if there was some kind of a celebration going on. "Nope," said one of the ex-rubber workers—"only a strike." "Well, well," the stranger said, "and I

"RED" BESSEMER OF CLEVELAND  
ADDRESSING STRIKERS.

came here to get a job in one of the factories. I guess I'll be beating it. I'm not so yellow that I have to scab, even if I AM broke."

On Friday, Feb. 28, Haywood stopped off a day at Akron and several thousand strikers met him at the train and paraded through the factory and business districts of Akron. Haywood spoke to two immense strike meetings. He said in part:

"The greatest weapon you can use against the rubber robbers just now is to keep your hands in your pockets. When you have your hands in your pockets, the capitalist can't get his there, and unless the capitalist has his hands in your pockets, he has got to go to work. So during the time of this strike, let there be no violence on your part, not the destruction of one cent's worth of property, not one cross word. You have got this strike won if you will but stand together in One Big Union.

"If the boss starves you back to work then you know how to win this strike on the inside of the factory. Don't use the speeding-up, but the slowing-down process. This is an up-to-date organization, and we are fighting with modern weapons. The workers who understand the program and the policy of the I. W. W. will never again

and the rubber barons are realizing that you are necessary to its prosperity. They are realizing that until you are getting better pay and better hours, their profits won't increase."

On March 8th when the strikers were peacefully picketing before the Goodrich rubber plant, 50 police and deputy sheriffs, with billies and black-jacks, responded to Sheriff Fergusson's command to drive strikers off that side of the street, by clubbing men, women and young girls right and left.

Those who hesitated, heard the sheriff's cry, "Wade in and get busy if you don't want to lose your jobs," and rallied to do the dirty work of the rubber kings. Fortunately one patrolman, Fred Viereck, in his zeal to nail down his meal ticket, made an attempt to mow down all those who stood in his way. His club beat the air in circular fashion like a huge scythe. He looked neither to the right nor to the left and so the gods decreed that as he swung wildly at the strikers, he should give the sheriff a vicious crack over the face. They do tell how the sheriff is now going about minus a few front teeth and wearing a face that looks like a piece of raw liver.

It is a comfort to know that he received what he had given. He cast his bread upon the waters and it was returned to him. We hope that Officer Viereck will receive a raise in pay for strict adherence to duty.

Local Elyria of the S. P. of Ohio, has a splendid plan for raising funds for the strikers. The comrades persuaded Mr. Georgeople, manager of the American moving picture theater, to donate the profits of his show for one evening to the strikers. When Mr. Georgeople came to turn over his profits, he went the whole way and

donated the entire receipts, about \$70.00. They then "held up" Fred Tunnington, manager of the Coliseum Rink, for one day's receipts amounting to \$133.62. This shows what a red local with its fighting clothes on can do.

The Cleveland reds cooperated with 20 girl strikers from Akron in pulling off a tag day and over \$400.00 was collected in spite of the city authorities.

Comrade Josephine Bates, who has been actively engaged in the strike is out in the state on a collection tour with Celia Liptschitz, of Pittsburgh, and a squad of girl strikers to swell the war chest. Matilda Rabonowitz, who did splendid work in the Little Falls Fight is on the job at Akron.

The strikers are in need of funds. Every local in the country can raise \$50 for their benefit, if the comrades so desire. When you send in your contribution, to Comrade J. W. Boyd, at 140 South High street, Akron, Ohio, don't forget to send a letter of encouragement to the strikers and tell them just how you raised the money. It is an inspiration to them to know they have the backing of the working class.

This is the first big strike in Akron. Many workers there have been too busy trying to keep up with the increasing pace set by the new stop-watch timekeepers, to realize the growing solidarity of the workers all over the world. This is a chance for you to show them.

Just a little help from each one of us and the strike will be won, and the workers of Akron will learn a lesson in class solidarity that is the first big step toward the abolition of the profit system.

**"Ten thousand Haywoods can't plant the red flag in Akron.**

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**"Akron citizens are willing to pay Red Haywood's railway fare to any point he may want to go to, but they want him to go in a hurry."—From The Akron Times.**

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# Cells of the New Society

By

Phillips Russell

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**N**OT long ago I attended a meeting of the Central Committee of Local No. 20 of the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers at Lawrence. There were delegates present from each language branch of the local union.

I was much interested, not only because I was curious to see what kind of an organization remained a year after the historic strike of the winter of 1912, but because it occurred to me at the time that I was watching the development of a cell of the new society.

Here were thirty or forty workingmen, comparative strangers to each other a short time before, more or less separated by differences in race, nationality, politics, religion and custom, who sat down in perfect amity to discuss their common interests as workers in an industry; to work out their problems as producers, to regulate as far as lay within their, as yet limited, power their conditions of toil and to provide for the good and welfare of all.

The Italian sat next the German, the Syrian next the Frenchman, the Pole next the Portuguese, the Lithuanian next the American, and an Irishman was chairman over all!

The Jew here was just the same as the Christian, the Catholic was just as good as the Protestant, the dyer's voice was just as potent as the percher's.

## For Producers Only.

They had met to discuss not art or religion or science or politics, but industry. The scientist, the preacher, the lawyer, the politician, the college bred student of government, was useless to them now. They

needed no guides, leaders or teachers. None of these could tell them anything about the problems of the worker in the textile industry. They were thrown entirely upon their own resources, must depend on their own knowledge, use their own brains. The most highly trained professor from Harvard or Heidelberg, the most skillful lawyer in the world, the most learned writer in the United States, could now tell them nothing about the proper manner to cope with a new machine, about the best way to adjust the work of the wool sorter with that of the spinner, about the right job to provide for a crippled worker. These were concrete problems of life and labor that only the worker who had gained experience in the industry could solve.

Here, then, was the future society in embryo. For the future society will be not so much concerned with the government of men as the administration of things.

Government at present is largely taken up with the regulation of the personal conduct of men and women. It tells a man he must not play baseball on Sunday or sell a friend a drink of whisky one minute after midnight on Saturday. It tells a woman she must not leave one man and marry another without obtaining the consent of the law. It tells a child it must not walk on the grass in the public parks.

## Different in the Future

We will have no time for this sort of foolishness in the new society. Our time will be better employed. We won't care whether a man takes a drink at 11:59 or 12:01. If a woman decides she likes one

man more than another it will be her privilege to make her own choice. If a child wants to play on the green grass, there will be plenty for him to revel in.

Then, too, government as we have been made familiar with it, is much occupied with acting as a policeman for those who have all the good things of life against those who have none of them. You mustn't walk across your neighbor's field because that is his private property and you are committing trespass. You mustn't take away from the factory a pair of shoes, which you have made, because they belong to your employer and you are committing theft. You mustn't loaf out in the sunshine because that belongs to your betters—you ought to be at work piling up profits for an already rich man, and you are a vagrant anyhow. You mustn't take a ride on the railroad train without paying a high price for the privilege because the railroad is owned by somebody else.

So laws and courts and policemen are provided to make you behave yourself and stay in your proper place—underneath. And every year or so white-collared men go from various states and districts to Washington and assemble into what they call Congress, for the purpose of making more laws and creating more institutions by which the accumulated property and ill-gotten gains of the owners of the earth may be protected and safeguarded.

That is a Political Congress. It is concerned with problems of politics, not the good and welfare of those who do the work of the world.

#### **Unnecessary Acts.**

But the new society will have no use for any such institution. There will be no need for a set of men to meet and fix the legal rate of interest at 6 per cent because there won't be any more interest. There will be no need for laws regulating monopoly because there won't be any more monopolies. There will be no need for appropriations of \$10,000,000 each for battleships because there won't be any more battleships. There

won't be any more sending of Federal troops to break strikes because there won't be any more Federal troops or strikes either. There won't be any further necessity for passing laws which say thou shalt not deprive a corporation of its private property without due process of law because there won't be any more private property of that kind. There won't be any need for laws which say you shan't ship goods of a certain character from Ohio into Florida because there won't be any more state lines.

The congress of the future will be an Industrial Congress. It will be an enlargement and extension of such central committees as that at Lawrence. It will be composed of workmen and working women, of those who perform some useful function in society, of those who produce something needed or demanded by the people as a whole. And there won't be a lawyer, a real estate dealer, or a Wall street broker among them; though there may be doctors and dentists and even actors.

#### **The Coming Congress.**

This congress will discuss, not Politics, but Industry. And by this is meant industry in the larger sense. Safeguarding the public health and fighting disease is as much an industry, for example, as making steel.

The members of this congress will come not from New York or Texas, or from the tenth district in Kansas, or from Pike county, Arkansas, but from the textile industry, the coal mining industry, the transportation industry, the farm industry, and so on. The gold miner will meet there with the musician, the fisherman with the shoemaker, the wheat grower with the newspaperman, the stonemason with the shirtwaist maker. There they will work out their conditions of labor. There they will regulate production and arrange distribution.

They will discuss not men, but things. They will deal not with theories but work. They will be concerned not with politics, but humanity.

# Edison's Talking Moving Pictures

IN THE midst of an unusually excellent vaudeville performance given at one of the Chicago theaters this month, the house was suddenly darkened, and a moving picture of a man was thrown on what seemed to be an ordinary screen.

The pictured man, advanced to the front of the pictured stage, bowed and smiled. Then he opened his moving-picture lips and spoke to us. For five minutes we listened to a lecture explaining the newest Edison invention, the talking-picture machine.

"The kinetophone," he said, "is the most wonderful achievement of the day. It will make it possible for millions of people to see the face, the form, the gestures of the great lecturer and to hear his voice. Hitherto impossible beauty, formerly unattainable experiences may be brought within the reach of the poorest laborer. The man whose words have inspired and taught us—may be preserved for future generations."

Then this wonderful speaking, moving, picture man broke a few plates, and we heard them as they smashed to the floor. He called his dogs and they barked so naturally that a cat that was snoozing in the lobby awoke and beat a hasty retreat.

A young woman was introduced into the picture, who sang exquisitely from Martha, accompanied by a young pianist. At the closing words of the lecturer and as the last note of the young woman's song died away, the audience broke into enthusiastic applause precisely as though it had been seeing and listening to the words of a real man and a real woman instead of a talking and singing, moving picture. After our spontaneous burst of applause, many of us looked about sheepishly. We had been swept off our feet and many

of us felt a little bit ridiculous to be caught applauding, since there was no actual man or woman to hear our praise.

But this surely was a worth-while triumph to Mr. Edison. He had made his pictures so real to us that we forgot they were not living flesh and blood.

This was the first public appearance in Chicago of the talking motion picture. Mr. Edison has said that as soon as he was able to project an animated photograph upon a screen, he determined not to be satisfied until he could produce the spoken word with it.

The first attempts along this line were to adjust the moving pictures to a perfect phonograph record. But it was never possible to secure absolute harmony between the two records in this way. Either the speaking or singing voice ran away from the picture or lagged behind. And either was far less desirable than the phonograph or motion picture used alone.

After many years experimenting, Edison has achieved a synchronizing device, a marvel of mechanical ingenuity—which records sounds and action simultaneously and reproduces it exactly as taken. This apparatus is called the kinetophone.

The ordinary phonographic record is made with the speaker talking directly into the receiving horn. When orchestra records are made, megaphones are attached to each and every instrument. It has always been impossible to get a good record of sounds produced at any appreciable distance from the horn.

In the action of a play or an opera, the players are constantly moving about. They retreat; they advance; cross and recross the stage. In the kinetophone it is impossible to use the ordinary receiving horn

because it would be reproduced in the moving picture.

Mr. Edison had first to perfect a receiving horn that would record the smallest sound at a distance. The one used in the kinetophone will record sounds at a distance of forty feet.

It is no longer difficult to take the ordinary motion picture. The scenes are laid and the actors go through their parts. The chief anxiety of the operator is to keep them always within focus. Then he has only to grind out foot after foot of exposed film. In taking a talking picture the actors must play their parts precisely as though they were on a real stage, bearing in mind the fact that they are being photographed and the need of talking toward the sound recorder.

In the initial appearance, in Chicago this month, the voices of the picture actors grew in volume as they advanced toward the picture footlights and decreased as they retreated, increasing their naturalness wonderfully.

From the descriptions of the mechanical operation of the kinetophone we gather that it is not more difficult than the ordinary "movie." Back of the screen is placed the phonograph and the record is thrown through a horn directly back of the screen. It is connected by wires to the projecting machine, which is generally manipulated from the balcony of the theater. When released, the talking record sets the pace for the film. Unity being established, the operator may shut his eyes

while operating the film machine and the sound record. The difficult work is done automatically.

In a recent magazine article Mr. Edison is quoted as having said the moving picture should be installed in every school house in the world. He predicted that the time was not so very far distant when geography, history, economics, biology, physiology and many other studies would be taught by the moving picture. The talking-movie is a great improvement. And if Mr. Edison carries on the work as outlined, in the not distant future we may find teachers driving the children home from, instead of to, school as has been the case as far back as we can remember.

School should be a pleasure to every child. The motion picture will make many things concrete instead of abstract. Formosa will no longer remain in the child mind a pink blot on a map of blue. It will be a real island, with the waves dashing upon its shores.

They all see the invasion of the island by the Japanese. Their brutal struggles with the natives; the natives retreating into the mountains and Japan's seizure of the rich camphor-tree lands. They will never forget the economic cause of Japan's invasion of Formosa.

Instead of learning the names and dates of the various kings and queens, or the dry and meaningless laws of a given period in history, children will be shown the fascinating economic changes that have been the great, real history makers of all time.

Of course, there are sufferings and hardships. Many men wear mourning on their hats and many women have husbands, brothers or fathers in the bullpens—but they are *going to win this strike*; they are sure of it, and this fact makes them feel equal to anything.

It is true that they have tasted of hell since the strike began, but before that time they lived in hell *all the time*. Conditions in West Virginia are and have been without parallel in the United States. Peonage and serfdom have flourished under the most brutal forms. West Virginia is the one state that has tried to make abject slaves of its miners—that has herded them in peon pens without a vestige of “constitution” liberty, with cut-throat mine guards to protect them from the contaminating influence of organizers and agitators.

For many years the grisly vampire of Greed has fluttered its condor wings and fattened on the very heart's blood of these men—helpless for *want of effective organization*. Miners are working in company towns who seldom see money—nothing but paper script—men who dare not speak a word of criticism of the intolerable conditions under which they labor, or even hint that organization is desirable. The blacklist and the brutal mine guards

are every ready to punish such indiscretions.

Women have been beaten on the breasts and kicked into convulsions while in a state of pregnancy—men have been shot up and man-handled, all because they had dared to raise their voices in protest. Indignity after indignity has been heaped upon the workers in the hell-holes of this state, until they have united into one big Brotherhood of Revolt. They are standing shoulder to shoulder with the *only weapons available in their hands*, fighting to overthrow the dismal industrial despotism that is crushing them. These miners are remarkable in many ways. In spite of all they have endured, their spirits have not been broken. They have been hoarding their hate for many years and biding their time. At present they are *waiting for the leaves to come out*.

Types of Americans are to be found in the Kanawha valley that have been extinct in other parts of this country for years—the types that still cherish the instinct of self-reliance and independence which characterized the frontiersman of a couple of generations ago. Each one of these miners was raised with a rifle and is at home on the hillsides. Solidarity is something more than a word in Kanawha county; it is a tremendous and spontane-

ous force—a force born in the hot heart of the class struggle. As yet the tactics of modern industrial warfare are a closed book to these men, but they are learning fast. Kanawha county showed the *largest gain on record in Socialist votes* during the last election. When the powers that be nullified any benefits the miners might derive in this way, by means of martial law—well, they just returned to their rifles. And when the *officials of the United Mine Workers tied their organization up with a thousand clumsy contracts*—each contract as heavy to drag along as a ball and chain—so that *they could not strike in sympathy with their brothers*—well, they just returned to their rifles. They are excellent shots, absolutely fearless, and as staunch and determined a bunch of fighters as ever learned through bitter experience the need of class brotherhood. When they once learn the supreme lesson of *unity on the job and in the strike*, these men will be a tough proposition for the bosses to face.

The class struggle means something to West Virginia miners. They are using violence only because no better weapons are handy. Gladly would they go out on strike, in every part of the state, if the union “officials,” with their sacred contracts, would permit of it. If there is anyone more to blame for this violence than the blind and insatiable coal operator it is the labor faking official who has tied the miners’ hands with stupid agreements, leaving no other recourse but the rifle. They would be willing and glad, to the last man, to participate in a state-wide strike, and eventually they will insist upon it, and Germer and his bunch, who are always howling at the fallacy of aught but the pure and simple way, will be swept to one side, while the revolution goes marching on. A strike of all the coal miners would be so much simpler, so much more effective. Violence is the last resort of a divided “organization.” The general strike would enable the workers to fight the bosses without fighting their own class at the same time.

The miners are learning—learning fast. Learning by watching union miners at work—under contract, all around them; union railroad men hauling mine guards and strikebreakers into the strike zone and hauling scab-mined coal out. Some

of them cannot forget that it was men with union cards in their pockets who put steel plates on the private war engines of the masters! An armored train was being assembled at the C. & O. shops here in Huntington a short time ago. It was to be perfectly bullet-proof, in order to insure the safety of such scabs and soldiers as the operators might see fit to pour into the strike zone when occasion required. A hellish contraption it surely was—covered with steel plates, bristling with machine guns and loop-holed for rifles. The union men at the shops looked at the thing askance, realizing that it was to be used against members of their own class. The machinists shied at it like mules from a white blanket, and so it was up to the boilermakers and the carmen. These were pretty much undecided as to whether they would touch it at all or not, when some Holy Rollers among the latter said they would pray and ask Jesus what they should do. So they prayed and asked Jesus, and came back with the report that Jesus said it was all right, to go ahead and put on the plates!

The operators, realizing that violence has always been their big trump, thought they would have everything their own sweet way when trouble started. Everything was in their favor—armed guards and regiments of militiamen—so why should they not feel confident? But it is evident that the miners have fooled them. The miner knew the hills better than the blood-hounds that were sent to track them down. After a few months of it, the odds are just about even, and the fight is not half over. Soldiers in the strike zone are becoming uneasy and are using the slightest excuse to make a getaway. Many of the guards have deserted their posts of duty in a panic. One hundred and fifty of them have paid for treason to their class with their lives! They are in mortal fear of the time when the bleak hillsides will be covered with greenery—when “the leaves come out!”

The miners have been hounded into the using of violence. Just an instance in which the above-mentioned armored train figures conspicuously: This train is called, for some reason or other, the Bull Moose Special. Needless to state, it is thoroughly hated by the miners. The engineer and fireman and others of the train

crew are reported to be extremely proud of the union cards they carry. This heliish contraption was a lovely plaything to put into the hands of the cut-throat, coyote-hearted guards and, like children with a new pop-gun, they were simply aching for an opportunity to use it against the strikers. The opportunity soon presented itself. Just how it came about nobody seems to know. The guards claim that some of the miners had fired into an ambulance carrying wounded mine-guards to the hospital. The strikers claim that the train was first used to avenge the death of a couple of guards who had been held to account for insulting some of the girls in the tent village. I, myself, have spoken with miners who claim to have been eye-witnesses to the insulting of these girls.

Mine guards are noted for their inhuman and brutal treatment of the women of the miners. Their authoritative positions often gave them advantages over the helpless women, especially in the absence of the men, and the full record of their unrestrained animal viciousness will never be written. Between the miners and the guards there is an open war to the knife. More than once these Kanawha cossacks have evicted mothers, in the pangs of childbirth, from company houses, and children have been born in the tents of the strikers while the murderous bullets of the guards were whistling and zipping through the canvas. At all events these cut-throats of the coal operators had the long wished for chance to use the Bull Moose special. They would have their revenge. So in the dead of night, and with all lights extinguished, the Death Train drew up over the sleeping tent village at Holly Grove and opened fire with machine gun and rifle. Miners' huts were torn to splinters and tents were riddled with bullets. One woman had both legs broken by the murderous rain of lead; and a miner, holding an infant child in his arms and running from his tent to the shelter of a dugout, fell, seriously wounded. The baby was, by some miracle, unhurt, but three bullet holes had tattered the edge of its tiny dress. Men, women and children ran hastily through the dark night seeking the cold security of the woods. The miners, as could be expected, were desperate

enough to do most anything and returned the fire as best they could. Bonner Hill, sheriff of Kanawha county, who was only elected by a small and suspicious majority over Tincher the Socialist, candidate, was on the train, and it is claimed by the train crew that it was he who gave the order to fire the first murderous volley.

In the morning the miners attempted to return to the ruins of their "homes," but the mine-guards on the hillsides continued to fire upon them in order to drive them back. All day and all night the battle raged, but the guards had the advantage. So on the following morning the miners decided to remove to a less exposed location. Thereupon the little band of valiant but homeless wanderers started for Mucklow, with their few belongings on their backs. But their troubles were not yet over. They had not traveled far when their march was opposed by the cowardly mine guard captain, Fred Lester and his gang. The guards unexpectedly opened fire at first sight. The miners surrounded their women and children and the situation began to look serious. Captain Lester was getting a machine gun ready for use when the miners let loose a well aimed broadside in the general direction of that prolific little blood-spiller. The gallant cockroach captain was unaccustomed to do batte with men who would fight back. So he ordered a hasty retreat, and he and his delectable gang broke for the tall timber, leaving the machine gun to the miners. It is reported that Captain Lester led the retreat by about six hundred yards. A short time later the weary and wayworn band of hounded outcasts were completely surrounded by the uniformed scab-herders of the operators—the militiamen. Seventy-five miners were arrested and thrown into bull-pens, where they are now awaiting court martial trials.

For a few days after this episode Hell broke loose in the Kanawha valley. Ugly rumblings of rage were heard all over the state and even from nearby states came rumors of revolt. Armed miners poured into the trouble district from all sides and it is reported that an attempt was made to destroy the hated Death Train. In a pitched battle sixteen men were

of soldiers. Yellow-legged sentries were stationed in front of the state house and the governor's residence. It was rumored that machine guns were mounted in the upper windows of the former building, commanding both entrances to the capitol grounds. A sentry was also stationed in front of the office of the *Labor Argus* to guard Comrade W. H. Thompson, who is editing that paper while Comrade Boswell is being "detained" in the bull pen. Comrade Thompson is an ex-Kanawha county coal miner and is unblushingly "red." He is the editor of the *Huntington Socialist and Labor Star* and he has put up as staunch a fight for the cause of the miners as any man in the state. At the city jail we witnessed the interesting spectacle of a bunch of "tin horns" bringing a prisoner from the military district to the city lockup. As the great iron gates swung open to receive them, the spectators commenced hissing the soldiers, calling them "scab herders" and other expressive names. Some of the "yellow legs" glared at these people brazenly but, may they be given due credit, others of the soldiers hung their heads with shame, as if such condemnation from members of their own class was more deadly to them than bullets.

From Charleston we took the labor train that was to carry us into the martial law zone. At Cabin Creek we were almost arrested with a bunch of miners in the car who were poking fun at the grave and ludicrous antics cut by some of the would-be man-killers in khaki. At the Paint Creek junction we remained for several hours, ostensibly to visit some soldier boys of our acquaintance, but in reality to secure information and photographs for the *REVIEW* and the *Labor Star*. Comrade Rumbaugh was afterwards arrested and relieved of his camera for attempting to take photographs to illustrate this article. We spoke with dozens of the soldiers, and one of them, an ex-mine guard, admitted that the guards use dum-dum bullets against the miners. He told of two miners who had been killed with these proscribed missiles, one man who had the top of his head completely shot off and another who received a death wound in the breast large enough to "stick your fist into." The freight house at Paint Creek has been converted into a

bull pen, and over fifty men are now incarcerated there, only three of whom are not native West Virginians. The interior of this place would make a Siberian prison pen look like a haven of refuge. The sleeping accommodations are inadequate, ventilation poor and the floors filthy beyond description. Even with two or three men sleeping in the coal-bin there is no room for the others. The only papers the prisoners are permitted to read are the reactionary local rags and the *National Socialist*. Mother Jones, Charles Boswell and John Brown have somewhat better quarters elsewhere in town. A sentinel is constantly measuring his paces before the door of each. Dear old Mother Jones in the bull-pen and guarded by armed mercenaries of the Mine Owners! The very thought of it makes blood boil, here in West Virginia.

From Paint Creek we hiked up the Kanawha river to Montgomery and from thence to Boomer. We wanted to have a look at the dauntless Boomer men who are reported to have so willingly gone to the assistance of their brothers down stream, on a certain memorable night. In every little town we passed through, miners were gathered together in little anxious and excited groups. These were all discussing the various phases of the strike, the latest war news, martial law and the coming military trial of the bull-pen prisoners. The feeling is prevalent, throughout the Kanawha valley, that if these people meet with an unjust sentence at the hands of the "tin horn" Commission, there will simply be HELL to pay. Nor is this sentiment confined to the strike zone. It extends far out into union territory, not yet affected by the strike, and even into other states.

On my last trip I traveled all through the New River and Green Briar sections of this strife torn state and even on into old Virginia. This entire region seems rotten ripe for real revolutionary unionism. If the splendid spirit of solidarity displayed by these miners could be used effectually against the Operators and their tyrannical system, the result would be inspiring. If these strikers were permitted by their officials to use the tremendous and irresistible power of the state-wide strike they would set an example for the world. Seldom has the class struggle

produced such a splendid and deeply rooted feeling of class solidarity, backed up by such unswerving will and single-mindedness of purpose. Each and every one of them is willing and anxious to get into the fight. They are all ready at a moment's notice to shoulder the musket of their forefathers and to fight and die for the cause of the strikers. And they would be just as willing to use the bloodless high pressure method of merely putting their hands in their pockets, until a greater degree of justice could be obtained for every organized and unorganized section of the state! These men are not in this struggle to *fight*; they are in it to *win*. They would be glad to fight in a bigger and less violent manner—if the Labor "leaders" would only let them.

From Boomer we freighted to Dickenson and had the rare opportunity of watching the whole panorama of the danger district unfold before our eyes. At the two junctions we could plainly see the yellow wigwams of the "yellow legs" with stacked rifles glistening beside them. Sentries were on duty here and there, and once or twice we thought we could catch glimpses of the deadly little machine guns in the rocks overlooking the town. Now and then we could see the frail tent villages of the miners, clustering lonesomely against the hillsides.

At Pratt, four machine guns are being kept in the parsonage of the local Presbyterian minister. This anointed of God is reported to have kindly donated his residence for this purpose in order to testify to his great admiration for "law and order." And this is the spirit of all of the middle class apologists of the state, not only preachers, but newspapers, politicians and labor fakirs. They are hysterical in proclaiming their love for the "law" and those who uphold it. Noble creatures they are, filled with wrath and fervor, exhorting, denouncing, directing. Mingling with one breath, faded half truths with blackest lies, and hypocritical praise of peace with the hoarse blood-cry of middle-class mediocrity.

But the workers of West Virginia are fast learning that this sickening grimace of respectability is only a mask with which to hide the grimness and cruelty of their real purpose, which purpose seems to be demoralization or organized resist-

ance to the greed of the Operators. These gentlemen are all making violence the only weapon that the miner can possibly use. They all, more or less, favor violence—but violence against the miner only. Violence on the part of a mine guard with his dum-dum bullets or the militiaman with his machine guns is called—heroism, on the part of the striker with a rusty Springfield, it is called insurrection, lawlessness and felony. Had the miners throughout the state laid down their tools when the strike first commenced, they would have won out, bloodlessly, months ago. But it was not given them to do so. Since that time everything has tended to make them more desperate. The boasted constitutions of the state and nation have been trampled upon before their very eyes, and they themselves have been shot at, scoffed at and outraged repeatedly. And all of these things only served to further stir up newer and fiercer flames in the seething crater of the volcano in Kanawha County. If the miners, as a last resort, seek to use the selfsame weapons which their oppressors are using against them—who is to blame? Violence is here. I have seen it with my own eyes and I want to ask you "problem solvers" what you are going to do about it. Remember it was the Operators who first thought of using it. They went down into the bowels of the earth and evoked violence to use against the strikers. They dragged it up through the black mouths of the mines and turned it loose. And since that time it has been stalking over the hills like a red Thing from Hell. Some of the more desperate of the strikers welcomed it grimly and bade it do their bidding; some of the more faint hearted, hid and cowered before it praying that the rocks would fall and hide them from it. Timid people shuddered at the sight of it, and "respectable" folk, labor fakirs and students of "tactics," shook their feeble fists at it, and told it how "wrong" it was. The yelping editorial whores of the local newspapers snarled at it, snapped at its heels, threatening it with hanging, deportation and military execution. But the Thing only sulked away and squatted by the ruins of a burned coal tipple and leered unconcernedly over the bleak hill tops—waiting—waiting for *the leaves to come out*. WHO IS TO BLAME?

# When the Leaves Come Out

By a Paint Creek Miner

THE hills are very bare and cold and lonely;  
I wonder what the future months will bring?  
The strike is on—our strength would win, if only—  
O, Buddy, how I'm longing for the spring!

They've got us down—their martial lines enfold us;  
They've thrown us out to feel the winter's sting,  
And yet, by God, those curs could never hold us,  
Nor could the dogs of hell do such a thing!

It isn't just to see the hills beside me,  
Grow fresh and green with every growing thing.  
I only want the leaves to come and hide me,  
To cover up my vengeful wandering.

I will not watch the floating clouds that hover  
Above the birds that warble on the wing;  
I want to use this GUN from under cover—  
O, Buddy, how I'm longing for the spring!

You see them there below, the damned scab-herders!  
Those puppets on the greedy Owners' String;  
We'll make them pay for all their dirty murders—  
We'll show them how a starving hate can sting!

They riddled us with volley after volley;  
We heard their speeding bullets zip and ring,  
But soon we'll make them suffer for their folly—  
O, Buddy, how I'm longing for the spring!

# Public Speaking

By Grace Silver

## Practical Soap-boxing

Part Five

THERE is a general impression amongst Socialists who have never tried to talk in public that anyone can mount a box on the street corner and deliver a successful Socialist speech, but that only a very brainy man of long training can go into a warm, well-lighted hall and interest the large and expectant audience awaiting him.

In consequence of this prevailing belief, a large number of well-meaning but ignorant and misinformed Socialists have been allowed to spread a vast amount of error and muddled economics, thus injuring the cause they assumed to defend. Party members, knowing nothing of economics, little about grammar and pronunciation, and less than nothing (or worse than nothing) of the working program of Socialism, have freely offered their services as soap-boxers and been as freely accepted by various locals. Result: First, the public gained an erroneous idea of Socialism, and those who attended such meetings thought that all Socialist speakers were like the first specimen and that all Socialism was the same as the brand he had expounded. Naturally they refused to go to other meetings; second, Socialist locals came to look down upon the soap-boxer and to undervalue and neglect the street meeting as a method of propaganda. It requires at least four intelligent agitators to undo the work of one of the other sort.

The soap-boxer should first of all consider his audience. A street crowd is the most critical gathering in the world. Once you get men and women into a hall they will stay. Socialists in the audience are tolerant of even a poor speaker; and it is embarrassing for strangers to get up and leave without reasonable excuse. The man who listens to a street speaker will move on inside of two minutes unless something

has been said which awakens his interest. The soap-boxer, therefore, cannot indulge in long-winded essays and ethereal excursions. He must come to the point quickly unless he wishes to expound Socialism to the adjacent atmosphere. He must be accurate in his statements, thus easily distinguishable from the politicians and reformers. His audience demands live matter but scorns sensationalism. There is always someone present who will quickly detect an error or a false or exaggerated statement and use his freedom of speech in bringing ridicule and discredit upon the speaker.

The soap-boxer has one great mission. He must awaken from their slumber contented, satisfied wage slaves. He must reach the men who would not attend a hall meeting if given free tickets. He must show them that things are *not* all right. Therefore he must have *facts* at his tongue's end. Argument counts for nothing with the man who believes that, "prosperity is rampant." The ideal of the Co-operative Commonwealth doesn't appeal to him; he's there now—in his mind. But FACTS will rouse him. The soap-boxer must be familiar with working conditions in various industries; with wages and their purchasing power in different localities; with the life stories of those who toil under a system of exploitation. He must make that contented wage slave see, as he sees, that things are *not* all right. In a word, the soap-boxer must know that the class struggle is something more than a phrase.

He must be familiar with the various strikes then in progress. By means of such labor news he can point the way to a better, more effective industrial organization. By such means he can best show the necessity of working class political action. Many

who hear him will be members of labor unions and they will go to their union meetings and repeat his words as their own.

In those cities where street meetings are a regular feature they furnish a real forum for the workers. And the bulk of those workers live in the class struggle. They go to those meetings in order to hear the problems of their class boldly discussed. They have a contempt for the speaker whose "conscience" leads him to speak kindly of the capitalists and to talk of recompense (on this earth) for that class. The street audience demands of the speaker a fairly definite program. They expect the speaker to have a plan of action for immediate use, and are unwilling to accept the pure and simplest answer:

"When we are in power we will know what to do."

The speaker must keep his fund of information up-to-date. Some speakers never heard of a strike since that of Cripple Creek, and have not yet sufficiently recovered from the brain fag superinduced by the effort put forth in mastering the details of the Moyer-Haywood affair to familiarize themselves with anything that has happened since.

Many speakers feel that a street audience is not worthy of the best they can give. All such should get into other lines of work. Many others hold that street audiences cannot be interested in economics. That is due solely to the speaker. They may not care to hear a thesis on surplus value; but what about panics and their cause? Economic determinism and the materialistic conception of history, as phrases, may be meaningless; but cannot the speaker tell of the part which steam and the power machine has played in the development of society? If the speaker has the working class psychology he can and will make the subject of economics interesting to the working class wherever he speaks; otherwise he can not. He must condense his definitions accurately; and he must have a fund of historical and modern incidents to illustrate and prove his statements.

Then, too, a street crowd demands more of wit and humor than does a hall audience. Usually it is more appreciative. A pertinent anecdote, a really funny story, will drive home a point more quickly and ef-

fectively than a ten-minute argument. Socialists are prone to take themselves and their philosophy too seriously. Our speakers sometimes forget that wit, humor and ridicule are the sharpest forms of argument. The naturally witty speaker should remember, however, that the soap-box is not a vaudeville stage. Somber undertakers and side-splitting comedians take warning.

The soap-boxer must, of course, be able to speak extemporaneously. Inability to do so is one reason why so many otherwise capable speakers, especially women, fail as soap-boxers. Those who must have a carefully memorized speech should never try to speak except in a hall. They will come to grief in the open air. It is true that the soap-boxer should have a subject and stick to it; it is also true that he may find that his chosen subject fails to interest and that to hold his crowd he must make a quick change. True, also, that a chance interruption or a question may turn the attention of the audience in a totally different direction. Then the speaker must follow and he must not stop talking, to think. Such moments mean the success or the failure of a street meeting. The soap-boxer must be able to think quickly and to act instantly. No audience voices its disapproval so suddenly and effectively as a street crowd.

The agitator who is new to the business will learn more about the meaning of the word psychology in his first month on the road than many printed volumes contain. No one can tell him how to manage an audience. It may be that he will never learn the art. A great orator once said that it required more skill to play upon the feelings of people than to play upon any musical instrument. But when the orator must instruct and educate his audience as well as play upon their feelings the task is doubly great. Socialist speakers therefore must have higher talents and more real ability than the rotund and bombastic orators of capitalism.

Especially is this true of the soap-boxer, for he must not only have the power to interest and arouse his audience; he must be able to hold them against counter attractions such as parades and street fakers. A dog fight or a passing fire engine has been known to break up an interesting meeting. He must know the quickest way to

MONSTER PROTEST MEETING IN FRONT OF PARLIAMENT BUILDING, TOKYO, JAPAN.

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# The Democratic Uprising in Japan

By S. Katayama

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THE rapid changes that have been wrought during the last two months in Japan are wonderful even to those who have been a part of them. It was only last December when the new Ministry under Prince Katsura, the sole leader of the bureaucracy, was formed. His able lieutenants have all been faithful servants for the last few decades. Some of the ministers and the inspector-general of the police department of the metropolis are notorious for shooting down the citizens of Tokyo at the time of the great riot at the conclusion of the Russo-Japan war.

But the people were not satisfied with the Katsura Ministry at all, and a popular agitation was started by a handful of Socialists who are editing a magazine (three times a month) called "Tokyo Shinbum," a journal of democratic tone.

It is edited to gain some civil liberties, for a Socialist paper is not allowed to exist.

On the 5th of December a mass meeting of the people at the Tokyo Y. M. C. A. hall was called. It was, of course, purely a political meeting to arouse the public sentiment to understand the Katsura régime. This meeting was at once changed to a monster demonstration against the existing ministry. Several thousand people were present and speakers sounded a keynote of "Batsu-Joku-Taiji" (Destroy the bureaucratic class rule!). This meeting was a first cannon sounding the doom of our bureaucracy. Soon political parties took up this battle cry and held two big demonstration meetings at two large theaters in the city successively, which became more and more a big battle cry against the clan govern-

ment. This move on the part of the political parties was taken up because they had sounded and found out at the first meeting gotten up by our comrades that the people were ripe for the popular movement and the movement against the bureaucracy.

This popular movement was taken up and carried on not only by the political parties, but also by various bodies. Even students of Imperial University and other colleges in the city took up the cry against the Katsura Ministry. This incessant agitation and demonstrations led the political parties—Seiyukai and Kokumiuto—to act in concert to vote against the Katsura Ministry, first, in the form of an interpellation and then in the form of an impeachment. This determined attitude from the opposition caused the Katsura Ministry to suspend the sitting of the Diet for 15 days, from the 21st of January to the 4th of February. At the same time Prince Katsura declared his intention of forming a political party. This declaration was made on the 20th of January. After the suspension of the Diet, the Prince worked very hard to get a sufficient number of M. P.'s to defeat the impeachment against him, but in vain.

He could get only 94 even by money and influence. It needed 191 members to defeat the impeaching resolution.

On the 5th of February the Diet was opened, and the oppositions numbered 246, the Katsura party 94. The oppositions introduced the said resolution and were about to defeat the ministry by voting on it. At the very moment when the vote of confidence was to be taken, the Prince ordered the "suspension of the sitting of the Diet for another "five days."

On this day several thousand people went before the Parliament building and gave a lively demonstration to encourage the oppositions. This was a powerful demonstration, never before made by the people, to stimulate and stir the members of the opposition to fight against the Katsura Ministry.

The government, seeing this great popular demonstration just at the west side and the front of the Parliament building, feared the possible development of a big, powerful democratic movement, and on the 10th of February, when the Diet reopened, the government prepared fully to put down any sign of popular demonstration near and around the Parliament building by calling out 2,340 policemen,

50 mounted gendarmes and 20 mounted policemen. In spite of this high-handed manner of oppression and intimidation, the people gathered together near the Parliament building and crowds came nearer and nearer, and many entered the Diet to hear the debate on the resolution. These crowds near the Diet began to conflict with the police forces, and then the mounted police and gendarmes rode through the crowds right and left, trampling down the people under horses' hoofs and injuring many. Soon policemen began to fight with the drawn sabers and wounded many innocent and utterly unarmed citizens.

Seeing peaceful and innocent people sabered at random by the police, the crowds soon changed into a veritable mob, but they were not armed, and the only weapons they could command were pebbles and sand. But the supply was inadequate, for the streets were more or less paved.

The armed police, with the aid of mounted gendarmes, drove the crowds away from the vicinity of the Parliament. Now the crowd marched along the streets and stopped in front of bureaucratic dailies and shouted at the prostituted papers. Windows were broken; but

the majority were peaceful citizens, and many passersby. At last the large crowd came to the front of the Kokumin Shim-bun, a noted bureaucratic paper. It shouted its contempt. Suddenly several shots came from windows of the building, and one Hara Gensaku, who had been passing, was shot dead. Several others were hurt. This outrageous attitude of the daily that is protected and aided by the police force, and later by fifty soldiers, enraged the people, who destroyed windows. Again the editor of the daily shot into the crowd.

At such inhuman conduct under the very eyes of the police the people rose in a frenzy and some started to destroy the police stations. One district police headquarters at Shitoya was burned by the enraged mob. It was reported that the policemen fought with sabers and hurt the innocent people by hundreds. Detectives instigated the people to riot, and the regular policemen arrested those pushed into the crowds and carried them away to the police station. Thus the riot of the 10th of February was a police made one.

There were over 80 police stations destroyed; 253 persons were arrested on the 10th, and now they number over 300.

OVER EIGHTY POLICE STATIONS DESTROYED.

## AFTER THE "RIOT" WAS OVER.

These arrested persons are mostly innocent and peaceful citizens or students who happened to be at the scene or among the crowd. Some were arrested on the way home from bath houses or on the way home from their business. Wild policemen caused the riot, and now they are arresting some more and will go further. Courts are busily engaged in making criminals.

The democratic movement was taken

up by Osaka and other cities and towns. At Osaka some 100 persons were arrested as the result of the fight with the policemen.

The opposition parties are demanding a party government, but it is doubtful whether they can succeed. Within a few days it will be decided. Anyway, stubborn Prince Katsura has given up his clutches on the Ministry at last. A good sign for a popular victory!

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# Socialist Theory and Tactics

By Charles A. Rice

Effects of Pure-and-Simplism in Germany

Part IV—Continued

c. *General education and culture.*

WE will touch only briefly upon what the *fringe* of the Social Democracy has done and still does for raising the level of general culture of the German workers and for fostering, refining and satisfying their art sense. Thus indirectly welding the bonds of class solidarity and the ethics of the proletariat. The Social Democracy has established numerous schools and classes for instruction in scientific branches. Its lecture courses surpass anything done outside of the German movement in point of quantity, thoroughness, systematic organization, and scope.

Biology and natural science rub elbows with economics, sociology, and philosophy. History and literature get no small share of attention. The teaching staffs and lecturers are highly competent. There are music schools, art exhibits, and facilities for bringing the best of the social drama within easy reach of wage-workers. The Social Democracy has its own poets and composers. Vocal and instrumental music is well cared for in the service of the proletariat and its historic mission. All these activities help still more to raise the general intellectual level and broaden the outlook of the worker, refine his sensibility and his art sense, and thus keep him from sinking to the low layers of the submerged or from becoming the gullible and flobby prey that snaps at the bait hooked for *our* workers both sides of the Atlantic.

To sum up the above lights at the plus end will give a tolerably complete idea of what the Social Democracy, both the *core* and the *fringe*, has done for the German proletariat in point of education and political organization, as well as in developing to a very high pitch their class vision, solidarity, and discipline, their capacity for close thinking in economics, politics and philosophy; and their appreciation of good art in connection with the aspirations of the prole-

tariat of the world along the lines of its historic mission. This is a service that can hardly be overstated and its value cannot be too highly rated.

Its effects are felt far beyond the bounds of Germany, and the proletariat the world over has largely benefited by its example and inspiration. We all profit more or less by the wealth of experience the Social Democracy has stored up and worked over for the common use of the international Socialist movement. The stimulus our German comrades have sent abroad is priceless. We feel proud of them and their efforts, since their achievements in the above directions point to what the proletariat can accomplish unaided and what unprobed mines of creative energy and organizing genius the working class may have at its command in its own initiative and for its own final emancipation.

But . . .

2. THERE ARE DARK PATCHES AT THE MINUS END.

First of all, we cannot too strongly insist that what follows is in no way to be taken as a slur upon the German Social Democracy, or as an attempt to belittle its work. The revolutionary minority of the Socialist movement feels very strongly the enormous service our German comrades have rendered the cause of the proletariat as a whole. Besides, the left wing is too much engrossed with the very grave issues confronting that cause to be in a mood or have any time for toying with petty, carping criticism. We of the minority are groping for new light to help us in coping with very keen and pressing problems in Socialist tactics on which the future defeat or success of the movement may depend. To secure this light and find our true bearings, we must probe to the very bottom the rich store of experience covered by four decades of parliamentary Socialism. To profit by this probe, we must be in a position

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ECONOMIST FREEMAN THOMAS

nomical organization of the German wage-workers even up to 1900. About 1895 German capitalism entered already its modern advanced stage, as we shall see further in quoting Bebel's statement at the Cologne Convention of 1893. It was already strong enough and aggressive enough, far more so than in France. French capitalism is even now predominantly financial and mostly invested abroad. At the period in question France was and still is essentially a country of dwarfish farmers squatting on their land-patches averaging 12½ acres each; its industry at that time was in its infancy, viewed in the light of the German industry. And so the French wage-workers were far less in number\* than the total of German wage-workers, while the economic pressure necessary for stimulating labor organization on a large scale was by far less intense than was the case in Germany. This country was at that period already to a large extent industrialized and its farming folk were beginning to flock to the cities and swell the ranks of the city proletariat. In short, German capitalism had by that time done its level best to goad the wage-workers into rapid economic organization on a class-wide scale, and if this was not the case, it was not the fault of German capitalism.

Again, the German workers, far more than the wage-slaves of any other country with a rapidly developing industry outside of France, were essentially *one race* and spoke practically *one language*. They had the same standard and mode of life, the same economic and social needs. They did not differ among themselves in habits or manners, and were cast in the same psychological mould, that is their grade of intelligence and education, their habits of thinking and feeling were more or less uniform or "Germanic," if you like, and far more so than ever was the case among the workers of any other country under the sway of modern capitalism. This factor of uniformity in the mental and moral make-up and the mode of life is highly important in smoothing away all kinds of friction and toning down all contrasts that are always detrimental and very often disastrous to efficient and speedy economic organization of the workers.

Besides, the sphere of operation of the German trade union pioneers, that is the

\*The exact figures are hard to get.

extent of territory they would have had to reach and conquer for economic organization, was far smaller and incomparably more uniform throughout in geographical, climatic and other material conditions than is the case, say, in the United States or Russia. One has only to realize what enormous difficulties the movement in Russia, both political and economic, had to overcome in dealing with great masses of workers and peasants scattered over the vast territory of European and Asiatic Russia, one-sixth of the globe, with its great diversity in point of climate and other natural conditions, its impassable roads, its primitive means of communication, in order to get some idea of what the Russian proletariat had accomplished up to 1905 in the way of economic and political organization, in marshaling its forces for that glorious general strike that shook the foundations of the empire!

We leave out of account the great diversity in race and language, illiteracy and low grade of intelligence of millions of Russian proletaires, their habits of submission and fear bred by the age-long rule of a bloody Czaristic autocracy, a ferocious medieval nobility, and the crushing weight of dark superstition under the sway of the huge monster called the Orthodox Church. Nor do we refer here to the fierce persecution on the part of the Russian government up to 1905, with its drastic laws, its bloody deeds, its brutal ferocity directed against the class-conscious vanguard of the Russian working class and the revolutionary intellectuals. We have here in mind only the vast extent of territory with its inevitable diversity of geographical and other material conditions that our Russian comrades had to cope with. And yet *they accomplished within less than ten years* what our German workers, under the spur of pure-and-simplism *had not accomplished in 20 years!* The first had organized almost a million workers successfully enough as to carry out a most stupendous general strike with its tremendous political success. That this glorious work has since been undone by all the fury of the subsequent waves of implacable reaction, is another matter that has no bearing on the point in question. In point of limited territory with its inevitable advantages our German comrades had the start in the race for economic organization

as compared with either the United States or Russia.

Moreover, the workers in Germany at that period knew nothing of the curse of *immigration*, nor do they feel it even now; they were not handicapped in the race by the presence of imported hordes of unorganized alien proletaires with a lower standard of life. They had no "padrone" system and no peonage to deal with. There were none of the conditions to glut the labor market to create and swell a reserve army of unemployed. On the contrary, the labor market in Germany was then continually thinning and shrinking because thousands upon thousands of German workers and peasants *emigrated* to the United States and other parts of the world.

True, there was the Anti-Socialist Law that for twelve years (1877-1889) hounded the social-democratic movement. There was all the various anti-strike and other hostile legislation directed against the trade-unions and for the "protection" of strike-breakers and thugs in the service of employers. There were the numerous regulations for limiting the rights of coalition, assembly, free speech and press, and other forms of united action on the part of social-democratic workers. All the tools of feudalism and capitalism, from the vandalic judges and bureaucrats down to the sabre of the gendarme and the police club, no doubt, did their bloody share in checking effective organization of the workers or nipping in the bud any attempt at class revolt. No one will underestimate these great drawbacks; they hampered the work of economic organization to no small extent. But we must guard against the opposite error of overrating their total effect on the labor movement.

There are a number of weighty reasons against the assumption that the above legislative checks and police persecution were solely or even principally responsible for the snail-pace growth of the labor movement in Germany up to 1900. In the first place, all the shafts and the fury of this repression were mainly directed against the *political* end of the movement; the sole object was to root out the Social Democracy as a political factor making for revolution or, in the jargon of red tape, "subversion." Again, in spite of this merciless 12-year crusade or, rather, thanks to it, the Social

Democracy emerged triumphant, and in the teeth of all this war the political movement marched from victory to victory, gained one parliamentary mandate after another.

Right in the heart of the enemy's camp, under its very cannon, the membership of the party, the Socialist vote, and all the other resources and assets of the movement grew by leaps and bounds. The power and fighting mettle, the grim energy on the political battle-ground, rose higher and higher like a mighty tide, ready to engulf and wipe out the capitalist regime. Why, then, did the economic movement lag so far behind? Why was it so puny in proportions? Instead of retarding the above persecution ought to have spurred on labor organization to a far brisker pace and to much greater dimensions, as was the case with the political end of the movement. The very fact that by 1900 there were 500,000 class-conscious workers organized in the Social-Democratic Unions shows that it was possible to organize the workers economically and on a class-conscious basis at that even under this persecution and hostile legislation.

Besides, the German workers were not, nor are they even now, the only wage-slaves that had to organize in the face of persecution. Neither the French, nor the American workers marched over a bed of roses amid the cheers of the politician, the judge, and the police club. They had their trials in fighting down hostile legislation, court injunctions, confiscation of strike funds, imprisonment, bull pens and the bullets of hired thugs and gunmen whether armed by the state or in the pay of the employers themselves. In spite of this, the membership in the American trade unions rose to a million, and even the French workers in view of their very small number in comparison with the total of wage-workers in Germany, accomplished far more than did the latter in the field of economic organization. But what the German workers had to suffer in the above sense pales into utter insignificance or comes down to a mild diversion and excitement due to strong muscular effort when compared to what *the proletariat* of *Russia* had to stand.

The Russian workers successfully organized amid wholesale butchery when their

ranks were drowned in seas of blood. So that, according to the rate of growth as shown by the trade union movement up to 1900, the number of organized workers in Russia before and after 1905 and Bloody Sunday ought to have reached not +500,000 but -500,000, that is it ought to be what is known in algebra as a *negative quantity*, or something *away down below zero*, below the *freezing* point, or, in other words, economic organization or the desire and effort for such organization among the Russian workers ought to have been one *big iceberg!*

No, the main reason for this phenomenally slow growth of the labor movement in Germany during the two decades of the last century was the blighting effect of the pure-and-simplist core of the Social Democracy. In the first place, these 500,000 organized workers were *more political social democrats* than *bona fide trade-unionists*. The union, when organized, was then simply a tail-end of the party, subsidiary to it, and had no independent existence and character of its own. When the pioneer social democrats went to work as organizers, they came to the unorganized wage-slaves not as wage-workers themselves, but primarily as *Social Democrats*, members of the party, and their appeal was more political than economic. Within the unions themselves there were constant squabbles and bickerings over party allegiance; Social Democrats were at daggers drawn with Hirsh-Dunkerites, free thinkers and meek lambs of the various churches were on terms of deadly combat. These feuds and fierce animosity were in themselves enough to retard the growth of economic class solidarity and cohesion and to hurl the economic movement twenty years backwards.

No trade-union movement at its inception can stand such disastrous conditions that corrode its very substance. It is quite conceivable why the mass of unorganized workers held aloof from the movement, in fact, were afraid of it and gave it a wide berth. This was especially the case in central and southern Germany, with its smaller industry, the predominance of the farming country over the city, where the workers were completely in the lap of Mother Church. But the north with its large industrial and commercial centers and its growing proletariat suffered almost as

much or even more in this sense, since, if not for those dissensions and political friction, the possibilities for economic organization, for all the reasons outlined above, could have been far greater than in the south.

Moreover, in so far as the Social Democracy was and still is dominated by the pure-and-simplist core with its overstress of parliamentary action and its total absorption in the political game, it acted as a *positive* drag upon the economic movement of the workers, retarded, hampered and killed any faint tendency for efficient class organization at the point of production. The workers were told and preached to again and again that all their efforts at that point were mere temporary make-shifts for bridging over the time of stress and strain prior to the great feat that was to be accomplished by the Social Democracy in transforming capitalism into socialism.

The pure-and-simplist doctors were always on the spot with their nostrum. The wage-workers had it constantly drummed, shouted, thundered and hammered into their ears and brains from the platform, the soap box and the party press. True, leaders of the party would often *advise* party members or even "insist" in a perfunctory manner to join their respective trade unions. We know this sort of advice and its potent effects in our own party. We treat it generally as a bit of innocent humor. We put all such mild resolutions and good intentions "on file," we "table" them and "take up the next order of business." Frequently such pious advice has the mental reservation of "boring from within." The German pure-and-simplist didn't have to do any "boring" either "within" or "without"; pure-and-simplism was the "*within*" itself.

And so the preachment of "joining" one's respective craft union was mere decorative garnish on the cake. The real spicy substance of the pastry ran somewhat as follows: "You, wage-slaving fellows, will do well to organize in craft unions, provided they are under the label of the Social Democracy. You may have some small scraps with your employers; if you're lucky, and your coin chest is "flush" you may force your wage a rung or two up the scale, provided it doesn't slip a few rounds lower in increased prices when you come to buy back

your own work. You may further do some skirmishing in an effort to trim down a trifle the length of your workday or get some slight improvement in the conditions of your shop work. If you have some time left, you may try some co-operative shopping and scrape together a few pennies each good for a rainy day or in time of a strike and lockout. That's about all you can accomplish. You mustn't dream of hunting for any bigger game on your own hook at the point of production.

You can never organize into a class union.\* You can not expect that your economic organization will ever reach a stage and be of a type powerful and efficient enough to reach out for any bigger portion of the loaf or the whole loaf. This part of the work will be ours, the work of your political party. You cannot get an 8-hour work-day except through parliament. Abolition of child labor and woman's labor; to secure sanitation and hygiene in the shop and safety to life and limb; thorough and efficient inspection of factories and mines; a minimum wage; doing away with unemployment, militarism and other economic and political evils—all this business will be attended to by us, parliamentarians, judges, city mayors, lawyers and what not. The universal franchise for both sexes, a democratically organized militia, universal education, efficient and free, we will get for you, if you only vote for us.

You needn't budge an inch to secure proportional representation, initiative and recall. That's our special line, and no mass action or general strikes are necessary for the purpose.

All these and many other economic and political boons are in our medicine chest. You just wait patiently like the good boys that you are and make no economic fuss until we can get the majority patent key when the lid of that chest will spring open as if by magic. Nor do you need to bother about getting some control of the shop right now in the foolish hope of getting some solid schooling in the art of running society's business in the future. Don't rack your brains either about getting in good trim at the shop so as to be ready and not to be caught napping and disorganized

when the time comes for taking over the tools and means of production and distribution. We will do the taking over of these things in your name and we'll run them as best we can, training or no training on your part. You'll work for the Socialist state, don't you see the point?

You'll be sure of your job and get a good wage and so what else do you want? All that talk about the "proletariat getting prepared for taking possession of the means of production and distribution," "getting the necessary training in industrial management for efficient production" "and the necessity of beginning right now this work of getting prepared and trained for the real, actual control of industry on the part of the proletariat itself"—all this is "undiluted anarchistic bosh or syndicalistic rot." Drop it. Vote the ticket and attend as best you can to your puny or bulky craft unions. They may help you to pick up some "grub," some crumbs from the capitalist board. The rest is our work."

This was the attitude of pure-and-simplism and especially its view on the relative unimportance of economic organization and what it can accomplish for the proletariat as compared with parliamentary action. This attitude was especially pronounced up to and some time after 1900. It is outlined in sharp detail in the Erfurt Program of 1891, and developed in Kautsky's exposition and elucidation quoted above. In 1904, Kautsky stated, in the introduction to fifth edition of the same work, that the above program remained in force in all essential particulars an accurate statement of the principles of the German Social Democracy. We find it again in the eighth edition of the same work, in which there is not a single word as to what the proletariat organized at the point of production may do or accomplish beyond craft union effort for higher wages and shorter hours independently of parliamentary action.

But the gist of this whole attitude of the Social Democracy in the question of economic action we find boiled down in the terse and classic statement made by August Bebel at the Cologne Parteitag (Convention) of 1893, in which he sounded the death knell of the trade unions. "We may organize,"—he said—"as much as we want, but when Capital has once conquered such power as did the Krupps and Stum, in the

\*See Kautsky's "Grundsätze und Forderungen der Sozialdemokratie, Erläuterungen zum Erfurter Programm," 1904, pp. 20-21.

Dortmund Combine, in the districts of the coal and the iron industry of Rhineland and Westphalia, the trade unions will be down and out and the only solution left will be in the political struggle."\*\*

This was the doctrine of the all-sufficiency of parliamentary action as the sole or principal mechanism for accomplishing what economic organization of whatever type and stage could not presumably accomplish. The leaders of the Social Democracy could not have then even the remotest inkling, not the faintest suspicion of the marvellous possibilities for economic organization of the workers on a *class scale* with real economic power and effort along the lines of securing ever greater and greater control of industry. And so they laid enormous over-stress upon parliament-

\*See "The Class Struggle," based on the 8th German edition of the "Erfurt Program," pp. 177-189.

\*\*Cited by Kloth in the "Neue Zeit," Oct. 25, 1912.

ary action and undervalued economic action to a disastrous extent. The more advanced section of the workers imbibed this narcotic too long and the dose was too strong for it not to affect their energy for economic organization.

Bismark's sop of state insurance on one side and pure-and-simplism on the other contrived to make them luke-warm and flabby in their trade-union activity. Content with the flesh pot served them by the Bismarkian regime in the form of old-age pensions and various forms of insurance and relying for any further boons on the efforts of their parliamentary delegation, they naturally neglected real constructive effort at the point of production and the result was the poorest showing they could make in the field of labor organization on a wide scale.

Pure-and-simplism up to 1900 proved a wet blanket upon effective consolidation of the workers at the real battle ground,—at the point of production.

## Liberty or the Penitentiary?

By

J. S. Biscay

### A Plot to Railroad Innocent Strikers of Little Falls Now on Trial

THE workers of Little Falls on trial before the Herkimer county court, were indicted under false testimony before the grand jury. Now the mill owners expect to finish the work by "landing" them in the penitentiary. The attitude of the citizens makes this attempt possible. According to the capitalist press, the jury will be composed of Anglo-Saxons whose prejudice against the "foreigners" is counted upon to convict.

Many hereabouts, blinded by prejudice, have forgotten that this county was named after a valiant foreigner and that von Steuben, who fought in the revolution, came from the same land which gave birth to Hirsh; that D'Estang and Lafayette were of the same race from which Legere springs; that Kosciusko and Pulawski, who died in the revolution, were Poles like Lesnicki, now on trial; or that

the Italian boys are decendants of a people who produced Michael Angelo, Raphael, Columbus, Mazzini, Cavour, Marconi—not to mention a civilization and grandeur which influences the world even from its tomb. The citizens here overlook the fact that some of the proud Anglo-Saxons were Tories in the revolution and that the mill owners need Tories today. They only remember that some of the strikers cannot use the native language fluently; this is enough to consider them guilty. Their petty prejudice will be satisfied, as well as the desire of the mill owners.

On the side of the mill owners stands Farrell, a rubber-spined prosecuting attorney—a boy in experience and knowledge—easy to handle. The real work of "landing" the strikers behind the bars is entrusted to the notorious ex-Senator A. M. Mills, who did not deny that he rep-

of the grand jury under the plea that it would not help the "people's case" to give such facts to the defense. He is right. The "people" in the "case" are the mill-owners. When the defense made a demurrer demanding that specific charges be made against each prisoner so that each could be defended accordingly, the judge again refused.

The prosecution cleverly announced the abandoning of the "assault" charges. This seemed to satisfy the public as to the fairness of the trial. It was only a trick. The assault charges could not be proven even with false testimony, while trial on "rioting" makes it easy to turn the "job." According to the penal code of this state, a riot is:

"Whenever three or more persons, having assembled for any purpose, disturb the public peace, by using force or violence to any other person, or to property, or threaten or attempt to commit such disturbance, or to do an unlawful act by the use of force or violence, accompanied with the power of immediate execution of such threat or attempt, they are guilty of riot."

Under the above law a riot might be a funeral or a crap game, especially if "Dusty" happened round. The crime is punishable by a term in the penitentiary and a fine, i. e., if the victim has the "dough" to make it worth while.

The methods of "justice" in this community might lead a person to think that the stone age is a prophecy. Some of the intelligent citizens here thought that they were still voting for Lincoln in the last election.

The affidavit of Special Officer J. T. Reed states that he wore a uniform, carried a badge, club and gun for a month before being appointed as officer. He was appointed by the sheriff contrary to the state law, which provides that officers must be residents of the county wherein they serve. The same is true of practically every Humphrey detective. Both Reed and Kenny swear that they saw no violence from the side of the strikers, and that Long staged the "riot" the night before, remarking that "he would take the law in his own hands;" he certainly did. Both officers testify that Long lured workers singly into the Phoenix mill, handcuffed them and beat them with clubs, the rest of the "upholders of the law" nobly assisting, until the *mass of*

*clotted blood had to be wiped from the floor* to keep the thugs from slipping. Some of the victims were unconscious when loaded on and off the patrol and had to be carried. Afterwards several of the prisoners, like Bocchini, were beaten up again in the jail.

Reed further asserts that he saw Long draw up the instructions to the police how to testify against the strikers before the grand jury. They were told to "learn it." Kenny followed his instructions, perjurying himself, while Reed told the truth and lost his job as a consequence. Both officers swear that the copy of instructions photographed by the defense was one given out by Long.

Officer Kenny makes a clean breast of his perjury. He acted upon the advice of his priest, to whom he confessed what he had done. He has announced that he is ready to go to the "pen" rather than see the innocent workers railroaded

VICTIM OF POLICE BRUTALITY.

time only tend to cover the plots laid here against the working class. The announcement that *we are not going to stop with a mere acquittal*, but will prosecute the tools of the mill owners and the masters themselves, if possible, has made the enemy more determined to teach labor a lesson for all time.

The sentiment of the community is ably expressed by a venerable citizen. "You are up against a hard proposition," he said. "No matter what kind of jury is drawn, the chances are against the prisoners. They don't need to "fix" the jury; the prejudice of the Americans is depended upon to do the work, and it looks like it will."

Is it a wonder that workers are beginning to show a contempt for this form of "justice"? The time is ripe for the working class to take the offensive. Merely defending our own is not enough. We wish to put the courts on record as either upholding violence of thugs and sluggers, or to punish them under the same law which is vigorously applied against us. In either event we gain; but we must have the backing of the working class to do this in this country. We must have *you* on the outside show that you are with us in this struggle and not be silent clams to the satisfaction of the mill owners. It is up to you to do your share and you can depend upon us here to exert every ounce of energy to put stripes on those who should wear them instead of our innocent fellow workers.

Too long we have turned a deaf ear to the wail of misery of the hunger-bred slaves; to the cry of despair of our wives, sisters and daughters, who are being crowded onto the streets to sell their bodies while we have shamefully and cowardly acquiesced. Too long have we ignored the plaintive cry of our babies fastened to the machine, where their very bones are ground into dollars and cents—while we pride ourselves in our humanity towards the colt which gambols care free on the green pastures. The time has come when YOU and I, as men and women, must reach out and drag humanity out of the vile cess-pool of a castrate civilization. It is about time for us all to begin to act or forever skulk like curs up a dark alley, forgetting that we have the forms of human beings.

MOTHER AND CHILD "HELD" TEN DAYS IN JAIL.  
NOW CHARGED WITH ASSAULT IN THE  
FIRST DEGREE—\$1,000 BAIL.

through his perjury. Since his confession Kenny is much hated by the "gang," who whisper that they will "get" him for "squealing."

The affidavits disclose that specials held up people in public places at the point of guns and searched them without warrant, broke into homes of strikers in the dead of night and spit into food left on the stove by a fleeing woman. But why go into more details?

The whole proposition shows a raw plot to wreak vengeance on some of the workers for daring to strike for a chance to live. If any of the strikers are "rail-roaded" it will be only because of the little attention given the trial by the rest of the workers. There have been little funds to work with, and but scanty expression of disapproval from those who should move heaven and earth in the defense. The different strikes at the same

# Shall the Socialist Party Govern Itself?

By William English Walling

THE most influential Socialist writer who uses the English language, Robert Blatchford, has just written a series of articles in which he points out the chief problem that every Socialist party has to solve: How shall the "mandarins," the bureaucracy, the professional party officeholders, and the professional public officeholders be controlled? Blatchford shows that the chief thing is that the rank and file must take an active interest in party affairs, but he also suggests changes in party constitutions. For example, he favors the measure advocated by America's biggest Socialist, Eugene V. Debs,—that Socialist functionaries should not be eligible for re-election. Unquestionably this would be a good beginning, but this is the most colossal question that Socialists have to face and no one measure will be able to solve it.

Ever since the present Socialist party was founded the party officeholders have been spending the larger part of their energies in endeavoring to hold their jobs and to fight down every element in the party that demanded any improvement or advance in any direction. However, the rank and file have not been devoted or servile followers of any of these would-be perpetual officeholders, and their tenure, though often too long continued, has never been entirely secure. A far greater danger is the new one, that has become serious only since we entered into the present period of political successes two years ago, namely, the corruption of the party by those elected to public office.

The experience of the Socialist Party proves the truth of Walt Whitman's line

describing "the never-ending audacity of elected persons." The very first important city captured by Socialists since the present party was founded, Brockton, Mass., witnessed a wholesale desertion of members elected by Socialists to office as soon as these officeholders found that the party was unwilling to make the deals necessary to re-elect them. Only last year we had several mayors in the one state of Ohio either being forced to resign or deserting the party because they could not use it for their purposes. And recently we have had by far the most virulent cases of this effort of officeholders to tyrannize over the party—the refusal of Stitt Wilson and others to sign the undated resignation from office—which has been the proudest boast of the Socialist party and the plea on which we have secured a large part of our members. (This custom was formerly mentioned in the N. E. C. pamphlet entitled, "Why Socialists Pay Dues?" but has now been omitted—we wonder why?)

The defense offered by Local Berkeley, which in the instance mentioned stood by its "leader," was even more impudent and dangerous than the act itself. For they said that since the people of Berkeley had a right to recall the mayor there was no reason why the Socialist party should claim the same right!

This question is not only one of the most important but one of the most pressing. Next year we may elect a few congressmen and half a hundred legislators—if the reactionaries in the party will cease their underhanded efforts to disrupt the organization and to drive out the revolutionists (for, as I have shown in the *New Review*,

it is where the organization is most revolutionary that the vote has most rapidly increased, whereas it has gone back in all the reactionary strongholds—like Wisconsin). If, then, these officeholders continue to show the tendency towards bossism so common in the past, the Socialist party will soon become an officeholders' machine little different in character from the machine by which Gompers controls the Federation of Labor or Murphy Tammany Hall.

The question is pressing; every day something is happening to illustrate its immediate importance. First, we have the refusal of a councilman in Reading to favor the Socialist measures brought by another Socialist councilman before the council and approved by the advisory committee of the party, and then we have a Socialist mayor quoted as saying that he must follow the light of his own conscience in his actions and not that of the Socialist party because the Socialists were only a small part of the people he represented. (The same principle, it may be seen, used by Stitt Wilson.)

We have come to a parting of the ways. There are at present just two forms of political organization in the United States, and we have to make our choice. The first form is that *towards* which the Socialist party has hitherto worked. Even in its imperfect condition it is so successful that the Progressives are beginning to imitate it. The other form is that of the old political parties, somewhat improved but at the same time made more rigid than ever by the new State Primary Laws. According to this bourgeois idea, every party is organized under leaders and these leaders are practically chosen by the bourgeois press—the whole mass of the voters having an occasional right, in the primaries, to pick among the "leaders" the press has brought forward. These leaders are nearly always officeholders when the party is in power and the chief officeholder is appointed by the bourgeois press to be the leader of the party. When the primary election comes around any irresponsible person who is willing to register in the party can come forward and determine who the party's candidates and leaders are going to be. Even the party platform, according to bourgeois arrangements, has to be declared by any voters who may volunteer themselves ready for that purpose.

This is the method that is being forced upon the Socialist party by the bourgeoisie and is openly advocated by bourgeois members inside of the party. Contrast this with the Socialist plan of organization. The candidates we formerly preferred were not those who were most praised by the bourgeois press but those who were most attacked. We have not allowed our party to pass into the hands of persons who had just joined it for exploiting it, but have usually required a period of from one to five years of probation and of service to the party before any man can become a candidate—a requirement that is becoming more popular than ever in some states, I am glad to say.

Candidates when elected by the Socialist party *have been supposed to represent the party first and the government afterwards*. Indeed, this effort to form a state within a state is the very sum and substance of the Socialist party tactics in Germany and all the older countries. If Socialism does not mean loyalty to the Socialist party first and all the time, then it means absolutely nothing.

Only recently, after a lengthy discussion, one of the leading opportunists of Germany was expelled from the party for unwillingness to be bound by the party in questions of tactics—matters of theory being of secondary moment—while in Italy the party got rid of half its members of Parliament for the same reason. We all know of the endless betrayal of the party by its members in France because the organization there, under the domination of Jaurès, has refused, until it was too late, to expel officeholding members who have used the party for their own purposes. Not less than four ministers of France have elevated themselves to high office at the expense of the Socialist party: Briand, Millerand, Viviani and Augagneur. This is why a large part of the revolutionary Industrial Unionists of that country have become anti-political Syndicalists. And the only way we can prevent the same result in America is by having a manly, self-respecting and self-governing party.

As we have at present no member of Congress and no member of the legislature in our two leading states, New York and Pennsylvania, and no mayor in our largest cities, the present is the time to evolve ef-

should pay a tax of 10 per cent; and so on according to the following scale:

|                     |             |
|---------------------|-------------|
| \$2,000 to \$3,000, | 5 per cent  |
| 3,000 to 4,000,     | 10 per cent |
| 4,000 to 5,000,     | 15 per cent |
| 5,000 to 6,000,     | 20 per cent |
| 6,000 to 7,000,     | 25 per cent |
| 7,000 to 8,000,     | 30 per cent |
| Etc.                |             |

Not only will this be a just method of taxation, but it will ultimately bring in considerable sums to the party and will teach the officeholders and the general public exactly who is the master.

Just consider, for example, the position of a member of Congress. As far as I know there is no member of the present Socialist party who has an income that can be compared for a moment with that of a member of Congress. Besides his \$7,500 salary he receives traveling expenses which may amount to many hundred dollars, a free office, a free secretary, franking privileges and the privilege of the free printing of his speeches, which may amount to \$25,000 a year and more. It is especially the privileges of printing and the privilege of free franking that ought to belong wholly to the party. In view of this privilege the party ought to have a stricter control than in other countries over the speeches made by its members of Congress and it ought to have practically complete control over the mailing list. If we had half a dozen members of Congress this privilege alone could mean hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to the Party. If it were left in the hands of members of Congress, on the other hand, they could easily build up a machine of their own vastly more powerful than the Socialist Party.

Let it not be supposed that revolutionists who demand a rigid control of office holders are against the holding of public office. Those who hold offices in any private organization, whether the Socialist Party or Labor Unions, are almost as great a source of danger. Public office holders are not much more difficult to control and they are able to bring very important advantages to Socialism:

First, while the holding of public offices does not give us any real power owing to the fact that the higher offices are always in the hands of the enemy, such as the judges, the Governors, etc, they might be

very useful in times of revolution, when parts at least of the machinery of government could be directly turned over to the people and when the office holders would have an inside view of governmental affairs.

Second, some departments of our present government, such as the administration of schools, might be retained under Socialism. The practice and experience learned by the office holders in these departments will be valuable for our purposes when we begin to install Socialism, though the overwhelming majority of executive positions in the new society will be purely industrial and the training of these positions afforded by work in revolutionary labor unions will be far more useful than any that can be obtained by holders of public office.

Third, office holders may not only furnish a source of income to the Party, as well as a private income for worthy and capable members of the organization, but they may allow a certain portion of the public funds to be diverted into Socialist hands—though, of course the capitalists will always reduce this possibility to the minimum by legislation.

The fact, then, that Socialist office holders are not permitted to do anything in the slightest degree Socialistic as long as Capitalism lasts—unless they are ready to be immediately expelled from their offices (which, by the way, may occasionally happen, and should happen as frequently as possible)—this fact, I say, does not mean to say that we do not appreciate the considerable benefits of Socialists holding office. The only trouble is that we can never hold enough offices to make our office holding effective for installing any Socialistic changes in the present governmental and industrial system. To have the majority in a ward, is obviously of little value, but even a city or state majority will have been made equally ineffective by capitalist legislation or judicial decisions in the state or nation. Some measure of home rule prevails for bourgeois parties and for the Socialist party *as long as it confines itself to bourgeois activities*. But this home rule is immediately abolished as soon as Socialists try to use local offices for the purpose of enacting any Socialist measure, no matter how insignificant it may be.

# EDITORIAL

**The White Flag Agreement Brigade.** There are a few politicians in the Socialist Party who are always bearing the white flag of truce to the capitalist class. Generally, these are professional office holders who compromise to hold the vote of the middle class. Sometimes they are office seekers who want to please everybody.

Again, they are trade union officials who tie up the workers with agreements that guarantee to the employers a period of industrial peace and docile slaves. These union officials and these politicians are always eager to settle the workers' affairs for them by arbitration or agreement, and the workers find that they have been bound, hand and foot, by their so-called friends; that they have no way left to fight against shop conditions that are always changing, except by violence and the ballot.

There are many who say the New York garment workers have been betrayed in this very way. They have been forced into trade DIVISIONS. Their officials, assisted by "Socialist" lawyers, tied them up with long-time agreements that have filled the bosses with extreme satisfaction. A group of strikers who saw through the danger to the workers, rushed into the office of the Jewish Forward, New York, and declared that they had been betrayed by the "Socialists" and union officials. The New York *Call* reports that they did much damage to the Forward office furniture.

During the long months of the Reign of Terror in West Virginia and the brave and bloody fight being waged by our miner comrades there, we have been holding our breath for the words of wisdom to come from the lips of the White Flag Agreement Brigade.

Why has the fluent stream of advice from Comrade Adolph Germer suddenly gone dry? Comrade Germer knows the class struggle and the bitter fight of the miners. Why is his pen, usually so pro-

lific in giving advice, suddenly stilled when it comes to telling these miners how to win their strike?

Money will not win this strike, Comrade Germer, and you know it. The coal barons can put up a thousand dollars to every cent the workers are able to raise. Money can be a great help, but it can never win a strike, alone.

This is no time to think of the truce the United Mine Workers' Association officials have signed with the class that is SHOOTING DOWN the West Virginia boys. We know the mine operators collect the dues from the miners that pay their salary. But this is a time when they must forget to keep peace with the exploiters of labor and take their stand with the rank and file.

They must come out and show the boys how to win without ANY MORE BLOODSHED! Or is this method the one they advocate and approve as well as make necessary, today?

The rank and file of the United Mine Workers have proved themselves ready to shoulder their rifles and to die, if need be, to show their solidarity with their struggling brothers in the Kanawha district.

What we want to know from you, Comrade Germer, and from the other pure-and-simplers in the Socialist Party, is—

IS IT NECESSARY that these brave men and women shall continue to shoulder guns, to fight and, perhaps, to die, in order to win this strike?

Why is the White Flag Brigade silent while our brothers and sisters are being killed or forced to kill to protect themselves?

How will YOU stop the flow of blood in West Virginia TODAY?

What do YOU advise these miners to do, RIGHT NOW, in order to stop this murderous warfare and win the strike? You are sending them money and we are sending them money to keep on fighting.

But you know, and we know, there is a better, a safer, a more effective way to fight—a way that spells Victory. Even the bravest band of miners cannot stand up forever against the machine guns of the capitalist class.

It is time the Socialist Party should consider this situation and take a stand upon it.

The White Flag Agreement Brigade has no message to the striking miners. And it is this White Flag group that has **TIED THE HANDS OF THE MINERS BY AGREEMENTS** with the **MINE OWNERS** so that the **ONLY WEAPON LEFT FOR THEM TO FIGHT WITH TODAY IS GUNS!**

Is it possible that Comrade Germer proposes to expel Mother Jones, John Brown and these men and women from the Socialist Party because they have bravely fought in the only way he and his kind have left them? Is it possible that he intends to join the capitalist jackals and help railroad our comrades to the penitentiary?

**THE REVIEW** and the Industrialists in the Party are with the striking miners to the bitter end of the fight. We are proud to lend our small efforts toward helping them to victory. We are going to help teach them the way to victory.

We want to help them out of the ambush the Agreement Brigade has forced them into.

The English coal miners brought the powerful English government to its knees through a general coal strike. All England was thrown into idleness because there was no **COAL** being dug by the miners to run trains and bring soldiers, or to turn any of the wheels of industry. So powerful did the strikers become that members of the House of Parliament called the strike committee "The Parliament on Tower Hill."

This is what the miners can do in West Virginia or all over the United States, if necessary. This is what they are ready to do. Already they voted to strip their treasury bare in Illinois to help with funds. But it is almost impossible for a small band of miners to win a strike while the boys in other mines are forced (by the union officials) to supply their bosses with coal.

A general strike in the coal industry for

two weeks would bring the whole nation to the feet of the miners. What we need is fewer strikes, but **GENERAL** strikes when we have them.

Comrade Germer, why are you so silent about the general coal strike? Is it not true that the U. M. W. Association officials, have signed agreements with the coal operators promising to **FINE** every union miner who is "guilty of throwing a mine idle or materially reducing the output by failure to continue at work. . . . \$10.00?"

Is it not true that they have gone so far in this agreement as to promise to pay the Illinois Coal Operators' Association **ONE-HALF** of such fines collected from the **MINERS?**

We would like very much to know **WHY** they have guaranteed to pay to the **MINE OPERATORS**, the **VERY** enemies of the miners, **HALF** of these **FINES**.

Do you not know that by tying the hands of the miners by agreements, they are forcing the men who remain at work to **SCAB** while their brothers are on strike?

The Agreement Brigade has left the West Virginia boys today with no fighting weapon but their rifles. They voted right last election, but that don't help **NOW**. The rank and file of the U. M. W. want a general strike in the coal fields. A general strike would mean a speedy victory for the men, and the everlasting enmity of the mine owners. No man can serve the mine owners and the working class at the same time.

A general strike and class solidarity is always more effective than the rifle.

This is the answer of the Industrial Socialists to the truce-proclaiming, agreement-signing, hand-tying White Flag Brigade. This is our message to our comrades in the strike field and in the coal mines.

It is the craft union officials and the pure-and-simple political actionists who force situations like the one in West Virginia.

They refuse to work for class **UNIONISM** on the industrial field. They divide us into crafts or tie us up in little scattered groups with agreements, so that we can never fight **TOGETHER**, but al-

ways in small bands that the capitalists find it easy to beat.

Paste this motto in your hat:

DOWN with agreements between employers and the workers! They can mean nothing but the ultimate shedding of blood, nothing but scabbery and defeat to the working class. Beware of the official or "friend" who signs an agreement with your employer. He is a traitor to the very class he pretends to serve!

\* \* \* \* \*

Through all the turmoil of the strike, Comrade Robert Hunter, serenely oblivious to the class struggle raging around us, continues to employ oceans of ink in opposing the General Strike.

Whenever he is brought to mind, we recall the general who lagged so far behind the army that, in all his majesty, he walked alone. Day by day the army made its slow way forward. But because his face was turned backward, he imagined, ever, that he was in the lead!

M. E. M.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**Belgium—The General Strike.**—The fourteenth of April is the day set. It promises to become a historic date in the history of the labor movement. On that day will begin a notable trial of the carefully prepared, publicly advertised general strike for a political purpose. The preliminary arrangements are being made as complete as the present organization of labor will permit. If this great effort fails, its failure will be taken by many to mean the impracticability of this kind of a strike at the present stage of industrial development and labor organization. If it succeeds, it will certainly be tried in other countries, and its importance for the history of the labor movement can hardly be overestimated.

Last June, it will be remembered, the congress of the Belgian Labor (Socialist) Party passed a resolution in favor of calling a general strike to force the clerical government to grant manhood suffrage. A conference of labor and Socialist organizations was called and a large committee was named to take charge of the necessary work of organization. The committee was directed to give the government every opportunity to grant suffrage reform, but to begin immediately to take all the measures necessary to the success of the strike. Under the direction of this committee the organized workers of Belgium have for many months been filling their treasuries and enrolling as many new members as possible. Individual members of the various allied organizations have been repeatedly exhorted to

refrain from the use of alcoholic liquors and in other ways cut down their expenses and increase the amount of their savings for the approaching day of need.

The government has proved absolutely unbending in its policy. The Socialist group in parliament has stood for universal, equal manhood suffrage, beginning with the twenty-first year. They were, however, willing to compromise. In the rather bitter debate which followed the call for the strike they admitted that they would not have given the word had the government agreed to the Liberal proposal to appoint a commission to report on the matter of suffrage reform. But even this slight concession the government was unwilling to grant. The Prime Minister proclaimed that there could not be the slightest show of retreat before the threat of the strike. So when he accused the Socialist deputies of throwing the country into disorder they could respond that the serious state of affairs had been brought about by his own obstinacy.

On February 12 the strike committee, with more than 300 members present, issued the call. "On one and the same day," it reads in part, "in all industries and in all districts the general strike shall begin, and in conformity to the will of the working class it shall be peaceful, impressive and unconquerable."

On the one hand, the government maintains that the uprising of the workers cannot be successful. Only about 25 per cent of the workers are organized, too few to cripple the industries of the na-

tion, says the Prime Minister. Moreover, he says, it will be impossible to maintain peace, and the government will be forced to take measures to suppress the strike. Anticipating such developments, the mayor of Brussels has called a conference of mayors to discuss precautionary police measures. On the other hand, the workers are proceeding with complete confidence to make their preparations. The workers are especially warned on all possible occasions to maintain peace at any cost, to resist steadily the government's provocation to acts of violence. The conduct of the strike, in addition to tying up industry, is to show that it is ridiculous to deny the ballot to the working class.

Many Socialists maintain that the general strike is nothing more than a utopian dream; European Syndicalists and American industrial unionists maintain that any strike, to be successful, must be unannounced and therefore unprepared for. Unless a new turn is given to affairs in Belgium before April 14, these and others may see something which will interest them.

**Germany and France. The New Militarism.** An incidental result of the Balkan war will add to the burden borne by the workers of France and Germany. In the strong alliance of Balkan states, largely Slavic, the German government pretends to scent a grave danger. A new nation in the near east will sadly upset the long-nursed balance of powers. Bulgars and Servians have conceived a feeling of bitter hatred toward Austria. Austria is the ally of Germany. With Bulgaria, Servia and the other allies practically one nation, Germany may have a new enemy to watch.

Whether there is any excuse for this fear or not, it has already been acted upon. Germany has added 140,000 men to her "peace effective." France, not to be outdone in patriotism, has reverted to the three-year term of military service, from the two-year term, and has increased her appropriation for army and navy by \$100,000,000. Cablegrams from both countries describe the peasants and working people as filled with loyal enthusiasm for these measures. In fact, it is said that the people of France are so fired by noble rage that they can hardly wait the day when they can spring at the Ger-

mans. Of course, most of this patriotism is manufactured for American consumption, but the fact that the burden of militarism has been increased and that such a mass of nonsense is set out through the public press constitutes one of the most terrible results of the Balkan war.

**France. The Catholic Unions Once More.** In the March number of the REVIEW the present writer gave some account of the Catholic unions in Germany. This month similar organizations in France are breaking into the limelight. *La Vie Ouvriere* publishes a twenty-page list of Catholic unions made up of French railway workers. These organizations cover practically the whole of France and all lines of the service. The total membership is variously estimated between 20,000 and 50,000 members. Each group has a priest as its director. *La Vie Ouvriere* publishes, along with the address of the headquarters of each group, the name of its ecclesiastical guide.

The activity of these French Catholic unions seems to be similar to that of their German counterparts. In fact, they appear to be more definitely allied to the interests of the employers. The first ones were organized immediately after the strike of 1898, and the number of them was greatly increased as result of the partially unsuccessful strike of 1910. Numerous cases are reported in which railway officials sent to the directing priests for new employes. In other cases, it has been shown that members of the Catholic unions have been granted privileges which would never be given to adherents of the organizations affiliated with the *Confederation General du Travail*.

**Austria. The Murder of Franz Schuhmeier.** Every now and then some monarch or prime minister is killed or wounded. No matter who does it, or what was his motive, the deed is laid up against the anarchists. On February 12 the best loved, and one of the best known, men in Austria was shot and killed. He was neither a monarch nor a prime minister, but he had long been a member of the Austrian parliament. He was a member of the working class who throughout a brilliant career had been true to his class. And the murderer was not an anarchist. He was a Christian and a member of the Christian Social party. In fact, he was

the brother of a prominent leader of that party. It is interesting to notice the fact that the anarchists hunting capitalist journals had almost nothing to say about this cruel murder.

Franz Schuhmeier left school after completing the sixth grade and entered a factory in order to help support his family. In spite of the hardships of his life he managed to educate himself so that when the call came he was prepared to take a prominent place in the labor movement. Though he was only forty-nine years old at the time of his taking off, he had been for twenty-one years editor of the Volkstribune, the most widely read labor paper in Austria. In addition he had served many years as Socialist member of parliament and as member of the municipal council of Vienna. Distinguished both as orator and organizer, he took from the beginning a leading part in both bodies. In parliament he was the leader of the anti-military forces. In the municipal council he did more than anyone else to uncover the unspeakable grafting of the Christian Social party. While his lovable human qualities made him one of the great popular leaders of the working class, the uncompromising courage with which he fought the enemies of his class made him the target of bitter attacks.

So in this case the Christian "Socialists" resorted to direct action of the most unorganized and individualistic sort. It is probable that they will not find this kind of tactics very effective.

**The Balkan War.** Last month the REVIEW described the sad state into which the labor unions of Bulgaria have been plunged by the present war. Since then the news-letter of the International Secretariat has sent out similar accounts from Servia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In both these countries the labor movement has been virtually destroyed. Working class meetings are forbidden, labor papers have been suppressed, the hours of labor have been increased, while wages have been cut down. Practically all social legislation has been nullified. Regulations as to insurance, hygiene, etc., have been forgotten. In fact, it is difficult to tell who has the harder time of it, the workers at home or on the field of battle.

Various European labor organizations have already voted sums of money for the assistance of the Balkan comrades. In this country there is now a motion before the National Committee of the Socialist Party to donate \$100 for the same purpose. It is to be hoped that local Socialist organizations and labor unions will follow the lead set by our National Committee. This is a case in which money means life to organizations which have a very important part to play in a great national and international situation.

**Italy. The New Reformist-Socialist Party.** In the REVIEW for September, 1912, was given an account of the formation of this new party. At the regular convention of the Italian Socialist Party, held at Regio Emilia in July, four members of parliament had been expelled for failing to oppose the government in its war measures. Immediately these and many of their followers withdrew and took the steps necessary to the starting of a new organization to be known as the Reformist Socialist Party. In December, 1912, this party held its first convention, and therefore we have now an opportunity to size up its program and tactics.

Following is a condensation of the platform adopted:

The Reformist Socialist Party believes in the justification of the struggle of the workers on the industrial field, in the use of political methods as the best means of establishing working class control of society, and in the progressive participation of the working class in governmental activities. The following are laid down as the principles of the Reformist Socialist political program: (1) Reforms are achieved in accordance with the changing relations of the various classes which struggle for the mastery of society; (2) the party joins the international movement of the proletariat, but reserves the right to take account of national conditions in carrying on its work; (3) the party is not necessarily opposed to the various democratic (or liberal) parties. Its relation to them is a matter dependent on mutual understanding and agreement. (4) The party represents the interests of small capitalists as well as of wage earners; (5) all problems are to be considered from three points of view, i. e., their own nature, their relation to the

good of the working class, their relation to the purposes of the party.

In its resolution on labor unions, the congress approved of large federations, complete independence from political domination, and limitation of unions to such immediate matters as better wages, shorter hours, etc. Incidentally, the general strike and syndicalism came in for strong disapproval.

A long list of subjects was drawn up to serve as a guide in the making of immediate demands upon legislative bodies. Much time was given to the matter of colonial policy. All the delegates seemed to think that since colonial expansion is a part of capitalist development, it is not sufficient for Socialists merely to oppose it. Socialists ought, according to the Reformist notion, to develop a form of colonial control which would be for the benefit of the working class. This part of the program, however, was left unfinished, being merely referred to the next international congress for action.

The regular Socialist party has decided, contrary to its former practice; to put up candidates in all districts for the approaching parliamentary election. The Reformists, on the contrary, will frankly

open negotiations with any party which is willing to trade with them.

This outline of the principles and tactics of the new Italian party is here set down at such length because this seems to the writer to be the most logical result of reformist theory which has been yet attained. The leaders of this party believe that the class struggle gradually dies out as the working class gains in power; therefore, there is no treason to the working class involved in combining with non-Socialist parties. They believe, moreover, that the government of any given period does, and should, represent exactly all the elements struggling for the supremacy; in order to bring this about, all the elements must take active part in the government at all times; therefore, the Socialists should take whatever offices they can get, participate in whatever happens to be going on, and try to give a proletarian twist even to the most outrageously capitalistic undertaking.

This perfectly clean-cut philosophy, with the program built upon it, gives one the best chance yet offered to take the measure of reformistic, revisionistic, watered-down Socialism.

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# PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

**A New Marx Volume.** One of the best short histories ever written is **The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte**, by Karl Marx. It is a history of France for three eventful years, during which a so-called republic was destroyed and Louis Bonaparte, a politician much like Theodore Roosevelt, made himself emperor. The economic forces at work behind the warring politicians are admirably explained by Marx. It is a companion volume to his "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," which deals with the political changes in Germany at almost the same period. "The Eighteenth Brumaire" was translated into English by Daniel De Leon many years ago, and passed through two editions in pamphlet form. We have now made new electrotype plates of the book, so that it has 160 pages of large type, instead of 80 pages of small type, as formerly, and have published it in cloth at 50c and paper at 25c.

**Is Your Set of Marx Complete?** The books by Marx which have been translated into English and published in cloth binding are as follows:

**Capital**, three volumes, \$6.00.  
**Critique of Political Economy**, \$1.00.  
**The Poverty of Philosophy**, \$1.00.  
**Value, Price and Profit**, 50c.  
**Revolution and Counter-Revolution**, 50c.  
**The Eighteenth Brumaire**, 50c.  
**The Communist Manifesto** (Marx and Engels), 50c.

Any of these will be mailed promptly on receipt of price. Ask us for complete catalogue and for our illustrated booklet, "The Story of a Socialist Publishing House."

**New Propaganda Books.** The season for open air meetings is at hand. Every Socialist soap-boxer should sell books after his talk. Experience shows that the books circulated in this way accomplish much more than the words spoken at the meeting. Moreover, the profit which the local or the speaker makes on the books is a big help toward the speaker's necessary expenses. Besides, the standard books, which are always good, we have these four new ones:

**Evolution and Revolution**, by Mark Fisher, a Socialist study of history, showing the inevitability of Socialism and the necessity for revolutionary unionism.

**The New Socialism**, by Robert Rives La-Monte, a propanganda work calling on those who believe in revolutionary unionism to work inside the Socialist Party.

**Marxism and Darwinism**, by Anton Pannekoek, a concise, logical argument by one of the ablest Socialist writers of Europe, showing that Socialism is in line with the modern theory of evolution.

**Crime and Criminals**, Clarence S. Darrow's great speech before the prisoners in the county jail at Chicago. This classic address has long been out of print; it is now reissued in more attractive style than ever before. These all sell for ten cents each.

## Other Ten Cent Books.

**How Capitalism has Hypnotized Society**, by William Thurston Brown.

**Our Mental Enslavement**, by Howard H. Caldwell.

**Socialism Made Easy**, by James Connolly.

**Unionism and Socialism**, by Eugene V. Debs.

**The Detective Business**, by Robin Dunbar.

**The Question Box**, by Frank M. Eastwood.

**The Social Evil**, by Dr. J. H. Greer.

**Industrial Socialism**, by Haywood and Bohn.

**The Right to Be Lazy**, by Raul Lafargue.

**No Compromise**, by Wilhelm Liebknecht.

**Socialism, What It Is**, by Wilhelm Liebknecht.

**The Strength of the Strong**, by Jack London.

**Shop Talks on Economics**, by Mary E. Marcy.

**Value, Price and Profit**, by Karl Marx.

**The Communist Manifesto**, by Marx and Engels.

**Socialist Songs with Music**, by William Morris and others.

**Nature Talks on Economics**, by Caroline Nelson.

**Class Struggles in America**, by A. M. Simons.

**The Socialists**, by John Spargo.

**One Big Union**, by William E. Trautmann.

**The Socialist Movement**, by Charles H. Vail.

**The Wolves**, by Robert A. Wason.

We will mail any one of these books for 10 cents, any three for 25 cents, or any twelve for \$1.00. For \$2.60 we will send the full set of 26 books and the REVIEW one year. To Socialist Locals or traveling speakers we will send 100 assorted 10-cent books by express, prepaid, on receipt of \$5.00, or 1,000 on receipt of \$40.00.

**Jesuitism Within Our Own Party.** As we go to press with this issue of the REVIEW we are still waiting in vain for the

appearance of the following letter sent on Feb. 22 to the editor of the *Social Democratic Herald*, Milwaukee:

My attention has been called to an unsigned article, for which you are doubtless responsible in the *Herald* of February 8, in which, referring to an alleged misquotation from Engels, you say:

"However, that little 'first of all' being inconvenient, we find it omitted in the Kerr edition of 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.' A nice illustration of Jesuitism within our own party."

This, if true, would be a most serious charge against the Socialist publishing house of which I am manager. It would mean that for the sake of scoring a point in a controversy over Socialist tactics, we had deliberately falsified a passage in one of the classics of Socialism. If I understand the English language correctly, this is exactly what you meant to have your readers think we had done.

Now for the facts. Our edition of "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" is a word-for-word reprint of the translation by Edward Aveling, Marx's son-in-law, which was published in London during Engels' lifetime and while he himself was there. He wrote an introduction to the edition, and as he was well acquainted with the English language, it may safely be inferred that he saw the proofs. At any rate, the book passed through several editions in London, and if the translation had misrepresented his meaning, he would certainly have protested.

The sentence in question is on page 127 of our edition, and on page 75 of the London edition, published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co., which may be seen at many public libraries in this country.

I think any impartial reader will agree that the "nice illustration of Jesuitism within our own party" has been afforded by the *Herald*, not by our publishing house.

Please give this reply the same publicity as your charge against us.

CHARLES H. KERR.

As the reply has not been published, and as the editor of the *Herald* has neither attempted to substantiate his charge nor apologized for it, the inference seems pretty clear. It may or may not be remembered that when the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party called for the election of a committee to "investigate" this publishing house, the *Social Democratic Herald* gave great prominence to the fact. When the National Committee ratified the proposal, the *Herald* gave further publicity. But when the investigating committee made a detailed report, showing that the charges were absurd, those readers who were so imprudent as to depend on the *Herald* for information were unable to learn anything more about the matter.

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This is the famous Model No. 3 OLIVER—A Standard, Visible Typewriter with a record unequalled. Nearly 200,000 in use.

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Do you know why war has broken out in Mexico again? It is because the Mexican workers are still enslaved. Political revolutions have not freed them. There can be no peace until this slavery is abolished.

The terrible truth about conditions in Mexico is told in John Kenneth Turner's book BARBAROUS MEXICO. There are 340 large pages, besides eighteen engravings from photographs. Extra cloth, \$1.50; well worth the price, but we will mail you the book for only 50 cents if you send \$1.00 AT THE SAME TIME for a year's subscription to the International Socialist Review.

**CHARLES H. KERR & CO.**

118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago

# NEWS AND VIEWS

## YOUNG NEW ZEALAND SOCIALISTS.

**The Socialist Movement in New Zealand.**—The Revolutionary Socialists are becoming a force in the little country in the southern hemisphere. The much vaunted progressive legislature of New Zealand is just about fizzling out. Trade unions are kicking over the Arbitration Act, and a reactionary government having got the reins of power they are taking advantage of a flaw in the Arbitration Act which allows fifteen scab workers to form and register a fresh trade union, where the original union has canceled its registration, and by making an agreement with the employers force hundreds or thousands back to conditions they were fighting against, so that we have reached the stage of scab unions. This condition of affairs has helped to open the ears of the workers to the propaganda of the Socialists, and the movement grows rapidly. One of the most vigorous branches of the New Zealand Socialist Party is located in Christchurch in the province of Canterbury. The accompanying photo was taken last Christmas day and shows a company of young Socialists who were to perform that evening on the occasion of Christmas festivities. Christmas in this part of the world

comes at midsummer and the comrade who took the part of Santa Claus declared he had never perspired so much before. Yours in the fight, Christchurch Comrade, New Zealand.

**Socialist Hall, Oxford Terrace, Christchurch, New Zealand.**—Dear Comrades: Please find enclosed a money order for three pounds for which kindly send us another bundle of REVIEWS (twelve) for one year and make up the remainder of the money with Mary Marcy's "Shop Talks," London's "Revolution," five cents, and Bellamy's "Parable of the Water Tank." Am glad to tell you that the REVIEW is very much appreciated here and always looked forward to. Yours for the Revolution, D. Whyte, Lit. Sec.

**Another Red Hustler.**—Comrade Scott of Pennsylvania, sends us \$3 for a copy of Bebel's "Woman and Socialism," to be mailed to two of our women comrades, and has three yearly subscription cards for the REVIEW sent to himself. At the end of his letter he adds: "Although a shareholder, I've been opposed to the REVIEW's policy heretofore. Am as red as hell now and I'll boost the REVIEW all I can."

**To the Members of the Socialist Party.**—Whereas: The weekly and monthly National Bulletins are the official organs of the Socialist Party, are supported by the members of the party and are not the property of any individual or set of individuals, and

Whereas: The National Secretary and the National Executive Committee are elected by the membership, one of their functions being to cause to be published in aforesaid bulletins the official data of the party and events of interest to the membership, and

Whereas: The bulletins, aforesaid, recently contained full page advertisements in the interests of one Morris Hilquit and his book alleged to represent "Socialism Summed Up," said advertisements being published at an expense of thousands of dollars to the party at a time when necessary and urgent work of the national office is already impeded by financial embarrassment and hundreds of thousands of the proletariat are making desperate appeals for assistance in their daily struggles with the beast of capitalism, and

Whereas: The copyright on said book—notwithstanding the statement in the advertisement that the national office is the beneficiary—is shown to be held by the Metropolitan Magazine Publishing Company, whose engagement at the present time of Morris Hilquit as staff-writer and J. Mahlon Barnes as circulation manager, makes the prostitution of the national office (with its mailing list of 5,200 names serving the circulation department of said magazine) all the more obvious, shameless and infamous, and

Whereas: The advertisement, above-mentioned, has been made to supersede the regular and important data of the party with obviously no worthier purpose than to foist upon the minds of the unsophisticated recruits to our membership a vote-hungry, power-thirsty politician's individual conception of the proper tactical procedure for the organized revolutionary movement, in order that the grip of a political clique (now for the first time seriously threatened) may be maintained upon the party machine and the organization made a vehicle for carrying ambitious usurpers to legislative lime-light and advertising a few exaggerated egos; therefore, be it

Resolved: That Local Elyria, Socialist Party of Ohio protest against this flagrant prostitution of the official organs of the party to boom business for a capitalistic publishing concern, to subserve the private interests and satisfy the personal ambition of a petty intriguer and apostle of Machiavelianism, as also against the high-handed policy of the National Secretary and the National Executive Committee in their efforts to keep peace with his accomplices; be it further

Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of Local Elyria and a copy be sent to at least one Socialist paper in each state.

Adopted by Local Elyria in regular session assembled, February 2, 1913.

CLARA M. KING, Secretary.

From Piedra, Calif.—Dear Comrades: Attached please find money order for \$12, for which send the REVIEW to the twelve names listed below and send me as my premium the books listed, amounting to \$12. Yours for the Revolution, A. V. Waugh, Piedra, via Reedley, Calif.

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are incomplete because up to 1913 there has never been a library edition of

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Marx never wrote a whole book on the Materialistic Conception of History, or Economic Determinism, but in the "Eighteenth Brumaire" he teaches the principle by a concrete example. The book is a clear, graphic story of the class struggles in France from 1848 to 1852, in which the cowardice of the capitalists and the disorganized state of the wage-workers enabled a glib adventurer much like our own Theodore to make himself Emperor of France.

First cloth edition from new plates, 80c, also in paper covers at 25c. Prices include postage.

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The only journal in America that scientifically treats the all-important question of the form of organization of proletarian bodies both economic and political. Do you want to know about the A. F. of L.; the K. of L.; the A. L. U.; the A. R. U.; the original W. F. of M.; the I. W. W.; the Syndicalist; the S. L. P.; the S. P., then you must read the Decentralizer. The Decentralizer is not a muck-raking sheet or a personal organ, but it fearlessly exposes the frauds or errors of those in responsible positions in the labor movement. It shows the advantages of a less complex and autocratic form of organization than that at present in operation in the labor movement.

Subscription price, 25 cents per year; five subs for \$1.00.

E. R. MEITZEN, Managing Editor, Hallettsville, Texas.

## The Rebel:

NOTE.—The Decentralizer is published in the same office as the Rebel, the Red Southern Socialist weekly of which T. A. Hickey is managing editor. The Rebel has made the land issue the dominant issue in the South. It circulates 25,000 copies weekly. You must read the Rebel to know about the land question and the renters' union. The Rebel will be strictly propaganda hereafter, but revolutionary to the core. Fifty cents a year; clubs of four, \$1.00; four-year subs, \$1.00. Hallettsville, Texas.

**Flint, Mich., Again.**—Flint, Mich., comes back with another order for 100 copies of the REVIEW a month for one year. Flint is doing great work. The comrades there are sticking to education work whenever it is possible in order to make real and lasting socialists.

**From Another Hustler.**—THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is in the lead for revolutionary socialism and for a clear-cut working class movement, and I wish it much success and will be found at all times boosting for it as every copy placed will do more for clearing up the Socialist party than anything else I know of. Yours in the Class Struggle, Comrade Carpenter, Wichita, Kan.

**Industrialism in Australia.**—Comrade Lane of Brisbane writes us that four big sections of industry in Australia have all come under the banner of Industrial Unionism. The Waterside workers are now in one body. The A. W. A. has amalgamated with the A. workers' union—the largest in Australia. Rural workers' union, carriers, timber workers, stonemen and packers, likewise. So you see the spirit of One Big Union is abroad. A law was passed there to smash the unions making it a penal offense to strike and we do not have the general ballot. However, they cannot enforce the strike law. A big strike of the A. W. A. has been in progress a month and none of the strikers have been arrested. Perhaps you would call these men criminals since they are breaking the law, but they have no other way of fight and the fighting spirit here is not yet dead. The REVIEW is indeed appreciated here.

**Haywood in Portland.**—Comrade Tom Burns, who sent us a report of the wonderful work done by Local Portland the past year, also sent a report of the Haywood meeting in Portland. He said "Big Bill Haywood was here and not for many moons will those who heard him forget his masterly portrayal of the Class Struggle. Haywood is the untamed lion of the American labor movement. He has lived the Class Struggle. He looks it; breathes it. He delivered the ablest, cleanest and most terrific indictment of capitalism ever heard in Portland." Comrade Burns said that "After visiting Archbishop Christie the Protestant Governor West of Oregon decided to establish the Oregon Naval Militia," an aggregation of strike breakers and scab herders. This looks as though the Catholic church was preparing to kill off the trade unions in America.

**Industrialism in Massachusetts.**—The fact that Roland D. Sawyer and George E. Roewer, Esq., both active in the Ettor, Giovannitti case, were chosen members of the National Committee from Massachusetts, each by votes more than double their nearest competitor, is evidence that the Massachusetts comrades are not so scared of industrialism as some of the states where it is less known.

**Militants Awake.**—Massachusetts militant socialists and unionists are holding a series of meetings to protest against the treatment of Ben Legere and the other Little Falls prisoners. Roland D. Sawyer, of Ware, is using the stereopticon and Little Falls pictures to explain the situation. Proceeds of the Sawyer meetings go to the Defense Fund. Locals that have not arranged for a Sawyer Little Falls protest meeting should write Sawyer at once addressed. Ware, Mass.

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**The Pittsburgh Reds.**—Branch No. 1, with ten members present, raised \$10 in about sixty seconds for the Akron strikers and Local Allegheny County Central Committee voted to donate the entire collections of their next three Sunday afternoon lectures, same to be divided between the miners in West Virginia and the rubber workers in Akron. It takes direct action to fill the dinner pail.

**An Appreciation.**—On the day that the REVIEW comes I become neglectful of business in my desire to read it. It has a true revolutionary ring and I certainly would not want to be without it. Geo. Schrimmer.

**From Utica, Ohio.**—Enclosed find \$2.50, for which please send me March REVIEWS. I have had such good luck selling twenty that I think that I can get away with fifty this month. I am yours for the REVIEW, J. G. Montross.

**Hegins, Pa.**—I am a reader of your valuable magazine for a good while. I can hardly wait till Comrade Maurer gets them and delivers them in town here. Elmer Miller.

**Comrade Bell of Belknap, Iowa,** writes: "I would like to see the REVIEW double its circulation. I will do all I can. I wish every farmer

who reads the REVIEW would plant one acre of corn, the proceeds to go to sending the REVIEW to his neighbors. I am going to be one of your 'Farmers' Army for the REVIEW.'"

# RHEUMATISM

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of letters telling of cures almost unbelievable; cures after whole lifetimes of intermittent pain, as well as all the milder stages, cures of every kind of rheumatism and in every part of the body. Why should I send them to try before you p they are **safer and surer than anything ever done before for rheumatism.** Valuable book on Rheumatism comes free with the Drafts. Address Magic Foot Draft Co., 443 Oliver Bldg., Jackson, Mich. **Send no money—just the coupon.** Do it now.

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Fremont, Colorado.—THE REVIEW is the Socialist paper I have been looking for.—M. S. Mack.

Raymond, Wash.—We think the REVIEW is just fine; could not do without it. I am trying to get subs. for it.—Mrs. E. V. Spaulding.

From Massachusetts.—I consider the REVIEW as the best propaganda magazine for industrial unionism and real political Socialism.—Jos. M. Meirowitz.

From Texas.—I received your sample copy and find it the finest publication yet for Socialism. Thank you.—Mrs. Harry Britton.

Chicago, Ill.—To my mind it is the best magazine I have seen, presenting as it does the real Socialist, which must necessarily be revolutionary.—John Quinn.

From Wilsall, Mont.—I take several papers and magazines but find more educational value in the "Review" than any other magazine.—N. C. Metzger.

From Amalgamated Workers' Association of Queensland.—How we look forward to the REVIEW! It is one of the most inspiring magazines we have received. Good luck and heartfelt fraternal greetings.—Ernest H. Lane.

From Chicago.—Enclosed find one dollar for renewal to THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. I have been a subscriber to the REVIEW for almost nine years, and I cannot think of getting along without it. Hoping that it will continue its good work, I remain, yours for revolutionary Socialism.—D. F. Sager.

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# Get In Ahead of the Railroads

Wonderful as are the fortune-making possibilities of Western Canada, there is nothing on the map today that equals the opportunities at Fort Fraser, B. C.

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But the best of it is yet to come.

For within the summer, the Grand Trunk Pacific will have completed its lines through British Columbia, and with the coming of the railroad, realty values in Fort Fraser will multiply enormously.

Get in ahead of the railroad. Today YOU have the same chance in Fort Fraser that made fortunes for others in Edmonton, Prince Rupert, Calgary and other cities. For

## Fort Fraser

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Already it has a big, up-to-date hotel, a thriving bank, a drug store, a growing newspaper, a saw mill, and a number of busy stores. A \$3,000,000 corporation is already at work on the new water works and the electric plant that is to supply the city.

But there is unlimited opportunity for new business. Hotels, rooming houses, restaurants are wanted. Skilled labor, especially carpenters, masons and painters, will find a ready, high-priced market. For building operations will increase enormously with the coming of the Grand Trunk Pacific Lines.

And merchants and manufacturers will find a vast field, for the completion of the railroad through British Columbia will open up a tremendous area for settlement, much of which MUST draw on Fort Fraser for its supplies.

It is truly a wonderful opportunity for investors—a New City in a New Country of almost unlimited resources. In Calgary, in Edmonton, in Regina, in Prince Rupert, men have made fortunes, as lots bought at \$100 have risen in value to \$25,000 and upwards. And Fort Fraser offers like opportunities today. You can buy

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was checked, it would in time pervade the entire industry in the Jersey city.

The silk workers of Paterson are the most skilled in the United States and the employers thought that if there was anywhere in the country where this system could be successfully adopted it was in Paterson. They thought that their workers would stand for it. The workers themselves were not consulted, as the manufacturers afterward realized to their sorrow, when a general strike was called embracing the industry in all its branches and extending to all states where silk is manufactured.

At present no less than 50,000 silk workers are on strike in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York and Connecticut, including those in the preparatory processes, the "throwster" mills, dye houses, broad silk making in all grades, as well as in nearly all the ribbon mills.

In many respects this strike is hardly less significant than that at Lawrence. It involves nearly as many workers and the conditions are just as bad. But the Paterson revolt has attracted less public attention than did the woolen fight. This is due to several reasons.

In the first place, the manufacturers, through their control of outside newspapers, were able to bring about a general conspiracy of silence. The New York papers, for example, after the first few days in which they gave prominence to the strike, were warned through subtle sources that unless there was less publicity they would be made to suffer through loss of support and advertising. Then the Paterson strikers were fortunate in having among them several trained veterans in the labor movement, such as Adolph Lessig, Ewald Koettgen, and Louis Magnet, who had been members of the I. W. W. since 1906, and knew what to do towards putting the strike on an organized basis. For a time they were able to take care of themselves without relying

much on outside help. Besides, the authorities kept their hands off for a time, after their first fright in which they threw Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carlo Tresca and later Patrick Quinlan and Alex Scott, the Socialist editor, into jail. These organizers got on the job instantly and have done excellent work.

### The Lyons of America

Paterson is the Lyons of America. It practically has a monopoly in the making of the finer grades of silk in this country. It has 25,400 people engaged in the silk industry and in the manufacture of silk machinery and supplies. Therefore, when practically all these workers came out, the industry was tied up tight.

Fifty-six per cent of the Paterson silk workers are women and children and they have been among the most devoted and enthusiastic strikers.

As this is written, the strike has entered upon its seventh week and the demands of the workers have crystallized around a determination to have the eight-hour day. This will apply to all the workers involved, except the broad silk weavers whose principal demand, as stated, is the abolition of the grinding 3 and 4 loom system.

So greatly have wages been reduced in recent years that the weavers are now demanding the restoration of the 1894 price list which was imposed on them at the time.

With the improvements in machinery that have been made, this would be a great advantage to the ribbon weavers. The dye house workers are holding out for a minimum wage of \$12 a week. In other branches there is a general demand for a 25 per cent increase in wages.

Present wages, according to the manufacturers' figures, average \$9.60 a week. A general call at one of the mass meetings for pay envelopes brought out hundreds which showed the average wage is much lower than this and as all wages are determined by working periods, the actual

ALEXANDER SCOTT,  
Editor The Weekly Issue, Passaic.

yearly wage would bring average "earnings" down to \$6 or \$7 a week.

Paterson manufacturers have an absolute monopoly on the finer grades of silk, like brocades, that are made on the Jacquard loom, and it would be easy for them to raise prices to meet wage increases, but because of the cut-throat competition among them, silk is cheaper, on the whole, than it was 15 years ago. This reduction in price, needless to say, has been taken out of the flesh and blood of the workers.

### **Untrustified Industry**

The big capitalists have never tried to

driven into bankruptcy, which already has occurred to a number of them.

The manufacturers as a whole have used as an excuse for not raising wages the plea that they cannot afford it on account of Pennsylvania's competition. But this is untrue, because the Pennsylvania mills are controlled largely by the same interests that center in Paterson.

The Pennsylvania silk mills are situated generally in mining camps and industrial centers where the wages of the men have been so reduced that women and children have been compelled to seek employment

### **DYE WORKERS—GARCHEY DYE HOUSE.**

enter the silk trade, because it deals with a luxury. They are too busy securing their grip on the necessities of life, like food, clothing, steel, transportation, etc.

The Paterson workers, then, have not had to fight a concentrated trust, such as existed at Lawrence, but a gang of scattered employers, all jealous and fearful of each other. The strike undoubtedly would have ended much sooner had it not been for the desire of the richer manufacturers to see the smaller makers starved out and

in the mills. Ninety-one per cent of the workers in the Pennsylvania silk mills are women and children.

Wages in the Pennsylvania silk mills average much less than in New Jersey and it is a peculiar fact that the men get less than the women. The men get \$6.06 a week while the women are making \$7.01.

There are six prominent processes in the making of silk and they are usually done in different establishments. "Thowing" is largely done in Pennsylvania—reeling the

raw silk as it comes from the cocoon, etc. The dyeing is done in separate factories.

### The "Dynamiting" Process

It is at this point that the silk is "dynamited"—that is, loaded with adulterants to be later foisted on the gullible purchaser as extra fine goods. In the dye houses one pound of silk is often treated so that its weight is increased to 56 ounces! This is done by dipping the skein into a solution of which sugar, tannic acid, tin, lead, and iron are often components.

This adulteration, amounting to a direct steal, enhances the weight of the fabric but at the same time weakens the texture and destroys the life of the cloth. Silk so treated will crumble away while it stands in the wardrobe before it has been subjected to use.

One of the most alarming features of the strike to the manufacturers, was the publicity given this system of "dynamiting" or loading silk. In consequence there is a growing demand for a government stamp which will denote pure fabric similar to that which is supposed to guarantee pure food.

The work of the dyers is the most unhealthful and disagreeable in the industry and is almost the worst paid. The strike came as a welcome relief to them from day after day of filthy and monotonous toil. They work 13 hours on the night shift and 11 on the day side. They are compelled to stand in wet and soggy places, their hands are always submerged in chemicals which

discolors and burns their flesh and sometimes eats off the nails of their fingers.

### The Red Badge of Toil

In this connection it is worth while to relate an incident—one of the most dramatic of the strike. The Paterson bosses lost no time in injecting the "patriotic" issue, after the fashion of Lawrence, Little Falls and Akron. The red flag, they howled, stood for blood, murder and anarchy—the Star Spangled Banner must be upheld, etc., etc. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was on the platform at a big strike meeting one day explaining the significance of the red flag when a striking dyer sprang up from the middle of the audience crying:

"I know! Here is the red flag!"

And aloft he held his right hand—stained a permanent bloody crimson, gnarled from years of toil, and corroded by the scarlet dye which it was his business to put into the fabrics worn by the dainty lady of the capitalist class as well as by the fawning prostitute.

For an instant there was silence and then the hall was rent by cries from the husky throats as all realized this humble dyer indeed knew the meaning of the red badge of his class.

Ribbon weaving is largely done by men and women. In this department the bosses have developed a speeding up system with reductions in pay, overlooking no opportunity to introduce improved machinery. Thus they increase production, at the same time they lowered the pay, until the workers are now demanding a scale which 19 years ago was imposed upon them! That is, the weavers now ask a wage that prevailed two decades ago.

The significance of this demand makes it plain that in the evolution of industry and the introduction of new machinery the workers have obtained no benefit, while the bosses have reaped ever increasing profits.

Many children are employes in the silk industry, most of them being between the ages of 14 and 16. However, there are few violations of the child labor law, not because the manufacturers care anything about either the law or the children, but because the making of high grade silk requires the careful and efficient work that only adults can give. However, the Paterson capitalists have begun to set up plants in the southern states as well as in the min-

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

are the most numerous, with thousands of Russians, Poles, Hungarians and Armenians besides. Shoulder to shoulder they have stood, with a spirit and loyalty that nothing could break or weaken. For seven long weeks they have held out and in place of food many of them have simply taken up another link in their belts and drunk a glass of water. Some relief money has come in but not enough to help any except the most needy cases.

Incidents without number could be given to show the spirit of self sacrifice and devotion among the Paterson workers. [The jail has had no terrors for them, since accommodations there are hardly worse than in the "homes" they are compelled to live in. On occasions when the police have started wholesale arrests they have vied with each other in placing themselves in the hands of the "bulls."] One day when the police gathered in more than 200 of

them, they refused to walk to jail but demanded the patrol wagon. When the police pleaded that the patrol wagon would hold only a few at a time, they said they would wait! And [the patrol wagon the police were compelled to get, making trip after trip to the jail while the arrested strikers stood in a group and laughed and sang.]

The meetings we have held have been wonders. Day after day the strikers have crowded into Turn and Helvetia Halls with enthusiasm just as rampant as one the first day of the strike and on the Sundays when the Socialist city of Haledon is visited, at the invitation of Socialist Mayor William Brueckmann, for open air meetings, it has seemed as if the whole population of the northern part of New Jersey was present. To speak at such meetings is worth a whole lifetime of agitation.

STRIKE MEETING AT HALEDON, SUNDAY, MARCH 23. THIS VIEW SHOWS ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF THE CROWD.

#### CHIEF BIMSON AND HIS "BULLS" IN FRONT OF STRIKE HEADQUARTERS.

the mass of men, women and children to where Haywood and Lessig were walking in front. Motorcycle police had noted the general direction of the crowd and had rushed for the wagon, which was hooted and jeered by the strikers as it dashed directly for Haywood and Lessig.

Police Sergeant Ryan jumped out of the wagon, pointed at Haywood, saying, "You're under arrest!" and grabbed Lessig, at the same time shouting, "Get Tresca!" Carlo Tresca, however, had dropped behind. As the wagon dashed by on its way to Haywood, some friends seized Tresca and hurried him into the house of a friend from whence he smiled pleasantly at the police who came to seize him.

After Haywood and Lessig were under arrest, the police, in a frantic effort to drive back the crowd, met with one who refused to be hurried. This was Messari, who was arrested and later arraigned on the same charges as the two principal defendants, some of the police conveniently swearing he was with them, as the amended charge required three defendants to make it legal.

"Have you a warrant?" asked Haywood of the policemen who rode with him in the wagon.

"I have," answered one of them.

The three men were then thrown into the city jail, where Haywood was sub-

jected to every indignity and outrage that a man can be forced to suffer. Almost immediately after the gate of his cell was slammed shut the jailors encouraged visitors to peer in between the bars as though he were a wild beast. This rubber-necking continued until 10 o'clock at night, when Haywood was brought out of the cell and paraded before the platoon of policemen about to go on night duty.)

"Look at this man," said Police Captain O'Brien. "You may need to know him again."

The inspection over, Haywood was locked again in his cell, to be interviewed at 3 a. m. by the prosecutor of Bergen County and the county's detectives.)

Again at 5 a. m. he was pulled out of his cell for yet another inspection by Paterson police going on morning duty.)

(No formal charge had been preferred against him while he was thus treated as outrageously as though he had been convicted of some loathsome crime.)

(There was good reason for no charge having been made. A complaint had been filed by the police after the arrest, alleging unlawful assemblage, but between the arrest and the court proceedings in the morning following, it was discovered that on the charge of unlawful assemblage he could not be convicted by the recorder, who would

have had to accept bail. This, however, was not what the mill owners wanted, and the charge of "obstructing and interfering" was added. This charge could be heard before Recorder Carroll, who at the hearing found Haywood guilty of such obstructing and interfering. He was thereupon adjudged guilty of disorderly conduct and sentenced to six months at hard labor.) The sentence stands as proof of the personal hatred felt toward Haywood by the mill owners and the authorities, for (the recorder had no jurisdiction to sentence anybody to six months at hard labor, the sentence itself being utterly illegal.)

Lessig's conviction followed, and he was sentenced to six months without hard labor, while Messari was discharged.

(Haywood, who had been taken to the patrol wagon to be hurried to the county jail to begin his sentence, was brought back into the court room to face the charge of "unlawful assemblage." The motion of his attorneys to have the case dismissed for the reason that no offense had been mentioned in the complaint, was promptly overruled by Recorder Carroll, and Haywood was held in the sum of \$5,000 bail.) The same sum was fixed for Lessig, and Messari was paroled in the charge of his attorneys, no bail being fixed in his case.

A writ of certiorari was at once sued out for the disorderly conduct charge, and a writ of habeas corpus for the unlawful assemblage charge. Both writs were granted and bail furnished on the disorderly charge, and so far as the six months sentence was concerned both prisoners were released. X On the unlawful assemblage charge they refused to accept bail, demanding a hearing on the writ of habeas corpus for the purpose of establishing the rights of themselves and of the hun-

#### MASS MEETINGS DAILY—HAYWOOD SPEAKING.

dreds of strikers who had been arrested on similar complaints. The authorities depended for conviction upon a law of the vintage of the seventeenth century, passed in the reign of Charles II.)

For a week Haywood and Lessig lay in jail, awaiting a hearing on the writ of habeas corpus, while the strikers in monster mass meetings vowed not to return to the mills until Haywood and Lessig were released.

On Saturday, April 5, the hearing on the writ came before Supreme Court Justice

Minturn, who, after subjecting the state's witnesses to many painful questions, upon motion of Attorney Hunziker ordered the release of the prisoners, declaring they had been illegally arrested.)

In the course of the hearing Prosecutor Dunn protested, in support of the charge, that a crowd was following Haywood.

"Would you arrest me" asked the justice, "if a crowd was following me? These people wanted to see Haywood, and he cannot be held responsible for that."

"But there was a great deal of noise," urged the prosecutor.

"Do you arrest the Salvation Army, which always makes a noise?" countered Justice Minturn.

"Well, the prisoner was not going in the direction of his home, pleaded the prosecutor.

"Would I be arrested for walking toward Haledon because I do not live in that direction?" demanded Minturn.

Police Sergeant Ryan on the stand testified that people came to the windows and on their porches, and this was on Sunday. Judge Minturn in reply remarked they might have done the same on St. Patrick's Day!

So ended one of the most flagrant outrages upon the rights of the working class that American records contain. (It was a great victory for Haywood and Lessig and for the 25,000 strikers in whose behalf they were arrested.)

In addressing a mass meeting of upwards of 20,000 strikers next day in Haledon, Haywood said:

( "When Recorder Carroll sentenced me to six months at hard labor, he meant to sentence Paterson silk workers to ten hours' hard labor every day for the rest of their lives. He meant to sentence the weavers to the three and four loom system. He meant to sentence every worker to perpetual wage slavery. )

Photo by Courtesy of Andre Tridon, N. Y. City.

COMRADES HAYWOOD AND TRESKA SMOKING TURKISH PIPE WHILE BEING ENTERTAINED BY ARMENIAN STRIKERS.

Photograph  
by  
Paul Thompson

Touring Europe  
in  
1911 and '12

# MORGAN

By John K. Hildebrand

**I** ONCE met a man who was still agitated over his meeting with J. P. Morgan. He was a Chicago newspaper reporter, who was told by his editor not to come back to the office unless he had obtained an interview with the God Almighty of the United States.

The reporter knew better than to try to tackle Morgan in a hotel or any public place, so finding that the financier would arrive in Chicago from New York on a certain early morning train, the reporter was there to meet it. He learned from a trainman that the Morgan car was on a siding in the railroad yards and the king was just then having his breakfast. Watching his chance, the reporter eluded the usual railroad watchmen and, slipping out over the tracks, reached the Morgan car without being seen. Seeing a group

of men standing at the forward end, he approached the car from the rear and, finding the door open, he took his life in his hands, as it were, and walked boldly in.

Not a soul intercepted him, so he pushed his way in 'till he found himself face to face with the giant himself, who was seated at breakfast.

"Good morning, Mr. Morgan," said the reporter with a would-be ingratiating smile and removing his hat.

"Morning," said the financier, shortly. Awed by the stories he had heard of the ogre's fearful temper, the reporter was afraid to open his mouth, but he tried again.

"Beautiful morning, isn't it, Mr. Morgan?" he said.

"Umph!" replied the great man. The reporter tried again.

"Does your breakfast taste good, Mr. Morgan?"

"No!" exploded the financier.

"Wh-wh-what's the matter, Mr. Morgan?" asked the reporter, feeling as if he somehow were guilty.

"My grape fruit wasn't chilled!" roared the American overlord.

The reporter was so frightened by the news of this calamity that he murmured something that made no difference, and hastily crept out of the car, whence he fled in disorder.

The reporter swore all this happened as described, but whether it did or not, it sounds lifelike. People who often came in contact with the great man have told me that the man concerning whose demise the newspapers have printed so many columns of disgusting adulation recently, generally acted more like a spoiled child than a self-respecting adult.

But the United States shivered when he sneezed, because he controlled the economic resources of the country.

Note what Senator Root had to say at the memorial meeting held by the New York Chamber of Commerce:

"The scope of his enterprise gave him a relation to public affairs that was unexampled not only in our own country, but, I think, in any country. There were so many investors in so many enterprises whom his chivalric sense of honor led him to desire to protect that the financial condition of the country was a matter of immediate interest to him, and he took the place that the Government should have taken many and many a time. The faults of our financial system, made possible by the incapacity of lawmakers to

reconcile confidence and knowledge, he remedied from time to time as occasion arose by his own tremendous power; and that was government.

"What Mr. Morgan did in the settlement of the coal strike, what he did in the panic of 1907, was government as truly as the leadership of a great nation acquired by one commanding figure turns it into an army for conquest, for defense, is government."

Root here openly acknowledges what Socialists have contended for a long time—that the government of the United States has its seat not in Washington, but at the corner of Broad and Wall streets, New York, where Morgan's offices are.

Root's utterances confirm what revolutionists also have contended for so long—that government rests not on political, but ECONOMIC power.

In other words, to direct the country's government, one must first gain ECONOMIC power. Everything else follows thereafter. Control the means by which the country makes its living, and you have the country by the tail. You can direct its destinies as you see fit. And that is the lesson to be learned by the working class from Morgan's life and death.

I won't go into the methods by which Morgan made his money. Gustavus Myers has done that in his "Great American Fortunes," and all are familiar with Morgan's sale to the government, in the civil war, of condemned army rifles.

Suffice it to say that Morgan's body came home draped in the American flag.

odicals in various parts of the republic. Without doubt before long a Socialist Party of great importance will be established in Mexico, which will make a fine showing against the professional politicians and the bourgeoisie class, which, in this country, is especially cruel in its exploitation of the workers.

Further, the Socialists of Mexico sincerely desire a connecting link and an extension of co-operation to their Socialist brethren in the United States.

In March of last year the Socialist party of Mexico sent its first delegate to the Socialist Congress at Indianapolis.

The party has also translated and caused to be printed various booklets on Socialism published in the U. S. A., which it is using to good advantage in its propaganda work.

The party desires to get into closer relations with the comrades of the U. S. A., especially those comrades intending to visit Mexico City. They may write the secretary of its local, A. Santibáñez, 8a. Revillagigedo, No. 101 Mexico City, who will be pleased to give any information desired. Suffice it to say, that they carry with them their little "Red Card" of membership, so he may know that they are duly affiliated with the Socialist Party of the U. S. A.—A. S.—C. C. R.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

The above article was ready to be sent you some two weeks ago, but it has been delayed until now owing to the revolution. We believe it important to give you likewise a few words on the last horrible events occurring right here in the heart of this city, with a population of some 470,000 inhabitants.

Several thousand people, soldiers, civilians, men women and children and many horses were killed. Five thousand were wounded. Many fine houses were greatly damaged through cannon balls, and machine guns. Telegraph and telephone posts — and wires were torn down by cannon shots — a spectacle that even international diplomacy did not prevent. How long will the patience of nations still last before they send their diplomats home?

The murdering of soldiers and civilians has been endured by the people in this city for eleven days. Gustavo Madera was arrested on the 18th of February at noon time at a champagne banquet with some twenty friends in one of the principal streets in a cafe while the shooting and killing went on uninterruptedly. The same night he was executed at the capitol. The President and Vice-President were likewise shot to death a day or two later. We have now a new cabinet, consisting of well known persons, who promise to restore quiet and order out of the chaos in the least possible time.

utilities, state bank and state life and fire insurance department."

While the out-of-dateness of such a party is really deplorable, it promises to become the ruling party within a few years. God help us! Its ranks are fast filling with lawyers, parsons, doctors, shopkeepers and in fact opportunists of any and every "profession" who are unable to attain notoriety in the capitalist parties but who, through their oily tongued ways are able to fool the workers with promises of minimum wage, an eight-hour day, old-age pension, taxation of land values and numerous other long exploded fallacies.

When the four states of South Africa were unified in 1910, it was generally hoped that better times were in store for every one on the railway. But better times were slow in coming. Men hoped and waited impatiently. They excused delays by saying it must surely take some time to straighten things out and get the machinery of the union into proper working order.

At last the government made a move and in 1912 it appointed two commissions. One to inquire into and report with a view to rectifying the grievances of the railway employes. The other to inquire into and recommend a scheme whereby different classes of workmen could be placed into different ranks, together with a suggested scheme of pay, privileges, etc., to be accorded to each.

After sitting for months and taking volumes of evidence, the report of the Re-grading Commission has been published but the Grievance Commission's report has been held back. Now the object of a Grievance Commission being held to give the Re-grading Commission something to work on, viz., the actual grievances of the men, it would then come forward with new regulations which would entirely eliminate discontent.

Imagine the surprise of railway men when the Re-grading Commission's report came out and its recommendations were accepted without notice being taken of the Grievance Commission. And the new regulations are obnoxious in every respect! Meetings of protest have been held all over South Africa. Dark hints of a strike have been thrown out and the government has agreed to hold the regulations back for two months.

The standard rate of wages in the Transvaal amongst organized trades is \$4.80 per day, but on the railway, with the exception of these trade unionists, wages of artisans vary from \$2.40 to \$4.56. Under the new regulations, there is to be a maximum pay for every year's service. But no man can rise above \$4.56 per day. The pay of employes at present getting above the maximum will not be reduced.

This may seem very nice but the complexion is somewhat altered when we learn that the \$4.56 is to be divided into \$3.60 substantive pay and 96 cents allowance. This it is claimed is done in order to secure uniformity throughout South Africa which for the purpose of this proposition has been divided into four areas; coastal area where the substantive wage only will be paid and on which part of South Africa all wages will be based; area A, where the cost of living is highest on account of the distance from the coast and which necessitates an allowance of 96 cents a day; area B, where the cost of living is less than A but necessitates an allowance of 48 cents a day; area C, which comes next to the coast and men only need 24 cents a day extra.

Let us take for an example, a carriage and wagon examiner. According to new regulations he starts at \$2.04 and can rise to \$2.64 per day plus his 96 cents allowance. Now wagon examiners today get as much as \$3.84 and as the government has promised not to reduce wages this man will be regraded to \$2.88 and 96 cents per day. They will then send him off to the coast where he loses his 96 cents and is left with \$2.88. Then they send a man from the coast with say two years' service at \$2.16 to replace him giving the man the 96 cents allowance, bringing his pay up to \$3.12, which means a reduction of wages in the Transvaal. Later an excuse will be found for "firing" the man sent to the coast on account of his wages, and he will be replaced by a new man starting at the one year's service wage. Not improbable, is it?

But the trouble will arise when it comes to a trade unionist. A fitter's pay here is \$4.80, at the coast, \$3.36. The man here is regraded to \$3.84 plus 96 cents allowance and sent to the coast for \$3.84. A man comes from the coast at \$3.36 plus 96 cents equals \$4.20 against his union's standard

on satisfied because their "leaders" have told them everything is all right.

The railway men have been sold a (pup) before; but this time the pup has grown into a full-sized dog. Perhaps they will wake and when they do stir, the world will know that state ownership is not an ideal to waste time on. Then, let us hope, the labor parties of the world will sink into

the oblivion from which they should never have emerged, taking with them their pet scheme to state ownership, or, as an alternative, come out with us and declare for the real thing—Social ownership.

Oh, for a Bill Haywood to help us out; to show the workers of South Africa wherein lies the road to emancipation. We want no "leaders." We want *teachers*.

# Who Gets the Rake-Off?

By Ed Moore

**P**OLITICIANS are always accusing each other of making the workers poor and keeping them in poverty.

You will realize that these statements are usually only tricks to get your votes if you will think about them.

Stop and think over the way cloth is made today and the way it was made 100 years ago, or the old way of butchering cattle and the great packing houses we see today. Recall the old-fashioned shoe makers and the shoe factories now in existence. It is easy to see that no political party caused these changes in the way meat and shoes and cloth and clothes are made.

Not many years ago poor widows and the wives of day-laborers used to earn a little money by doing the washing for families who could afford to hire this work done. But the majority of our mothers did their own washings.

Now steam laundries have taken this work out of nearly every home and out of the hands of the poor women who formerly made a scanty living washing other people's clothes. Clothes are now washed in huge establishments. "Washing" is no longer a household duty but has become a separate branch of industry.

If a politician told you this change was brought about by the Republican or Democratic parties you would not believe him. And yet the big steam laundries have been the cause of new duties for the politicians. They afford an opening for a new political graft.

When a woman washes clothes in her own home, there is no need for a factory

law or factory inspector to set the time she may work, or consume in eating her lunch. It is none of his concern whether she is going to church on Sunday or washing other people's dirty clothes.

But as soon as steam laundries come into existence, the owners begin to hunt up the politicians and to urge them to pass laws that will keep out competitors from the laundry business. Whenever a rich corporation gets a good grip in a certain line of industry it always goes to the politicians to secure their help in keeping other people out.

And some of these politicians are sitting in comfortable offices, drawing big salaries for doing certain things. One of these duties is to see that the corporations comply with the labor laws and to inspect factories and see that the employers do not violate factory ordinances, or to see that buildings are fireproof.

It is a great deal easier holding down a political job of this kind than it is working in a coal mine or a mill or factory. The work is steadier and pays better.

No matter who he is, you will generally find that even the labor leader who secures each a job, develops weak eyes and dull ears when he comes to inspect a laundry whose owners have "seen" the governor or chief factory inspector.

And so you see that the way our dirty clothes are washed has something to do with politics. The factory inspector came into politics only when clothes began to be washed in steam laundries, and cattle were

never seen the factory to get their PROFITS, OR RAKE-OFF, out of the work of their employees.

And because the law permits employers to TAKE the value of your work, the employers are never satisfied with what they get. The stockholders are always planning tricks that will enable them to hire you for LOWER wages, or to force you to work longer hours so that their PROFITS will be higher.

On the other side the laundry workers—and all other intelligent workingmen and women, are always trying to get MORE of the value of their work. They see the boss collecting \$30 or \$40 for their laundry work and paying them \$2.00 and they strive for more wages.

And so the bosses and the workers are always fighting over the MONEY THE LAUNDRY WORKERS HAVE EARNED. There are disputes, strikes, lockouts and all kinds of "labor troubles."

In politics, the stockholders vote for the old or for reform parties because they know the parties will give them the LEGAL power to keep on DIVIDING up the money the laundry workers have earned washing dirty clothes. No matter how many clothes a working girl may wash and iron—if she turned out a thousand dollar's worth of work a day, the boss would collect the payment from the customers and TAKE ALL SHE HAD EARNED but her wages.

If a miner digs 40 tons of coal, the boss grabs it ALL and only gives the miner wages.

Think of it! The workers make everything, build everything. They dig the coal

and raise the wheat and bake the bread. They wash the dirty linen of the whole world.

And the master class grabs our product—the coal you dig, the cloth I weave, the baker's bread, the laundress' earnings. They claim our product for themselves. They only pay us a small part of what it is worth.

You will notice that it is not the workers who get rich but the laundry owners, the factory owners, the mill and mine owners. They take the things we make and pay us wages for making them. And the difference between the wages we get and the value of the things we make, or the work we do in the laundries, is what is making the millionaires today.

Whenever we strike or unite in any way to get more of the value of our products, we find the law in one form or another protecting the bosses in their robbery. The lawyers, judges, courts, policemen, the army and navy protect the master robbers just like some of the policemen protect the hold-up men while they are going through the pockets of their victims.

Socialism means that the workers shall no longer divide up the fruits of their labor with the stockholding shirkers.

The Socialist party is a party of the working class that means to secure control of the legal power so that the courts, the army and navy, the police and the law shall be used to abolish the wage system. Socialism will abolish POOR workingmen and women and RICH idlers. It will mean for those *who work*—comfort, and every good thing that there is in the world. It will banish poverty from the face of the earth!

brained, spindle-bodied males that Dr. Robins anticipates. One trembles to forecast the results. Possibly in the realm of biology I would turn my eyes backward to the Greek ideal of the human body rather than to a portrait of the future man as painted by Dr. Robins.

Within thirty years after the death of Charles Darwin, the scientists who followed in his footsteps had proved beyond question that the species are variable. As Kropotkin says, they had shown that:

"Every single characteristic of a plant or animal may be altered in the long run provided there is sufficient variation in all directions and an acute struggle for existence. All the wonderful adaptations of both plants and animals to their surroundings can be explained by natural selection which preserves those features that are useful to the organism in its struggle for life."

Darwin himself discovered that plants and animals actually altered in changed surroundings and said that such changes might lead to new varieties and races and eventually into new species.

Under pressure of new requirements, it has been found that organs begin to perform new functions. This new work modifies them so as to render them more capable of transforming these functions. The lower forms change most rapidly.

Wallace conducted interesting experiments with aquatic cave species that soon grew accustomed to living very well without light of any kind. Their eyes became useless after a prolonged stay in the darkness. Being susceptible to disease and sensitive to injury, he believed the eyes would soon disappear altogether.

Darwin found that totally blind cave rats gained a slight sense of perception to light after one month. He also gathered much interesting data to show how aquatics developed an amazing sense of touch and smell in an equally short time when placed into a new environment.

Vire took several crustaceans from various places from an underground river. They were characterized by total loss of the eye, the optical nerve and optical lobe but were capable of taking notice of luminous impressions. These he placed in tanks in the open light. After a few months stay in the light, black spots began to appear on the crustaceans. These grew

rapidly darker and darker and swift changes developed in the structure. And vice versa. In the dark caves, the light dwellers rapidly lost their distinctive features. Inhabitants of our ponds and ditches assumed some of the characteristics of cave-dwellers under changed environment.

When the scientist undertook the metamorphosis of the Axolotl into Amblystome, it was necessary to attain the transportation of its respiratory organs from external gills to internal lungs. Dumeril tried to provoke the metamorphosis by cutting off the gills. Mlle. de Chauvin succeeded, probably because she fed her animals well. All of the Axolotls she experimented upon took to the land life and were transformed into Amblystomes.

Dr. Prziham's experiments showed that living crabs divested of their hard, protecting shells, after one month in the water, began to exhibit shortening abdomens, the skin covering over which grew visibly tougher day by day.

A graduate student who was studying the natives of South America and their customs, recently discovered some of the tribes that had, a few generations before, taken to living in the mountains after much conflict with their neighbors.

In the rarefied atmosphere in which they lived, 10,000 feet above sea level, it was a physical impossibility for them to inhale enough oxygen through their nostrils to feed the lungs. All were forced to mouth breathing. Although very small in stature these natives have developed an enormous breadth of chest. The air is taken directly into the lungs. And the nostrils have already almost closed or dried up through lack of functioning.

It was said that upon descending to sea level, these tribes died off at an appalling rate from tuberculosis, or other lung diseases. No matter where they went, they continued to gulp the fever infested, germ or dirt laden air directly into the lungs.

We cannot agree with the gloomy prognosticators who feel that now that man has attained to a triumph over his environment, he will begin to deteriorate physically. Rather, is it our hope that he will, having at last, *in a measure*, become the master of his life, build it to evolve the greatest measures of joy and comfort to himself and to all mankind.

MEETING OF TIMBER WORKERS, NOVEMBER 13, 1912. J. W. KELLY, SPEAKER.

# With the Southern Timber Workers

By Covington Hall

ON NOVEMBER 11, 1912, thirteen hundred members of the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers, I. W. W., voted to go on strike unless the American Lumber Co. of Merryville, La., a subsidiary concern of the Santa Fe Railroad, withdrew its order discharging and blacklisting fifteen men who had appeared, as witnesses and otherwise, in the Grabow Trial. This order the Santa Fe refused to rescind and every last worker on the plant and in the woods walked out. The Santa Fe and the Southern Lumber Operators' Association then issued an order blacklisting the entire 1,300, which, however, they have not been able to make stick, as labor, on account of low wages, long hours, brutality of gunmen, smallpox, meningitis and other terrible conditions is scarce and hard to get.

Through November, December, January and up to February 16th, the strike was peacefully maintained, the UNION per-

suading the strikebreakers to leave as fast as the company brought them in. This did not suit the Santa Fe and, on that date, a mob of about 300, composed of businessmen, gunmen, scabs and other employes of the Santa Fe and American Lumber Co., all drunk on prohibition whiskey and styling themselves the "Good Citizens League of Merryville," was let loose on the defenseless Unionists and a reign of terror that has not yet ended was inaugurated.

This mob first seized Fellowworkers Charles Cline, local secretary, and Charles Deeney, who was in charge of the soup-kitchen, gave them a terrible beating and drove them out of town with orders not to return under penalty of death. Next it tore down the tent in which the soupkitchen was run, pulling it down on the heads of the women fellowworkers who were in it at the time, slashed it to pieces and shipped it, with part of the contents of the Union Hall, which the mob also raided, to De-

Ridder, La., about twenty miles away. Then the mob turned on all the most active Union men, slugging several badly, and ordered them to leave town under penalty of death. Men drifting into the town, who had never heard of the Union or the strike, were seized, thrown into jail, brought into "court" and given the option of going to work for the American Lumber Co. or being run out of town.

Be it said to the eternal honor of the hoboes, the last one of them chose the last option rather than scab on their fellow-workers, though many were frightfully misused by the Santa Fe's thugs for refusing. Persons on the ground at the time describe the saturnalia of violence as beyond words to picture. On the night of February 16th, they say, whiskey-crazed scabs and gunmen, black as well as white, were everywhere running amuck, clubbing and shoving pump guns and high-power rifles into the faces of every man and boy suspected of the crime of belonging to the Union or of sympathizing with it.

The leaders of this mob were: T. J. Coggins, special agent of the Santa Fe, one "Captain" Evans, "ex" of the notorious Texas Rangers, who claimed to represent "Judge" J. W. Terry of the Santa Fe in charge of the American Lumber Company, "Doctor" J. L. Knight, who had skinned the boys so fiercely that they refused to consider him when they had forced from the old manager the right to elect their physicians; B. "Hawk" Carroll, cockroach banker; Gilbert Hennigan, cockroach merchant; Jim Mitchell, shipping clerk, and Supt. Geo. Walden of the American Lumber Company; L. C. Bishop, cockroach merchant; W. P. Windham, postmaster of Merryville; W. E. Smith and "Captain" Johnson, scab-herders for the Santa Fe, and "Deputy Sheriffs" Fred Hamilton and Kinney Reid, Jr., so you can see that all "our best citizens" were arrayed against the "lawless I. W. W."

But, somehow or other, for some strange reason, the WORKERS stuck closer than ever to the blacklisted UNION and, so, at this writing, the mills are still down and likely to rot on their foundations unless the Santa Fe and the association come to terms. The part played by the women in

this struggle, no words can praise too highly. When the men were all deported, led by Fellow-worker Fredonia Stevenson, who has been ordered out of the town, they took up the battle and truly fought as their pioneer mothers fought in the days of old. Their splendid resistance has done more than all else to loco the "heroes" of the "Good Citizens' League," and to hold the mills down, and THEY will win the strike as sure as the sun goes down if their sisters on the outside will aid them with food and clothing. This surely is not much to ask and something ALL LABOR owes these warrior women who are holding at bay one of the most infamous enemies of UNIONISM on earth, the British Plunderbund called the Santa Fe Railroad System.

Why doesn't the Union appeal to the Governor of Louisiana for protection against all this lawlessness? He, like the Governor of West Virginia, is nothing but a "Reformer," a servile tool of the Lumber Trust. He has BEEN appealed to and he has not even backed, or offered to back Socialist Mayor Presley of DeRidder, La., the ONLY public officer in Louisiana who has ever tried to do his sworn duty, against the thugs of the Long-Bell Lumber Company. They demanded Presley's resignation because he refused to issue a proclamation prohibiting a mass meeting that had been called by the Union, and tried to run him out of town.

Here in Louisiana, the "state," as in West Virginia, beyond being a legalized gun-toter for the Lumber, Sugar, Cotton and Railroad Kings, is making this fight, at Merryville, a straight stand-up fight between the WORKERS and CAPITALISTS, between the INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY and the INDUSTRIAL DESPOTISM, with no quarter asked, expected or given.

ALL who love FREEDOM and the WORKING CLASS will, therefore, go to the aid of the striking lumber jacks at Merryville, who, men and women, white and colored, native born and foreign, are standing shoulder to shoulder, as WORKERS should, fighting for the overthrow of peonage, the building of a FREE SOUTH, doing all that in them lies, to advance the cause of the only class worth serving, the WORKING CLASS.

in detail should consult "Effective Speaking," by Arthur Edward Phillips (Chicago: The Newton Company).

Foremost of the various means of attaining one's end is reference to events within the listener's personal experience, or to matters accepted by him as facts. This allows him to use his own thinking powers, and he sees, feels, or does the thing desired of him of his own free will. Refer him to his own stock of knowledge, to his own experience—not to the speaker's. Use familiar illustrations; compare what is unknown to something known. If impressiveness is the end sought, compare your ideas with those ideas of the listener which have the necessary emotional significance. If you wish to convince a person that a thing of which he knows nothing exists, or must exist in the future, draw comparisons between it and something which he already accepts as a fact. If you are attempting to prove that Socialism is inevitable, for instance, do not base your argument on hazy, ethical grounds, trace the growth of the machine process and the development of the trust. Compare the unknown to the known, the unfelt to the felt, the unaccepted to the accepted.

When you desire *action*, consider what motives would be most apt to induce your listeners to act along the lines you wish. Phillips names seven impelling motives: *self-preservation*, surely a powerful appeal to the working class; *property*, the desire for ownership; *power*, political or industrial—the right to own and control one's life, or job; *reputation*, *affections*, *sentiments*, *tastes*.

Then, too, the speaker must not neglect the matter of interesting his audience. He must instruct, but he must also entertain. Things are interesting if they are vital to his central idea, or if they are unusual; while comparisons between things similar, and contrasts between those which are antagonistic, relieve a speech of tediousness. One cannot be too interesting to be effective, but one may overdo himself, if not careful, and become a comedian.

"Next in importance to the principle of Reference to Experience, and closely related to it, is the principle of cumulation.

point."\* By a succession of details and illustrations, it draws the attention of the audience again and again to the original statement till the required end is attained. These impressions all emphasize and add to the first, and each emphasizes and adds to those preceding. The speaker must have ready for instant use all the facts and details pertaining to his particular aim. He must know when to use and when not to use cumulative argument. Rightly used, it is invaluable, wrongly used, it wearies and disgusts.

Choose as the central idea one that appeals to you, which makes you eager to develop it. But do not attempt to cover every phase of the subject in one speech. "Socialism" as a subject would be impossible to handle. One must limit the scope of the central idea by a statement of his aim, as, "Socialism is the next step in Evolution" or "Socialism is a class movement." This gives the audience some idea of what is to come, of what the speaker will attempt to prove, and compels the speaker to confine himself within bounds. The fault of many speakers is their inability to choose a good subject, or to stick to it when chosen.

Having chosen his subject and stated his aim, the speaker must arrange his material in proper order to secure the greatest effect. It is not enough to simply "get it in." One statement or line of argument necessarily follows another. Each has its proper place in the speech; if put anywhere else it is out of place and ineffective. Use only the most necessary sub-ideas—those which add to and develop the central idea. Keep in mind constantly the final end sought. Use no superfluous words or phrases. You have no time for that. A sculptor uses no unnecessary strokes of his chisel in carving a statue; neither should the speaker in developing his central idea. Be concise. Weigh every bit of material to be used and judge as to whether or not it will carry your audience further along the line you wish them to travel.

Very many otherwise good speakers have neglected to study the art of successfully closing a speech. Laboriously they work up to a successful climax—and still keep on talking, explaining their climax. The

# The New Harvester

## Another "Job-Killer"

By Winden E. Frankweiler

ONE of the hardest jobs of the farm hands is the work on the threshing machine, which separate the grain from the straw. In the northern part of the United States and in Canada the threshing time falls in the early part of winter, while in the southern hemisphere, for instance, in Argentina, threshing begins in December, which is midsummer there.

The work itself is not so very fatiguing, the excessive long hours and bad conditions during the work and rest, strain and discourage the men.

Early in the morning, long before sunrise, the steam whistle announces the time to get up, while late in the evening, by moonshine or artificial light, the threshing machine is still busy. This is so because the threshing machine boss is paid by the weight of the separated grain, and "naturally" tries to get out of the men as much as possible. So it means 16 to 18 hours of practically continuous work either in bitter cold and deep snow or terrible heat, not to forget the dirt and dust produced by the separator, which the workers must inhale. On the top of that frequently come poor food and small pay, especially so in Argentina.

And where do you think the men sleep? A farmhand once asked the owner of a big ranch for a place to sleep and got the typical answer: "I own 25,000 acres of land so I hope you will be able to find a 'place to sleep.'" Only imagine a cold night with rain or snow and practically no shelter. In the southern part of the globe, where nature is more generous in this regard, the mosquitos rob the workers of the half of the much needed rest.

A new machine is coming now which will liberate the workers from that drudgery, but, alas, this machine, called "The Harvester," is not an exception to the rule.

These modern inventions do not make work easier; they take the job altogether.

To give a clear idea what this new machine means to farmhands and mechanics, I must explain the modern method of harvesting cereal.

A machine called the binder and which is pulled by horses, cuts the stalks of the wheat, etc., binds them into bundles, which it disposes alongside while moving over the field. These bundles are put together in small heaps of 4 or 5 and later on gathered to be piled up into large stacks.

There is also another system in use where the machine cuts only the ears of the cereal

#### THE OLD WAY—SEPARATING THE GRAIN FROM THE HUSK.

plants and deposits them into a wagon which, when loaded, will go at once to the stack.

To perform this work at least 5 to 6 men and 6 to 8 horses are necessary.

The grain remains on the stacks at least 2 weeks to "sweat" or until the thresher comes along.

As the threshing machine outfit consists of the grain separator proper, a steam or oil engine to drive it and also a water-wagon and a kitchenwagon, it is much too expensive for the average farmer to buy. So the whole combination together with the gang has to move from farm to farm.

The engine and the separator are placed alongside the stack and several men deposit the bundles or the ears upon a rolling gangway which conveys them into the separator. The grain falls then into bags on one side while the straw is thrown out on the other side of the separator.

To keep the threshing machine going, several horses and up to 15 or 20 men are needed.

Now let us see what the "Harvester" machine can do. It harvests in the real sense of the word; it cuts off the ears, separates and bags the grain in one single operation and, if necessary, one man alone can handle and attend the machine.

So a farmer owning 150 to 250 acres can easily bring in his wheat, oats or barley without any outside help. He drives the "Harvester," his 14 year old boy takes off the full bags and puts on empty ones, while his wife sews the bags.

As a harvester is not much more expensive than a binder, the average farmer

will be able to buy one. What are the farmhands going to do then?

There seems to be one disadvantage with the harvester, which is, that the grain has no chance to "sweat" on the stacks, and therefore turns out a little pale. The farmers get a trifle less for it, but the "Harvester" saves such a lot of labor (and therefore money)—which is the principle to-day,—that its success is assured.

For some reason the "Harvester" is not much in use yet in the United States, probably because the International Harvester Company does not yet control its patents. But in South America, and especially in the middle part of Argentina, the "Harvester" is rapidly coming into general use. Thousands of them are imported every year from Australia and Canada. On some big ranges as many as 100 of them are used. This shows that the machine in question undoubtedly has passed the experimental stage and has proved to be successful and satisfactory.

Not only the agricultural workers will be affected by the coming of this machine. As the manufacture of the "Harvester" takes about the same amount of work as the binder, so the machinists that build the many thousands of oil or steam engines and separators every year, will be out of a job.

Furthermore the great number of machinists and engineers who attend to the steam engines and separators during the threshing time will no more be needed.—What are they going to do?

We have here a typical example of how rapidly modern science works, and how

fast one labor-saving device eliminates the other. In many parts of Europe the old method of harvesting is still in use. They mow by hand with the scythe; make the bundles by hand; bring the bundles into the barn and finally thresh the grain out by hand with the flail, while in some parts of the new world the modern system of cutting with the binder and separating with powerful engines is already outdated.

Now, what good does a new machine like that do the workingman in our present system of society?

It will throw many thousands of laborers out of jobs and make them hunt for

new ones, which, of course, will effect a pressure upon wages. On the other hand a great number of men will be forced to leave the country in which they are born for other regions, to lead the hard life of a colonist.

How different it will be in the coming industrial democracy. The masses will celebrate and welcome every new invention that does the hard work for them, for they will cut down the working hours and so save more time to be used according to each individual's taste and inclination.

What are you going to do to bring this new state of things about?

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# Transport Workers Join I. W. W.

By Grover H. Perry

**T**HE Marine Firemen Oilers and Water Tenders' Union, with 25,000 members has voted to become a part of the Industrial Workers of the World. They come into the I. W. W. as trained fighters having behind them in their own organization a record for militant methods and tactics.

Their entrance as a part of the I. W. W. starts a new page in the history of the transportation industry. The Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders were the backbone of the transportation federation's great strike on the Atlantic seaboard a year ago. They have been pointed out by all who preach that the industrial union of the future would not come from the I. W. W., as a shining example. The influence they have with the other marine transportation organizations cannot be overestimated. Already the Atlantic coast union is waning. The International Seamen's Union lost its grip a year ago and today the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders are the dominant features in the marine transportation industry.

Their slogan of "100,000 members in 1913," has traveled the length of the Atlantic coast. In Galveston, Texas; New Orleans, La.; Savannah, Ga.; Charleston, S. C., organizations have been formed and all these locals are in keen rivalry with the New York local which has set the record-

breaking pace of 100 new members per day. The motto of "One Big Union for Marine Transportation Workers," has taken hold like wild-fire. Sailors, cooks, stevedores, engineers and firemen are joining together. By June, 1913, it is expected there will be a membership of at least 50,000. Before long the agitation will spread to the Pacific coast. The Great Lakes are ready now. They have tasted of the impotency of the American Federation and it is bitter in their mouths.

What does it all portend. Already rumblings are heard from the members of the railroad brotherhoods. Organization work on railroads is starting with construction gangs and here and there a shop local. The brotherhood members are only held because of the high insurance and benefit which they expect to collect from the union, while any practical insurance expert will tell you that because of this high insurance the railroad brotherhoods cannot hope to survive 20 years more.

The membership is waking up to this fact and before long we may expect breaks in the brotherhoods. Economic pressure and constructive agitation are working hand in hand.

The Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders have led the way. Soon others will follow. The Industrial Workers of the World looks like a winner.

# Washington State Convention

**T**HE State Convention of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington was held in Tacoma March 8th to 12th.

In making his report, Frans Bostrom, State Secretary said, in part, as follows:

The charge has been made that we cannot harmonize the factions of the party. . . . The charge is true. We have never attempted to carry water on both shoulders. In a true democracy the only right that can be conceded a minority without robbing the majority is to try to educate the majority into the views of the minority.

The following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, that the convention desires to point out that the factional fights that have rent our organization from time to time are merely a reflex of the diverse material interests that are admitted to our organization and that while we preach on the outside the class struggle as the basic foundation of the socialist movement, with the irresistible force of economic determinism as the moving factor, we have not sufficiently guarded against such forces working destruction within our organization; and be it further

Resolved, that as the socialist movement is admitted to be primarily a working class movement, founded upon the needs and necessities of the wage slave, with its final aim the overthrow and complete destruction of the capitalist wage system, we therefore urge upon our members the vital necessity of choosing our candidates, committeemen and other party officials wherever and whenever possible from among those members whose chief source of existence rests upon the sale of their labor power for wages, and that we further recommend and advise that those members of the socialist party who are not of and from the bona fide wage working class can aid greatly in the maintenance of harmony, peace and progress of the organization as well as testifying to real loyalty to the working class by allowing the real slaves of capital full freedom in planning the work of their own emancipation. The test of their socialism will be shown in their willingness to assist and support those plans without desiring to dominate or control the ideas and efforts of the working class members.

## Advocate Industrial Unionism.

The following resolution was concurred in by committee and convention:

Since the socialist movement is based upon the class struggle, which is the direct clash of interests between the working class which sells its labor power in order to live, and the

capitalist class which buys labor power from which to make profits, it is our concern to uphold the interests of the workers on the industrial field in the struggle. Therefore, since the economic power of the organized workers forms the basis for political power of the working class, it is our duty to assist the workers to organize industrially to overthrow capitalism.

This convention of the socialist party of Washington, wishes to go on record as most vigorously protesting against the means and methods used to effect the recall of Comrade William D. Haywood from the national executive committee of the socialist party.

He was recalled through the means of Sec. 6, Art. 2, of which we seriously question the validity, since the substitute section was adopted by the membership on the same referendum, but not put into the constitution. We question its utility since so many members of the party and party press advise working men and women to agitate socialism in the shop where they work, taking up some of the labor time they sell to the boss, thereby diminishing his profits, and constituting a form of sabotage.

On the recall referendum ballot a fake statement was printed against Haywood, in the words, "He had never advocated the use of the ballot by the workers." Also on the ballot was a ready-made conviction, that Haywood had violated Sec. 6, Art. 2, of the national constitution, when it was for the membership to decide that point.

Therefore, we object to the decision arrived at under unfair methods in effecting Haywood's recall.

## Politicians Quit.

It is deplorable to report that when the Washington politicians discovered that they could not control the convention, they left the party. Comrades write us that these seceders have said they would start a Socialist Party (dual union) of their own. Since their aim seems to be the grabbing of office, instead of educating the workers in the class struggle and scientific Socialism, we predict that their movement will be built upon the sands.

We want to congratulate the revolutionists in the party once more. Evolution and all the processes of industry are with you. You are building upon the firm foundation of the class struggle. Whether you are in a class-conscious state or not, stick to the party. The Progressives are going to take all the planks from under the Reformist's feet. The planks of real Socialism will remain.

# Sex Sterilization

By Eva Trew

**A**SEXUALIZATION or sterilization of undesirables is the recent cure-all advanced by science and millionaire philanthropists as a solution for what they believe to be the greatest menace to society, namely—the increasing number of defectives, incapables, and paupers.

In view of the fact that nine states\* have passed legislation permitting sterilization of criminals, defectives and the unfit, and the state of Indiana already has caused eight hundred such operations to be performed, it becomes a question of importance to the general public to determine

## Who Are the Unfit?

Dr. C. B. Davenport of the Carnegie Institute of Washington, an enthusiastic advocate of this remedy for eliminating human undesirables, finds "in the absence of the instinct for hoarding, the surliest signs of the outfit; those whose kind, for the good of society, should not be perpetuated." He adds further, "As man spread to the North, those strains that had not acquired the sense of property rights and tended to invade the stores of others, were always in danger of being cut off. Defectiveness is thus a persistent infantile condition of one or more characteristics."

Yet in view of modern machinery which has forced production to be accomplished *socially* by bringing together large armies of workers who must produce a commodity by their combined efforts, would not this instinct for individual hoarding prove anti-social?

The traits which marked man as "fit" in the early periods of existence when the earth rendered niggardly returns to the ignorant savage, could not with justice be applied to present day conditions when production goes forward on such a gigantic scale that we must seek foreign markets

for our surplus products, thus it would seem, rendering it a mark of the "unfit" to "invade the stores of others."

It is interesting to note that while the remedy to be applied is modern, the offense to be eradicated is as old as the history of private property,—namely, poverty and its effects.

In defining the class eligible for this operation there is a unanimity of opinion which harmonizes with the ancient definition of an idiot; i. e., "one who cannot count or number 20 pence or know what shall be for his profit or loss."

In a country that has so unmistakably enthroned the dollar above all else, it is scarcely to be wondered, if the distinguishing mark of imbecility is for one not to know "what shall be for his profit or loss"; or, that he shall be classed as "unfit" if he "has not developed the sense of property rights"; yet in view of the fact that our wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a few, with an increasing tendency to lessen the number in control, a corresponding increase in the number of property-less persons, or those who, seemingly "have not developed the sense of property rights," will be marked as candidates for sterilization.

In keeping with this, Mr. John Harris in the *Westminster Review*, July, 1912, classes among defectives, "feeble minded persons capable of earning their living under favorable circumstances, but incapable of competing with their fellows."

So alluring is the idea of thus neatly disposing of the marred victims of our social order, that Dr. Barr, in his work "Mental Defectives," advocates the sterilization of young children of the indigent classes. He says, "let asexualization be once legalized, not as a penalty for crime, but as a remedial measure preventing crime; let the practice once become common for young children immediately upon being adjudged defective, and the public mind will

\*The following states have passed the Sterilization law: Indiana, Washington, Colorado, Connecticut, Nevada, Iowa, New Jersey, New York and Oregon.

Both exhibit an utter disregard for the welfare of others. Both have developed the lust for acquisition without production, of appropriation without serviceability, and the success of both depends upon cupidity, cunning and rapacity.

Neither class is ashamed of profitable idleness. Both unscrupulously convert all goods to their own ends.

W. S. Lilly in the *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, August, 1912, in referring to criminals of this description (meaning presumably, those who have not acquired wealth), says, "they should be deported to some island and reduced to a state of industrial serfdom in which they should earn their own substance . . . a stern discipline should be enforced, the chief instruments of which would be the lash and reduced rations for the mutinous."

Barring the lash and reduced rations, this treatment of compelling both these classes to earn their substance in productive labor might result in much good to the large army of working men, women and children whose labor supports them both.

While we are far from being able to control biological laws, the distribution of wealth, however, is under the direct control of laws for which the national conscience is responsible.

The science of eugenics is, comparatively, a new study.

Since Sir Francis Galton first used the word in 1904 in connection with the improved culture of sweet peas, we have by no means covered the vast amount of research necessary to arrive at an exact means for bettering the human race.

There is in every state a law making it a criminal offense to prevent conception, and now that more legislation is being enacted to arbitrarily enforce sterilization on certain classes, there would seem to be little remaining in the way of free choice in the exercise of this important function. The obvious intent of the legislation enacted in favor of sterilization, is to eliminate from society those unwilling or unable to work—or to render profits to their employers.

Such is the claim, at least, of that branch of the working class known as the "Syndicalists," who openly advocate "race suicide" in order that they be the stronger to

fight for their industrial freedom, while at the same time cutting down the profit which the employer extorts from the children of the workers.\*

Havelock Ellis states in the *Yale Review*, April, 1911, that, "paupers tend to marry with other pauper families. By the sacrifice of the procreative power on the part of those who are unable to work in the world, we shall be able in a single generation largely to remove one of the most serious taints in our civilization. Besides the obvious burden in money and social machinery which the protection they need casts upon the community, they dilute the spiritual atmosphere of the community."

Yet paupers cannot absorb from society more than it takes to clothe, feed and house them, whereas, according to the recent investigation of the "money trust" it costs society \$25,000,000,000 to maintain 180 men who are administering the financial affairs of the nation—for their own special benefit.

The instinct of the strong to help the weak is cited by Darwin in "The Descent of Man," as the distinguishing trait of those birds and animals which proved best fitted to survive.

He says, "the fittest are not the physically strongest nor the cunningest, but those who learn to combine so as mutually to support each other, strong and weak alike."

That eminent English Sociologist, Carl Pierson, finds the children of drunkards to be not inferior in intelligence, stature or health to the children of sober parents; but from the standpoint of justice has not the drunkard as much right to transmit his dominant traits to society as has the avaricious lord of wealth to bequeath to posterity his rapacity and greed in the form of swollen fortunes?

Have we not more occasion to view with alarm Mrs. Harriman's expressed intention to found a school for the purpose of training young men in the business tactics of her late husband?

The group instinct of the working class is manifesting a social conscience diametrically opposed to the elimination of the weak by the strong, as is shown in the ethics of the labor unions to strike when an incompetent workman is discharged.

"One for all and all for one," is their motto.

\*From "Syndicalism," by E. C. Ford and Wm. Z. Foster:

# THE CLASS STRUGGLE

ON THE PICKET LINE.

## San Francisco Shoe Workers' Strike

By F. Monaco

THE strike at Frank & Hymans shoe factory, San Francisco, has demonstrated that even a craft strike may be effective, if carried on in an intelligently militant spirit. This firm occupies a small plant at Eighteenth and Bryant streets, employing eighty to one hundred hands, and paying to the operatives from \$14 to \$18 a week, the "apprentices" (boys and girls of 15 to 17) getting \$3.50 to \$5 a week.

Making a specialty of the higher grade of womens' footwear and having the only plant of this kind in the northern part of the state, this company has a constant market for all of their output. The firm has enjoyed a large degree of prosperity, and has not even the excuse of a dull market to justify their attempt to reduce the wages of their employes.

In the beginning of October, 1912, the employes were asked to accept a voluntary reduction of 25 per cent. This they unanimately refused to do. The firm name at this time changed from "The Kutz Shoe Company" to Frank & Hyman Shoe Company. It was necessary to obtain a new union stamp from the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union. Consequently the firm was afraid to reduce the scale until the union had granted the new stamp. Some of the shrewder members of the union

advocated withholding the new stamp until sufficient assurance was forthcoming that no attempt would be made to force a reduction in wages, and they convinced the union that this was the correct course to take.

The firm of Frank & Hyman then decided to eliminate the men who opposed them successfully in the union by forcing them to look for work in some other community. To this end it was announced that the factory would close down for three weeks "for the purpose of taking stock," and all the hands laid off for this period.

During the first week of January all these workers who had taken a determined position against the reduction of wages were notified to come to the factory and get their tools. The others were notified to return to work at a 25 per cent reduction. A meeting of the union was called, and a demand made that the old scale be paid, and that none of the old employes be discriminated against because of their activities in the Union. The demands were refused, and a strike called. Every last member of the workers stood with the Union. Over \$600.00 was spent by Frank & Hymans to bring scabs from St. Louis; most of whom deserted as soon as they landed in San Francisco. Although about twenty people "have

# Two Jurors Disappeared

By J. S. Biscay

THE trial of the first Little Falls striker Filippo Bocchini ended with his conviction despite the fact that he was proven innocent. The sentence of *one year and three months at hard labor* in the Auburn penitentiary was handed out by the judge.

The sheriffs, police and specials *knew* what the verdict would be. They discussed the conviction about the court the evening before it was announced by the jury. One of the jurors admitted that there was "something wrong."

A few days later we became convinced that the jury had been "jobbed." Ten stood for conviction from the beginning. Two wanted acquittal. In the midst of their deliberations a letter came to one of the jurors from ex-Sheriff Richards. He held a mortgage on the property of

*clubbing*. The chief later dragged workers into the Phoenix mill, handcuffed them and beat them until they lay in a pool of blood. Most of this was admitted by nearly half of the thugs on the witness stand. *One admitted helping two others beat up a prisoner in his cell with black-jacks*. The principal witnesses for the prosecution were specials, some of whom admitted criminal records, bosses, business men and city employes.

Benjamin J. Legere is next to be tried beginning April 23. The struggle here may take six months more. For this reason it is necessary that you on the outside co-operate with the *Little Falls Defense Committee* whose address is *Box 458, Little Falls, N. Y.*

Pressure must be brought upon Governor Sul-

far as this was due to Austrian conditions proper. The English miners and transport workers, by a *general strike*, did bring the capitalist class and the government of England to some terms, though the English workers had no *Socialist* representation in Parliament, not even an apology for such representation, or, rather, though the workers were as good as betrayed by the MacDonald aggregation of semi-Socialistic Lib. Labs (Liberal Laborites).

The proletariat of Austria *did force* universal suffrage through a general strike. Our proletarian comrades in Russia *did do* and accomplish something during the revolution. Our own wage slaves, mostly unorganized, with almost no political class consciousness, with no Socialist in Congress to represent them, *did get* some reforms, such as the 8-hour work day for those who are employed by the government directly or through contractors. Why, then, cannot a splendid delegation in the Reichstag and millions of Socialist votes *do* and why have they failed to do, something worth while, and secure for the German proletariat some radical economic reforms worth the having?

What is still more stupefyingly incomprehensible in the career of pure-and-simplism, is its utter sterility *in its own field*, its *political fiasco*. Not an iota was gained by the Social Democracy where we should have expected it to gain the most. Not a single *political* reform did our German pure-and-simplers wrest from the bourgeoisie and its government. In spite of the immense energy which our German comrades have displayed at political campaigns and in spite of their astonishingly brilliant victories at the polks, all their efforts and success have had absolutely no weight, no social pressure sufficient to force a single radical concession bearing on the political rights and powers of the workers. There are no prospects of doing away with the monstrous farce of the 3-class franchise for the Prussian Landtag. Nor is the case much better in the provincial Diets or legislative bodies outside of Prussia. There isn't the ghost of a chance that the Fatherland, short of general strike, will be redistricted in a more equitable way. As is well known, Germany is gerrymandered

in such an outrageous manner that Berlin with its millions of proletarians is entitled to no more mandates (seats) in the Reichstag than some sleepy burgh with a population of a few thousand. Reactionary farmers, traders, parsons and other dull caps of the pigmy middle class layers residing in such a mouldy and musty village or town are usually the herd following the local squire or some high government nabob and vote for reaction and repression.

But without radical electoral reform including redistriction or proportional representation and woman suffrage, there is not the remotest probability that the Social Democracy will capture the Reichstag or any of the Landtags without the help of a prolonged general strike.

The police clubs and all the other varieties of official thugdom known to our German comrades as the "Scharfmacher" seem to be unaware of the great Social Democratic victories at the polls and keep on clubbing workingmen, breaking up Socialist meetings and demonstrations in the good old style of the Pennsylvania Cossack constabulary.

As to woman suffrage, proportional representation, the initiative, referendum, and recall,—these are political boons that our German pure-and-simplers dare not even dream of.

The parliamentary end of the Social Democracy might have been less *sterile* if it had had the backing of a *militant* working class organized in *industrial unions* or in *one class union ready and trained for mass action* at least for *political ends*, ready for a general strike and other forms of displaying and testing mass energy and initiative, at least as well trained and ready as are the workers in Belgium, France, and, recently, in England. But, as we shall see below, the German workers were not in the past, nor are they yet ready in the above sense. And so pure-and-simplism in Germany proved disgracefully sterile, and must remain a mere abortion, as far as any tangible results in the field of economic and political reform are concerned. Thus the chances which the German proletariat has at the political end of the game are hopelessly slim and remote.

# Shall the Socialist Party Govern Itself?

By W. J. BELL

## A Reply to William English Walling

*"Any body opposing this reform, then, can do so only as a traitor to all the traditions of international Socialism and an opponent of democracy."*

**S**O SAYS William English Walling in April INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Quite accustomed to being thrust into the "traitor" class I will again submit to the manhandling. *I oppose.*

The reform proposed is the use of proportional representation *within* the Socialist Party, specifically in election of the National Executive Committee by the National Committee.

As representation never represents any more than democracy is practiced by the Democratic Party, I am positively opposed to proportional representation or any other misrepresentation.

However, we must, to a degree, treat with methods that are here.

So-called "representation" in government is here. Like the fads of fashion it is the order of the moment, and not merely government, but everything parliamentary is saturated with it. That is why we are to have a National Executive Committeeman "representing" a National Committeeman "representing" a State Committeeman "representing" a district "representing" a local "representing" the members, whereas a year ago there was only one step from the member to the N. E. C.

This being true, "proportional representation" in affairs of government of the whole people, where *divergent political parties* seek control, is the *nearest approach* yet made to that mirage "representation."

"Proportional representation" therefore should be sought in general government.

But the identical reasons that demand proportional representation in general government condemn its use in the Socialist party. In fact it can never be used in the Socialist party.

It could be tried but to breed confusion.

Proportional representation acknowledges and demands the existence of divergent

factions within the body that uses it. If they do not already exist it will create them. That is its nature and function.

Instead of seeking the causes of unnecessary factions and removing them you would make factions a permanence by a device to whip them into existence.

Factions known as political parties have basic fundamental differences.

There are no basic fundamental differences in the Socialist party. Such differences as we have are effervescent and exaggerated for political and ambitious reasons. They are mostly created, and if treated normally would be found to be only slight differences of opinion.

Suppose we were to adopt "proportional representation" in "adjusting" (?) our relations over our "stupendous" questions. What would be the name of the "factions" today and what would be the new alignment tomorrow? Impossible vs. opportunist? Scientific vs. Utopian? Reformist vs. Revolutionist? Politicians vs. Anarchists? Simpleism vs. Industrialism? Red vs. Yellow? Black vs. White? or what not?

What would be the *issue* today, and what paramount tomorrow? A principle or a tactic? The worker robbed at point of production vs. worker robbed at every turn? All land vs. unused land? Use of restored land for homes, now vs. non use pending collectivity? Political Action vs. Direct Action? Sabotage vs. Sabotage? Bill stole vs. Bill stole not? He said "damit" vs. he said "drat it?" et al., et al., ad. lib.

If you succeeded in electing party proportional "representatives" of two factions of today on one issue how soon would you have to realign other factions on other issues? Other factionlets on other "issuelets" and other little "fightlets?" You are breeding a pestilence. I tell you, it is all

chaff. Blow it away. I tell you here is the now well known "secret" cause of abnormally developing mere differences of opinion into ferocious dissension, attack and slander instead of *normal and sane discussion*.

*There are places of great power, prestige and emolument in the Socialist Party, ever growing more powerful and ever more remunerative.*

The member *seeking* these places and having them not and the plain member who only *pays the bills*, seeing unmistakable abuses of power, lavish wastefulness of funds, continual and speedy deprivation of the members of the machinery of democracy, cannot speak with patience but must needs *vent his ire, suspicion and contempt*.

The member *filling* these places, fearful of losing his hold, jealous of any rising opponents who endanger his power, prestige or perquisites, cannot speak with sanity or act with openness. *He builds his fences, tightens his grip. Further encroaches on the democracy of the members; creates false issues; makes false charges and even grossly slanders the menacers of his power.* And there you are. There is your full fledged row.

Very plainly then the CAUSE OF THE RANCOR AND DISSENSION IS THE EXISTENCE OF THE PLACES OF POWER, unless you choose to lay it to "human nature."

As you do not propose to await the transformation of human nature YOU MUST REMOVE THE PLACES OF POWER from within the party or continue to suffer bitter dissension and inevitable dissolution.

In the use of proportional representation outside the party and in suggestions for the direction of elected officials, Comrade Walling is breaking a fertile field, though his suggestions are tinged with that spirit of austere domination that will never successfully control elected officials, but will rather induce retaliation from them.

Neither will his proposition of a centralized "representative" body to dictate in the name of the "whole party" over the actions of a representative avail, further than to aid and suggest.

It may do in "Deutschland" where coercion and submission is the habit, and whose entire territory may be confined to

their rigorous rules and commands he could snap his fingers in their faces, go back to his local constituency, be re-elected and make faces at them and they would have no legal recourse they could enforce against him.

*The forces that will keep the party and its elected representatives in a straight revolutionary course are these, and these only.*

EDUCATION by the press thoroughly and without frenzy discussing all principles and tactics.

AN AWAKENED MEMBERSHIP in permanent possession of every instrument of democracy—direct election, direct legislation, *with the initiative nowhere but with the membership*, likewise with the recall and referendum, and with *all centralized heads eliminated*.

A thoroughly "awakened membership" will never be had until it has been thoroughly bumped into consciousness by repeated betrayals by its elected "representatives."

Whenever that occurs he will earnestly try to represent them and will share with them his salary. Until then he is likely to bump them.

Any effort to intimidate, control or discipline him before they awake will be a fizzle.

The program of decentralization does not, as imagined by Comrade Walling, "purpose to afford some representation to minorities." It purposes to temper the "discussions" between minorities and majorities by removing that incentive to viciousness in discussion — centralized power.

If the method by which we elected members to the International Congress is "proportional representation" I am, of course, in favor of it, but I do not understand the preferential ballot to be proportional representation.

"The principle of geographical autonomy" is *not* "opposed to the principle of industrial autonomy," though it differs in units and therefore in efficiency.

The geographical units are, however, imposed upon us, and we must adhere to them until we are able to change political units to parallel the industrial units.

Both political decentralization and in-

complete about-face. If the three-year term is introduced it will prove clear that the French government must be placed beside that of Germany as a devotee of stupid militarism. French intelligence, French idealism, French democracy cannot stand against the demands of modern capitalism.

The reason for the identical activities of the two great powers of continental Europe becomes clear the moment one considers the effect of the Balkan war on Germany. The victory of the allies over Turkey will mean the formation of a great Slavic power. To be sure the exact form of this power cannot at present be foreseen; perhaps it will be merely a close alliance of Bulgaria, Servia and the smaller Balkan powers; perhaps it will be a single new state. In any case, however, the Slavs of southeastern Europe will have a governmental representative among the powers approximating their numerical and economical importance. If this new nation is able to secure a port on the Adriatic and the other transportation facilities which it will need in the course of its development, it will bring about a complete change in the distribution of power among the governments of Europe. There must be a new "balance."

The attitude of the great powers toward the future Slavic empire is sufficiently indicated by recent events. At the time of writing (April 10), eight war vessels, three of Austria, two of Italy, one each of Germany, England and France, have begun the blockade of a port on the coast of Montenegro. Nothing could better demonstrate how false have been the efforts to stop the war. What the powers have wished was not peace, but the cessation of the series of victories achieved by the allied armies. It was necessary to stop before the allies got what they wanted and thus made their future secure. To the same end the great powers, recently so bent upon bringing about peace, are willing now to begin a war in comparison to which the original conflict will appear but as a preliminary skirmish. The Balkan states wish to go on till they have taken Scutari and made secure for themselves access to the Adriatic. This Austria is bound to stop at all costs.

advance is already a fact. Servia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, etc., taken together, will form a power quite comparable eventually with Austria or Germany. And racially and linguistically it will be quite separate from all the other great nations except Russia. By giving the millions of Slavs within the Austrian empire a government outside of Austria to look to for leadership, it will, by its mere existence, endanger the integrity of Austria. This in itself constitutes a threat to the power of the German race. Moreover, by taking over great stretches of territory in which the German government and German capitalists were gaining more and more power, the new Slavic empire will definitely limit German influence in the near-east. Added to all this is the fact that the existence of the new governmental unit vastly increases the influence of Russia.

So Germany is madly increasing her military, naval and aerial forces, and France feels compelled to follow suit.

In Germany there is determined opposition on the part of numerous sections of the population. For years the German government has practically been bankrupt. When, two years ago, the military budget had increased until there was a regular deficit of \$100,000,000, an income tax proposal was defeated and the government was forced to place new taxes on many of the necessities of life. It was because of the unpopularity of these taxes that the Social Democrats made such tremendous gains last year. But the deficit has never been made up. The German government is not now paying its way. The German people are not wealthy. With a population more than a third greater than that of France their wealth is counted at several billions less. The cost of living has reached the uttermost limit. And yet the government, crazed at the thought of losing its place among the powers, proposes these new expenditures.

The necessary money is to be found by means of a graduated income tax. The law which the government intends to introduce will provide for a tax of a half per cent on incomes of \$2,500 and one of two per cent on estates producing an income of \$12,500 or more. When a similar

Apparently they are as much opposed as ever. Their representatives are all for increased military equipment, but when it comes to sharing the expense, they are very modest indeed. And further indirect taxation seems simply out of the question. No wonder the opposition to the government is vigorous. The Socialists are not by any means the only ones to rise in protest. The masses of the people are beginning to see whither they are being led by the present regime of insane militarism.

In France the situation is somewhat different. Travelers returning from overseas report that all the old chauvinism of the French people is being re-aroused for the use of the present government. The minds of the people have been fired by the reports of the war, and especially by the talk of increase of armaments in Germany. So the old talk about the disgrace of 1870 has been revived and no doubt many silly people in Paris dream of retaking Alsace and Lorraine. But the folly of the French is not by any means so widespread as the press dispatches would lead one to believe. L'Humanité publishes reports from all over France which go to show that the organized working-class stands where it has always stood with regard to this matter. Gigantic assemblages of union men everywhere have declared against the three-year service act. Just outside of Paris there took place on March 16, a mass meeting participated in by over 150,000 workers. Numerous companies of soldiers in the various barracks have passed resolutions of protest. It is certainly true that for the moment France seemed to have gone army-and-navy mad, but every day the steady opposition of the working-class is gaining in power. Jules Gussre dares the government to put its proposal to the test of a referendum, expressing perfect confidence that it would be rejected.

On their part the Socialist group in parliament have introduced Jaures' plan for a national militia. This plan, as is well known, provides for a democratically organized militia, not living in barracks, and to be used only in cases of foreign invasion. The present writer has no faith in any sort of military organization. But there is no doubt of the fact that the proposal of Jaures has certain practical advan-

# This Washer Must Pay for Itself.

**A** MAN tried to sell me a horse once. He said it was a fine horse and had nothing the matter with it. I wanted a fine horse. But, I didn't know anything about horses much. And I didn't know the man very well either.

So I told him I wanted to try the horse for a month. He said "All right, but pay me first, and I'll give you back your money if the horse isn't all right."

Well, I didn't like that. I was afraid the horse wasn't "all right" and that I might have to whistle for my money if I once parted with it. So I didn't buy the horse although I wanted it badly. Now this ~~se~~ me thinking.

You see I make Washing Machines—the "1900 Gravity" washer.

And I said to myself, lots of people may think about my Washing Machine as I thought about the horse, and about the man who owned it.

But I'd never know, because they wouldn't write and tell me. You see I sell my Washing Machines by mail. I have sold over half a million that way.

So, thought I, it is only fair enough to let people try my Washing Machines for a month, before they pay for them, just as I wanted to try the horse.

Now, I know what our "1900 Gravity" Washer will do. I know it will wash the clothes, without wearing or tearing them, in less than half the time they can be washed by hand or by any other machine.

I know it will wash a tub full of very dirty clothes in Six minutes. I know no other machine ever invented can do that, without wearing out the clothes.

Our "1900 Gravity" Washer does the work so easy that a child can run it almost as well as a strong woman, and it don't wear the clothes, fray the edges nor break buttons the way all other machines do.

It just drives soapy water clear through the fibres of the clothes like a force pump might.

So, said I to myself, I will do with my "1900 Gravity" Washer what I wanted the man to do with the horse, only I won't wait for people to ask me. I'll offer first, and I'll make good the offer every time.

Let me send you a "1900 Gravity" Washer on a month's free trial. I'll pay the freight out of my own pocket, and if you don't want the machine after you've used it a month, I'll take it back and pay the freight, too. Surely that is fair enough, isn't it?

Doesn't it prove that the "1900 Gravity" Washer must be all that I say it is?

And you can pay me out of what it saves for you. It will save its whole cost in a few months, in wear and tear on the clothes alone. And then it will save 50 cents to 75 cents a week over that in washwoman's wages. If you keep the machine after the month's trial, I'll let you pay for it out of what it saves you. If it saves you 60 cents a week, send me 50 cents a week 'till paid for. I'll take that cheerfully, and I'll wait for my money until the machine itself earns the balance.

Drop me a line today, and let me send you a book about the "1900 Gravity" Washer that washes clothes in 6 minutes.

Address me this way—H. L. Barker, 1036 Court Street, Binghamton, N. Y. If you live in Canada, address 1900 Washer Co., 357 Yonge St., Toronto, Ont.

tages at the present time. The need of protection against a possible foreign enemy is made the excuse for every military burden. If the Socialists can show that it is possible to provide for defense without maintaining a standing army, this argument will be likely to count for more than any other with a majority of the French people.

The following resolution has been adopted by the executive committee of Socialists' parties of the two countries involved in this great struggle for supremacy in preparedness for war: "The Socialists of France and of Germany protest unanimously against the endless expenditures for armaments, which exhaust the nations, force them to neglect the most important activities of civilization, heighten their mutual distrust, and, instead of insuring peace, induce conflicts which lead to universal catastrophe and

end in misery and death for the working-class.

"The Socialists of the two countries have a right to regard themselves as the interpreters of the two nations when they affirm that the masses of both by a large majority, desire peace and hold war in horror. It is the ruling classes on both sides of the frontier which, instead of allaying national prejudices, provoke them artificially and thus turn the two peoples from their efforts in the direction of civilization and popular emancipation.

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Statement of the Ownership, Management, etc., of the International Socialist Review, published monthly at Chicago, Ill., required by the Act of August, 24, 1912.

Note—This statement is to be made in duplicate, both copies to be delivered by the publisher to the postmaster, who will send one copy to the Third Assistant Postmaster General (Division of Classification), Washington, D. C., and retain the other in the files of the post office.

Editor, Charles H. Kerr, 17 W. Ontario St., Chicago, Ill. Managing Editor, Mary E. Marcy, 1321 Dearborn Ave., Chicago, Ill. Business Manager, Leslie H. Marcy, 1321 Dearborn Ave., Chicago, Ill. Publisher, Charles H. Kerr & Company, Incorporated, 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago, Ill.

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Charles H. Kerr, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of March, 1913.

(Seal)

Marcus Hitch, Notary Public.

(My commission expires October 5, 1916.)

# NEWS AND VIEWS

Comrade Mary Kules, who has been speaking all over the west and southwest for the Socialist party, is dotting the landscape everywhere she goes with the finest kind of Socialist literature. Comrade Green of Texas, writing to another comrade, says: "She certainly made good in Texas. We wanted to keep her longer." All the others who have heard her speak are enthusiastic about her. It is not often that we hear of a woman comrade who can make good everywhere but Comrade Kules is one of the exceptions. We understand that she expects to take an European trip in a few weeks and to put THE REVIEW into every spot on the map along her way.

**Let's Buy 'Em.** Coming from Milwaukee to Chicago yesterday, I observed that the recent storms had blown down Western Union Telegraph poles for a distance of 16 miles. Most of them were rotten at the ground line, and those that were not were carried down by the added weight. This is a part of the rotted, robbed and depreciated Telegraph System that Hitchcock, the late Postmaster General, recommended that the Federal Government BUY. Similarly, it was our one and only "late" Congressman Berger, as his last act of "statesmanship"—proposed that the Government BUY the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, the ties of which are so rotten that a favorite pastime in Connecticut is a game called "Pulling the Spikes," played by using the thumb and forefinger, the contestant pulling the most spikes in a given time winning an accident policy, payable after death. Let us elect a lot of Socialist congressmen pledged to advocate BUYING every broken-down capitalist wreck. O tempora! O Mores!! O hell!!!!—N. P. R.

**Local Schuylkill, Lost Creek, Pa.—Comrades:** Find enclosed money order for \$1.00 for 20 Reviews. At the last branch meeting a motion was passed that we get 20 copies each month until we require an increase. The opinion of the comrades of the branch is that the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, the FIGHTING MAGAZINE of the working class is just the thing needed to make sound socialists. Yours for the Victory,

Frank Possessky.

**From Fairfield, Iowa.—**I have sure found the way to inoculate the slaves with Socialism. THE REVIEW does it. That's all.—J. Jay Hisel.

**From Utica, Ohio.—**Enclosed find \$3 for

## COMRADE MARY KULES.

**From Seattle, Wash.—**Enclosed find check for \$25 for 500 March REVIEWS. Please send 500 April issue. Ship them early. Our state convention just ended, was a "red one." Pest-house Socialists are trying to organize yellow party. The Capitalist Press claims a big split. 'Tis false—only few preachers and lawyers quit—working class more united than ever. If the politicians can't do as they like, they won't play. The Socialist party in this state is so big and healthy no politician has a chance. They just can't stay any longer, hence they have decided to organize under the yellow flag. The workers retain the red, so let them go ahead, these politicians. Their yellow flag will frighten every worker and warn him against the pest-house of politicians and preachers. Yours for more Red Socialists, Millard Price.

**From Santa Cruz, Cal.—**Dear Comrades: Enclosed find money order for \$1 for renewal to the "Fighting Magazine." THE INTERNA-

**Our Haledon Mayor.**—When the authorities in Paterson, N. J., refused to permit the strikers and the I. W. W. organizers there to picket or to hold open-air meetings, when the police started their crusade of brutality, Comrade William Brueckmann, the Socialist mayor of Haledon, N. J., which is only five miles from Paterson, invited the 30,000 strikers to come over to his city and celebrate and hold their meetings. The Paterson authorities sent detectives to cause trouble, but the Socialist mayor armed the Socialist sheriff with warrants for their arrest and all the trouble-makers, hired by the capitalists, were driven from the city. *The Weekly Issue*, edited by Comrade Alexander Scott, at Passaic, has been an eye-opener to everyone in the vicinity in showing up the mill-owners and backing up the strikers. We want to call the attention of every local in the Socialist party to the splendid, practical aid these comrades and hundreds of others in the Socialist party have given in this crisis. These are practical things achieved by Socialists in office that we can never forget.

**News From Dayton.**—The Workers' Reading Club, a band of active Reds in Dayton, write that little was destroyed in their club room by the flood. Comrade Evans writes that as far as he can learn all the comrades are safe, but that the club building will not be habitable for probably six weeks. It is good to know that our friends escaped in the Dayton disaster.

**Edmonton, Alta., Canada.**—Comrade McQuoid sent in \$80 on April 1 for a stock of Socialist classics. They are building on the rocks of knowledge in Edmonton. Congratulations to the comrades there.

**New Mexico Helps Catholics.**—We are in receipt of word from comrades in New Mexico telling us that last year the House of Representatives and the Senate of New Mexico appropriated \$60,000 to Catholic institutions. The state lacked \$150,000 of meeting expenses, but again this year they are donating a large sum to the church. It looks as though the Catholic church had its foot on the throat of New Mexico.

**The Best Propaganda Book.**—Comrade Tinkle of Wyoming writes: Send five more "Introduction to Socialism." It is the best little book I know of to start a non-Socialist thinking right.

**From Philadelphia.**—Like the white plume of Navarrrre, THE REVIEW cheers us all when standard bearer after standard bearer falls in the fight, for it waves fearlessly in the forefront of all our battles. Isn't there some way to organize an INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW army? I owe to the Kerr Publishing Company a debt of gratitude for the books on scientific Socialism that cleared the rubbish of capitalism from my brain. I want to help to widen its field.—Ed Moore.



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ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN AND HAYWOOD LEADING CHILDREN TO CITY HALL, PATERSON. THE MAYOR HAD PROMISED TO TAKE CARE OF STRIKERS' CHILDREN, BUT FAILED TO SHOW UP AT THE MEETING.

the strikers have been thrown the cells are narrow, with two bunks, one above the other. The ventilation is bad and the sanitation worse. The food is on a par with the usual prison fare.

Before being transferred to this county jail, the prisoners are, as a rule, compelled to spend a night in the city jail before appearing before Recorder Carroll's court. The conditions that have been imposed on the strikers in the city jail are beyond description, reminding one of accounts of the hell-holes of Russia. Here seven and eight men have been crowded into a single cell intended to be occupied by one.

No bedding of any kind is provided and no food is furnished. One group of strikers reported they were held for nineteen hours without even water.

In spite of being subjected to such indignities, the strikers are no sooner released than they go back on the picket line, there to face the assassins, detectives and thugs employed by the manufacturers. They have not been backward about firing their guns into crowds of strikers, as was shown by the case of Valentino Modestino, who was killed by two detectives who aimed at the strikers.

Modestino was on the porch of his

position of the strikers and the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World.

### 15,000 Cheer for I. W. W.

When organizers of the I. W. W. appeared in the hall, the 15,000 people present went wild. For minute after minute they yelled and cheered with ever-increasing volume. The floor and gallery was a waving forest of the red membership books of the I. W. W. held aloft by what seemed to be countless thousands. After a time Organizer Ewald W. Koettgen of the I. W. W., appeared on the platform and announced that the I. W. W. speakers would not be allowed to present their side. Or rather, he intended to announce this, but he got no further than "I. W. W."—when the audience leaped to its feet, and for perhaps fifteen minutes drowned every utterance with frantic cheers. Koettgen at last managed to make himself heard and said: "Let's all go home." As one man the audience arose and began to file out. As these departed thousands on the outside who had not been able to enter, rushed in and soon the armory was again filled. Those who left went to their own halls where they greeted every utterance of their speakers with roars of applause.

For an hour and three-quarters Golden and Mrs. Conboy tried to speak, only to be drowned down by the unceasing cheers that the audience sent up for the I. W. W. In desperation Mrs. Conboy tried the appeal-to-home-mother-and-patriotism stunt and seizing an American flag, waved it from the stage, which act was greeted by another outburst of derisive cheers. When Golden finally made himself heard about 300 persons stayed to listen, the hall having been cleared by police clubs.

It was the funeral of the A. F. of L., so far as Paterson was concerned. It was remarked afterward that it was indeed fitting and appropriate that the A. F. of L. should choose an armory, the training quarters of the bayonet-carrying murderers of the capitalist class, as its own burying place.

### Still Unbeaten.

The manufacturers could not get it through their heads that this armory meeting was a real expression of the sentiments of the strikers. They declared the workers had been kept out by threats and

intimidation. They requested conferences with shop committees which were granted. The bosses asked that a secret ballot be taken, believing the strikers would all vote to go back to work. This ballot was taken as requested and to the amazement of the manufacturers, the strikers voted overwhelmingly to remain out until their demands were granted.

The workers had already passed an eight-hour law in their mass meetings and this law they declared the manufacturers must obey before there could be any talk of settlement. The bosses were informed this part of the controversy already had been settled by the workers who have declared unanimously they will not work more than eight hours. If the workers are loyal to themselves this law is court-decision-proof, because there is no force that the boss can muster that can compel them to sell more than eight hours of their labor in any one day.

International labor day was celebrated by a mighty parade of Socialists and Industrial Workers of the World, who, with children in red dresses, women with red sashes, and men with red buttons, marched to Slate Mountain, where they picnicked and had dancing and singing all day long.

The women have been an enormous factor in the Paterson strike. Each meeting for them has been attended by bigger and bigger crowds. They are becoming deeply interested in the questions of the hour that are confronting women and are rapidly developing the sentiments that go to make up the great feminist movement of the world.

With them it is not a question of equal suffrage but of economic freedom. The women are ready to assume their share of the responsibility, on the picket line, in jail, even to the extent of sending their children away. Hundreds of children already have found good homes with their "strike parents" in New York.

### The Mother in Jail.

Among the strikers gathered in by the police was a woman with a nursing baby. She was fined \$10 and costs with the alternative of 20 days in jail. She was locked up, but the baby was not allowed to go with her. In twenty-four hours the mother's breasts were filled to bursting,

**T**HE Socialists of Paterson have from the beginning of the silk strike taken an active part and have performed real service for the strikers. How could they help doing so? The fight of the 25,000 silk workers, organized in the I. W. W., was their fight. A majority of the party members are themselves silk workers.

When the general strike was called, the Socialists rolled up their sleeves, ready for any emergency. No question arose as to whether the workers were being organized by the I. W. W., the A. F. of L., or S. L. P. That did not matter then.

Had the strike been called by the A. F. of L.—much as some of us might doubt the sincerity of the organizers of that organization, and dubious as we might be of the outcome of the strike—there is no doubt but that the Paterson Socialists

Detroit faction of the I. W. W. (S. L. P.) attempted, or pretended to organize the textile workers of the Passaic county, the Socialist Party members assisted, and when it was seen that the workers had been defeated through petty political trickery, they just as readily denounced them as traitors to the working class.

In the present strike, the two arms of the revolutionary labor movement have worked in unison. The Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party have demonstrated the tremendous power of their organizations when united to fight a common enemy. No force is powerful enough to overcome them.

It is the opinion of the writer that the strike would have been lost had we not all fought together, throwing the weight of our organization and press in with the I. W. W.

showing the superiority of political action over direct action, but with the view of showing the necessity of both political and industrial union action in the struggle of the working class for emancipation.

The general strike was called for February 28. "Nip the strike in the bud," ordered the mill owners. "Righto. At your service," replied the city administration, the police, the press and some of the clergy.

The police gave orders that all halls be closed against the I. W. W., and got their clubs in readiness. The newspapers put their lying pens to work, and the clergy prepared sermons to suit the occasion. The strikers had already engaged Turn Hall as their headquarters, and the police had ordered this closed, too, and, moreover, intended to enforce the order by means of their clubs and guns, if necessary.

On the first day of the general strike a few hundred strikers filed out of Turn Hall and proceeded peacefully along the sidewalk in double file, when they were brutally attacked by a gang of blue-coated, brass-buttoned ruffians, headed by their Chief. Clubs were swung right and left, and no discrimination was made as to sex or age. One girl was struck and her cries could be heard two blocks distant.

"Well done!" said the silk bosses, and their editorial lackeys echoed, "Well done!" The bosses' papers appeared with headlines announcing, "Rioting Strikers Suppressed by Timely Work of Chief of Police Bimson and his Squad of Men—Strike Being Nipped in the Bud."

Quinlan, Tresca and Miss Flynn and a score of other less known workers in the I. W. W. were locked up. Bail was furnished by Socialists and sympathizers, mostly.

All halls were now closed against the I. W. W., but the union defied the police on the second day, holding a meeting in Turn Hall. This meeting was broken up by the police and the speaker, Wilson B. Killingbeck, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of New Jersey, was arrested. Chief Bimson mounted the platform and read the ancient riot act, ending with this sentence: "God save the KING!" Arrived at the police station, Chief Bimson asked Killingbeck, who had been reading

the State Constitution when arrested: "What unknown law was that you were reading, Mr. Killingbeck?" "That," replied Killingbeck, with a grin, "was the Constitution of the State of New Jersey. It very evidently is new to you Paterson officials." Killingbeck was discharged.

The Socialists were determined that the right of free speech should not be abridged, and Killingbeck with William Glanz, organizer of the local, engaged the largest hall in the city for a protest demonstration to be held on Friday of the same week. The treasury of the party was empty, but no matter.

On the morning of the evening on which the monster meeting was to be held, police entered Socialist headquarters and seized 5,000 copies of a strike special of the *Weekly Issue*, organ of the Socialist Party, which had just been issued. The paper had severely criticized the police for their brutality and high-handed action, and contained pictures of the police in action, referring to them as strike-breaking Cossacks. Next a warrant was issued for the arrest of the editor, Alexander Scott, charged with "aiding and abetting hostility to the government," a crime punishable with fifteen years at hard labor. During the day the detectives were unable to locate Scott, but were informed that he would appear at the protest meeting in the evening, and that he would surrender himself there, which he did.

The Socialists had no intention of talking politics at the meeting, so invited the I. W. W. speakers to appear. About 7,000 people packed the Auditorium. The police and city officials were flayed unmercifully by Killingbeck, Miss Flynn, Ewald Koettgen, organizer of the union, and all of the other Socialist and I. W. W. speakers. The editor of the *Weekly Issue* was the last speaker and, when he was through, walked to the foot of the hall, where he was placed under arrest. Fully 3,000 strikers followed him to the police station, hooting the police, and it looked as though an attempt would be made to rescue the prisoner. Chief Bimson's "finest" attacked the crowd like a regiment of Bulgars on the Turkish frontier. Scott was locked up for the night, and released in the morning on \$2,000 bail.

The general strike was now on in earn-

WILSON B. KILLINGBECK.  
State Secretary, S. P., N. J.

WILLIAM BRUECKMAN.  
Socialist Mayor, Haledon.

est. The brutality and repressive measures employed by the police and courts, and the vile misrepresentation of the capitalist press, accomplished what it would have taken years of agitation to accomplish, namely, the solidification of the ranks of the strikers.

Charges of theft were made against the police for the confiscation of the *Weekly Issue*, a Socialist Justice of the Peace, Comrade Paul Heuck, receiving the charge. The four policemen who actually took the papers are now under \$200 bail.

The right (limited, though), of free speech was now established, but the corresponding right of free assemblage was being trampled upon. No parades, no loitering, no picketing, no distribution of literature—unless it be capitalist literature. Hundreds of strikers, and many that were not strikers, were arrested for “loitering,” “blocking the traffic,” “inciting to riot,” and what not. Several were arrested for having the *Issue* in their possession.

It was at this point that State Secretary Killingbeck and William Glanz suggested to the strikers that they go to

Paterson, to hold meetings. The mayor of Haledon, William Brueckman, is a Socialist, and he extended an invitation to the strikers to exercise their constitutional right in his town. The union accepted and every Sunday afternoon since then mammoth outdoor meetings have been held there. At the first meeting held in Haledon, William D. Haywood made a splendid address, and incidentally mentioned the red flag. This was the beginning of the anti-red flag campaign, about which more will be said.

There have been so many arrests that such things no longer arouse interest.

Everything attempted by the mill owners and their servants in office, kept press and cringing clergy to break the strike has only strengthened it. The newspapers lied as regards the extent of the strike, referred to the I. W. W. as a Godless, anarchistic, red flag organization, libeled the leaders, etc., but the workers paid no heed. The patriotism of the workers was appealed to. A “flag day” was arranged for. Large American flags were strung across the street bearing the inscription: “We live under this flag, we

squad of brass-buttoned plug-uglies lined up and cleared the main floor of the hall, driving everyone to the street. The police were thanked for their fine work by those on the platform. The meeting then continued, the speakers addressing their remarks to the newspaper men and a number of I. W. W. strikers in the gallery, who were posing as respectable, disinterested citizens.

The funeral of Modestino Valentino is something to be remembered. This man, who leaves a pregnant wife and several children, was shot by an O'Brien agency detective while standing on the stoop of his own home. Fully 15,000 followed the hearse to the cemetery, while three bands furnished music. Haywood and Tresca delivered short orations over the open grave, and the army of mourners who stood with heads uncovered, threw red flowers on the coffin.

The union asked for a permit for a May day parade, but were denied, whereupon the Socialist Party secured a permit for a Socialist May day parade, and the strikers had their parade anyway. It was a splendid sight. The Socialist Party

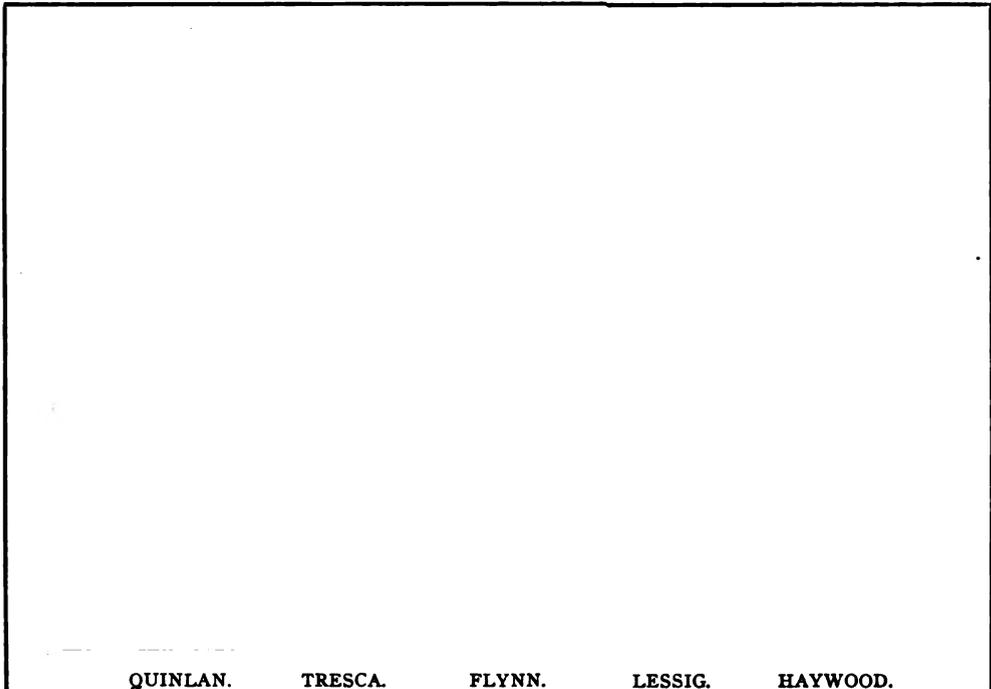
headed the procession, which consumed an hour in passing. Hundreds of I. W. W. banners were displayed, and the workers laughed, sang, whistled and cheered.

Many more things should be told about this great labor war, but this is an article—not a book. For instance, there is the trial of Patrick Quinlin and the indictments and future trials of Haywood, Tresca, Miss Flynn, Lessig and the others, but these cannot be covered here. A detective who testified for the defense at the trial of Patrick Quinlin is seen in a picture which accompanies this article.

The Socialists have gathered thousands of dollars for the strikers, and about 250 children have been sent to Socialists and sympathizers in New York and near-by cities to be taken care of.

More money is needed. Send it along at once.

The Paterson strike demonstrates the power and the need of both kinds of working class action. Let us have unity. If you were here you would be taught the necessity of it. Let the revolutionary labor movement use both its arms—and its feet, if necessary.



spirit behind which a modernist needs must bulwark himself if he would be at all in this maddened world, fall away, and I give myself over to the luxury of tears—first in a score of years.

There is something so wonderful, something so very wonderful in a parade of labor that it fills all the space of the spirit, and one finds himself throbbing with sentiments almost atrophied through years of disuse. The tears well up, the heart grows large and swollen, under the clutch of unbidden emotions the voice chokes to an un-sung sob—it is so wonderful, so *very* wonderful!

It must be that we of the revolution, in our propagandizing and organizing and speechifying, deal with the abstract notion of the working class. Then, when we are confronted with all the magic and marvel of tens of thousands of marching workers, we hear, we see, we feel, we sense with all our being the omnipotent power and potentiality and reality of the working class.

It is thus that I felt as I watched the May Day Parade, for it was very real this parade of Manhattan's workers. And it was very real that it was a parade of workers. One would never mistake the bodies of the marchers for the bodies of any others than the workers. One would never mistake the faces of the marchers for the faces of any others than the workers. For these bodies bore all the cruel distortions of the machine which moulds and bends and breaks them to its devilish desire. The faces bore all the cruel stigmata which a monstrous master class of parasites has stamped deep.

On these faces was writ in signs no true son of man could look upon without pain the shameful record of wage slavery. The long hours were there in these faces. The air which holds no breath of summer fields with the flow of green across them had etched its shameful taint on these faces.

The shameful fact that warehouses had been stored with food when these marching thousands needed that food to feed the nerves and muscles with which in turn they feed the machine, was also there in these pinched underfed faces.

Oh, the shame of it!

Oh, if there were even the excuse of there not being enough to go round. Or, if so it were that a parasitic leisure class fitted the immutable scheme of things. Or, again, if it were that the mark of Cain were the mark of toil, and to toil were of necessity to suffer all the mythical tortures of Cain forever and ever.

But I do not believe this. There are many of us who do not believe it. Some day, when there are enough of us who do not believe it, all of us will act. Then we will do away with it.

I do not believe it because these marching thousands cannot be marching for nothing. Their marching seems to me the living symbol of disbelief in the preachments that there is not enough to go round, that a parasite class is a necessity, or even that to toil is to be in shame. Else why should these thousands march? Why should they voluntarily set themselves apart, here in Manhattan, on the first of May, commemorating that distant scarlet date when their fathers arose and said: "Let there be freedom."

And as they marched by in seeming endless ranks, beneath their scarlet banners, beneath their defiant slogans, beneath the insignia of their divided unions, I could not help but believe that the day would surely come when their uniting to march would extend to other actions than marching. I could not but believe these insignia of their divisions would disappear, and that in the place of their many banners there would be one great scarlet banner, and that on this one great banner would be the symbol of One Great Union.

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## HURRAH, FOR THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE!

After listening to a five minute appeal for funds for the Paterson strikers, by William D. Haywood, the delegates to the National Convention of the Workmen's Circle donated \$250.00 and a collection of \$250.00 was also taken up, making \$500.00 even. Our Jewish comrades are always on the job when there is work to be done.

were frittering away in costly and futile strikes, while their individual members were voting their Liberal and Tory masters into Parliament. Hence, certain Socialists conceived the bold idea of weaning the old-fashioned Trade Unionists from their political fetishes by sedulously preaching the doctrine of independent labor representation in the House of Commons. The idea caught on like wildfire, and the Labor Representation Council was soon an accomplished fact. This meant an affiliation of many of the great Trade Unions and the existing Socialist Parties, who levied their members, or detached portions of existing funds to run independent Socialist and Labor members and maintain them when in Parliament.

Naturally, such an alliance between pure Socialists and simple Laborites involved compromise on both sides. The stodgy old Liberal and Trade Unionist had to pledge himself to vote for the L. R. C. nominee, even though he were a hated Socialist; and the Socialist had to curb his religious enthusiasm and support a Labor candidate even though that candidate individually repudiated Socialism.

Certain members of the Socialist Democratic Federation were cute enough to see dangerous rocks ahead, and it was not long before they withdrew in a body from the insidious alliance and determined to keep their flag untainted even at the expense of political impotence. They were derided as mad impossibilists by "respectable Socialists," and assured that they were entering into at least a century's sojourn in the wilderness of street-corner propaganda. The Independent Labor Party and the Fabian Society remained faithful to the alliance and set to work with great cleverness and much energy to win over the Unions which had remained sullenly outside. Little time elapsed before the Angel of Success beamed radiantly on the new project, and the world was staggered by the return of thirty independent Socialist and Labor members to the House of Commons. All the party newspapers spluttered wildly with excitement and astonishment, while the Liberals and Tories themselves felt that humanity was trembling on the edge of a revolutionary abyss. Even the Socialists who had mistrusted the alliance could not resist a feeling of elation at the turn of affairs.

In the new Parliament the Liberals were in power under the leadership of the late Campbell-Bannerman. Prior to the election, the courts had decided that it was illegal for Trade Unions to expend their money on strikes. The new Labor Party vigorously demanded the immediate reversal of this decision; and the Government timidly conceded it. They further set to work to introduce drastic amendments of the Workmen's Compensation Acts, and for once the Government seemed nervously inclined to grant whatever these sturdy envoys of organized labor cared to demand. These initial triumphs gave a tremendous fillip to the new movement, and thousands of old-fashioned Trade Unionists flocked into the fold of independence.

The capitalists and their political hirelings, however, were not exactly asleep—though they had been caught napping once. They began to chloroform the new party with generous doses of hypocritical flattery and canting adulation. Having carefully weighed up and taken the measure of the new members, they set about what proved to be the easy task of keeping them out of mischief. Campbell-Bannerman made public speeches in which he weepfully deplored the fact that the House of Commons had so long been deprived of the picturesque presence of these hob-nailed, but honest statesmen. He expressed agreeable surprise that so much sedate intellectuality could have emanated from the down-trodden and ignorant working class. And the parrot press repeated his chant of oily praise. Unfortunately, the trick worked, and we found our worthy stalwarts earnestly endeavoring to live down to the theory that they were as good, astute and respectable as their betters. There were what biologists call immediate "reversions to type." All the sickly nonconformity and rigid puritanism of their early Liberal days came to the surface of the new M. P.s. They were wheedled on to religious-cum-Liberal platforms to rave about intemperance and the curbing of original sin among infants. They stood cheek by jowl with the master class and plutocratic politicians on the same platforms, and the Socialist element did nothing to prevent the hopeless drift. In the country, they were *too* successful, so to speak, their namby-

Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.  
STREET SCENE IN THE CITY OF ROUX.

From the point of view of numbers involved and stoppage of industry brought about the strike was a complete success.

#### **Not the Raised Fist.**

From the very beginning the strike was advertised and prepared as a peaceful one. Its slogan was: "The fight of the folded arms, not of the raised fist." In accordance with this policy a sufficient number of men were left in the mines to look after the machinery. All the strikers were warned again and again to commit no acts of violence. Committees of safety were organized and authorized by the general strike committee to see that order was maintained.

In spite of all this, the entire military force of the nation was called out. The police forces of the municipalities were increased. As was to be expected, the only acts of violence were committed by the police and, in one instance, by drunken students. The latter incident is typical: the students fired on a group of strikers, and the latter quietly went and notified the police. One judge asserted that fewer arrests were made during the time of the strike than during a similar period under normal conditions.

#### **The Settlement.**

On the tenth day, April 24, the strike was officially brought to a close,

Though the events leading up to this conclusion have been interpreted in all sorts of mysterious ways, they are really very simple. Two days after the beginning of the strike parliament convened M. de Broqueville at first refused to pay any attention to the strike or the demand for suffrage reform. Another matter was slated for discussion. By a majority vote, however, the strike was made the special order of business. M. de Broqueville still refused to concede anything. Later, after a good deal of hammering by Liberals and Socialists, he renewed a promise previously made to appoint a commission to take up the matter of the reform of municipal suffrage and made use of certain phrases which gave the impression that the same commission would be empowered to investigate the subject of a general parliamentary suffrage reform. The next day it was discovered that these phrases had been stricken from the official record. M. Masson, a Liberal, introduced a resolution ordering the appointment of the local suffrage commission. About this



in and prater about law and order, opposed the enjoyment of our rights with actual physical violence. Here political action was powerless. Only actual force could cope with the situation.

"The capitalist believes in Law and Order just as long as it conserves his economic interest. When it is used to destroy this interest, he despises and will not obey it, even if based on the Constitution. Witness our experience. So, I maintain the worker should despise and disobey the law whenever it becomes necessary to the advance of his economic interests."

Mayor Scott Wilkins gave the following changes which followed the election of a Socialist ticket in St. Mary's.

"First of all," said the Mayor, "came the action of the old administration in cutting the salaries of the officials who were to follow them. This action was a direct limitation of the power of the new office holders to benefit the workers.

"The salary of the Treasurer of St. Mary's was cut from \$425 to \$150 dollars. It was customary for the banks to furnish the bond as they were fully covered by handling the city money. When the Mayor and Treasurer called on the bank the morning before they were to take their offices, bond was refused them. It was secured from the Columbus Fidelity Co., which charged \$175 dollars for the bond. Book-keeping services cost \$50 and the banks charged \$50 for keeping a record of checks. Thus the Comrade elected had to find \$125 out of his own pocket to keep the Treasurer's office of St. Mary's free from the

hand of the grafter. As a consequence, he has to work for \$1.50 a day in a factory and neglect his official duties.

"Again all men elected had to leave the city to get work outside, unless they owned a little home of their own and had sufficient salary to live on. Many Socialist officials were blacklisted. Three out of seven Councilors have had to work outside the city; have had to let their wives and children stop in the mortgaged homes while they work in industries outside of St. Mary's and spend carfare to attend Council meetings to take good care of Capitalist property.

"Most of those prominent in the election of the Administration were 'fired' and had to leave the town. Homes they had almost paid for were lost. And they accuse the Socialist of breaking up the Home while the Capitalist poses as the savior of family life.

"We, in office could not prevent this. We suffered most from it. Only a strong industrial organization of the workers could have prevented it."

The Mayor wound up with the following statement, "If the masters have the right to use any and all means to hold their power over men, then I, on behalf of the working class, claim the right to do likewise to overthrow that power and so enable the workers to keep the things they have created, or to exchange them for things of equal value. In that way commodities will be distributed in the interest of the working class and not in the interest of a small body of parasites."

The Committee voted to instruct its International Secretary, and a special delegate to be chosen for the purpose, to demand of the International Bureau twenty votes, instead of the fourteen now given to the United States; voted to send one delegate for every 10,000 party members, instead of one for every 20,000 as at present; urged upon the International Bureau the advisability of bringing before the International Congress the question of the general strike as an anti-war measure; urged that the next International Congress take up for discussion the question of Direct Action, Sabotage and Revolutionary Syndicalism, and try to discover the cause and effect of these labor phenomena in different countries.

Hillquit argued that the present International Secretary, Kate Richards O'Hare, is incapable of presenting these important matters to the International Bureau and urged that an *experienced* comrade be appointed to accompany—and instruct—her. It was further stated that Comrade O'Hare (who, it will be remembered, was elected to the office by the membership), might be privileged to go over to Europe on condition that she pay her own fare.

Victor Berger being now on the unemployed list, the Committee voted to pay his fare to Europe. They also voted to pay his return fare.

Local St. Louis in a lengthy communication accused Comrade Bessemer of speaking on "Industrial Socialism" before the Karl Marx Club of that city. This organization is not a part of the Socialist party. It is a study club. He was also accused of selling pamphlets in defiance of the capitalists who owned the building. "What is Industrial Socialism," asked Hillquit with a sneer. The Committee ordered the Committee on Resolutions to draw up a constitutional amendment which will prevent Socialist speakers from talking for non-Socialists in the future. It is assumed that they are expected to speak only for—and to—red card members. It is reported that all Chautauqua lecturers will cancel their engagements.

Duncan McDonald served as chairman of the third day's session.

Letters from W. H. Kintzer and other

once. The matter was referred to the Debs-Berger-Germer committee, with instructions to tell the comrades in jail that they would get into touch with them as soon as possible. Bessemer, of Ohio, moved to amend and tell them that "We hope, by next fall, to be able to send a few flowers and condolences to our comrades in West Virginia after most of them have starved to death."

Maurer urged the formation of a national strike committee to study the theory of strikes and give advice to strike leaders.

The Committee on Party Headquarters was made a permanent committee and ordered to report to the next N. E. C.

The Committee on young peoples' organizations urged that the various leagues be united in one national body, with a general correspondent at the National office. Adopted.

A committee of three—Le Seuer, Sandberg and Sanial, was appointed to investigate the currency and banking system of the United States and report at the next meeting of the N. E. C.

A motion was made to strike out section VI of Art. 2. The Committee, said Kate Sadler, of Washington, had gone on record as endorsing the West Virginia comrades in their fight. Some of these comrades had captured guns—and used them to protect themselves. She asked if we were going to leave the constitution in such shape that the Party will be unable to support and help the fifty-two comrades now imprisoned in West Virginia. "Besides," Comrade Clifford, of Ohio, added, "the party has avowed a policy of non-interference in industrial matters. Sabotage and violence are industrial, not political weapons. To tell the unions whether they should or should not employ them is an attempt to regulate the policy and practice of those unions."

Those voting in favor of striking out section six were: Ida Callery, S. B. Hutchinson, Stallard, Dietz, Kaplan, Duncan, W. T. Bradford, Bessemer, Clifford, Patterson, Ramp, Hickey, Noble, Bostrom, Sadler, Wagenknecht—Total, 16. Forty-three voted No.

In this connection. Hutchinson, of

GROUP OF HUNTINGTON COMRADES. X—COMRADE TAYLOR, WHO WAS SHOT.

shows the mechanical force with their tools—taken the day after the attack.”

“Huntington, May 5, 1913.

“At a mass meeting being held by the Trades and Labor Assembly, May 5th, to protest against the Russianizing of West Virginia, the crowd was fired into by Baldwin-Feltz mine guards sent from the strike zone for that purpose. Comrade W. R. Taylor, aged 60, was shot through the head, while several others, including women and children, narrowly escaped death in the rain of bullets. Comrade George W. Gillespie, member of the S. P. State Executive Committee, had just started to speak to the 3,000 people when the firing began. Although the names of the detectives are known, the authorities have made no attempt to arrest them.”

The last word received from Comrade Thompson reads:

“Things have come to a hell of a pass in West Virginia. The militant comrades who are not in the bull pen are in hiding across the borders in other states. I am writing this upon the Kentucky mountains. I assisted Comrade ——— in escaping over the line last night. We got out the *Star*, sending one to each of the *Argus* subscribers. Then I took a vacation, with the emphasis on the vacate.”

However, it seems that Comrade Thompson must have returned direct to Huntington, and the following letters tell the story of what happened to him and the paper:

“From Huntington.

“Dear Comrades: Have just read your

letter to Comrade W. H. Thompson asking for news. He was this day literally dragged from his home, his wife and four little ones, at 1 a. m., locked up in the jail here, and this p. m. deported to Charleston, by the Major Tom Divis. If there were any charges against him we could not find out what they were. The Governor wired for his ‘detention’ is all that we can get out of the civil authorities here.

“This p. m. two Baldwin guards went to Mrs. Thompson’s home and searched the house through and through, looking for the mailing list, but the guards refused to show their search warrant, if they had one. Mrs. Thompson didn’t know they were there till one of them was inside the house. I have seen and been in Texas cyclones and her house is more like that than anything else I can compare it to. It looks as if there had been a real cyclone inside. Now please don’t forget the fact that she was all alone, her husband locked up in the county jail, with no charges whatever against him, and these two (I like to have called them men) guards walked into this unprotected workingman’s house and ransacked it to their own satisfaction. This is the West Virginia method of bravery. Two men can walk over a woman, and it is for ‘law and order.’

“*The Socialist and Labor Star* plant was confiscated and the stock damaged to an extent unknown to us, as it is locked up. The cuts for this week’s issue were de-

destroyed and everything that was breakable and bendable was ruined.

"I visited Comrade Thompson with his wife today in the cell of the county jail. I visited her tonight and saw those four babies clinging to her and crying. Thompson has told the truth to us workers, and what does he get in return? A prison cell. Will the workers stand for it? They are now. There has been no demonstration so far, and I think they are still asleep.

"Comrade Thompson tonight is lying in some vile cell for his brother workers and unless they rally to his support, and do it NOW, they are a set of cowards.

"There were four others deported with Comrade Thompson today. They were George W. Gilispie, R. M. Kephart, Elmer Rumbaugh and F. M. Sturm. Comrade Thompson belongs to the Typographical Union, Gilispie and Kephart belong to the Machinists' Union and Sturm belongs to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and Rumbaugh is just a plain working man, but he had as many of his brother union men to see him off to the military den as did those belonging to the crafts of unions. If the unions rally to these comrades, I am a union woman; if they do not, I say let's cut out this style of union and get another of a type that will stand the test of despotism.

"If Hatfield wants another woman to

keep Mother Jones from getting lonesome, he can find me.

"MRS. SARAH SWANN."

The Coal Baron Governor is certainly making good his program of juggling and deporting EVERY ACTIVE SOCIALIST.

#### Extracts from Official Black List.

"HENRY THOMAS, who has been making Socialist speeches and advocating organized labor. Description—White, age about 40 years, height 5 feet 6 inches, black hair, smooth shaven, dark complexioned, wears stiff hat.

"JESSE SPADE, one of the chartered members of Mt. Hope Socialist local. Description—American, age about 24 years, 5 feet 11 inches, weight 180 pounds, smooth shaven, ruddy complexion, well dressed.

"J. G. BRAGG, union man and Socialist, left Meadow Fork and went to Terry, where he has been chosen by the Socialist Party for constable, American, 40 years of age, weight 180 pounds, height 5 feet 10 inches, intelligent and talkative.

"TOM AKERS, discharged from Minden for agitating unionism and talking Socialism. Description—White, about 30 years old, 5 feet 9 inches, light hair and blue eyes.

"JAMES M. MORGAN, strong Socialist and advocating strike in the New

COMRADE FRED H. MERRICK,  
Fighting Editor of *Justice*, Pittsburgh, Pa.

COMRADE EDWARD H. KINTZER,  
State Executive Committeeman of West Virginia.

What does the world think of a governor so small that he would vent his spleen on a defenseless woman?"

But, comrades of the National Committee, the world does not know; even the general public of the state of West Virginia do not know the status of affairs. Some things were mentioned in the press about martial law, military commission, drum-head court martial, acts of violence on the part of miners, inciting to riot, accessory before the fact, inflammatory writing and speaking, jailing without indictment, abolishment of jury trials, arrest without warrant, and the latest act—seizure of the *Labor Argus* and the arrest of Fred H. Merrick.

But the exact facts and the significance is not appreciated because of the color given to them by the subsidized press.

The political side of the Socialist movement in West Virginia is worth noting here. Notwithstanding the somewhat unapproved, impassive tactics used in the strike as, for instance, the use of firearms by the strikers against the machine guns of the operators and their hired mine

guards, the miners never lost sight of political action. Nor were the resistful tactics hurtful when considered in the light of ballots. West Virginia's voters of the Socialist ticket approved by giving 316 per cent gain in 1912 over 1908.

The governor has now eliminated all classes but the Socialists, and is making his fight directly upon them. "Mother" Jones and eleven other prisoners, held under sentence of a drum-head court martial, are all Socialists. Nearly half a hundred others, non-Socialists, tried by the military court, were pardoned.

The impression has been generally gained through the prostitute press that the Socialists are the lawless element, that they have been guilty of murdering coal company employes, since nothing is mentioned of the many miners whose blood has been spilled on the hillsides.

This impression can be corrected by literature and speakers. John Brown is preparing a pamphlet that deserves wide circulation and clearly defines the issue.

If the National Committee will furnish

and the men chose the manly course. President Konenkamp, who is on the ground and in personal charge, thereupon ordered the strike.

These tactics have a familiar look. Western Union influences, we believe, are undoubtedly back of the Marconi Company, fearing that a victory in the wireless would encourage their employees to demand more money and better working conditions.

Sailors of the Pacific receive \$50 per month for a 9-hour day; wireless operators \$30 to \$35 for second operators, and \$40 to \$45 per month for first operators for a 12-hour day. They asked for \$60 per month for first operator and \$50 per month for second operators on boats. At land stations \$110 per month for first operator and \$95 per month for second and third operators, respectively. Wireless operators rank as petty officers, with all the expenses and incidentals necessary to maintain rank and a good appearance, and they are paid the wage of a Chinese stoker.

The boats on the Pacific are all manned by union men, from the captain down to the deck hand. It is not believed that a scab wire-

less operator would be anxious to plant himself in such an unsympathetic environment, especially for the miserable wages paid.

These men need help. They should be encouraged and supported so that they may be enabled to hold out against this company until they win their fight for a living wage. Every telegrapher, member and non-member, should do his part. Their victory will be our gain, their defeat our loss.

You are urged to give freely and quickly to this good cause, and to work among others to the same end. All contributions should be sent to Wesley Russell, International Secretary-Treasurer, Rooms 922-930 Monon Bldg., 440 South Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill., who will acknowledge receipt promptly.

In addition, please see to it that every wireless operator in your vicinity, or of your acquaintance, on land or boat stations, is advised of the situation. Yours fraternally, Wesley Russell, International Secretary-Treasurer.

Chicago, April 24, 1913.

## A. F. of L. Shingle Weavers' Strike

WORD comes from Seattle that the working conditions in the shingle mills are so rotten that even the workers who are members of the A. F. of L. are out on strike. The A. F. of L. local workers have advised the men to go out of town and look for jobs. Meanwhile the workers are wondering who will do the picketing and otherwise let the folks know there is a strike on of shingle weavers. Perhaps Casey Jones or some other bright light in the A. F. of L. will tell them after the strike is over.

One of the strikers writes as follows: "A man cannot work one week without losing a finger. Of thirty men who were up at strike headquarters there was not one of the thirty who had ten fingers on his hands and one had only his thumb on his right hand.

"Only last week I met two men carrying one of their fellow workers up the tracks near one of the shingle mills here and when I asked what was the matter they replied in an offhand way, 'Oh! him? Why he just got his hand cut off in the end mill.'"

## The Southern Negro and One Big Union

WITH the advent of sawmills and other big industries, and the construction of numerous lines of railroads in the South, day hands have been hard to get on plantations. So the owners rent to the negro tenant as many acres as he can cultivate. They make one stipulation; nothing but cotton is to be planted on this land and no part of it is to be devoted to the raising of garden truck. This, of course, compels the poor tenant to buy of the master, at exorbitant prices, food and clothing for himself and family, and feed for his work stock. Now, if the negro is energetic and economizes with the hope of "coming out" at the end of the year with something above rent and store account, he is eyed with suspicion. He is also slated for a great beating about the time his crop is to be "laid by," for the purpose of running him off the place and confiscating his season's product. Should he, in desperation, refuse to run, the yarn, "He made a move as if to draw a weapon," is worked again, and one

the innumerable host of his fellows "in the silent halls of death."

The negro is treated with more consideration in the southern lumber industry, but "there's a reason." The boss in this industry has been pitting the negro against the poor white and vice versa, and making suckers out of both. On account of the scarcity of labor he has been compelled to treat the negro with a semblance of fairness, in order to use him as a club to hold over the rebellious white workers.

The negro still has a bloodthirsty enemy in the shape of the deputy sheriff stationed at each saw mill town and paid by the mill company. This contemptible tool of the master class in the South never lets a chance slip to graft on the negro in every way made possible by his ignorance and fear of the law. As these deputy scoundrels are recruited from the "bad native scissorbills," they are just as quick to murder a negro as their plantation

# Socialist Theory and Tactics

By Charles A. Rice

Effects of Pure-and-Simplism in Germany

Part IV—Continued

C. *Effects of pure-and-simplism upon the German labor movement since 1900.*

The rapid growth and concentration of industry and commerce, the consolidation of financial capital and banking in Germany together with the tendencies of German capitalism connected with trade expansion beyond the bounds of Germany and colonial garb,—all this complex process of advanced capitalism dates from the latter part of the 90's of the last century. But it became especially pronounced and rapid since 1900.

During the last 12 years Germany's industry and commerce stimulated and monopolized the home market and made large inroads into the world market. German exporters carried the commercial war right into England and captured the English home market at some very important points. German footwear, for instance, at one time became a serious menace to the English shoe industry. This competitive invasion of the English market by the German export trade assumed such proportions that the stolid English manufacturer became alarmed and began to mutter approvingly to Joe Chamberlain's tune of giving up free trade in favor of protection.

German electrical machinery, the equipment for manufacturing beet-root sugar, agricultural machinery and implements, chemicals, laboratory equipment, and many other products of German industry, found their way to Russia, Turkey, Western Europe, China, and Africa to such an extent as to forestall, outdo, or even crowd out their English, French or American competitors. At one time German exports began flooding the markets of South America at such a rapid rate as to arouse a howl of rage and distress in the camp of Yankee exporters at seeing their chances for doing a rushing business with their Latin-American cousins snatched from under their very noses.

During this period. Germany's merchant

made giant strides and thus have given a tremendous lift in helping nurse Germany's industries and international trade to their present athletic proportions and combative strength.

Right here we must note certain peculiarities of German capitalism responsible for its enormous and rapid growth as sketched above. A full grasp of these peculiarities will also make it quite clear that parliamentary pure-and-simplism was in no appreciable measure instrumental in or responsible for the fact, (referred to a few paragraphs above under point b), that the workers in Germany's industries are somewhat better protected as to life and limb and that German plants are better equipped so as to care for sanitation, hygiene, and other comforts for safeguarding the health of their workers.

The phenomenal conquests that Germany's industries have made in the foreign markets, were not due to what is usually termed *cheapness*. The German exporter did not trip or "freeze" out his English or American rival by underselling in cut-throat competition. German steamship lines do from time to time go in for slicing rates when they are in a race for getting the lion's share of the trans-Atlantic passenger traffic. With this and a few other exceptions, however, German industry and commerce on the whole give a wide berth to price wars in foreign markets. German success in the export game, for the most part, was and is, due to more rational and, hence, more efficient methods of getting at the consumer than cheap selling in the ordinary sense.

The German exporter, in the first place, profits by all the knowledge obtained for him by the very excellent *consular service* that Germany has organized all over the world. This service, like every other type of organized effort on the part of Germany's ruling class is really a model of its

duction under maximum *speed*. Since he is relatively independent of the cost of production in so far as his foreign trade is concerned, he can afford to make concessions to his employes. Since he is not compelled, at least to the same extent as competitors, to speed up the productive process at all cost, he can better afford to be less reckless where the lives and health of his employes are at stake. He is therefore apt to be more tractable, more willing to grant certain reforms demanded by public opinion, and to equip his plant more in accordance with modern sanitary requirements and safety regulation required by the law.

Besides, German industry has not entered yet the *automatic* stage. *Self-acting machinery* of the kind and scope employed in some large American industries (glass blowing, cement making), is almost unknown in Germany. German industry still depends upon the skilled craftsman and the trained mechanic to a far greater extent than is the case in the United States, that is the ratio of skilled labor to unskilled labor in the former industry is far higher than in the latter. The German craftsman can therefore very often gain more concessions from *his* employer than the American from *his*.

Moreover, German industry is not trusted to the same degree as is the case with us. The German steel industry, for instance, is not anywhere as concentrated, integrated, and consolidated, nor is it remotely as formidable as to its resources and power as is our United States Steel Corporation. The German mechanic and even laborer is therefore not so overawed and browbeaten. Even his *craft* union can do some effective fighting and coerce the stiff-backed employer to accede to its demands or come to some terms.

Besides, German manufacturers, having entered the competitive field at a far later stage than that of the English industry during the first half of the 19th century, have profited by English experience. They knew that in order to compete successfully in the world market, they must adopt more rational methods of shop work and accord better treatment to their employes than did the English exploiters of factory workers prior to the 10-hour law.

All the above peculiarities of German capitalism account for the strange fact that German shop slaves are somewhat better off than are their fellow slaves in England or the United States, especially with respect to safety and health as affected by rational plant equipment and sanitation.

Let us now turn again to where we started. The matchless growth of German capitalism since 1900, its swift dash for supremacy at home and for the lion's share in the international market proved a very powerful stimulus for organizing Germany's toilers at the point of production.

German industry, on one hand, had practically no access to immigrant labor power; on the other, it needed a vast amount of highly skilled help of competent and intelligent craftsman and mechanics. On this account, it had to and did absorb all the available labor power. In fact, this absorption was so great that German wage-workers know the curse of *unemployment* only by hearsay,—that is a glutted labor market on a scale at all comparable to what obtains in the rest of the industrial world. According to the statement issued by the British Board of Trade, the percent of unemployed during the period of 1903-1909 was 2.2 for Germany and 14 for the United States.

This factor of rapid absorption was alone sufficient to make the workers more aggressive than they had been prior to 1900. They were, at this period (since 1900), quite in a position to present effective demands, to fight for a higher standard of life and a larger say in questions connected with the hours of labor and general terms of shop work.

And so the workers utilized to good advantage the favorable start that their economic position had given them by giving it stable, *organized* expression. They began to flock to their craft unions to such an extent as to overcome the inertia previously injected into them by pure-and-simplism. They made very large inroads among the wage-slaves herded together in the various Christian and other "yellow" unions and won over a great many thousands of them for class-conscious trade-unionism.

(To be continued.)

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

## An International Syndicalist Congress?

—Is syndicalism to become international? This is the question raised by two appeals recently sent out. The first of these was published in the February number of the *Syndicalist*, organ of the English Syndicalist League. It is the result of a conference of English revolutionary unionists held at London in November. After declaring that the cause of syndicalism suffers from lack of international unity the authors of this appeal suggested the month of May as the time, and London as the place, for the holding of an international congress.

About the same time a number of Dutch unions, numbering together 11,500 members, launched a similar proposal. About this document an extremely interesting and important discussion is going on in the syndicalist press. Nothing which has thus far occurred so clearly mirrors the status of syndicalism in the various countries involved.

Following are the reasons why the 11,500 Dutch unionists wish to found a new international:

"The Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers, with headquarters at Berlin, cannot serve satisfactorily as an international bond because all revolutionary propaganda, properly so-called, is systematically excluded from its consideration.

"The Secretariat opposes the idea of real international union congresses in which delegates from the various organizations might meet. It contents itself with conferences of secretaries of the affiliated national organizations.

"The discussions which take place at these conferences have to do chiefly with the gathering of statistics, the study of social legislation, the mutual aid of the various national organizations, etc. Such questions as those of the general strike and antimilitarism are not placed on its program. The French Confederation General du Travail, which is affiliated with the Secretariat, has frequently attempted to introduce questions like these, but always without success.

"In 1902, at Stuttgart, the Dutch Secretariat, which then belonged to the international body, proposed the calling of international labor

of the various international trade unions are sufficient. The French C. G. T. made a similar proposal at Budapest in 1911 with no better success.

"At the international congresses now held the national unions occupy a secondary position. Organizations are admitted only on condition that they recognize the necessity of political action. The political parties dominate these congresses, and their interests shape the discussions.

"We others, revolutionary workers organized in independent unions, do not wish to be under the tutelage of political parties. We wish to control our own propaganda. This is why we cherish the idea of international congresses frankly syndicalist, congresses where we can gather as unionized workers taught by our life-experience.

"We do not wish to be ordered about or guided by leaders; we wish to decide for ourselves what is to the interest of the working-class."

Then followed questions as to when and where it will be best to hold the first international syndicalist congress.

The interesting thing about the reception given to this appeal lies in the fact that the French are the only ones heard from who have not been enthusiastic about it. Germans, Belgians, English, and Americans\* are in favor. On the contrary, the editor of *La Vie Ouvriere*, probably representing the great body of sentiment in the French C. G. T., is vigorously opposed to the proposal. He does not want the labor movement of France cut off from the main current of the labor movement of Europe.

It is practically accurate to say that wherever syndicalism means at present dual unionism the idea of the new international is favored; in the one country where it does not mean that, it is opposed.

But opposed or not, the international syndicalist congress will probably be held before the year is out.

**Patriotism for Profit.**—Socialists have long been trying to convince the world that most wars are carried on for the benefit of groups of capitalists. What they have usually had in mind is that the capitalists on the victorious side gain new

ished his picture of international capitalism by proving, again by the use of actual documents, that various arms and munition companies in Germany, Austria, and Belgium had entered into a combine to make common use of professional military "secrets," and to raise the prices of their wares.

The effect of the amazing news from Berlin has been electric. At the very mo-

ment when Germany is increasing her navy and raising her standing army by 136,000 men, when France is on the point of going back to the three-year military service, it is thundered from the house-tops that these two great nations have been baited like a pair of dogs by the manufacturers of instruments of murder. International capitalism stands revealed as it never did before.

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day greetings and a comrade's love to all of you. J. Grose.

From Vineland, N. J.—It's getting so I just have to show the REVIEW, that's all, sells itself. Geo. K. Whiteside.

From Rhondda, England—Enclosed please find £4/13/6 (\$22.77) for 40 REVIEWS for eight months from May to December inclusive and oblige. Yours fraternally, H. J. Lewis.

Hates to Miss a Copy—I hate to miss a copy let alone two, because the FIGHTING MAGAZINE certainly handles the right dope, and I don't want you to miss me any more. Walter Thomas, St. David, Ill.

Isle of Pines Socialist Club, West Indies, May 6, 1913—Dear Comrades: Find enclosed P. O. money order for payment on our share of stock in the Socialist publishing house. Fraternally, D. H. Howell, Secy.

Illegally Suspended—Roland D. Sawyer, who received the highest number of votes as National Committeeman for Massachusetts, was unable to attend the meeting held in Chicago May 10th to 15th. It is reported that the State committee of Massachusetts suspended him for six months, although Comrade Sawyer is in good standing in his local and throughout the state and that they appointed a substitute in his place, who attended the convention. We understand this is direct violation of the state constitution of Massachusetts. It is worthy of note to know that the substitute is a craft union rooter. Perhaps this explains why Comrade Sawyer was illegally barred from attending the meeting. Every one knows he is an Industrial Unionist.

Young Socialists, Attention.—The Young People's Economic Study Club, 491 Stryker avenue, St. Paul, Minn., care Sam Willensky, desires to get in touch with other young people's Socialist study clubs and leagues. Kindly communicate with them at the above address. These young Socialists in St. Paul are carrying on study clubs and propaganda work. We hope our friends will write them.

Like Haywood.—The recall of Bill Haywood from his position on the national executive committee of the Socialist Party of the United States will come as a surprise to many in this country. We here, removed from petty personalities, have generally regarded Haywood as a man, cool-headed and capable, who saw emancipation for labor in industrial and political action without compromising with any section or group. "Bill" cannot be downed. He has logic on his side, and logic will prevail.—Maoriland Worker, New Zealand.

Industrial Conspiracies—Latest ringing message from Darrow, stinging rebuke to pure and simple political actionists. Masterly analysis of United States Constitution. Great propaganda price, 10c; \$5.00 per hundred. Publishers, Turner, Newman & Knispel. Make all checks payable to Otto Newman, Box 701, Portland, Oregon.—Advertisement.

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**Rochester's Literature Wagon.**—Months ago our enthusiastic comrade, J. Harry Sager, happened to be in Indianapolis, when to his great astonishment he beheld a strange vehicle passing along the street. No horse, no gasoline. It was pushed along by a man on the inside. Sager stopped the combination of wagon, man and literature and asked it some questions. The man turned out to be a comrade named Jackman, who for some months had been making his living by selling Socialist literature to the people of the Indiana city. Sager came home with an idea.

It's nothing new, by the way, for Comrade Sager to get hold of an idea. He's full of them. It is because he has so many that he troubles the minds of a good many people. He catches them on the Pullman cars and in the hotels, offices and everywhere else, and before they know it he has them trying to answer his flood of unanswerable questions regarding present conditions and the reason behind them. This comrade came home filled to the brim with the new idea. He let no grass grow under his feet before he had a subscription list going the rounds. He laid hold of another enthusiast by the name of Frank Bailey, who did a lot of work on the thing, and who is the man finally selected to sell literature from our wagon.

It was built by the R. J. Smith Company of this city, and is a beauty. It is, of course, red all over. The wheels are small and furnished with rubber tires. The floor of the

vehicle, which is about a foot above the ground, is so arranged that it can be thrown open, so that a man on the inside may walk on the ground while he propels the wagon. When the wagon is at rest on a cold day, the floor can be closed and the occupant can stand a foot above the ground and be warm. The vehicle itself cost over a hundred and twenty-five dollars.

There's a lot of good shelf room on the inside, and it will all be needed. In the warm days of the year the seller will generally remain outside. There is a removable tongue, so that the wagon may be drawn if desired. This will allow the man to be outside as much as possible. And he will want to be, for he must be fishing. He must attract customers.

We have a new slogan here. It runs like this: "Get a man to reading and you've got him." What do you think about it? We are acting on this principle. There is a whole section of our population who read on Socialism, but they read only what our enemies say about it. In other words, they read what it is not, instead of what it is. Let us get them, if possible, to read the truth.

Carry the capitalist papers, Yes, as many as may be needed to help pay expenses; for that is what we are seeking to do. We do not desire to make any revenue out of this thing. We want this wagon to serve for propaganda purposes only. We need to pay our seller. He earns every cent he gets, too, and more. When we find that we are making

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