

JULY 1912

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# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

THE FIGHTING MAGAZINE  
OF THE WORKING CLASS



FIVE "COPS" GUARDING ONE "FINK."

The Newspaper War in Chicago

JULY 1912

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# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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OF THE WORKING CLASS



FIVE "COPS" GUARDING ONE "FINK."

The Newspaper War in Chicago



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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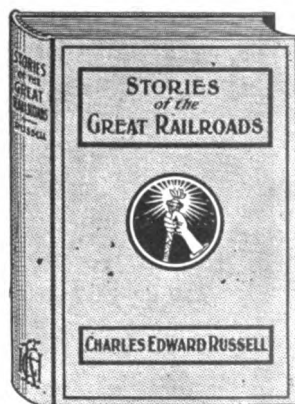
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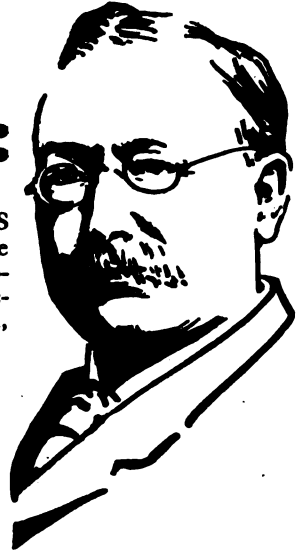
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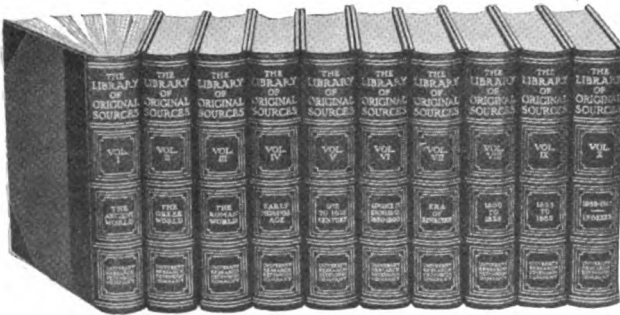
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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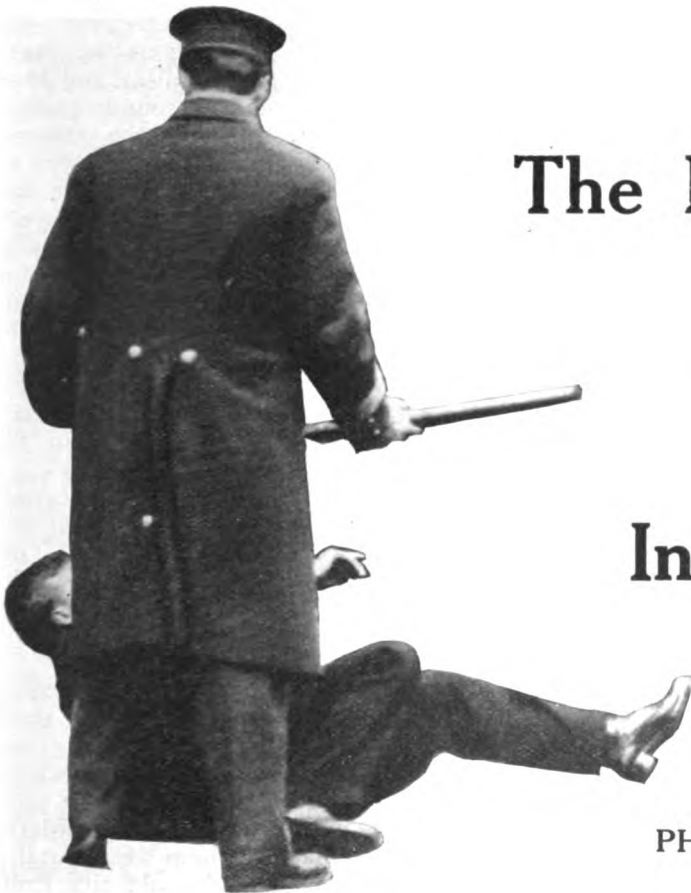
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**INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

**VOL. XIII**

**JULY, 1912**

**No. 1**



# The Newspaper

## War

### In Chicago

By

**PHILLIPS RUSSELL**

**A**FTER 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.

RECAP



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.



PLAIN CLOTHES COP HOVERING AROUND FEMALE "FINK."



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.**



## 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.

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.

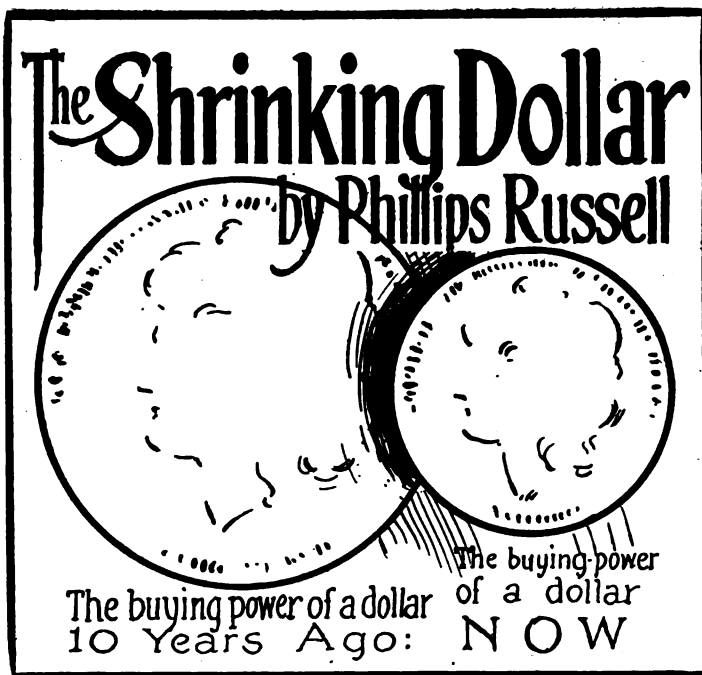
And when upon the great sunrise  
Flew her disheveled victories  
To all the land and all the seas,  
Like angry eagles in the skies,

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.



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 workingmen 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

ON 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.

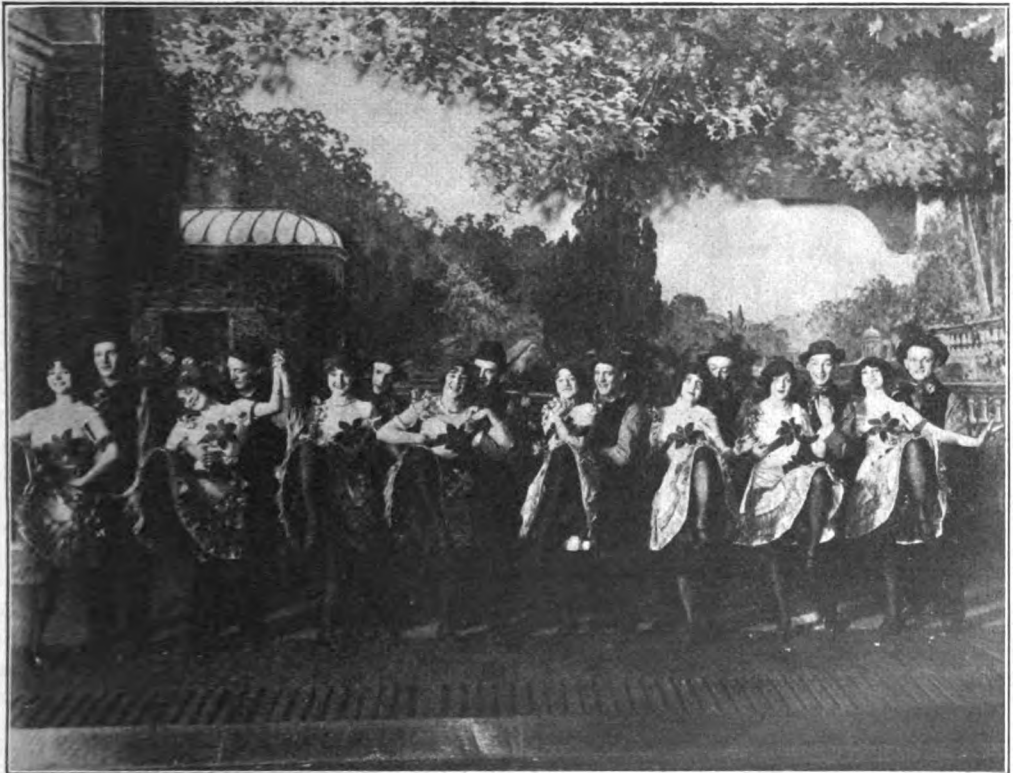
I remember once seeing a stage box filled with sleeping little dancers. They toppled in there after hours and hours upon the tips of their toes and went to sleep where they fell, their little faces, still with their make-up on, showing a ghastly red-and-white under the electric lights.

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

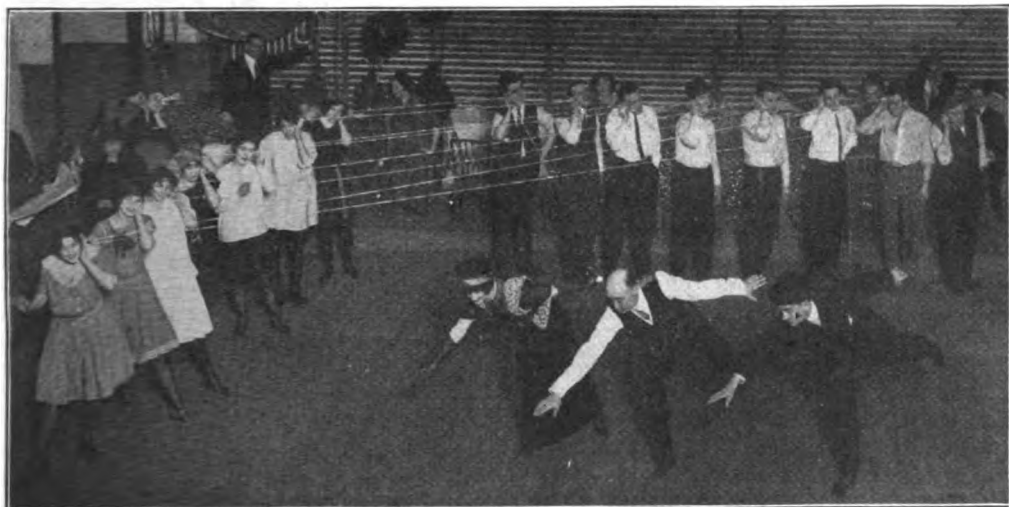
expenses, particularly when on tour. Out of her wages she must pay hotel bills. Whether in city or village the very lowest rate for room alone by the day is \$1. Then there are three very necessary meals, which total at least 75 cents daily, and car fares and small incidentals, to say nothing of laundry. 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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**N**ONE 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 fanfare 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

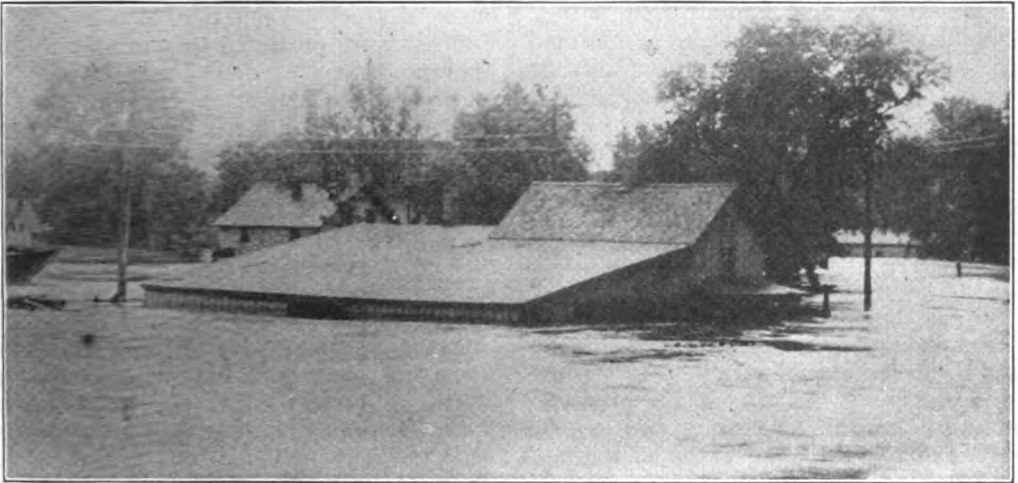
external shades only. At times one may appear a little more reactionary or a bit more "advanced" than the others, but they all stand for the continuance of the capitalist system. Capitalists being hard-headed, practical men, are never deceived as to who serves their interests. They well know that the 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

**T**HE 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 &amp; 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

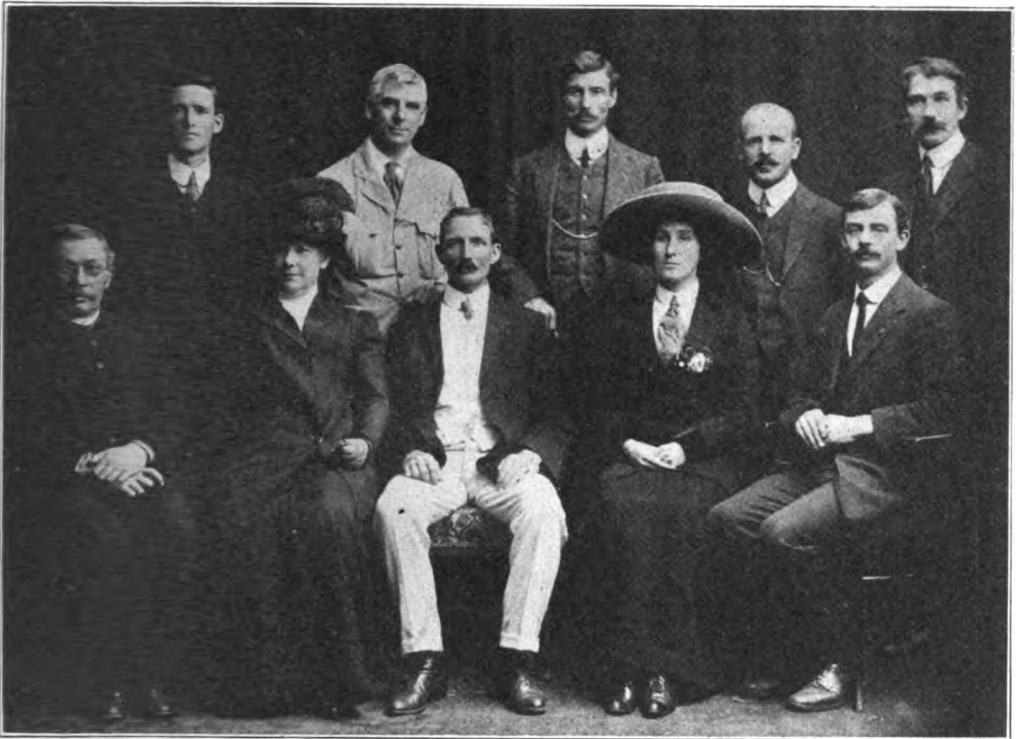
BY

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.

# Revolt of the Southern Timber Workers



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.



SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION BROTHERHOOD OF TIMBER WORKERS, ONE HUNDRED DELEGATES—ALEXANDRIA, LA., MAY, 1912.

# 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.





LEON BESSON.

## A SOCIALIST MINE INSPECTOR

By A. W. RICKER

**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-

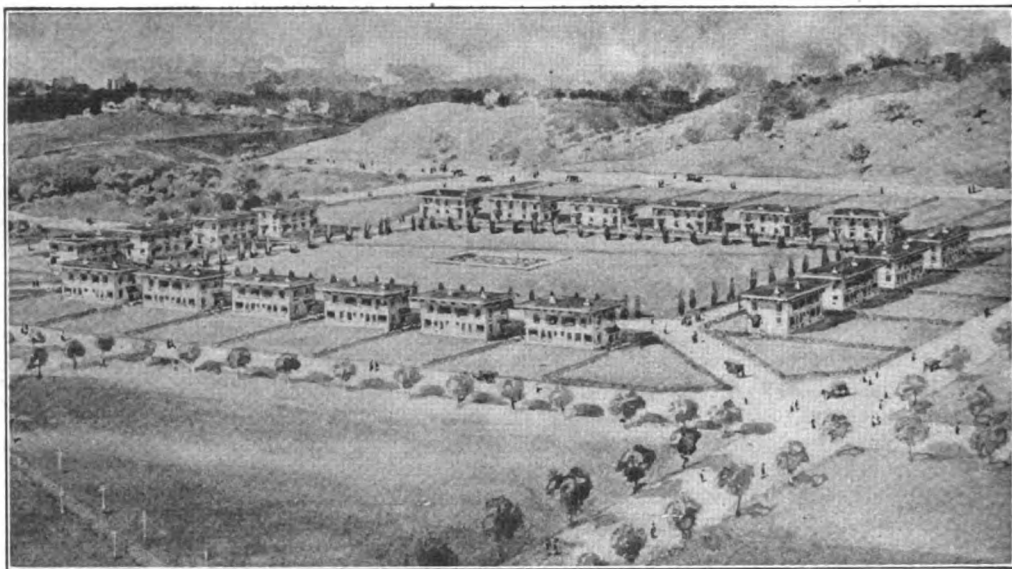
monwealth or industrial Democracy is possible only with a working class that knows how to co-operate—who know how to use their labor power in the most effective way.

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."

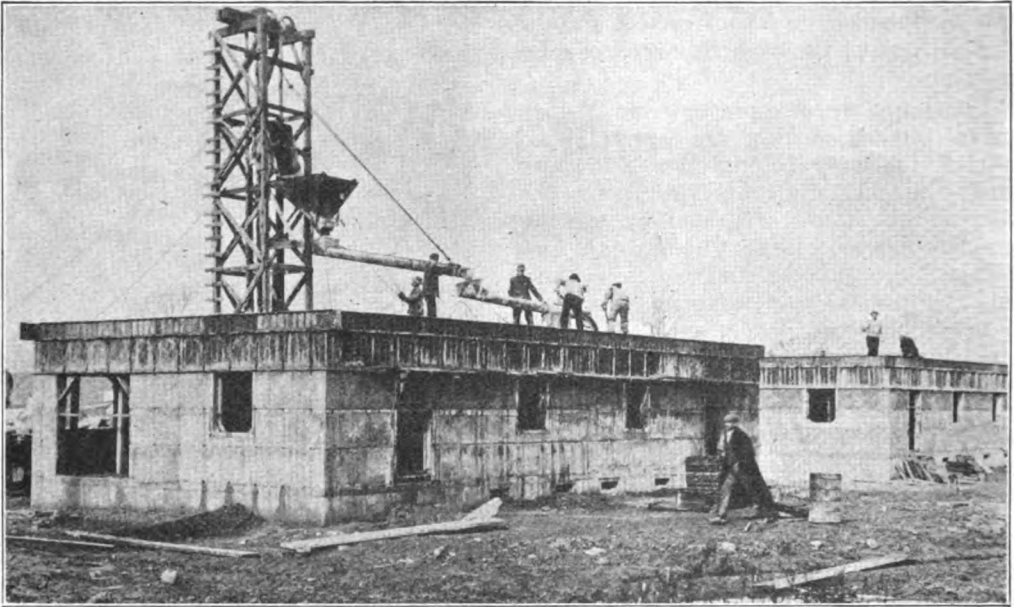
#### THE CEMENT GUN.

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.



HUBERT HARRISON.

# SOCIALISM AND THE NEGRO

BY  
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 twain, 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.

On the floor of the convention Comrade Hillquit explained that the committee was making this recommendation as "a supplementary report." In naming Comrade Barnes he said: "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."

At the conclusion of this nominating speech, which was sprung with a suddenness that left many of the delegates nonplussed, Delegate Merrick, of Pennsylvania, arose and demanded: "Is the recommendation of the committee a recommendation of Barnes?"

Note the manner and implication of Hillquit's reply:

"THIS COMES FROM THE COMMITTEE 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 is 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."

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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

Total .....4,855 copies

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.



**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-

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.

**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.

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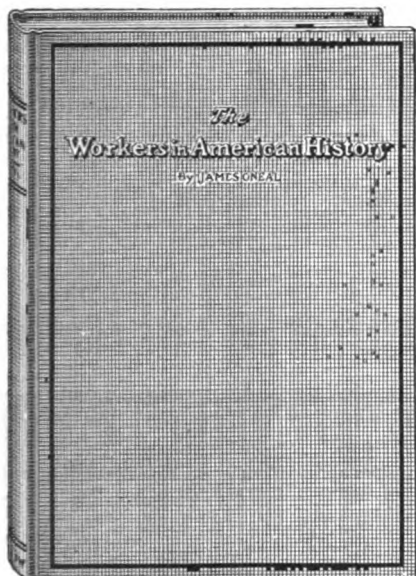
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**Another Red.** The REVIEW is very glad to advise its readers that we omitted the name of a very good Ohio Red in reporting the convention last month. Comrade M. J. Beery, State Organizer, was on the revolutionary side in every argument. From news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



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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



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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.

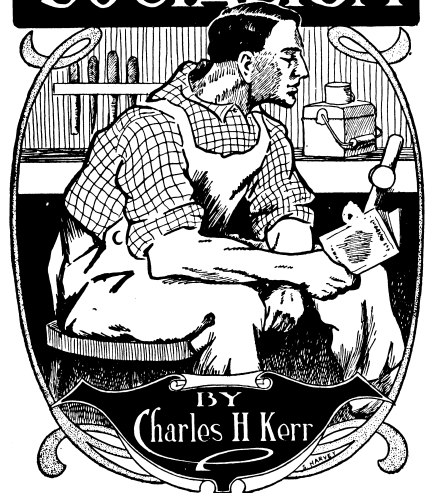
The managing editors of the Finnish papers

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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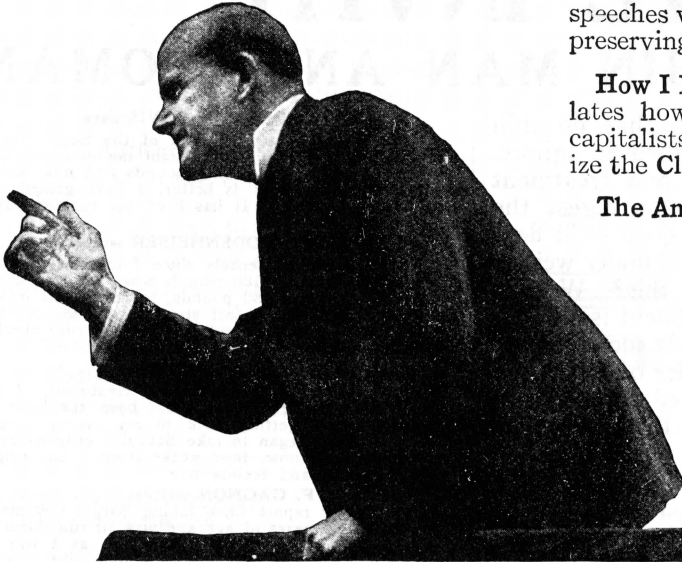
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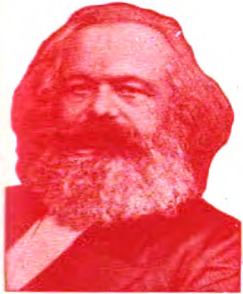
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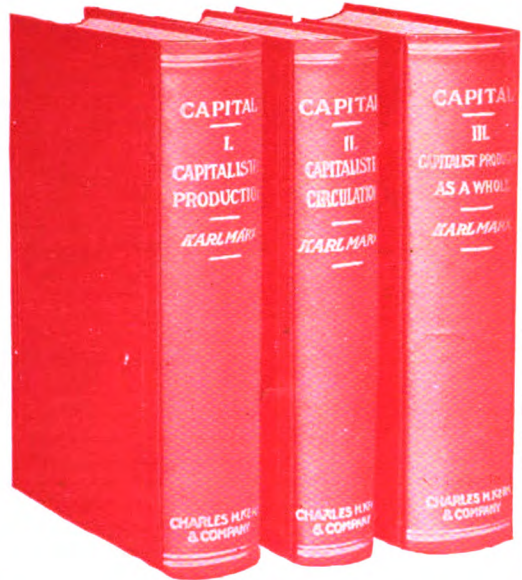
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