

JANUARY, 1914

The

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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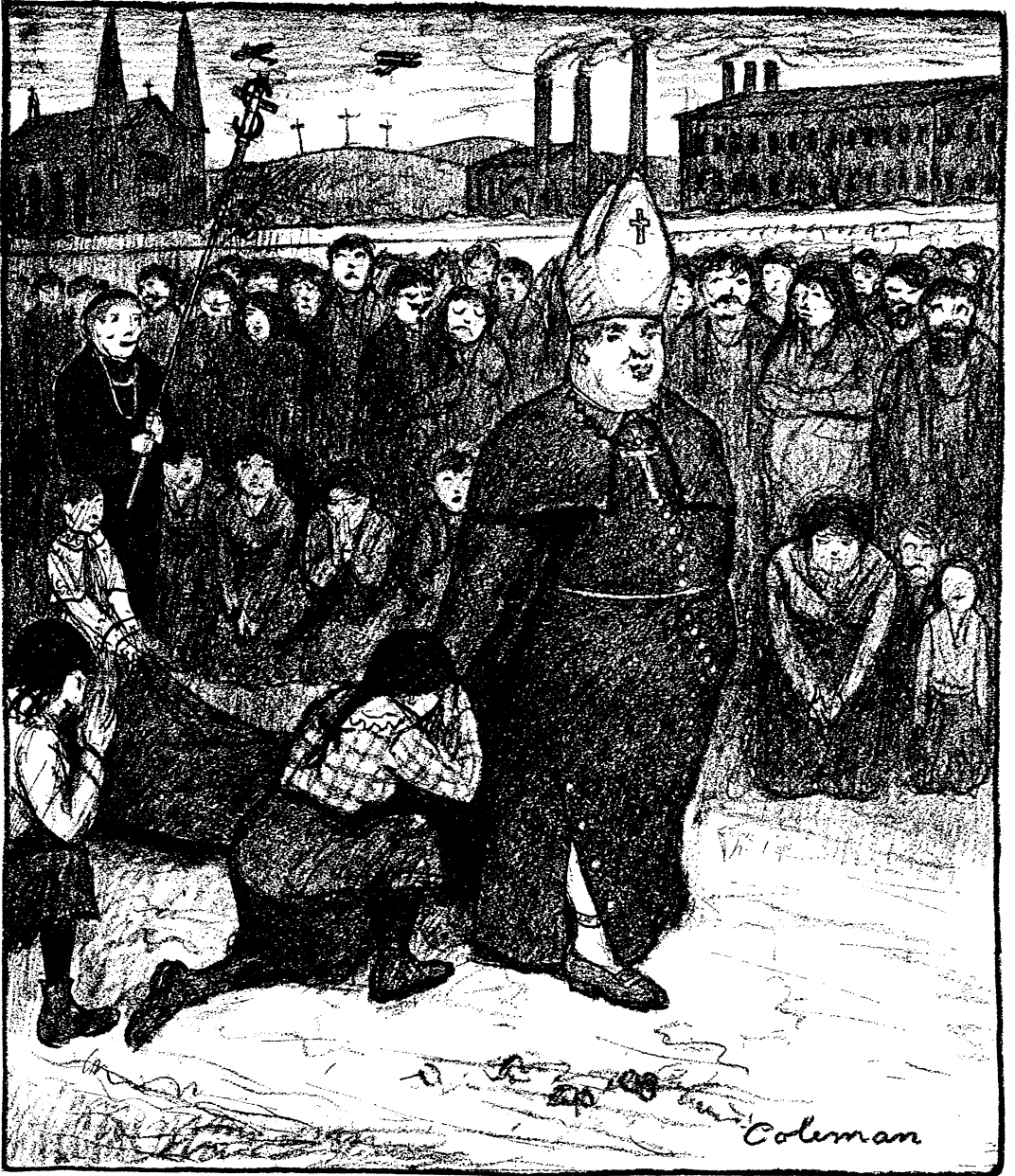
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From The Masses.

"FOREVER AND EVER, AMEN."

In Good Old Ireland.

The
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

VOL. XIV

JANUARY, 1914

No. 7

The Fiery Cross in Ireland and England

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

FOR centuries the rulers of England have oppressed the Irish; and now the fiery cross of Irish revolt has crossed the channel, and the rulers of England have their reward. For greater than the Dublin strike are the hope and the terror which have been spread abroad in the seat of the British empire.

The Dublin Strike

The government has let Comrade James Larkin out of jail long before his sentence had been served. The strike, now in its fourth month, goes on as it has since the beginning. The workers of England have sent shiploads of food, the strikers have been able to stave off actual starvation, and their courage is high. The employers have absolutely refused to listen to every proposition made to them. More than one mediator has been turned down. The priests have stood loyally by the capitalists. When Mrs. Rand and Dora Montifiore attempted to take some of the Dublin children to England where they could be fed and kept out of harm's way, Dr. Walsh, the catholic Archbishop of Dublin declared that their mothers would not be "worthy of the name of Catholic mothers if they sent away their children to be cared for in a strange land without security of any kind that those to whom the poor children were to be sent were Catholics, or, indeed, persons of any faith at all." So when a group of the kiddies were taken down to the docks twenty-five priests appeared and made such a disturbance that they were taken back to the protection of Catholic Dublin. So the children will

have to suffer with the parents. And the strike is still on.

Some Protests

For some reason the news of the Dublin war cannot be kept under. It has taken hold of people's minds and imaginations. Larkin is not the only one to raise the fiery cross. Read the following sentences taken at random from articles or public addresses:

George Russell, editor of the Irish Times and one of the most distinguished poets and publicists of Ireland, in an open letter to the Masters of Dublin: "If you had between you collectively a portion of human soul as large as a three-penny bit, you would have sat night and day with the representatives of labor trying this or that solution of the trouble, mindful of the women and children, who at least were innocent of wrong against you. But no! You reminded labor you could always have your three square meals a day while it went hungry. You went into conference again . . . and then, when an award was made . . . you will not accept the solution and fall back again on your devilish policy of starvation. Cry aloud to heaven for new souls! The souls you have got cast upon the screen of publicity appear like the horrid and writhing creatures enlarged from the insect world, and revealed to us by the cinematograph."

James Connolly: "I am for home rule. But you cannot build a free nation on a basis of slavery. I am against the domination of nation over nation, class over class, and sex over sex. But if we are to make Ireland the Ireland of our



INDOMITABLE COURAGE OF DUBLIN MASTERS.
 Dublin Master: "See, Darling, the Situation Grows More Hopeful for Us. That Striker's Child Is Discovering That Its Mother's Breast Is Running Dry."
 (Reprinted from *Daily Herald*, London)

dreams and aspirations we must have a free and self-respecting and independent nation. You can never have freedom or self-respect whilst you have starvation, whether it is the green flag or the union Jack—that is flying."

George Bernard Shaw: "It has been said that children are the safeguard of morality in Dublin—that if they took the children out of some of the dwellings the adults would misbehave themselves. It is a most appalling thing. I believe there are people who have given that as a reason for not allowing children to leave Dublin. Ponder over that a little. Let your imagination add to that state of things the horror of a strike, the cessation of the weekly wage, and all that it means. Imagine what kind of men they must be who, seeing all this, thrust the children back into starvation and misery."

The Clarion Wants to Know

In the midst of the tremendous disturbance precipitated in Merry England the *Daily Herald* is fighting ferociously for the strikers, and Justice is bringing its fine power of Socialist analysis to bear on the situation. But it is in the *Clarion* that one sees mirrored what is going on

in the Socialist and labor union mind of the nation.

The beauty of the situation is that almost everybody is upset. The Liberals are upset. They have put through their pension bill; they are about to put through their home rule bill; they have sprung their great land scheme. This last move was expected to cap the climax of their popularity and carry the next election. Now suddenly they find everybody talking about tyranny and stupidity in Dublin. The pure-and-simple Socialists are upset. Just when they have satisfactorily proved that strikes are a waste of energy the whole world gets excited about a strike. The Laborites are upset. Just as they are expecting to share in the glory of Liberal achievements they find themselves hopelessly in the rear of the Labor movement. The anti-political leaders, Syndicalists or whatever else they may call themselves, are upset. For these wild Irish, in the midst of their heart-breaking struggle, are rushing from one constituency to another helping English Socialists win elections. Notions and parties are going together into the melting-pot.

And the *Clarion* sees it all and does its little best to bring order out of this hopeful chaos. The whole situation is mirrored in an editorial by Alex M. Thompson in the number for October 17. He begins by recording the results of the recent Miners' Conference: "Last week I recorded its 'sympathetic' gift of a thousand pounds a week to the Dublin strikers and of 90,000 pounds to the 'Citizen.'

"The next sensation was the significant vote of only 261,643 out of 850,000 in favor of a levy for political action. In striking contrast on the next day came a unanimous vote in favor of cooperative action with other big trade unions in support of each other's demands. The miners evidently have much more faith in the strike than in Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden.

"Then the conference decided to press for a new wage standard, and a minimum of seven shillings a day for face workers.

"These bold pronouncements have naturally perturbed the labor doves."

Then, after describing the Labor brand of political action he continues: "The army of labor is divided. On the one side



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Dublin Master: "See, Darling, the Situation Grows More Hopeful for Us. That Striker's Child Is Discovering That Its Mother's Breast Is Running Dry."

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stand the dishevelled, impassioned fomenters of revolt; on the other, the decorous, spick-and-span parliamentary oracles—each with their ragged rout of disheartened and distracted followers.

“MacDonald and Snowden denounce the futility of strikes; Larkin and Lansbury retort by denouncing the futility of ‘abominable’ parliamentary ‘hypocrites.’ Well may the enemy laugh and despise us . . .”

“The Clarion view is that the men who deny the utility of strikes are as mad as their opponents who assert the inevitable futility of parliamentary action. The futility lies not in parliamentary action, but in parliamentary inaction; not in striking, but in sparring without hitting

“In this distressing dilemma it seems to me that it might be worth while to appeal from the leaders to the people. What have the rank and file to say?”

He then goes on to propose a newspaper referendum on the following questions: (1) Should labor discard strikes? (2) Should labor discard parliamentary representation? (3) Should strikes and parliamentary action be used conjointly? (4) Are you satisfied with the past policy of the parliamentary Labor Party?

Of course, Comrade Thompson does not hope to put an end to all difficulties by this simple means. But the fact that such a referendum is considered timely shows better than anything else could how rapidly working class thought is progressing in conservative England.

Political Action that will Count.

Every recent election indicates a Liberal set-back. This means more than disappointment with reform measures; it means the Liberal treatment of labor in revolt is rapidly disillusionizing the workers. The best news is that of the by-election at Reading, which occurred early in November. This is a working class constituency, the seat of a great biscuit factory. The fight was three-cornered, the contestants being a Tory, a Liberal, and a representative of the British Socialist Party. In 1910 the Liberal received a vote of 5,264; last month he received 4,013. The Tory was elected by a vote of 5,144. But J. G. Butler, the Socialist, received a vote of 1063, which is 10 per cent of the total. Apparently



VICARIOUS COURAGE, BUT COURAGE NEVERTHELESS.

Mr. Murphy of Dublin Has Said He Is Out to Fight Larkin. The Above Droll Design Shows the Courage of the Murphy Class in Operation. Let It Never Be Said Capitalism Has No Animal Courage While It Possesses the Wherewithal to Buy It.

the Socialists drew chiefly from the Liberal strength; and they drew enough to defeat the representative of “reform.” Of course the important thing is not that a Tory was elected, but that a straight Socialist vote of ten per cent was polled. The Socialist campaign was most enthusiastic. After it was over thousands of working people gathered round their standard bearer and promised a Socialist victory at the next election.

This seems to show that the B. S. P. may become a positive political force. Nothing could be better for England. The B. S. P. has stood steadily and courageously for every section of the working class. No doubt most of its spokesmen have disapproved of much that has been done in Dublin and of much that has been said by Larkin and his fellow fighters. But they have stood by the representatives of their class and have worked vigorously to make the strike mean something to all the workers of the British Isles. They deserve to win, and it is a source of lively satisfaction to know that they are really getting hold of a comparatively large body of working men and women.



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A PLEA FOR SOLIDARITY

By Tom Mann

IN writing this article commenting upon the experiences I have had during my twenty weeks' run in the United States and the conclusions I have drawn, I desire to say that I do so with some diffidence because necessarily I shall appear as an advisor and instructor in some measure, a position I certainly do not wish to occupy; still if I do not give expression to such news as have grown upon me it would not be fair to those who are really desirous of facing facts in the face.

I had a fairly correct knowledge of the situation in the United States prior to my arrival here as regards the nature and amount of industrial organization that existed here; and was on the look-out for

additional information at every point. What I was anxious to understand at first hand was the particular psychology of the A. F. of L. and I. W. W. at the end of 1913.

My visit has been in no special way remarkable, but I have had opportunities of coming into direct contact with the rank and file of the two bodies referred to at many points and under a variety of conditions.

I have had meetings in some seventy cities between Boston and San Francisco; I have had hundreds of quiet conversations with men who belong to one or other of these organizations, and equally with those who belong to neither, but many of whom have pronounced views



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concerning both. My mind had long turned towards Pittsburgh as a vitally important industrial center destined some day to achieve big things in the labor world.

I must express my deep disappointment at finding practically no organization at all in the district as regards the men in the metal trades. The industry is vaster than I had expected to find it; the organization of the men is a minus quantity. In the whole of the Westinghouse companies in the Pittsburgh district at which some 25,000 are employed, not two per cent are organized. In the whole of the district, steel workers, engineers, and every variety of machinists with a total of 250,000 men, not three per cent are organized.

I did not expect to find roseate conditions anywhere, but I confess I was surprised to find so considerable a number of steel workers, working twelve hours per shift and seven shifts a week.

A. F. of L. men criticize the I. W. W. and vice versa, and neither are showing any capacity to organize these workers.

It was in the nature of a surprise, too, to find that practically all metalliferous miners regularly work seven shifts a week, even in the places where every man is organized.

To learn that there are districts where coal miners are still paid—not in cash—but in metal checks, to be cashed for household requirements, only at the company's stores, with special prices fixed because of this monopoly, was not an agreeable experience, showing as it does that the economic organization of the workers is a long way from being efficient in such districts.

It appears that the most generous computation as to the number organized in the trade unions is three millions, two-thirds of whom are financially related to the A. F. of L.; amongst those not connected with the A. F. of L. are the Bricklayers, also the railroad men. About 400,000 of the latter are organized, or 50 per cent of the whole, i. e., tram employes; the total number of railroad men in U. S. seems to be about 1,900,000 including 650,000 track employes and 360,000 shop workers.

Only a small percentage of those or-

ganized in the unions are laborers, whilst there are some fifteen millions of others eligible for organization, the vast majority of whom are graded as skilled and unskilled laborers.

Amongst these are the migratory workers, compelled by economic pressure to be almost continually on the move; not because they wish to, but because the work is seasonal, and move they must to get the means of life, and to provide labor power for exploiters.

When, in 1905, the Industrial Workers of the World came into existence, it looked as though the principle of labor solidarity would soon find recognition and acceptance and that the interests of the migratory workers would not be neglected. It is greatly to the credit of the I. W. W. that with all the troubles it has been confronted with, it has persisted in voicing the claims of the migratory men. How magnificently the I. W. W. has fought in districts where labor is of quite a different character is well known to all likely to be interested in reading these lines; and more than this, tory men. How magnificently the I. W. W. have done magnificent educational work at the street corners. They have not only spread a knowledge of economics to which the mass of the working populace were strangers, but by a courageous advocacy and bold assertion of human rights, they have inspired many thousands and imparted a confident belief that the time will come when wage slavery will go and a saner system take its place.

All this and much more stands to their credit, and yet, if one looks to find permanent results achieved by the efforts of the I. W. W. outside of what is here described, if one looks to find definite, tangible, effective organization, to what extent does it exist?

It seems to me any fair minded person, unwilling to be unwarrantably optimistic, must frankly admit the results are utterly unsatisfactory. It is not as though organization were a matter of indifference; it is admitted to be fundamental and vital, yet, where is the I. W. W. organization other than the 14,000 declared to be in financial standing at the convention in September? If this is the net organized result after so much energy, does not the

case call for inquiry as to whether the present lines are the right ones?

I admit fully that I may be unable to adequately weigh up the forces, and am quite conscious of the fact that if I try to draw comparisons from other countries I shall be told that the conditions in the United States are altogether different and methods useful elsewhere are not applicable here; but one's opinion may be recorded all the same, and my opinion on this matter is, that there is little or no difference in the psychology of the labor movement in the United States, and that of the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, as in the United States, some of the influential members of the unions are reactionary to a degree; they are entirely lacking in appreciation of the real meaning and spirit of class solidarity; they have no knowledge of the real nature of the class struggle; they are quite willing that the laborer shall receive only one-half or less of the amount that they themselves receive as wages. They are primarily concerned to maintain a ring fence about their own particular craft as though the march of machinery and science were not the revolutionary agencies all well informed persons know them to be; yet notwithstanding all these hindrances the unions are the real agencies, the perfectly natural and proper economic institution through which the workers will function and in which the revolutionaries should now be at work.

It matters nothing that some present members of the unions would do all they could to resist any efforts at broadening the basis of the unions, and would do their utmost to keep them sectional—so much is to be expected—but the men of virility and clear vision must work unceasingly to counteract and to nullify reactionary effort, and the trend of the times will favor good results.

It is because we realized the genuineness of the trade union as the natural agency of the organized worker for economic activities, that we syndicalists in Britain refused to try and build up an organization outside of the unions; we knew that it was possible by sensible effort inside and outside the unions, to stimulate them to worthy endeavors. The result has entirely justified that conclusion.

When I came to the United States twenty weeks ago I refused to express opinions as to the method of organizing here, determining to wait till I had at least had some opportunity of seeing and hearing and learning, and as the result of the peripatations over not less than 12,000 miles, I am now entirely satisfied that as regards the United States, the right way to organize, to educate and to ultimately function as controllers of industry is through the unions.

If the fine energy exhibited by the I. W. W. were put into the A. F. of L. or into the existing trade union movement to hasten the day when solidarity shall be shown; all my experience says that the results would be fifty-fold greater than they now are.

As it is, see what is happening, the I. W. W. men, genuinely in favor of the economic revolution, stand aloof from and show hostility to the existing unions, and the politicians are left free to go in and capture them.

Disaster has followed in every country where the politicians have been allowed to get control of the unions.

In every country in Europe where the politicians exercise an important influence in the unions, economic activity ceases and the hog wash of politics is in the ascendant; I hold therefore that it is the duty of the revolutionaries to become members of the existing unions, where dual unions exist, merge them at once, unite all on the basis of industry, and tactfully and persistently spread a knowledge of industrial solidarity. I verily believe three-fifths of the rank and file of the existing unions are ready for any sensible action that may be resorted to.

I urge the advisability not of dropping the I. W. W. but certainly of dropping all dual organizations and serving as a feeder and purifier of the big movement. Line up with the rest. It is pitiable to find A. F. of L. men berating the I. W. W. and vice versa; it is at this hour hindering real working class progress, and staving off the revolution.

We need now a Holy Crusade to rope in all workers, to make industrial solidarity a fact, and then to achieve the economic and social revolution. May it come soon.



JAPANESE WOMEN COALING SHIP.

COALING WOMEN AND PROSTITUTES

By Marion Wright

THE ways and means of exploiting the labor of women are as many and varied as the sounds and scents out of a tropic night, but it remains for that land of never ceasing wonders—the Land of the Rising Sun—to provide a task for the fairer sex that is not to be found in any other section of the globe.

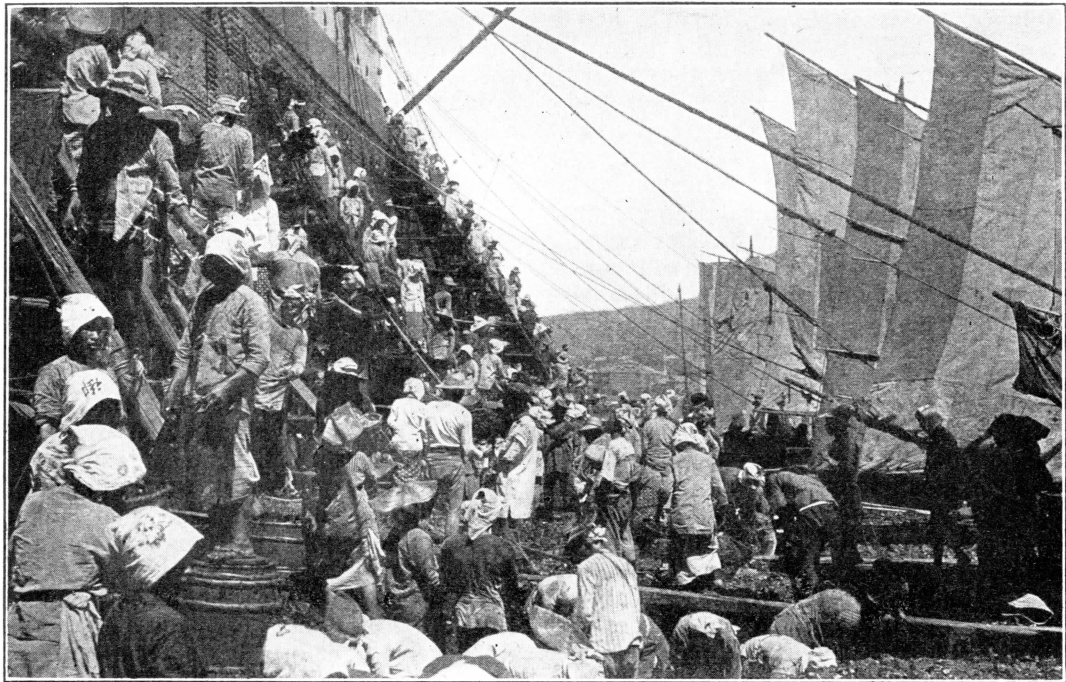
If there is any labor harder than taking coal out of the ground it is getting it into the bunkers of an ocean-going ship, and this work of coaling ship in Japan, especially in the great port of Nagasaki, is done by women. There is a single reason for this—the same that lies behind the exploitation and degradation of women in every clime—profit.

A contractor who agrees to place so many tons of coal in the hold of a great

ship—eager to be on her way to pile up dividends for her owners—finds that by employing a great number of women at practically nothing he can make more out of the job than by hiring fewer men at higher wages. And then a woman on a job of this kind, even though she be a little Japanese less than four feet high, may do more than swing a basket of coal, as we shall learn later.

Writing in the conventional way a conventional traveler says of the work of Japanese women at coaling ship:

"In short, the women of Japan coal ship. This, to many, brings a vision—a sweating, steaming, laboring, inky nightmare of toil and grime. But it is not so in Japan. To the women there who coal ship the coming of a steamer is an event



JAPANESE WOMEN COALING SHIP.

and the work is more in the nature of a holiday. It is an opportunity to add a few more bright yen to the carefully hoarded store, and the *petite*, though willing, longshorewomen, go to their tasks with the gay banter and chatter of a bevy of high school girls.

"When the steamer drops her anchor in Nagasaki a flotilla of coal lighters that have been standing by for her coming are warped alongside. Then a staging gang sets to work rigging ladders and staging over which the workers swarm from the laden scows to the open coal chutes. This work is done by a crew of men, but when the preliminary work is done the women take a hand. They arrange themselves in lines from the piles of black diamonds over the staging and onto the deck of the vessel. Some remain on the coal piles to fill the small, shallow baskets, using light shovels. Once the basket is filled, it is snatched up and tossed along the line; or, rather, up the line precisely like a pail of water goes down the line of a volunteer bucket brigade in case of fire. Up, up, mounts the basket, propelled by sinewy hands until it is capsized over the yawning chute above. Another follows and then another in lightning succession until it is as if a great broad, endless belt were lifting the coal. The women work like busy bees, humming, chattering and laughing, and the work never ceases until the boatswain above cries enough.

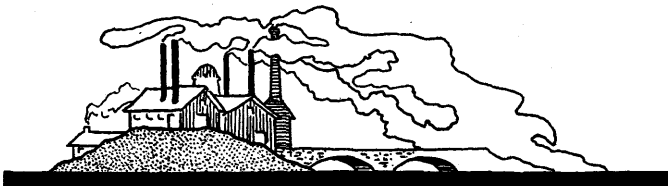
"The record for the coaling women of Japan is 3,500 tons taken aboard in eight hours, and while this may seem almost incredible it is nevertheless true. But the white linen wrap which they wear about their heads when coming to work, like the be-ribboned dust-caps of our own housewives, present a woefully different appearance when the word is passed to cease work."

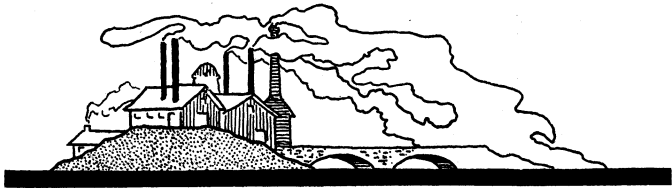
But our conventional traveler overlooked something. Of course he watched the work from the safe, clean heights of the upper deck. Had he explored the bunkers, or had he interviewed soldiers and sailors on home-coming transports coaled by Japanese women he would have gathered items that would undoubtedly have been blue-penciled by the careful editor of a conventional capitalist publication.

The contractor has a double string to his bow who employs women to coal ship. Some of these women do not tarry long on the lighters, wielding a "light" shovel, nor do they remain in the line that sends the baskets up. They swarm over the ship's side with the baskets, spread to the lower decks and hide in the bunkers or secret places where they sell their bodies to the polyglot that makes up the steerage.

An army transport homeward bound from the Philippines, carrying a thousand or more men, hundreds of whom are not allowed ashore, is a rich prize for the coaling women who practice prostitution. The contractor attends to the matter of bribing petty officers to see that the traffic is not interfered with, and his returns from the prostitutes is more than enough to pay the honest laboring women who put the coal aboard.

The women who coal ship are of the lowest and poorest classes, a few cents a day being sufficient for the handful of rice and piece of fish upon which they subsist. On the other hand, the women of the men who own the ships and coal, lead a perfect butterfly existence, their environment being more like our conception of fairy-land. The contrast of the filthy, sweating coaling women, and the doll-like women of the rich is only one of the inevitable results of capitalism in Japan.





THE GERMAN CATHOLIC UNIONS

By Richard Perin

TO Socialists the advance of the proletarian movement in the United States appears to be very slow.

But the reason for this is our own impatience. A truer gauge of progress is to be found in the fears of our opponents. The tremendous spread of Socialist sentiment and knowledge may be measured by the alarm created thereby in the camp of the enemy. The increased activity of the capitalists and their agents, both State and Church, in the fight against Socialism should be for us a cause of rejoicing. But it calls for more than mere satisfaction, it also demands an intelligent forecast of the measures to be used against us and careful study of the methods by which these intended attacks should be met.

The purpose of this article is to call attention to a movement now impending in this country in which the Catholic Church will play the dual part of principal and tool.

The reactionary element in the labor unions of this country are usually found to be that portion of their membership which adheres to the Catholic faith. This is entirely logical for the reason that the Church, which always exacts the strictest obedience, has through its infallible mouthpiece denied the existence of the class struggle, condemned Socialism and set its face squarely against any real effort on the part of the workers to better their pitiable condition. The Church knows, better than some Socialists appear to know, that clericalism and Socialism are antagonistic, that intelligent class-consciousness is destructive of the Catholic faith, that a fight to a finish between Socialism and Catholicism is inevitable.

Now, the spread of Socialist sentiment, if not of Socialist knowledge; throughout the union movement has been so rapid of late that the Church is beginning to fear that it may lose some of even the most ignorant of its still servile subjects. The capitalists also are filled with dread and are begging the Church to save them

from the rising tide. This the Church is exerting its utmost to do.

For months it has been conducting a quiet and underground preparatory campaign. It has been paving the way for the establishment here of labor organizations founded upon principles similar to those of the Christian Trade Unions of Germany. According to reliable authorities in Germany, including the organs of the German Catholic party, the so-called Centrum, the authorities of the Catholic Church in the United States have been making an exhaustive study of the Christian Trade Unions in order that in erecting similar bulwarks against Socialism here the mistakes of the German Catholics may be avoided.

What this activity means and what the American labor movement will in all probability have to face in the very near future may best be shown by a brief account of these scab unions as found in Germany.

In Germany the efforts of the Catholic Church to hoodwink or to coerce the workers into abject submission to the capitalist class have assumed three forms, each determined by the exigencies of the occasion from which it arose.

The first, the Catholic Journeyman's Association, was organized soon after the revolution of 1848, and its sole purpose was to combat the very lively and agnostic radicalism of that period, which had led to the questioning of all authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

The Catholic Working Men's Societies were founded in the sixties, soon after the birth of the German Socialist movement. These societies are conducted by the Catholic clergy, who profess that their object is to afford the membership a religious and social education. This being interpreted, means to inculcate in them a hatred of Socialism and a fear of any political or social action not sanctioned by the Church. The present combined membership of these organizations approaches a half a million.

The third and last division of these priest-ridden labor organizations is the so-called Christian Trade Unions, the formation of which was the direct result of the marvelous growth of the German Social Democracy after the repeal of the anti-Socialist laws in 1890.

It is these Christian Trade Unions that concern us most nearly, and this for a number of reasons. First, these unions represent the accumulated experience of the Catholic enemies of the working class. Unlike the others, they were made inter-denominational in character, that is, they accepted any non-Socialist worker professing a belief in Christianity, for the reason that it had been found that the purely Catholic organizations were too weak numerically to accomplish the real purpose, namely, the hampering of the revolutionary movement. In the second place it is a counterpart of these unions which the capitalists and the Catholic Church are now endeavoring to make possible in this country.

The purely Catholic form of labor union would be impracticable in the United States, especially at the present time when a wave of anti-clericalism and anti-Catholicism is sweeping the country. The resentment of non-Catholic workers would cause a reaction in favor of Socialism and all it implies in the industrial conflict, and would hasten the inevitable fight between Socialism and Church, which the latter wishes to postpone as long as possible. Naturally enough, for the Church realizes that it can never emerge a victor from this approaching struggle.

To be sure, the Vatican is opposed to the interdenominational unions, which expose the faithful Catholic to a contaminating contact with Protestants. But economic and social conditions do not alter at the nod of the Holy Father, and consequently the Vicar of Christ is frequently forced to choose between the devil and the deep sea. At least the Christian Trade Unions exclude the danger of direct infection by Socialist thought. Moreover the danger of a weakening of faith is slight, for while these unions are called interdenominational they are in reality composed almost exclusively of Catholics, and hence their

control by the priest and bishops is a comparatively easy task. Protestants shun such unions, for they yield no obedience to clerical commands and hence are free to ally themselves with organizations that their intelligence or experience tells them are genuine weapons for the amelioration of their material conditions.

Every American unionist knows how bitterly the Catholic Church has fought Socialism in the labor unions through its servile tools, such as the Militia of Christ and similar secret alliances. But from now on there must be expected more energetic and more open attacks. Of course the very fact that the Church is being forced into the open is a sign of proletarian progress and is to be welcomed. It will also prove a benefit to the Socialist movement of this country by forcing some of our half-hearted leaders to assume an honest position in regard to the Church and bourgeois morality in general, and it will disgust thousands of the more intelligent Catholics with their own Church.

But nevertheless this new attack by Church and capitalist will require great courage and sagacity if it is to be properly met. Otherwise there is danger of a retardation of the working class movement. For the Catholic prelates of America are the most cunning and Jesuistically clever of all, and in addition they will have the benefit of years of German experience in organizing and conducting scab unions.

As in Germany, we may expect well-trained "Christian" agitators and organizers, whose sole purpose will be to sow dissension and to spread distrust of radical organizations. With Catholic working men paying their dues into union treasuries controlled by the priesthood, it is inevitable that a large part of the funds will be diverted from their legitimate purpose and used in conducting an immense anti-Socialist campaign.

The other methods that will be employed by the Church to hamper and disrupt the labor movement it is easy to learn from what the Church is doing in Germany to prevent the workers from improving their material condition.

With the agents of this "Christian" church, treachery and lies are a commonplace, scabbing on the non-religious or-

ganizations a pious duty. Of course the primary aim of these Christian scabs is to prevent strikes and to preserve economic peace although the workers may be starving. But when conditions become so terrible that the fear of hell in a future world fades in comparison with the fearful hunger and poverty in this, and a strike does break out, then the leaders of these priest-directed unions make it their business to bring it to an abortive end as quickly as possible. An instance or two will show the method.

During the past year conditions became so intolerable in the silk-dyeing industry of the Rhineland that the workers showed a tendency to rebel. The free, or non-religious unions began preparations for a strike. The leaders of the Christian unions, counselled by the Catholic priesthood, ordered their followers to hold aloof. But the distress was too acute. Women and children were suffering. Economic conditions proved stronger than the injunctions of the Vatican. The rank and file of the Christian unions forced the leaders to join hands with the free unions. A solemn agreement was entered into by both unions not to give up the fight until victory was won, or until such time as both should admit that defeat was inevitable.

This fact was most repugnant to the clerical directors of the religious organization, and they insisted that the Christian workers forswear themselves and commit an act of supreme treachery toward their brothers. The Christian leaders dickered with the employers, received assurances of special consideration and declared the strike off. When the workers refused to take part in this treacherous act their leaders issued a proclamation that automatically expelled from the Christian Union all who were not at work within a limited number of hours. It must be said to the credit of many that they braved expulsion and the eternal damnation with which they were threatened. But there were not enough of them, and the strike was lost exactly as the priests had intended it should be from the very beginning.

In the Ruhr District of Germany the condition of the miners has been contin-

ually deteriorating since 1907. In 1910 demands for higher wages were formulated by the free unions. Long and fruitless negotiations followed. A strike was proposed in the fall of 1911, but the leaders of the Christian unions (their membership is large in this district, being about a third of the total of the organized miners) replied that the time was unpropitious, that it would be best to wait until after the Reichstag elections, etc. Twice the "Christian" scabs, relying upon their numbers, succeeded in averting the strike. But in March, 1912, it broke out. Then the Christian Trade Unions were obliged to show themselves in their true colors. They shrieked for the police and soldiery to protect them while at their vile work of scabbing, they invented stories of horrible atrocities committed by the strikers upon scabs, and they finally incited the authorities to such an extent that infantry, cavalry and even artillery were poured into the district. The government drove the strikers back to the mines like a gang of negro slaves.

Of course such events are not absolutely unknown in this country. The treachery of the Golden tribe at Lawrence and Paterson, obviously inspired by the Catholic Church, is too recent to be forgotten. But such isolated and poorly organized attacks can be easily met and overcome, as was so completely accomplished by the I. W. W. at both places. But when the Church organizes its forces for such vile attacks upon and treachery of the workers, how shall these be met? The question deserves serious consideration.

Naturally, situations cannot be met before they arise, and it is possible that the plans may not succeed to the extent of its authors' hopes. But nevertheless the workers should be warned of what the Church is trying to do—the Catholic workers, in order that they may understand the overtures made to them, and perhaps gain a little insight into the true nature of the Church; the non-Catholic workers in order that they may use every effort to close up their ranks and to nullify in advance the effect of any attack by organized "Christian" scabs.

COMPETING WITH THE MACHINE



ROUNDER BOOTMAKER—ENGLAND.

Rate Paid, Three and One-half Pence Per Pair. Time Taken, One and One-half to Two Hours.
Weekly Earnings, Seven to Nine Shillings.

IN the recent investigation of the wages earned by women working at home in England it was found that some of these sweated folks were unable to make more than two dollars a week even when they worked sixteen hours a day.

Of course we remember that it is the COST of living in a country that determines the point below which wages cannot fall for very long. Working people have to be fed and housed just the same as horses do—if they are to appear on the job. These sweated English workers are able, after a fashion, to exist on \$2.00 a week.

But the speed pace grows harder and faster every year and the price paid to these women per piece is falling constantly lower because the machine process has entered the field and is gradually lowering the cost of production. Every year the factory system crowds the sweated

workers closer to the wall. Every season sees them toiling more madly for a smaller pittance.

Seven cents is now the price paid for making a pair of boys' shoes at home, and from eighteen to twenty-five cents for a dozen pairs of boys' knickerbockers. Women earn the magnificent sum of five and one-half to six cents for producing 144 tobacco boxes.

It is impossible to organize the workers in the sweated trades. In hundreds of cubby holes, dark corners and tipsy shacks they toil from the time they arise in the morning until they can no longer hold up their heads and hands at night. No human agency can force a rise in the price of their labor power when the goods they make can be produced cheaper by machinery.

It requires time and leisure to become

COMPETING WITH THE MACHINE



ROUNDER BOOTMAKER—ENGLAND.

Rate Paid, Three and One-half Pence Per Pair. Time Taken, One and One-half to Two Hours.
Weekly Earnings, Seven to Nine Shillings.



MATCHBOX MAKER—ENGLAND.



MAKING BOYS' PANTS—ENGLAND.

a thinking revolutionist. It is the factory process that gathers workers together in large groups with like aims and needs. It is the machine process that produces class consciousness and class solidarity.

When the last machine shall have abolished home sweat work, these English workers will follow their trades into the

factories or will be thrown idle. In either case they will be better off than they are today. With nothing to lose they will arise in their might and fight for life. In the stress of the struggle for existence will they see and use the weapons that will mean the abolition of the wages system.

BERNARD SHAW ON INCOMES

Mr. Bernard Shaw has landed another on the British Bourgeois solar plexus. He claims that an honor which he deeply craves is to be arrested and sent to gaol for sedition, for contempt of court and for treason to the British flag. He has publicly spat into the face of the powers that be and defied them to send him to prison. And the British Lion has wagged its tail and pretended to take it all as a huge joke.

It had to do this in order to maintain its "dignity". It dared not take up Mr. Shaw's defi because it knew full well that his pen is sharper than any two-edged sword and that he would make it the laughing stock of the whole world.

And now the Metropolitan Magazine reports Mr. Shaw's brilliant speech at an English banquet wherein he has the effrontery to demand EQUALITY OF INCOME for EVERYBODY. Again bourgeois wooden heads rocked in silent merriment. He was TOO funny! Nobody could take him seriously for taking him seriously would be something more than a very serious matter.

"Equality of opportunity," says Mr. Shaw, "is eternally impossible. How are you going to give everybody in this room equal opportunities with me in writing plays? The thing is, I say, a ghastly mockery. In one sense it might be said 'well, any of us are welcome to try our hands at play-writing.' I might say that and smile. But I am quite safe in saying that to the majority of you it is just exactly like saying to a beggar: 'Well, my friend, Mr. Barnato made a large fortune; you have the same opportunities as Mr. Barnato; go and make that fortune;' at which Mr. Barnato would smile; but

it is no use at all to the beggar. The fact is that you cannot equalize anything about human beings except their incomes.

"Now suppose you do not agree, suppose you think there should be some other standard applied to men, I ask you not to waste time arguing about it in the abstract, but bring it down to a concrete case at once. Let me take a very obvious case.

"I am an exceedingly clever man. There can be absolutely no question at all in my case that in some ways I am above the average of mankind in talent. You laugh; but I presume you are not laughing at the fact but only because I do not bore you with the usual modest cough and pretend to consider myself stupid. Very well. Take myself as an absolute, unquestionable case. Now pick out somebody not quite so clever. How much am I to have and how much is he to have? I notice a blank expression on your countenances. You are utterly unable to answer the question.

"In order to do so you would have to compare us in some quantitative way. You would have to treat human capacity as a measurable thing; but you know perfectly well that it is not a measurable thing. Taking some person whom we will call X, an average man, you may think I am fifty times as clever as X; and you may think that I, perhaps, ought to have fifty times as big an income. But if anybody asks you: 'Where did you get that numerator of fifty from, and what does your denominator represent?' you will be compelled to give it up. You cannot settle it. The thing is impossible.

"Suppose you find a man starving in the streets. You are sympathetic; you give

that man sixpence. Suppose that man, instead of buying some bread and eating it, buys a bottle of scent to perfume his handkerchief with, and then dies of starvation, but with the satisfaction of having his handkerchief perfumed! You will admit that this man is an unsound economist, will you not? You will even declare that he is a lunatic. Well, allow me to tell you, gentlemen, that is exactly what this country is doing at the present time. It is spending large sums on perfuming its handkerchief while it is starving and while it is rotting.

"How are you going to remedy that? As long as you have inequality of income, that mad state of things is compulsory. If one man has not enough money to feed his children properly, and another man has so much that after feeding, clothing and lodging himself and his family as luxuriously as possible he has still a large surplus fund, you will find that the richer man will take his surplus purchasing power into the market and by that purchasing power set the labor of the country, which ought to be devoted to producing more food for people who have not enough food, to the production of 80 h. p. motor-cars, and yachts and jewels, and to the construction of such towns as Nice and Monte Carlo. The thing is inevitable.

"If you were to attempt to do away with money and with purchasing power, then you would have, in order to satisfy your nation, to ascertain what every man particularly wants and likes; and as that would be impossible, you would have to give every man exactly the same thing with the consequence that the man who wanted a race-horse as a luxury would get a gramophone, and the man who wanted a gramophone would get a race horse.

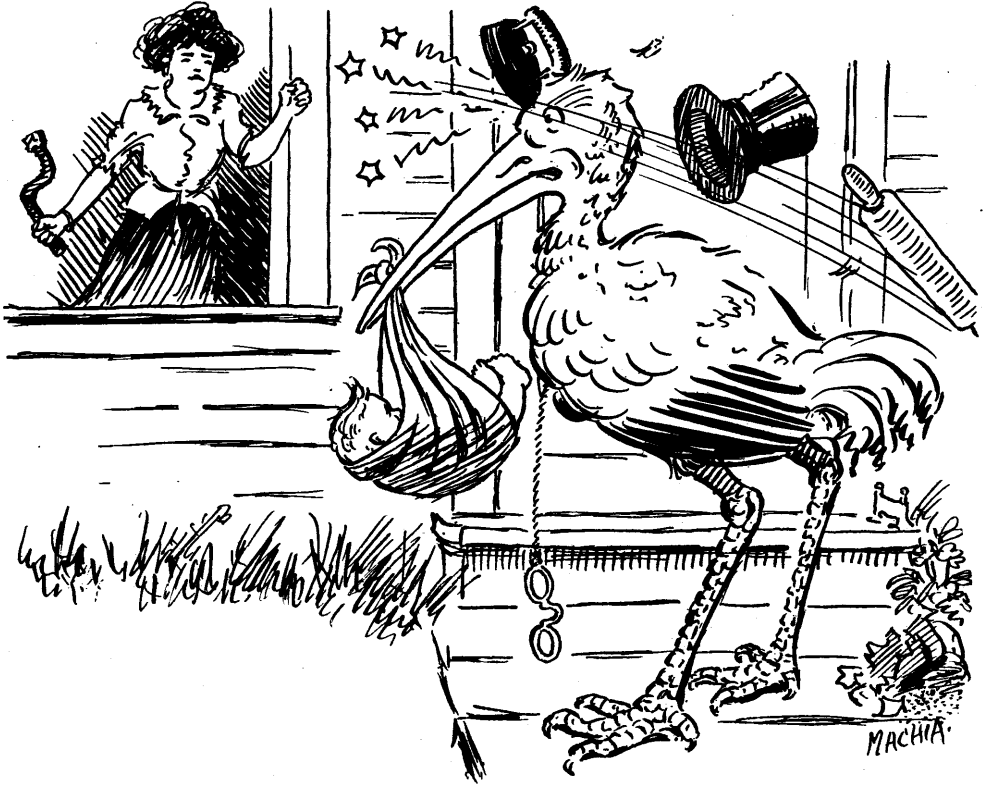
"In order to enable men to determine production according to their own tastes, you must give a man his income in the shape of purchasing power. By that purchasing power he determines production; and if you allow the purchasing power of one class to fall below the level of the

vital necessities of subsistence, and at the same time permit the purchasing power of another class to rise considerably above it into the region of luxuries, then you find inevitably that those people with that superfluity determine production to the output of luxuries, while at the same time the necessities that are wanted at the other end, cannot be sold and are therefore not produced. That is the economic argument in favor of equality of income.

"The ideal that we need to bring before the people of this nation and every other nation, is the gentleman's ideal. What is the ideal of the gentleman? The gentleman makes a certain claim on his country to begin with. He makes a claim for a handsome and dignified existence and subsistence; and he makes that as a primary thing, not to be dependent on his work in any way; not to be doled out according to the thing he has done or according to the talents he has displayed. He says, in effect: 'I want to be a cultured human being; I want to live in the fullest sense; I require a generous subsistence for that; and I expect my country to organize itself in such away as to secure me that.'

"Also the real gentleman says—and here is where the real gentleman parts company with the sham gentleman, of whom we have so many: 'In return for that I am willing to give my country the best service of which I am capable; absolutely the best. My ideal shall be also that, no matter how much I have demanded from my country, or how much my country has given me, I hope and I shall strive to give my country more than it has given me; so that when I die my country shall be the richer for my life.'

"Such a man never says: 'I want a handsome and dignified existence, but a less handsome and dignified existence is good enough for other people!' He never says it nor thinks it. It is part of his conception of a handsome and dignified existence that it should be an existence shared with other men enjoying the same grace and dignity."



THE BIRTH STRIKE

By William J. Robinson, M. D., New York

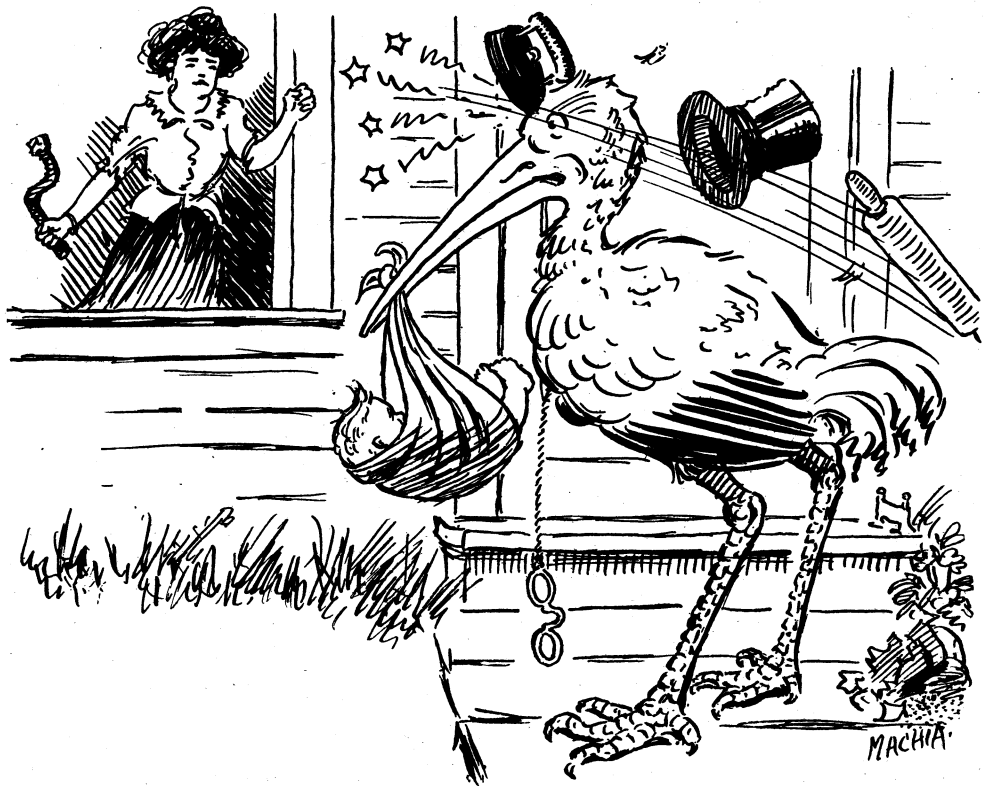
[Reprinted from *The Critic and Guide*.]

THE evening of August 29, 1913, will remain strongly impressed upon my memory, probably for years to come.

I had read in the Berlin *Vorwärts* that on that evening a mass meeting under the auspices of the Social Democratic party would take place, at which the subject of the limitation of offspring would be discussed. Another meeting had taken place the week before, at which several eminent socialist women, among them Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin, spoke very strongly against the limitation of offspring among the poor. They and others were to speak

again, and I decided to be present at that meeting, be the difficulties what they may. I was deeply interested to hear what apparently cultured, freethinking people, and socialists at that, could have to say against limiting the number of children among the working people of Germany. That being a socialist was not always an absolute guarantee against being a fool—on some occasions at least—I always knew.

We were at the place at 6:40 p. m., but when Mrs. R. saw that even then there was a large crowd, covering the stairs, sidewalk and extending into the street, she told the



chauffeur to turn around and take her back to the hotel, and I remained alone among the thousands of German *arbeiter* and *arbeiterinnen*, who were standing packed like sardines, patiently waiting for the doors to open. At 7 sharp they opened—it was like the opening of sluices holding back a rapid torrent. It seemed as if in one instant the immense hall, holding over 5,000 people, was filled to its capacity. But no, the people kept on pouring in until nearly 8 o'clock, when the police locked the doors to prevent dangerous overcrowding.

The reporters took out sandwiches and cold lunches from their pockets, and so did the men and women in the audience. I was told that they always did that. When they got through with their work it was too late for them to go home, and eat or tidy up a bit, so they had their suppers with them and went directly from the factory to the meeting hall. Waiters soon appeared with trays on which there were tall glasses of a liquid which looked like beer, and for a while the room looked more like a cheap eating place than a meeting hall. The enthusiasm, or rather the interest of the audience was intense; one could see that with them it was not merely a dialectic question—as it was with their leaders—but a matter of life and death.

I came to attend a meeting *against* the limitation of offspring; it soon proved to be a meeting very decidedly *for* the limitation of offspring. For every speaker who spoke in favor of the artificial prevention of conception or undesired pregnancies was greeted with vociferous, long-lasting applause; while those who tried to persuade the people that a small number of children is no proletarian weapon and would not improve their lot were so hissed that they had difficulty in going on.

The speakers who were against the limitation of offspring idea soon felt that their audience was against them, and then they did the one foolish thing against which speakers should always guard—they began to scold the audience, call them stupid, ignorant, egotistic, mentally lazy, etc., and they began to reproach them over and over again. It did not apparently penetrate the leaders' heads that the limitation of offspring was of personal, vital, present interest to the people. It does occasionally happen that the people are ahead of their leaders. This meeting certainly showed that

the German masses see more clearly—perhaps it is because they feel their own misery more deeply—than do some of their eminent would-be leaders.

The principal anti-speaker of this as of the previous meeting was Clara Zetkin. She is a fine, fluent, earnest, perhaps slightly hysterical orator, but real arguments against the limitation of a too numerous progeny among the poor she gave none; and for a very simple reason—there aren't any. She spoke with deep contempt of everything bourgeois, but every one of her arguments was strictly reactionary and bourgeois. Yes, the individual family might be benefited by few children; but we must not pay any attention to the individual; what concerns us is the class. The proletariat cannot improve its condition by having few children; it can only improve it by the class struggle, by revolution. And for a successful revolution we must have many children; the more children we have the more fighters. In revolutions it is not quality that is important, but quantity, etc. The good lady overlooked here a very important thing. It is not at all certain that every child born to a proletarian family becomes a fighter for the proletarian and for freedom. The chances are more than even—especially if he belongs to a family with many hungry mouths—that he may become a member of the slum or bum proletariat, a class which has always furnished hirelings to the ruling classes, strikebreakers, thugs, etc.

What particularly amused me—and pained me—in the anti-limitationists was the ease and equanimity with which they advised the poor woman to keep on bearing children. The woman herself was not taken into consideration, as if she was not a human being, but a machine. What are her sufferings, her labor pains, her sleepless nights, her inability to read, to attend meetings, to have a taste of life? What does she amount to? The proletariat needs fighters—go on, females, and breed like animals. Maybe of the thousands you will bear, a few will become party members. In what respect are such lovers of the people superior to the old tyrants and blood spillers, who bade the people breed because they needed soldiers for their armies? Those who are comfortable and well-off, and those who have few or no children must

have limitless cheek to advise the poor devils to breed like rabbits.

One plain workman elicited a great deal of applause with his blunt, brief remarks: "They frighten us with threat that if we do not have many children we will go to the devil, cease to exist. I wish I had ceased to exist long ago or had never been born," was the cry of this plain worker, which one felt came from the depths of his heart.

Two points the speakers emphasized repeatedly: that not only absolutely but proportionately the largest number of prostitutes comes from the large families (as well as strikebreakers) and that the women who are the mothers of many children can but rarely and with greatest difficulty be gotten to interest themselves in the "cause," or even in ordinary culture or literature. They have neither the time nor the inclination.

When the meeting was over at 11:30, the matter seemed to stand as follows: Whether the limitation of offspring is to be considered a revolutionary weapon against

militarism and capitalism is questionable; but that it is a wonderful measure in improving the condition of individual families, in guarding the health of the woman, and in generally strengthening the working class in their political and economic battles, about this there could be no question. And the feeling was that though Clara Zetkins and Rosa Luxemburgs and all other literal and figurative old maids could talk and scold until doomsday, the diminishing birth rate will go on diminishing still further, until such time when the people will feel that by bringing a child into the world they are increasing the sum total of human misery, ill health and wretchedness. Give the people assurance that their children will be brought up decently, will receive a proper education, will be assured of a congenial occupation, or of employment at any rate, and the women will be glad to bear children. The maternal instinct will not die out. Take away the spectres of crime, disease and poverty, and the spectre of race-suicide will vanish also.

THE PATRIOT

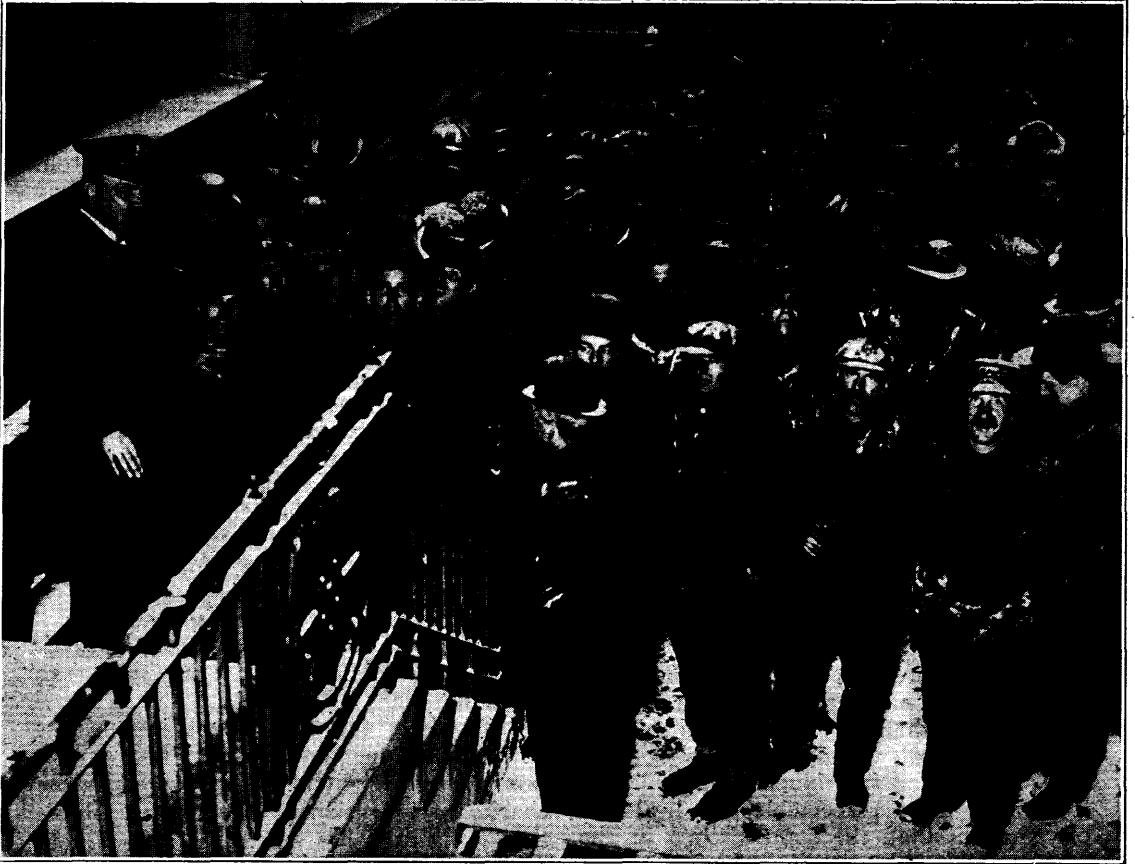
I am a brave young soldier,
 With sawdust in my head,
 I want to take my rifle
 And shoot the Greasers dead!

They're mostly good-for-nothing,
 They'd rather loaf than work;
 Employers all declare they
 Are always on the shirk!

They fuss because the Standard
 Has gobbled all their oil,
 They're not protecting property,
 They want to keep the soil.

So I will take my rifle,
 I love My Country so,
 And save Poor Johnnie's oil wells,
 Way down in Mexico!

So bring the good old flag! If
 You've sawdust in your head,
 And we will shoulder muskets
 And shoot the Greasers dead!



NIGHTLY CROWD OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS CLAMORING FOR ENTRANCE TO THE MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE SIX-HOUR DAY

By Godfred Ritterskamp

CHICAGO today boasts of an army of over 100,000 unemployed men—able-bodied men, willing to produce what they need, but who are denied the opportunity. From 30,000 to 40,000 of these workers have families to support. To this number must later be added some 25,000 building trades men who are annually thrown out of employment by weather conditions. But what adds to the

terror of this army are the daily reports of curtailment of labor in all lines of business, this during the holiday season, when additional help is usually taken on. Teamsters are being let out in groups of ten and twenty at a time, three weeks before the holidays. At the stock yards the army of casuals, the surplus laborers who gather from 6:30 to 7:30 every morning outside the time offices of the yards, in the hope



NIGHTLY CROWD OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS CLAMORING FOR ENTRANCE TO THE MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY.

of work, has increased to three or four thousand. At the steel mills the curtailment has affected thousands. Practically all the large manufacturing plants are running on orders alone. Saloons and restaurants have begun cutting down their employes, and with the close of the holiday season an immense army of clerks will be added to the unemployed.

In fact, the situation has become so alarming that the saloon men are going to ask the city council of Chicago to abolish the free lunch counters from the saloons. Their reason for asking this favor of the council is that they cannot afford to feed the great numbers of unemployed at their free tables. It is estimated under normal conditions as many as 10,000 men are fed for a nickel or a dime in the saloons of Chicago. At the present time the saloons are feeding 25,000 men and boys—more than all the charity organizations combined are doing. Ordinarily, these thousands of men depend upon the saloon for their board when they are out of a job. They can get a few weeks' credit with the landlady, but the food vendor presents his check after each meal. It is always easier to get a man to buy a drink than to "touch" him for the price of a meal. A drink is the price of admission to the free lunch counter. This is a much more respectable and healthful place to eat than the soup kitchen or the "coffee-and" counter of a charity organization.

The national army of unemployed is today variously estimated at from one to five million men, to say nothing of the women and children who are out of work. Easily one-fourth of the population of the United States today is insufficiently provided with food, clothing and shelter—the prime necessities of life—and this in a land of plenty. We have the raw materials; we have the machines with which to work the raw materials into the finished product; we have the facilities with which to transport them, and we have the labor power to produce all the necessities of life, *but*, through a system of private ownership of the machines, the workers cannot produce food, clothing and homes for themselves, hence the unemployment.

Professional Prattle of Charity Peddlers.

There is much ado about the deprivation of the poor and the sufferings of the unemployed. Clergymen, charity workers and

"public-spirited citizens" are pleading with those who, through their system of profit-taking, hold possession of the wealth of the earth, to give back to the producers of that wealth at least enough to keep body and soul together. These misrepresentatives of the workers have found that to scare the capitalists with horrid stories of riot, robbery and rebellion is the most effective way to get money out of them. So the newspapers are filled with scare headlines and columns of matter are printed about the unemployed and the wants of the poor.

But in all this charity "bunk" no attempt is made to explain the causes of unemployment. No question is asked as to why the vast majority of our boasted 100,000,000 of population is poor and a small minority is in possession of the means of production and distribution, refusing to permit the workers to make what they need. They have the "gall" to tell the public, as did the Rev. Johnston Myers of the Emanuel Baptist church in the *Tribune*, that this is no time to look for the cause and a remedy—what we need is relief, bread and coffee to eat and a capitalist newspaper to sleep in.

Just where the curtailment in business will end, no one can foresee. That conditions will be frightful, is anticipated by the charity organizations. The United Charities of Chicago has started a campaign to raise \$350,000 to relieve the distress. This fund will give to each member of the army enough to pay room rent for a week or to feed each member for five days at 15 cents a meal.

But that is not the intention. The United Charities, adjunct of the capitalist system, does not care for its unemployed army that way. Instead of paying a member's room rent, they provide him with a place very similar to a hog house, where he can wrap himself up in a newspaper and sleep for the night. They have two reasons for doing it that way. One is, it's cheaper, and the other, "it's good enough." Then, instead of giving a member 15 cents to buy a frugal meal, they will establish soup houses, very much as the farmer does for his hogs; or, as the Rev. Johnston Myers of the Immanuel Baptist church has done, they may give the "boys" a "substantial" meal every morning, consisting of bread and butter and steaming hot, black coffee—lots of coffee—to warm the bellies of the members, so they



"COFFEE AND."

can "tramp, tramp, tramp up and down the streets between dawn and dusk, looking for work," as the *Daily News* puts it.

Starvation of the unemployed prevails throughout the United States. B. C. Forbes, Wall Street correspondent for the Hearst newspapers, is authority for saying: "The United States, very unfortunately, will be strewn with unemployed this winter. At least 250,000 have already been discharged by railroad, industrial, equipment and mercantile companies. And retrenchment has only begun."

The *New York Call*, in giving an account of the opening night at the Bowery Mission, sounds the alarm from the great eastern metropolis, as follows:

"A thousand hungry and shivering men and boys lined the Bowery in the cold, early morning yesterday, from the Bowery Mission to Houston street. The line was ever increasing and hundreds were turned away when a bell rung from the kitchen of the mission, announced that the supply of rolls and coffee had vanished. The great majority of the "down and outs" were not old men, but comparatively young fellows. At least 80 per cent of the men were below the age of 35. The line yesterday was no different from any of the previous lines except that the line was larger than any other opening night."

As capitalism has become an international institution, so unemployment today is common to every modern country. In England the conflict between capital and labor has in recent years become very acute. Unemployment has long been a common problem

with the English cities. From Germany, for the first time since the commercial expansion of that nation, comes the report of an alarming army of unemployed. Berlin alone reports more than 100,000, with business curtailment at every point.

It follows that unemployment is not due to trusts, because England is practically free from trust rule. It is not due to slum life or the high cost of living, because in Germany the cost of living is very low and the cities of that country are without our modern slums. The reason for unemployment is easily traceable to the capitalist system of production and distribution under which we now live.

As the *Chicago Tribune*, in commenting on "joblessness," says: "All the philanthropic agencies in a big city can do is to stave off hunger and death. They cannot attempt a solution of the problem of unemployment."

We workers don't want the doled-out slops of charity. Take that for granted. What will help us now? Socialism, says somebody. Right. Let's take a step towards Socialism. Begin with a six-hour day. The six-hour day will give work to every unemployed man and woman. It will fill every empty stomach. It will relieve the overworked. Shorten the hours and the workers will have jobs. Raise the wages and the workers will have the where-with-all to live. Charity will then be unnecessary and the employers will disgorge some of their ill-gotten wealth.



"COFFEE AND."

MUTINEER OR STRIKER?

THERE are times when the members of the National Association of Manufacturers open their hearts to one another, or the congressmen or senators, or governors or judges they are about to bribe, and tell them what they think about you and me and other working men and women.

Henry R. Towne, president of the Yale & Towne Manufacturing Company has such infamous ideas of the way the workers ought to be treated that we want to lay bare his heart for your inspection. When Browning spoke of his beloved Italy, you may remember that he said, "When I am dead, open my heart and you will find thereon written, in letters of gold, Italy." Well, we have had a peep into Mr. Towne's private correspondence with James A. Emery, general counsel for the N. A. M., and we have found, in his heart, written in letters of brass, the one word, PROFITS.

This is a sample of the labor millennium for which the capitalist class and their honorable (?) servants are striving. Mr. Towne writes:

"I have long held and expressed the opinion that the only complete and adequate protection of the public against intolerable oppression by organized labor in the case of public-service and public-utility corporations will consist in legislation whereby employment in the service of such corporations will be put on a quasi military footing, THAT IS, WILL INVOLVE 'ENLISTMENT' either in the form which now applies to the Army and Navy, or in the form which now applies to the police and fire departments under municipal government. Such service is voluntary, not compulsory, and no fair argument can be advanced against imposing conditions reasonably needed for the protection of the public welfare on individuals who voluntarily seek to engage in such service.

"A STRIKE by enlisted men would be MUTINY, the PUNISHMENT for which, of course, should be FIXED by LAW. Coincidentally with legislation of this kind I would hope to see legislation providing ample safeguards for the protection of all just rights of THE ENLISTED MEN, including the right of petition for the redress of grievances, with adequate provision for the obtaining of redress wherever justified."

In commenting on Mr. Towne, the *Commercial Telegraphers' Journal* says:

"For emphasis I have capitalized certain words in this remarkable epistle. It is not surprising that such sentiment should come from Mr. Towne. He was one of the first

American manufacturers to adopt the Taylor System of scientific shop management, which provides for the use of cruel speeding-up processes on workingmen in order that dividends may be increased. In fact, Towne was one of the star witnesses brought to Washington by Lawyer Brandeis, of Boston, to demonstrate the possibilities of scientific management before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

"Senator Reed sharply cross-examined Towne on this letter. In answer to questions Towne declared he expects to live to see his proposition enacted into law. He estimated that 5,000,000 wage-workers would be included in his scheme of enlistment subject to punishment for mutiny in case of strikes.

"Then Senator Reed asked Mr. Towne what would prevent the extension of his system from the purely public service corporations, such as railroads, telegraph companies and the like, to the Chicago stock yards, the coal mines, the steel industry, and in fact to all industry, since all manufacturing is indirectly a public service. Towne, however, was not willing to go to this extreme.

"But is there any question that if such military enlistment were applied to purely public service corporations it would eventually be applied to all industry? According to Mr. Towne's own estimate, 5,000,000 men are now employed by public service corporations—more than a quarter of the total number of wage earners in the country. A few years of Mr. Towne's peonage would create in this country a great, disorganized horde of supine, spiritless serfs, afraid to lift their voices for fear of punishment as 'mutineers.'

"It would, then be possible to extend the system to all industries, on the fair argument that all manufacture is engaged in the production of public utilities.

"We can imagine what would follow. The first step would be to deny to the American peons the right of petition, the argument being, of course, in Mr. Towne's own words, that 'service is voluntary, not compulsory, and no fair argument can be advanced against imposing conditions reasonably needed for the protection of public welfare.'

"This argument is fictitious. No labor is voluntary; all labor is compulsory, since self-respecting men must labor to live and must accept the jobs which are offered.

"Workingmen should think carefully over this Towne letter. It may have a deeper significance than the fantastic scheme at first seems to warrant."

Is there anything that stands between you and me and the conditions Mr. Towne expects to see in a few years? There is and that is why we must stand back of the Socialists and labor movement to protect and further the interests of our own class, and abolish the capitalist system.

THE MOLOKAI LEPER COLONY

By ESTELLE BAKER

FOR two years I have been living here on Molokai within a couple of miles of the Pali overlooking the world-famed leper settlement.

A pali is a precipice; an embankment of a few feet they also call a pali, here. Pronounce it Polly, you will be about right.

The pali of Molokai is 2,000 feet high in some places. A long time ago the bottom of the ocean determined to see the world and with a mighty lurch it hurled itself upward—and then was Molokai. But it also liked symmetry, and one shoulder was higher than the other; so, with a wrench that broke its bones, the undesired was thrown back into the sea—and then was the Molokai pali.

At the foot of the pali lies a peninsula—a tiny scrap compared with the island, but it contains nine thousand acres.

On this peninsula sits the leper village of Kalaupapa—a little patch, for the peninsula could hold fifty such. Some room to move about in! Yes! and still a prison!

Could the inmates climb up the pali if they tried? Perhaps, for the mules zig-zag down and up twice a week with the mail—their poor little tails sticking straight up in the air from the pull of their packs. But the pali once scaled?

The only egress or ingress of Molokai is by steamer—twice a week; which steamer, the Molokai police are required to meet. They must also know all persons arriving or departing thereby. Once the Hawaiians lived on the water; now, none owns a canoe.

It is no news to the world to say that the lepers marry and breed in the leper reservation on Molokai. Some babes are visible lepers at birth; some do not show the poison till adult life.

As soon as a child is born, it is removed to the Babies' Home, where it is kept till seven years of age, when, if no signs of leprosy have appeared, it is taken "outside"—to Honolulu.

To the babies' home the parents come once a week and, sitting afar off, may look at their children; may speak to

them; but never may they touch them. The child of the leper never knows a kiss, and the residences of Kalaupapa are childless.

At the Foot of the Pali.

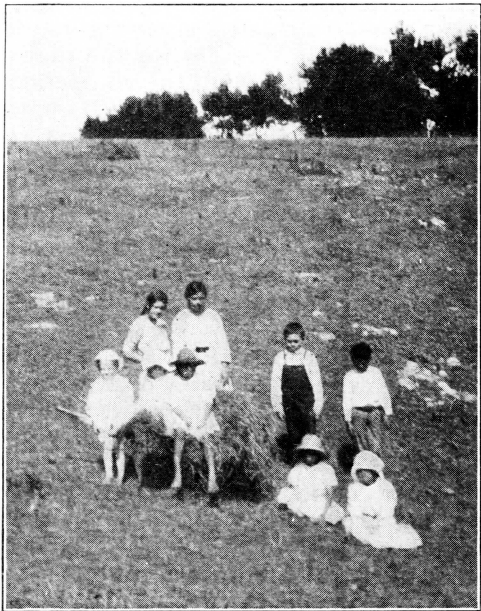
Soft the step, silent the tread
Of the dead at the foot of the Pali;
Of the dead that walk;
Of the dead that talk;
The dead at the foot of the Pali.

Low the voice, and dim the eye
Of the dead at the foot of the Pali;
Of the dead that eat;
Of the dead that drink;
The dead at the foot of the Pali.

Hums the song, strums the guitar
Of the dead at the foot of the Pali.
The dead that mate
And propagate
The death at the foot of the Pali.

Weak the wail—a new born babe
Born at the foot of the Pali;
The orphaned babe;
The poisoned babe;
Born at the foot of the Pali.





A Study in Platforms

By W. E. Hardenburg

IT is generally with a quiet smile of amusement that the average member of the Socialist Party of Canada regards the platform of the American Socialist Party. And, judging from remarks made in certain quarters, it would seem that this is also the case with many American Socialists.

I believe it is generally accepted as an axiom that it is the mission of the Socialist Parties of the world to educate the workers to a realization of their slave position in present-day society and to point out to them the one and only path to freedom. If this is the case, if the Socialist Party is, indeed, an educative force and not a mere vote-catching machine, it would seem that this derision is not altogether without justification.

The first feature of the American platform is a long and labored explanation—about 1,500 words in length—of the position of modern workers and the attitude of the Socialist Party. This is mingled with much Rooseveltian denunciation of the opposing parties and the “plutocracy” in general.

We then come to the working program—“measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the co-operative commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression.”

Of these measures, there are no less than thirty-four, ranging in character from a demand for “the municipal . . . ownership of storage warehouses” to a plea for “the free administration of (capitalist) justice.”

Now, if the mission of the Socialist Party is really to educate the workers to Socialism, what place have these fanciful reforms in its platform? Do they not, on the contrary, serve but to obscure the one great issue? Is this educating the working class to Socialism, or is it leading the workers to believe that the present system is all right if it is only patched up a little?

But these demands are “to strengthen

the workers in their fight, etc.,” it is said.

In the first place, the Socialist Party is asking for votes on a platform that it realizes is impossible. It cannot get these reforms for the workers until the capitalists are willing to grant them. If it could, there would be no need for them, for it could then get Socialism itself.

On the other hand, if these reforms are desirable, and the capitalists are willing to grant them, they will do so through their own parties in order to get for themselves the credit for them. And, moreover, it is foolish to ask those who want these reforms to vote for a party that cannot grant them, while there is a capitalist party ready and willing to do so. This was well illustrated in the last elections when the Progressive Party so wickedly “stole” a large part of the Socialist Party platform.

Apart from this, it is a debatable question whether reforms that are acceptable to the capitalist class are of much value to the working class. It has not unfrequently happened that what was hailed as a boon has turned out to be a boomerang.

One hears it sometimes stated that “immediate demands” have an intrinsic value in themselves, as tending to help the worker realize that the Socialist Party is “progressive” and is the only defender of his interests. While it is undoubtedly true that the Socialist Party is progressive and is the only defender of the worker’s interests, a little reflection will show that the reforms advocated in the platforms of the Progressive Party, the English Liberal Party and the Australian Labor Party are well calculated to make the same appeal to him. Again, if this were particularly desirable, it would be well for the Socialist Party to have two platforms—one to appeal to the working class voters and to be circulated as propaganda literature, and the other, representing the real position of the Party, to be confined to the initiated few.

It is also sometimes argued that these planks will guide our elected representa-

tives as to their attitude and conduct while in the capitalist legislature. Here there are thirty-four motions they could introduce and have turned down by the capitalist parties. But what if they saw a chance successfully to put through a measure of value to the working class, but not specified in the platform? There are numerous situations that might arise that are not provided for in the already long list of demands.

It is a trite saying that the way to get reforms is to advocate revolution, but the fact that it is trite does not detract from the truth of it. It is one of the first principles of "business" to demand more than one expects to receive, and it would appear that we could not err in following it.

But the most serious aspect of the whole question, and one that has been frequently pointed out by the more revolutionary of the American Socialists, is the danger of allowing the reforms to become the main object of the propaganda. It is certain that they attract a large bourgeois element, including many disreputable old-party politicians and reactionaries of all descriptions, who emphasize them until at times the vital spark—the revolutionary basis—of the party is almost lost sight of. That this has happened frequently already was clearly pointed out in Comrade Dora Montefiore's recent article in *The New Review* entitled, "Facts for International Socialists."

While I believe it is true that most of the American speakers and writers refer but sparingly to this part of the platform and strive really to educate the workers, this fact makes it still more difficult to understand why such demands and such appeals should still be allowed to befoget what is really a clear and clean-cut issue. Why should these things be in the platform at all? Why not be content with stating our position and our aim clearly, simply and without using any bait?

It would almost seem that if one were to judge the American Socialist Party by its platform, the English Labor Party would appear to be quite a revolutionary organization in comparison with it.

Let us now study for a moment what the writer considers as a model platform

for a proletarian party—the platform of the Socialist Party of Canada, here reproduced in full:

"We, the Socialist Party of Canada, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of the principles and program of the revolutionary working class.

"Labor produces all wealth, and to the producers it should belong. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of wealth production, consequently all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is, therefore, master; the worker, a slave.

"So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government, all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend their property rights in the means of wealth production and their control of the product of labor.

"The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

"The interest of the working class lies in the direction of setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which is cloaked the robbery of the working class at the point of production. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into collective or working class property.

"The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the reins of government—the capitalist to hold, the worker to secure it, by political action. This is the class struggle.

"Therefore, we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the public powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic program of the working class, as follows:

"1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.

"2. The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.

"3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use, instead of production for profit.

"The Socialist Party, when in office, shall always and every where, until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: WILL THIS LEGISLATION ADVANCE THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND AID THE WORKERS IN THEIR CLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM? If it will, the Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

"In accordance with this principle, the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone."

Here we find a clear and concise statement of the essential facts of present-day society and of the position of the Socialist Party. And instead of a large and varied number of immediate demand planks, we find the one simple rule, which is—or should be—the guiding principle of the elected representatives of any Socialist Party. This rule is applicable to all the situations and all the circumstances that the thirty-four immediate demands are, as well as to any others that might arise.

It may be urged that this platform is "vague" and "indefinite." It may be, but Socialism itself is as yet somewhat vague and indefinite. We cannot yet announce the details of it. All we can do is but to outline its main principles and show the basis upon which it will be raised. Hence, the platform is not at fault here. We do not attempt to specify our attitude upon each particular phase of capitalist politics that may arise. These phases change continually, and we are but mildly interested in them anyway, since it is our mission, not to help the capitalists decide whether it is preferable to have a high tariff or a low one, or whether the big capitalists should swallow the little ones or not, but to continue our task of educating the workers to the necessity of abolishing the entire capitalist system.

While to some politicians this may seem rather a narrow view, still if we wish to achieve our purpose, we must stick to it. We must not allow ourselves to be led off on side issues, no matter how fascinating or how popular they may seem. For us, there is but one issue, and if this is true, why should we burden our platform with demands that bear but slight, if any, relation to our purpose?

Bearing this fundamental fact in mind, it is to be hoped that the next American Convention will make a better job of the platform than did the last.

THE CATHOLIC THREAT AND THE A. F. OF L.

THE Thirty-third Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. was held in Seattle the last week in November. Sam Gompers was re-elected President, and Frank Morrison was elected Secretary. Governor Lister welcomed the delegates and Mayor Cotterill of Seattle fell all over himself in trying to make the delegates appreciate how much he admires their organization. George W. Perkins, who has been studying trade union conditions abroad, reported that in Germany "the industrial form of organization obtains to a considerable extent, which form of unionism has its disadvantages." Mr. Perkins continued as follows:

"Without in any way discussing or be-

ing understood as favoring dual organizations of the so-called Christian (Catholic) unions, the fact that the unions were and are today to some extent committed to Socialism, and against the Church, gives these dual unions and unionists an excuse to organize as such." Then followed a back-handed slam on Socialism and Socialists. Evidently Mr. Perkins means to keep Socialism out of the A. F. of L. and welcome the Catholic Church within the fold.

Rev. Sidney Strong, fraternal delegate from the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, Right Reverend John P. Carroll, bishop of the diocese of Helena, Mont., and Rev. E. J. O'Day, bishop of the diocese of Seattle, a Holy Catholic Trinity,

were among the guests of honor. This is a sample of the hint Bishop Carroll threw to the leaders of the A. F. of L. "It would be very impolitic for labor to favor any theory of economics that would be useless to labor itself and at the same time must incur the enmity of THE CHURCH. Millions there are of the laboring class that belong to the great Catholic Church. They love their religion as their very lives. They love it more than their lives because they know that by it they are put in possession of the good things of life, etc., etc." Bishop Carroll declared that the report of conditions in Germany and the organization of Catholic (scab) unions there impelled him to speak.

He continued: "The fact that the unions were and are today to some extent committed to Socialism and against THE CHURCH, gives these dual (Catholic) unions and unionists an excuse to organize as such. I hope the day will never come when it will be necessary to divide the ranks of labor in the United States."

The Miners' Magazine in reporting the Convention has the following today:

One of the busiest men in the hotel lobbies of Seattle during the convention was one Father Peter E. Dietz of the Militia of Christ. Father Dietz was in conference with a number of delegates who are members of the Catholic church, and it is said that when Catholics as delegates in the convention showed by their expressed convictions that they were advocates of political and industrial solidarity and favored co-operation with the Socialist party in the advancement of the interests of the exploited class, the Reverend Dietz became indignant and demanded to know why Catholics as delegates gave their support to any resolution that looked with favor on blending

the forces of the labor movement with the Socialist party to uplift the cause of labor.

It is said that Father Dietz in angry tone declared: "If you try anything that will tend to aid the Socialists, the Catholic church will be compelled to disown the American Federation of Labor and begin organizing Catholic unions."

Such a declaration raises the question: "When did the Catholic church own the American Federation of Labor?"

If the Catholic church is to *disown* the American Federation of Labor, unless the policy of the Federation meets the approval of Father Dietz and the hierarchy of the church, then it is to be presumed that the church has now an *ownership* in the American Federation of Labor.

The threat is made that unless the American Federation of Labor shall pursue a policy that shall meet with the sanction of the church, then Catholic unions will be organized.

Organized by whom?

By the prelates of the church, who are opposed to any policy in the American Federation of Labor that is not opposed to Socialism.

Now who will prevail in the A. F. of L.? Shall the Catholic Church succeed in driving out all Socialists or shall Socialists be given a place in the organization? Judging from the welcome given representatives of the Catholic Church and the scant courtesy extended to representatives of the working class on the political field, it looks bad for us.

It behooves all members of the A. F. of L. to ponder these things carefully. The Catholic Church stands for the propertied interests and against the exploited workers. If it succeeds in controlling the A. F. of L., as it very nearly does today, the A. F. of L. will become a mere tool to be used by exploiters of labor, through the Catholic Church, in crushing any and all real rebellions against the master class.



FRANK BOHN

**TEACHER—ORGANIZER—LECTURER—
WRITER**

Will be routed on a lecture tour through the states east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio rivers during the months of January, February, March and April. Locals desiring dates should write his manager, Godfred Ritterskamp, 602 St. Clair street, Chicago.



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AMONG THE COTTON MILLS

By Ellen Wetherell



THIS BOY HAD BEEN OPERATING A WARPING MACHINE TWO YEARS IN A NORTH CAROLINA COTTON MILL WHEN THIS PICTURE WAS TAKEN.

MY sister came and placed a book in my hands, her finger pointing to a paragraph on the open page. "Read that," said she. I took the book and turned its leaves to the title page. "Handbook of South Carolina—Resources, Institutions and Industries of the State."

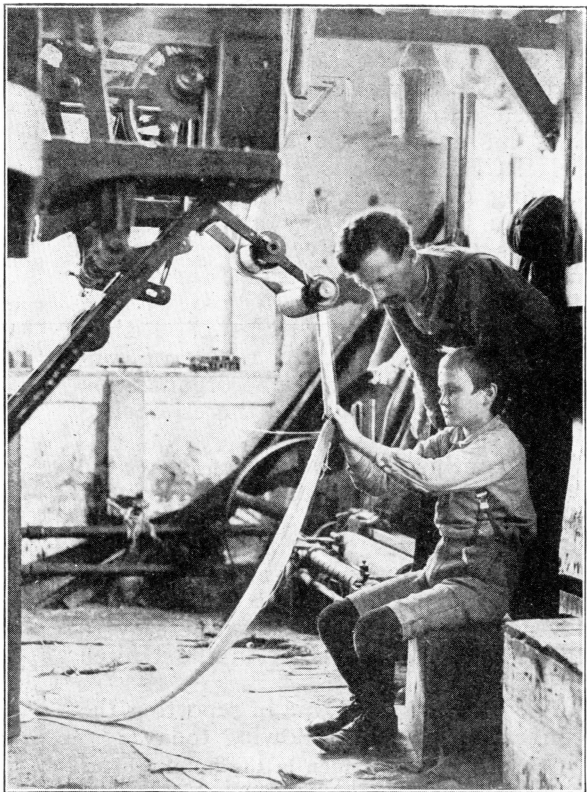
Then I turned back to the open page and the paragraph indicated by my sister, and asked: "What is this you so desire me to read? What is it all about?"

"Read, read," urged she, and, obeying, I read aloud:

From August Kohn's Summary of the History of the Cotton Industry:

"The South Carolina Homespun Company of Charleston (1808) was the most important and pretentious undertaking in the cotton mill industry up to that time. The exercises incident to the laying of the corner stone brought a gathering of three thousand people, and the occasion seems to have been one of great importance in Charleston.

The address was delivered by the Right Worshipful William Smith and is a general dissertation on the beauties of labor and the glories of the State of South Carolina. "It is most interesting to read," continues Mr. Kohn, "after one hundred years what Mr. Lloyd, the head of the Masonic order of S. C. said in a most memorable address about the prospective cotton mills": * * * 'Here will be found a never-failing asylum for the friendless orphans and the bereft widows, the distribution of labor and the improvements in machinery happily combining to call into profitable employment the tender services of those who have just sprung from the cradle, as well as those who are tottering to the grave, thus training up the little innocents to early and wholesome habits of honest industry, and smoothing the wrinkled front of decrepitude with the smiles of competency and protection. Here, too, will be found an everlasting refuge for those unfortunates of other climes, expatriated, with their useful talents, by the iron hand of unrelenting despotism, or the intolerable pressure of taxation and hunger and wafted by the sighs of fellow-misery to seek liberty and bread on these happy shores.'



THIS BOY HAD BEEN OPERATING A WARPING MACHINE TWO YEARS IN A NORTH CAROLINA COTTON MILL WHEN THIS PICTURE WAS TAKEN.

I stopped reading and looked up at my sister. Her face was working strangely. "Is it a case of laughter or tears?" said I. "Chadband and little Joe?"

My sister instantly recovered her composure. "Neither," said she. "It is a case for work." And as she spoke she took my hand and led me to the window. "Look there!" My eyes followed hers, over beyond the city streets, away to the barren hillside, where the smoke of mills was obscuring the pale blue sky, leaving a black, lazy serpent trail along the horizon.

"It is a case of work to unionize 75,000 men and women mill slaves on Class Conscious lines." "But from this book we have just read—" I protestingly interrupted. "Yes, yes, I know—we will go into the mills today." Again I protested. "Oh, such a beautiful day. The air is so warm and dry—not at all like March—and the streets are so clean. Let us wait."

"Fifteen hundred men, women and little children go into the Olympia cotton mill at seven o'clock in the morning and remain there until six at night," my sister answered.

We made ready to go. Within sight of the Granby mills I noticed the windows

were very white and opaque. I spoke to the motorman of the trolley car to ask why the windows of the mill were painted. The man turned a droll look on the conductor who stood beside him, gave a loud guffaw, and said: "So the 'hands' can't see out."

There were a group of small children waiting at the great iron gates. They had pails and baskets in their hands. It was near the noon hour and they were there with dinners for their fathers and mothers. "Oh," exclaimed I, "how pinched they look, how old, how hungry and forlorn!" Then I put a question: "Do you work in the mills?" "No," answered the tallest of the group. "Mother and father do, and I stay at home to mind the children."

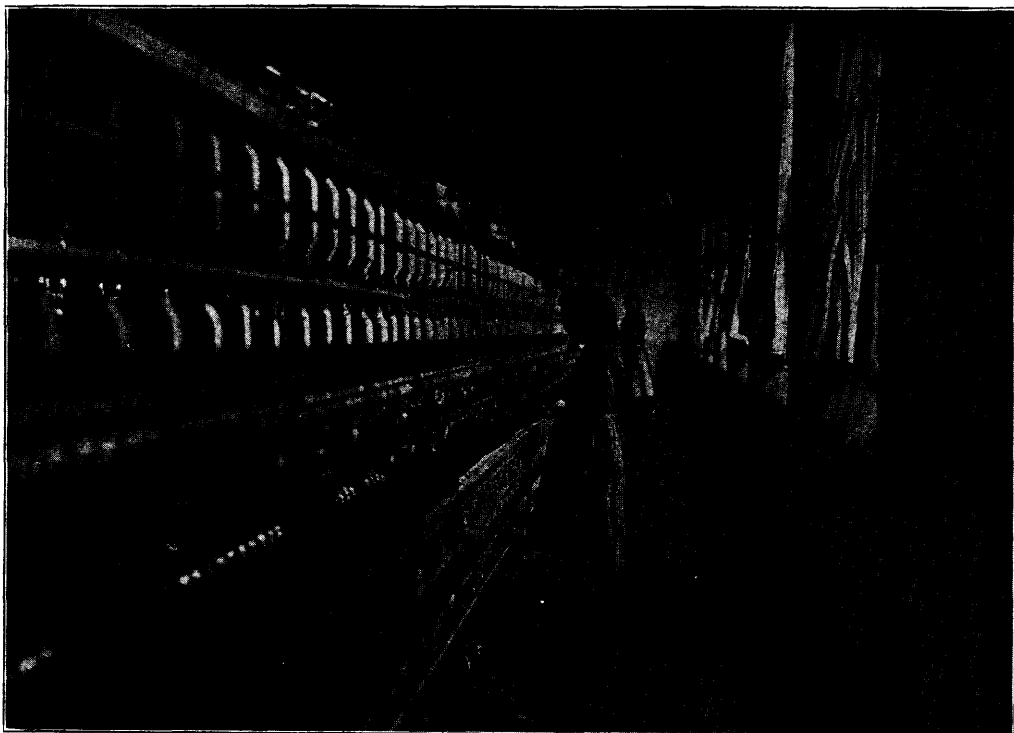
"How many children, and how old are you?"

"I'm ten, and there's six of us."

"Then, you don't go to school?" I asked.

"N—o. I have to mind the children," drawled the child.

The brazen clang of a bell rang out. The children huddled closer to the door with their baskets. The great iron gates swung slowly open to let forth an ill-clad, unfed, grimy and greasy horde of men, women



MOTHERS OF THE FUTURE.



MOTHERS OF THE FUTURE.

and children. They all walked with a shuffling step, as if Mother Earth was as slimy and slippery as the floors of their mill prison. Some remained behind to eat their dinner in the mill. One-half hour for the meal—in five minutes there was nothing left inside a pail or basket.

Said the superintendent: "Married women make the best workers. They are more docile, settled. *Yes, children are employed under ten years. The law is easily evaded.* Children are good help. Their little fingers can handle the threads without breaking. Yes, I believe in children working here. My boy is in the mill; couldn't keep him out. Just yu 'uns come in an' I'll show yu aroun'."

We followed the shuffling step of the "cracker" superintendent into the mill. We looked on as he lifted the white, foamy cotton from the wicker crates which was waiting the spindle. "Fine," said he. "God! what a place," I cried. "I can't breathe here. I can't walk these slimy floors."

Just then the looms started; the deadly buzz began, thicker the atmosphere grew with cotton lint. Choking, I tried to talk, to ask questions. But in vain. The noise of the machinery drowned my speech. Then my sister spoke. "Shall we go out?" "No, no," I cried, "not until we see more." Down the long, long weaving room we went, between the Draper, Massachusetts' looms, noting the children at work—the superintendent's boy, a youngster of ten years, chewing tobacco and "spitting" as dextrously as a "bar-room loafer." We saw the stooping mothers, the stooping fathers, the little, little girls painfully reaching up their thin arms to tie the threads. There was no hope in their eyes, no smile on their faces, no childhood in their ways.

"Ten hours, did you say, Superintendent, these women and children work here?" "Yes," replied he. "but that is nothing. The children on the night shift work eleven hours. It keeps them out of mischief, and gives them money to spend."

He invited us to go on up to the next floor, to see the next process in cotton cloth making. Instead, we went over to the Olympia mills. "Maybe," I urged, "we may find things better there." My sister smiled incredulously and shook her head.

The Olympia mill is the largest in the world making fine cotton cloth. It has upward of 100,000 spindles; it employs near-

ly 1,500 men and women, and some 300 to 600 children under sixteen years. Today all the mills in Columbia have merged their interests and are running under one head. I spoke to my sister of this, and she said the mill workers must take a lesson from the manufacturers and when they *awake and organize*, it must be in "*One Big Union for their own protection.*" The superintendent was very courteous to us. (Of course, we did not tell him we were Socialists.) But he hesitated about allowing us to go over the mill. We awaited his time and he came around and called up a guide. This was very much like the Granby mills, only on a very much larger scale—more stooping men, a larger number of pale, stooping women, a higher per cent of little children, a thicker atmosphere of cotton lint, more greasy stairs—a greater noise from more and heavier machinery, more painted windows, a severer discipline, and a more general air of discomfort and "God-forsakenness"! "Please, what wages do you pay for ten hours' work in the weaving room?" I asked of the superintendent. "From \$1.00 to \$1.25 for men operatives, and \$1.00 for women. Children get all the way from 25 cents to 75," was his reply. He added: "Wages have steadily advanced during the last ten years."

"And what of the great advance in dividends?" was on my tongue's end, but I refrained. Instead, I asked: "Why are not the windows open this warm day? There is no air here!" "The air in a cotton mill must be very warm and kept at an even temperature to prevent the oil of the machinery from thickening, and the threads from breaking," he replied. "And what do you do in summer, when the mercury runs up to 100 degrees?" Nonchalantly, the man said: "Oh, we sometimes spray the mills on the outside, but these people are accustomed to hot weather."

"You don't employ negroes?" I asked. "Not many," he replied. "The 'nigger' goes to sleep at the loom. It is the monotonous hum of the machinery that he can't stand."

My sister and I went out from the hot, lint-laden, oily, lifeless air of the room—out into the warm, sunny streets of beautiful Columbia—out among the hills with their aromatic pines—out into the spaces where snow never falls, and where the winds of winter come not.

As we went on to our abiding place, we

passed the "homes" of the mill slaves, two and three-room shacks, all owned by the Corporation and rented to their slaves for \$2, \$3 and \$4 per month; schools owned by the Corporation, and churches owned by the Corporation. "The 'hands' are very re-

ligious," the superintendent had told us, "and we take pains to foster this spirit."

Pointing to a shack perched on a hill much as an eagle's eyrie hangs over a cliff, my sister said: "That is one of the 'homes'."



From the Masses.

RACE SUPERIORITY.



From the Masses.

RACE SUPERIORITY.

The Local Headquarters As a Social Center

By

Frank Bohn

IF THE Socialist party wishes to succeed in the matter of organization it must do more than confine itself to political agitation. Young working people who are worth while do not come to the Socialist movement because they see the vote growing. The vote grows wherever we attract, hold and develop a force of active people. As a movement we must not expect to rely wholly upon our promise to perform wonders in the future. We cannot get something for nothing in the present. We must render service for service. Herein lies the main motive for the establishment of the social and educational center. This is not a luxury but a necessity of Socialist progress.

In the absence of accurate statistics it is a reasonable estimate that one-half of our working people between the ages of eighteen and forty years are unmarried. Immediately surrounding the business center of every large city is the zone of the cheap rooming house and proletarian restaurant. Here the young worker, male or female, gets a room for two-fifty per week, and his dinner (soup, coffee and pie included, if you please), for thirty cents. It would be interesting to know just how many young workers swarm in the great rooming house district of Chicago between the river and North avenue and west from the Lake to Orleans street. There must be at least 20,000. This army, clerks and apprentices, skilled mechanics and common laborers, nearly as many women and girls as men and boys, is a field dead ripe for Socialist propaganda and organization. Its counterpart exists in every city in the land of over 100,000 population.

Into this mass the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. thrust their roots. The decaying protestant churches, furnishing free music, cake and ice cream instead of the old-fashioned prayer meetings, work these districts with funds contributed by the rich philanthropist, who seeks salvation and notoriety. These young people want above all, amusement. They work eight or ten hours a day at the most deadening labor. Their wages, after their absolute necessities of life are paid for, leave almost nothing for amusement. Two forms of recreation are universal—the movies and, during pleasant weather, walking in the park, if they are fortunate enough to be near one. For the boys and young men there is, of course, a third resort, namely the saloon and the pool room. The saddest commentary possible on the intellectual condition prevailing among this army of young people in the Chicago district described, is the fact that the great Newberry Reference Library, located in the heart of this district, attracts none of them. Our young American workers have no opportunities for either intellectual development or decent social intercourse. Ten in a rooming house live ten lonely, hopeless lives.

The Great Precedent.

From the social and political movement of Germany, which developed in the middle of the last century, the German labor movement inherited a large degree of its political and intellectual idealism. The German Turn Verein was a popular athletic movement, the influence of which spread into every realm of the workers' lives. The Verein developed a system of athletic exercises in which everybody could take a part.

In America our young clerk or factory slave, with every limb and organ stifled from want of exercise, takes the only half dollar which he can save from his weekly pay envelope and pays it into the bursting coffers of the baseball trust. This trust hires eighteen men and pays them salaries to take the exercise for eighteen thousand anaemic slaves and overfed business men. Such is "sport" in America.

The German Turn Verein, adapting its exercises to individual needs, proceeded to develop not only the physical but the social life of the German workers. It organized singing societies and dramatic clubs. It founded libraries and organized lecture courses. It brought the young of both sexes together in a well rounded, vigorous and satisfying social life. What a commentary on the American city that the second generation of young Germans are content to see the turner societies of their fathers neglected and decadent.

At present the Finnish Socialists are furnishing the finest example of workers' clubs in America. Many a group of less than two hundred Finns possesses a Socialist headquarters and clubhouse worth fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. These Finnish Socialists pay a dollar a year extra dues to support their excellent Socialist college at Spirit Lake, Minn. One of the results of these activities is that, out of 150,000 Finns in the country, 14,000 are dues-paying members of the Socialist party.

The Socialist Party's Opportunity.

The Socialist party has before it a clear field for the development of a real social and intellectual movement among the workers. From the feeble efforts now being put forth by the average Socialist local or branch, it ought to be easy enough, through careful organization, to develop what we here have in mind. Practical results are what we want. In this article we can but describe the ideal and make suggestions for the beginning of a movement toward its realization. If one local or branch headquarters can really succeed in accomplishing what we have in mind, others can profit by its experience. What we are anxious to find are locals and branches ready to proceed along the lines we here indicate.

The practical way is to begin with what we have and develop it. The average local in a city of a hundred thousand or branch in a larger city has a business meeting once

a week or twice a month. It arranges propaganda street meetings during the summer months and conducts Sunday evening lectures in the winter. Very few have as yet tried to do more than this. Some have organized a class in economics, a Socialist woman's club, or a chapter of the Young People's Socialist League. In almost all Socialist headquarters there are a few books and Socialist papers. The social side of the branch organization has been almost totally neglected.

The Social Center of the Future

The headquarters and social center should be located with great care. Of course, it should be easy of access to all sections of the district which it aims to serve. For instance, in Columbus it should be near Capitol Square and not more than a block from High street. In the Harlem of New York, on 125th street, near some elevated or subway line. Let it be remembered that most workers will not walk far. Therefore, it should be centrally located and easily accessible by street car.

The institution should begin with at least a large and a small hall. The small hall should be used for local meetings, classes, and perhaps it will at first serve as a reading room. The large hall, which may be rented to other organizations a portion of the time, can be used both for mass meetings and lectures and for dances and other social events. One of the most important features of a social center is the clubroom. Opportunities should be here offered for conversation and games. Membership in the party should carry with it all the privileges of the social center, but the opportunities of the social center should not be confined to members of the party. Control of the center in all of its activities should be entirely maintained by the party membership, otherwise there is danger that the Socialist character of the institution be entirely lost.

The main purpose of the social center is its educational work. Almost all young working people will desire to read widely or pursue some definite course of study if the whole atmosphere of the center is permeated by intellectual ideals. The reading room of the club should contain not only the regular Socialist and labor periodicals, but also a selected number of interesting literary and scientific publications.

The organized educational work naturally takes two forms—the popular lecture and

the study class. The former has been already so well developed as to need no emphasis here. The latter are harder to develop. Nine out of ten of our Socialist study classes end in failure. The common cause of failure is either the lack of a teacher or the fact that half the members of the class wish to displace the teacher. Pedagogy is a science and teaching is an art. No bricklayer is permitted to "butt in" on the plumber's job nor does the machinist tell the carpenter how to build a stairway. If a class in Socialist economics, government or natural science is organized, a capable teacher should be put in charge. The class should be conducted quite the same as it is in an up-to-date public school. That means that the teacher must outline and conduct the work of the class. It is far better to start with a class of ten who will continue throughout the season, completing the work as outlined, than to start with a hundred and end up with none at all. A class should not be asked to meet oftener than once a week, and sessions should not continue beyond an hour. The Socialist movement is now quite able in most cities to secure the services of a professional school teacher to conduct such a class. Classes in economics and government can usually find instructors among our party teachers and writers. The course, when organized, should be planned to include a certain definite number of meetings. We suggest either twelve lessons, which will take three months, or twenty-four lessons, which will take six months.

Naturally, the first class organized will be for the study of Socialist economics. Other subjects recommended are the government of the United States, federal and state; the government of municipalities; an introduction to biology; the history of industrial society; and the industrial history of the United States.

Almost every young Socialist wishes to become a speaker and should be given the opportunity to develop his talents. But this desire should not interfere with the work of the study class. A debating society or public discussion meeting should be organized separately. A committee elected at the first meeting, with the assistance of the membership, should choose subjects for discussion for a month in advance. The election of a new chairman at each meeting gives opportunity for training in that ca-

capacity. Usually speeches should be limited to three or five minutes. For some meetings debates may be arranged with leaders who are given ten minutes each to start the discussion. This open forum will give vent to the oratorical powers of the young members which otherwise will be a continual disturbance to the regular party meetings or the work of the study classes.

Whence the Funds?

The first question to arise in the minds of the experienced party workers is, How can these activities be financed? Let us repeat what we have already observed, that such an institution cannot be established in a day, but must develop gradually. Where valuable work is done, it can easily be paid for. The money can be drawn from two sources. The people who are served by the institution will gladly pay their share. Then the Socialist party has a large number of ardent sympathizers among the skilled mechanics and people of the professional and middle classes who are in a position to contribute liberally if they see results. The less they do in active service the more they are willing to be called upon to pay. Requests for contributions from party members and sympathizers should not be made in a haphazard manner. The financial committee of the local should be composed only of experienced and trustworthy members who are willing to devote much time to formulating and executing plans pertaining to the budget. To burden the membership at the local meeting with all the intricacies and detail of accounting is the quickest way to drive members away. All the work of organization should be carefully planned in committee and reported for action to the local. Regular quarterly financial statements can be mimeographed and sent by mail to each member. This method specializes the work and inspires confidence.

The Socialist party is soon to meet the carefully organized social and political work of progressivism. The middle class, assisted by the intelligent members of the plutocracy, are even now hunting for working-class brains to help brace the tottering political framework of capitalism. We should be first in the field, with an effective machinery to organize, educate and inspire the young workers, if we are to successfully make headway against the forces of progressivism. The social center is not a luxury. It is a necessity.

THE VAMPIRE

By BERT LEACH. With Apologies to Kipling.

A fool there was and he cast his vote
 (Even as you and I)
 For ragged pants and a tattered coat,
 And some grub on which he didn't dote
 He voted for G. O. P., you'll note,
 (Even as you and I)

Oh, the work we do for the favored few,
 And the miserable wage we get.
 We crack the nuts and they take the meat,
 They hand us chaff and they take the wheat,
 And to make our bondage more complete,
 We vote for this system yet.

A fool there was and he goods had none,
 (Even as you and I)
 He worked like 'ell from sun to sun,
 He got no cash so he worked for fun,
 And he voted just as his dad had done,
 (Even as you and I)

Oh, he worked like fun from sun to sun,
 And he plotted and schemed and planned,
 But he just could not make both ends meet,
 If his head kept warm then he froze his feet,
 And his kids hadn't half enough to eat,
 But he couldn't understand.

The fool was stripped to his foolish hide,
 (Even as you and I)
 They couldn't use that tho' they may have tried,
 And the poor old fool was kicked aside;
 And his legs lived on though his head had died,
 (Even as you and I)

It isn't the shame and it isn't the blame
 That stings like a white hot brand,
 It's the cussed foolishness of a jay
 Who'll work ten hours for two hours' pay,
 And vote for the thing on election day,
 And will not understand.

—From the New York Call.

STUDY COURSE IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

LESSON II

Scientific Socialism

By J. E. Sinclair



THE sub-title of our last lesson was Utopian Socialism. We saw that because of its metaphysical idealism and because it turned away from capitalist society in disgust and despair, it failed. We saw, too, that industrial evolution had not yet produced a proletariat that was class-conscious and capable of managing the industries of the world. Right here our capitalist-minded friends formulate a complaint. They announce their objections to there being so many kinds of Socialism, and yet as they leave our meetings we hear them say, "When you have heard one Socialist you have heard them all!" Well, there are several kinds of most things.

In the third section of the Communist Manifesto, all sections of which we study this month, we find various kinds of Socialism mentioned. Even in our own day we find "Christian" Socialists, "Evolutionary" Socialists, etc., but they are all more or less Utopian. But the kind of Socialism that the capitalists are worrying over is the kind that recognizes a class war between the workers and those who employ the workers, the kind that is not respectable in the bourgeois sense, the kind that is most offensive to the

bourgeoisie. It does not matter what we may call this kind of Socialism. It is hated. It is feared. It has become a world power. It is the revolutionary doctrine and tactics of the working class, the clearest theoretical expression of which was given by Marx and Engels. What the sources of its power may be and why it can put forth a claim to scientific dignity are matters that will interest us now.

It is the business of the science of physics to study matter and force. After years, yes centuries, of observation, most of the laws that govern the operation of physical forces have been discovered and applied to mechanics. In other words, a knowledge of these laws has enabled men to harness physical forces for the performance of useful tasks.

These laws are definite and demonstrable in the every-day things about us. Before they can be in the mind they must be discovered through sense-contact with matter. The laws that govern falling bodies, for instance, could hardly be arrived at by pure reasoning. Pure reason might decree that a cannon ball dropped from a balloon and falling 16.1 feet the first second would fall ten times that far in ten seconds; but actual experiment

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proves that it falls one hundred times as far in ten seconds as it falls during the first second. Every physical or chemical laboratory is full of jokes on "pure reason." We saw in our last lesson where "pure reason" landed the Utopians. Even the mathematical exactness and keen reasoning of Owen couldn't build a co-operative commonwealth from the top, which seemed the reasonable place to begin building then.

It is the business of social science to discover the laws that govern social movements and shape human institutions and apply these laws in the solution of social problems. Just as the student of physics cannot get along very far without some knowledge of the laws that govern matter so must the student of social science work out and comprehend the laws that lie concealed beneath the great social forces that shape and re-shape human society.

In brief form, we have in the Communist Manifesto, a review of the historical process of civilization that has ever moved forward in a series of class struggles. It is an appeal to the proletariat, the last product of the class stratification of society, to unite and seize the world. When we consider that the Manifesto was written sixty-five years ago its optimism seems unbelievable. The thrill of immediate victory seems to flush the face. It startled the world with a new science, the science of society. It is strong meat. The evolution of capitalist society, its origin, its achievements, and its doom are scored deep into working class mentality for the first time. The evolution of the proletariat, the class that has nothing to sell but its labor power, is traced. A special historical product of a system of industry that smashed its way through feudal civilization, "the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population."

Tradesmen, handicraftmen, peasants with a sense of soil ownership clinging to them, even skilled mechanics that could once have posed as guild masters come tumbling down into the ranks of those who must look for jobs. What transforming force has broken loose in the world? Why this precipitation of classes? Why this shattering of ancient things? Why this mobilizing of the

proletarian army? Questions like these crowd each other even when we study the capitalist literature of economics. In the Communist Manifesto we get the first glimpse of a scientific explanation of the dynamic forces that move the social world.

Many years after Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto, Engels wrote *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. After disposing of the Utopian stage of the theoretical development of Socialism we see here repeated many of the things said years before in the Manifesto. But no longer do we find the stirring appeal. In its stead we find scientific certainty of success. Since the days of the Manifesto, Darwinism had opened great intellectual vistas and dialectic reasoning had come to stay. The evolution of industry pointed out in the Manifesto with its attendant class struggles had now its undisputed parallel in the biological world with its evolution and its "struggle for existence."

Engels shows how "the new productive forces have already outgrown the capitalist mode of using them". Capitalist society having reached its complete evolution, painful contradictions are everywhere apparent. But while the evolution of capitalist production was reaching its climax it, by its very development, was organizing, drilling, solidifying, and educating the proletariat and thus making unnecessary any other class.

The careful reading of these two books—the Communist Manifesto and *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*—is the imperative duty of every student of Socialism. The elimination of the middle class, the decay of the whole capitalist class, and with this the passing away of the capitalist state and the whole superstructure of capitalist society are seen as but the necessary outcome of Modern Industry.

Here let us slightly digress while we introduce a book which we cannot completely cover in this course but which no Socialist speaker, writer, or student, can be without. The first volume of Marx's *Capital* is a remarkable book. The belated Utopian may not like it, for it does not tell who is going to weed the onions "under Socialism". The very capitalist society that the Utopians turned their

backs upon in disgust and horror was made the object of the most critical study by Marx, who within its crumbling shell detected with scientific precision the foetus of the new society. Hegel, we remember, found history to be a process. Marx searched for the propelling power that made it a process. The first volume of Capital is an elaborate study of capitalist production upon which rests the whole capitalist superstructure—political, religious, educational, artistic, and ethical.

We shall also need in our studies Engels' *Origin of the Family*.

The student of social science soon learns that he is in a realm of mighty forces, forces that may be silent but that none the less make and break men and institutions. We come to see that the things that we once regarded as tremendous forces in society, such as the Church and the State, are but the expressions of greater forces that spring from economic origins. This is why Socialist books are studies of industrial processes and the conditions brought about in the affairs of men by industrial changes—changes in the ways of making and exchanging things. The student of Marx and Engels and the other Scientific Socialist thinkers soon stumbles across the fact that Socialism is only incidentally a political thing and that it is fundamentally an industrial thing, an economic thing, dealing with the problem of our daily bread, not exclusively in legislative halls and princely palaces, nor primarily in other ways usually considered political, but down where the work of the world is being done by those who sweat.

In our last lesson we noted the far reaching changes brought about by the industrial revolution in England. Since then the industry of the world has been revolutionized. Modern industry which means power production on a large scale, and for a world market, has chased the old household industries and the crude manufacturers of a former day into the forgotten nooks of creation. The work has gone from the home to the factory and from the little factory to ever greater factories. And with this industrial change has come about a social transformation in the family, in the State, and in every human institution.

In the Communist Manifesto (pages 14 to 19) we find a short sketch of some of these changes brought about by the rise of the machine owners to power. It was by a scientific study of the changes brought about in society by the introduction of new methods of production and exchange that Marx and Engels were able to arrive at the materialist interpretation of history. This was the first great discovery in social science. Let us examine it here briefly and see if we can accept it.

If we close all books and go out into the world of work about us we shall find that the cream separator and butter making machinery, the telephone, the gasoline engine, the newest agricultural machinery, the development of rural electric lines, etc., are each and all bringing about an urbanization of country life heretofore unknown in rural history. These new ways of doing things are upsetting old rural ways of thinking things.

In biology we know that every creature becomes adapted to the ways in which it satisfies its primary needs. Every organ is directly or indirectly associated with food-getting, home-building, protection, or propagation. Comparatively slight changes in food-getting or in other life circumstances are soon reflected in new physical adaptations to meet the new conditions. Relics of formerly useful organs may remain for a time like our vermiform appendix, but they are encumbrances. For man is no exception. He, too, is changed by his ways of getting a living. We know a preacher from a miner, a capitalist from a timber worker, not only by their dress but by physical adaptations to tasks or lack of tasks.

In society we find, in addition to individuals, collectivities whose social forms and institutions, like the organs in the body, are shaped usually in the interest of those who control the industrial basis. Every change in the methods of production and exchange is reflected in a new adaptation of the social forms and institutions.

This brings us to the basic law of social evolution: That the way in which any given society gets its food, clothing and shelter, determines in a general way the form and structure of its institutions and to a very great degree the thoughts and

actions of the individuals composing that society. In the preface to the Communist Manifesto, Engels says in part: "In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

Given groups having divergent economic interests, we can see how each of these groups or classes will struggle to establish the institutions that will make for its control of the food-getting process and the whole system of industry. As soon as these divergent interests appear in history the class struggle begins. It becomes the most tremendous thing in history. When interpreted in the light of the materialist conception, all history since the breaking up of the primitive gens has been a series of class struggles. We saw how the bourgeoisie in its struggle for mastery was compelled to encourage science. Since then science, invention and discovery, have been weapons of warfare between rival sections of the bourgeoisie and the workers. The workers, too, as they develop intelligence seize science as an intellectual weapon. In the conflict intelligence is developed. With the progress of science and invention, production becomes more and more socialized. The time came in feudal society when the development of capitalist production and exchange within the confines of feudal society became impossible. Class antagonism reached the boiling point; social evolution became social revolution. And as capitalist society was the result of a class war, so now when capitalist production through its own marvelous development has produced unbearable contradictions and an open class war, it is to pass away as the result of the class struggle. In its conflict with the feudal lords the bourgeoisie was a socially necessary class. Machine production and with it the organization of industry on a giant scale has transformed this class into a parasitic class whose industries are operated by salaried workers who direct their fellow workers in the interest of absentee bosses who usually know not the processes of production.

The wage class, being the only socially necessary class and being in possession of all the industrial intelligence, seizes industry and with its seizure the whole social structure of capitalist society, no longer able to function, passes away.

The class struggle becomes one of the great propelling forces of history.

There yet remains the great Marxian discovery of surplus-value. As this is touched on but briefly in the two books so far studied, we shall state it here briefly and discuss it more fully in a future lesson.

The value of a commodity is determined by the average quantity of socially necessary labor contained in it at a given stage of society. Commodities exchange at their values. The capitalist buys labor power as a commodity on the market at its value, that is, roughly speaking, at a price that will enable the laborer to reproduce his expended labor power perpetually either through himself or his offspring. But the capitalist is compelled to sell the product as a commodity and at its value, taking into consideration, of course, fluctuating circumstances, which counteract each other. Then how does the capitalist make anything? By the continual introduction of methods that will raise the productive power of the worker, ABOVE THE AVERAGE. Due to these improved methods the laborer may produce values equal to his wages in two hours and yet be compelled to work ten. The value created during the eight extra hours is surplus value. The capitalist gets more than he paid for although he gave value for value. The class struggle centers around surplus value today.

Let it be said in closing that any pretense at social science that ignores the three great forces that move society today—economic determinism (historical materialism), the class struggle, and the operation of the law of surplus value—is social quackery. The social science that recognizes these compelling forces is Scientific Socialism.

Just as in the childhood of the race the manifestations of great physical forces in nature were attributed to magical beings so do childish minds today attribute social changes to some great hero, to some god,

or to some government. We no longer need heroes, gods, nor governments in order to explain social phenomena. Socialism becomes the science of society. Mythology is banished from production and exchange.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.

Before beginning work on the following outline read both the Communist Manifesto and Socialism Utopian and Scientific through, making careful notes as you go. Always keep a note book. It epitomizes your reading. It makes you a careful reader, not a lazy one. Always read prefaces and introductions carefully.

Topics for essays, short speeches, or discussion: (1) Feudalism. (It will be best to use an encyclopedia in preparing this.) (2) Development of capitalism within the shell of feudalism. (3) Social changes brought about by capitalist production since the industrial revolution. (4) Bourgeois freedom. (5) The rise of the proletariat—its origin, its first outbreaks, its organization by the masters, its class-conscious organization. (6) The kinds of Socialism in 1847. Discuss and compare each. (7) Functions of the capitalist State or the government. (8) Functions of the church. (9) The class struggle as an evolutionary force. (10) Social production. (11) The contradictions of capitalism. (See Engels.) (12) Socialism and science. (13) Socialism and the State. (14) Surplus-value. See "Value, Price and Profit" or the last volume of Capital if accessible.

Before coming to the club meeting, after careful study, write answers to the following questions: (You do not need to agree with the texts. Write what you think. But think.) (1) Why was the Manifesto called the Communist Manifesto? (2) Give its history. (3) "The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself." Do you believe this statement? If so, why? If not, why? (4) What did the working class learn in the Paris Commune? (5) What great services have the bourgeoisie rendered? (6) What injury can come from their continued rule? (7) How has machine production affected the skilled trades? Give instances to show how improvements in machinery are affecting the skilled trades now. (8) Is the struggle between the proletariat and the capitalists a national struggle today? (9) Do you believe that the working men have no country? Upon what do you base your belief? (10) What reasons have you for believing that the government is organized to protect you? (11) According to the materialist conception of history, what relation exists between the system of production and the State? (12) Since the breaking up of primitive society what has been the function of the State? (13) What is the relation between religion and the economic basis of society? (14) Would it be possible

to "abolish" either the church or the State? Give reasons. (15) Account for the formation of classes in society. (16) What determines your ideas to a large extent? Give proof. (17) Mention some invention that has affected family life adversely. (18) What has been the effect of machine production on the relations between man and wife? (19) Mention the three great discoveries of Marx and Engels and explain each. (20) Is government ownership Socialism? (21) If the State or the government "dies out," as Engels says, what use can we make of it?

Suggested Readings:

Our next two studies will be on the Materialistic Interpretation of History. In order that we grasp the full meaning of this title we should be familiar with the theory of evolution and with as many facts gleaned from works on zoology and botany as can be conveniently picked up by a tired worker. A Socialist ignorant of modern science is just as pitiful as any other ignoramus. Don't talk until you know. Darwin's Origin of Species and his Descent of Man should be in every Socialist's library or trunk. Kerr & Company does not handle these. But Kerr does publish these: Evolution Social and Organic, by Lewis (price 50 cents); Socialism and Modern Science, by Ferri (price \$1.00); The Evolution of Man, by Boelsche (price 50 cents); The Evolution of Property, by Lafargue (price 50 cents); Origin of the Family, by Engels (price 50 cents); Ethics and the Materialistic Conception, by Kautsky (price 50 cents); Capital, Vol. I, by Marx (price \$2.00); Ancient Society, by Morgan (price \$1.50).

Jack London has a good story that you will enjoy and that helps us understand evolution. It is entitled Before Adam. Not for sale by Kerr & Company.

Questions for Debate.

Resolved, that the middle class (storekeepers and small employers of labor) can be used to advantage in the revolutionary organizations.

Resolved, that governmental power is greater than industrial power and that capitalism can be abolished by passing laws.

Resolved, that the political organization of the working class is sufficient for the abolition of capitalism.

Resolved, that the working class should assist in maintaining law and order and the protection of capitalist property during the progress of the class war.

Resolved, that the economic factor is the dominant factor in recorded history.

Resolved, that a knowledge of the theory of evolution is needed for the understanding of Scientific Socialism.

Resolved, that Socialism is merely an economic question and as such is not related to religion on one hand or positive science on the other.

ORATORY

By John P. Altgeld

FROM THE PUBLIC

Oratory: Its Requirements and Its Rewards

PART ONE

Oratory is the greatest art known to man and embraces a number of great arts.

In music tradition furnishes the ideas. The poet clothes them in words. The composer sets these to music, and the singer renders them into song.

The orator must be able to do all of these things.

He must furnish the ideas, he must clothe them in words, he must give these a rhythmic arrangement, and he must deliver them with all the care with which a singer sings a song.

Each of these elements is of supreme importance. The ideas must be bright and seem alive. The language must be chaste and expressive. The arrangement must be logical, natural and effective. There must be a natural unfolding of the subject-matter.

The delivery requires as much attention to voice and action as is given by a singer.

Labor is the foster mother of oratory, and no man has risen to eminence as an orator without great labor.

Knowledge.

The orator must have a general knowledge of history, of literature, of religion, of the sciences, of human nature, and of affairs.

He must have a full and special knowledge of the subject he attempts to discuss.

He must present new ideas, or old ideas in a new light. And they must be lofty ideas, that appeal to the nobler sentiments of men.

Mind must commune with mind and soul must talk to soul, or there is no oratory. The soul of the speaker and the soul of the audience must become one.

Language.

The intelligent people of America use reasonably pure English.

If the speaker falls below this level he simply disgusts. If he only stands on this level he may be tolerated but will gather no laurels. Men may say, "He makes a strong talk," but this is all. It is not oratory.

If he would delight and chain his audience so that the doors of the soul may be thrown open to him, his language must have the charm of superior excellence. His words must be simple, pure, chaste and crystalline—his sentences clear, epigrammatic and sparkling, and his arrangement logical, forceful and climactic.

In attempting to acquire a superior command of language it must be borne in mind that words are only the expression of thoughts, and where the thoughts are coarse or careless, and not well arranged, elegance of language is impossible.

On the other hand elevation of thought produces elevation of language. Studying the stars and contemplating nature prepare the soul for great things.

A familiarity with polite literature is also essential and experience has taught that the reading and digesting each day of a half page or a page of some classic author, so as to imbibe his spirit and assimilate his words, will by degrees give elegance of diction and purity of strength of expression.

It is necessary to avoid slang and to be careful as to our use of words in daily intercourse. By degrees we can acquire an entirely new vocabulary.

Arrangement.

Arrangement is the third essential of oratory. Without it the effort is lost.

The subject-matter should be treated from the point from which it naturally unfolds or develops. Start with the trunk of the tree, and then take up one branch after another so that the casual hearer

can get a general idea of the whole subject, and then of its different branches, and see just what relations they bear to each other.

The heavy, the statistical and historical parts of the subject should come early and form the foundation on which to build. Then the different branches must be arranged with reference to strength and climax—using the strongest toward the last.

It is important to bear in mind that while facts are addressed to the intellect, sentiment alone can stir the soul.

An audience will swallow a whole library of statistics or arguments unmoved—while one divine flash will stir it to its depths.

To prevent facts or arguments from becoming too dry and heavy, they must be garnished with epigrams whose wit enlivens or whose sentiment inspires. That the audience may leave in high spirit, the close or peroration must appeal to the soul and not to the senses. It must point to the skies and picture the everlasting.

Delivery—Action.

But when all has been said, **delivery—action**—is the vital essence of oratory. Without effective delivery the ideas, the language and the arrangement are all in vain. There must be no trilling of the r's, no drawl—no tremor—no affectation.

Every word must be uttered with the right volume of voice, the right pitch, the right inflection; and every sentence must have the right cadence. And to these must be added the earnestness that comes from a burning soul.

It has been said that a woman ought not to sing unless her heart is breaking; and it is certainly true that no man can rise to the heights of oratory unless his soul is on fire.

The feet of the orator must walk in the sun and every fiber in his body must speak to the audience, not in rant, or quaver, but in the simple fervor of the patriot.

Gesture.

No rule can be given to determine when, where and how to gesture, except possibly the general one—be natural.

Gesture is a part of the art of expression, and, when used without meaning, it simply mars the performance.

Art will not admit of the unnecessary. From the standpoint of art it is no more permissible to have unnecessary gestures in a speech than it is to have unnecessary notes in a song.

Many a fine speech falls short of oratory because its delivery is marred by meaningless gestures.

Thrashing the air with the hands and tearing a passion is a part of rant but not of art.

There should be no gesture until the mind prompts it to emphasize or illustrate an idea.

There must not be a needless gesture nor a meaningless look. All must fit and work together—not stiffly and with self-consciousness, but simply, naturally, and unconsciously. Neither a king nor an orator should be lavish of gestures. The simplicity of the child is necessary; the slightest embellishment weakens the truth. "Art when seen ceases to be art."

Oratory is the masculine of music, and to a certain extent is governed by the same laws.

It must have rhythm, cadence, measure, harmony and at times even melody.

Manifestly, such an art can only be mastered by great self-denial and perseverance.

If years of training and effort are necessary to even set foot in the temple of music, far more is necessary to set foot on the divine platform of oratory.

Voice.

Voice is as important to the orator as it is to the singer, and it must be trained with the same care. The speaker must be able to use his voice with the same facility that a singer does, or else his achievement will be meager.

He must be able to give it any volume, any pitch and any cadence he chooses, and to change rapidly from one to the other. While music may have greater melody, speech should have equal harmony. Measure, rhythm, cadence, come unconsciously to the man who is master of his subject, has a trained voice, and is simple, earnest and natural in his speech.

The voice of almost every great orator had to be made. Generally it developed during years of practice and effort.

In training the voice it is vital to follow certain well established principles or natural laws.

Ignorance of these laws causes many public speakers to grow hoarse in half an hour. This is because they do not inhale deeply, but take the breath from the top of the lungs and form the voice in the throat. If they would bring the breath from the bottom of the lungs, throw it against the roof of the mouth, and form the voice with the lips, they could talk half a day without feeling any inconvenience in the throat. Strange as it may seem, the diaphragm must be brought into use in talking.

Deep inhalations develop the voice and improve the health. Five minutes' exercise in deep inhalation, practiced several times a day, will greatly increase the strength and volume of the voice and tend to give vigor to the whole system. Care must be taken at first, so as not to produce dizziness.

Then a daily systematic exercise of half an hour in sounding the different letters of the alphabet must be kept up.

Familiarity with the scale in music is essential in this practice, so as to be able to distinguish the different degrees of pitch readily; then run the same letter up and down the scale—first in a whisper,

(To be continued.)

then in a low tone, then gradually increasing the volume until the capacity of the voice is reached.

In all these exercises the breath must be brought from the bottom of the lungs and thrown against the roof of the mouth, and the words formed with the lips. Practice will soon teach the speaker how to use his lips most effectively.

It is not only essential to practice deep inhalation, but also to practice holding the breath, and giving it out at will. In other words, learn to husband the breath and give out no more of it in uttering any word than is necessary.

In music students spend many months and sometimes years practicing only a few notes, because when they have mastered these the voice is ready for any service.

In this manner the practice of sounding the different letters of the alphabet should be kept up, for it develops the vocal organs to their highest efficiency.

The speaker must never forget there is a close connection between the stomach and the organs of speech. Whatever affects the stomach unfavorably will at once affect the voice.

The High Cost of Living

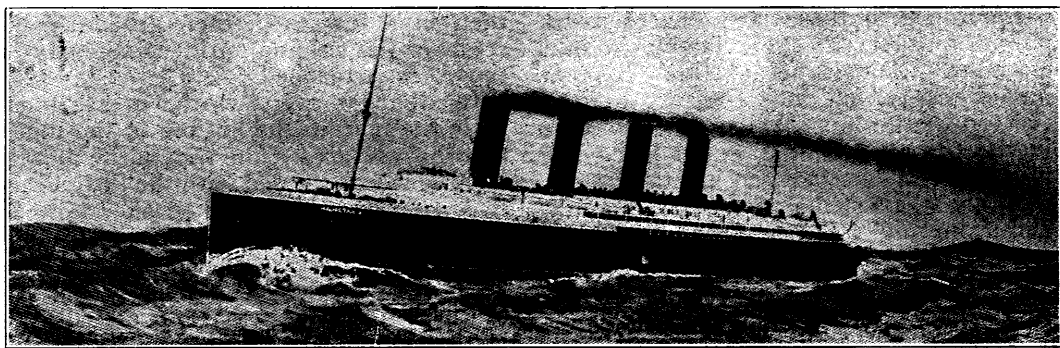
THIS is a question that is worrying the whole population of the civilized world except the millionaires. The retail prices of food and other necessaries have almost doubled since 1895. This means an automatic cut in real wages, even though nominal wages may have risen a little. What is the cause?

KARL KAUTSKY

the literary executor of Marx and Engels, editor of the "Neue Zeit," and generally regarded as the ablest living teacher of Marxian economics, has written a book, which has been translated by *Austin Lewis* under the title "THE HIGH COST OF LIVING." In it he shows the effect of new machine methods applied to gold production. The book is clear, concise, and convincing. Anyone familiar with the elementary principles of socialism can master this volume in a few hours, and it will give a clear understanding of the liveliest question now up for discussion.

Now Ready. Cloth, 50 cents, postpaid.

CHARLES H. KERR & CO., 118 West Kinzie St. Chicago



Review Will Send Fifty Comrades to Europe.

ON THE WAY TO VIENNA

EVERY mail is bringing in enthusiastic letters from our friends who have joined the REVIEW party for the trip to the International Socialist Congress to be held in Vienna, Austria, next summer.

As soon as they know that we only ask them to send in three hundred yearly or six hundred six-month subscriptions to win the trip, everyone starts getting subs.

Comrade L. H. Gibbs, a well-known Socialist physician in Scranton, Pa., has sent in 240 yearlies in *twenty* days. Up to date he holds the short-time record for securing subscriptions.

The Lima (Ohio) Socialist Party Local intends to send a representative. Every member is securing subscriptions. The comrades will work until they have secured three hundred. The comrade securing the largest list of the required number will go to Vienna as a representative of Local Lima. The comrades report that they appreciate the REVIEW offer, as well as the importance of circulating as much revolutionary literature as possible among the wage slaves.

L. T. Rush of Cedar Rapids comes across every week with four or five yearlies to his credit. Comrade Rush writes: "I never lose anything by pushing the REVIEW, as I realize that industrial as well as political organization is necessary for the emancipation of my class."

Comrade Danvers Spinney of Danvers, Mass., has entered the lists with a new bunch of names. Miss Olive S. Leavitt, the

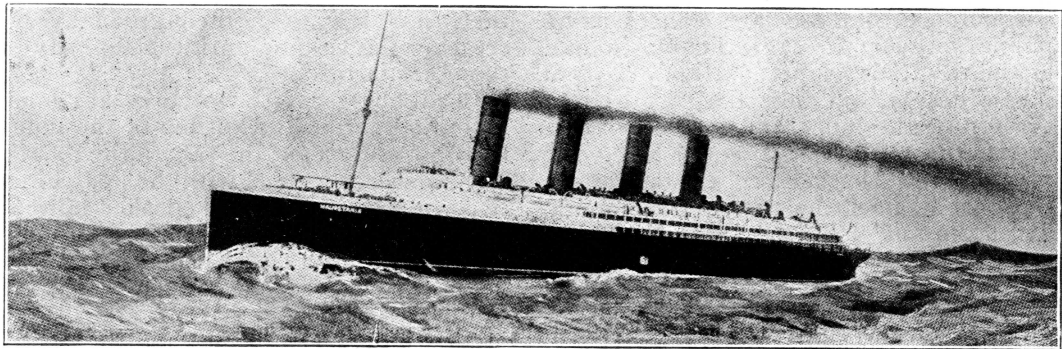
seventeen-year-old official representative of Haverhill, Mass., has a comfortable bunch of yearlies to her credit. And Orlando L. Carpenter, a seventeen-year-old member of the Boston Y. P. S. L., expects to have the support of that organization everywhere. He hopes to represent the Y. P. S. L. at the Congress. REVIEW readers will please call this fact to the attention of the Y. P. S. L. in their local. Any sub. sent to apply to the trip of any candidates will be credited to them upon request.

Comrades Buck of Marshall, Hamilton of Hammond, and Rittenberg of McKeesport, Pa., have begun putting the REVIEW in their districts. Comrades Sauber of Niagara Falls, Effto King of Marion, Ohio; W. D. Fox of Christopher, Ill., and George Bundy of Warren, Ohio, have joined the REVIEW delegation.

Miss Kate Kidwell of Jackson, Mich., who was voted the most beautiful young woman at the Indianapolis convention by more than one delegate, intends to represent Michigan.

Don't You Want to Go?

It is an easy matter for any live Socialist to take 300 yearly subscriptions to THE REVIEW in six months. Get the backing of your local, or your local newspaper and go as a representative of the Rank and File in your vicinity. THE REVIEW pays railroad fare from any point east of Chicago and back, steamship expenses across and back and railroad fare, and \$25.00 for hotel bills in Vienna. Write for free samples of THE REVIEW and join our party.



Review Will Send Fifty Comrades to Europe.

EDITORIAL

The Battlefield of 1914

THE World's Decisive Battles," as old-fashioned historians call them, from Marathon to Gettysburg, were fought along lines two or three miles long, that one general on each side could view and direct in person. Modern battles, like those between Russia and Japan, stretch across a front of a hundred and fifty miles. But the one vital conflict, that between wage-worker and capitalist, reaches around the world, and the lines of battle shift almost as suddenly as the lines of the smaller battles.

When the ranks of friends and of enemies are shifting, it is a vital matter to see straight and shoot straight. Keep on shooting mechanically in the same direction as before, and you will very likely hit your friends and help the enemy. So it is well worth our while to search the horizon carefully for signs of change.

Fifteen years ago our big gun was Government Ownership,—“Let the Nation Own the Trusts”. It did big execution, and might be equally effective today if the enemy had not been wider awake than some of us. *They have captured that big gun and are using it*, while some of our own men are still carrying ammunition for it.

In plain English, the capitalist class has discovered that government ownership of water works, lighting plants, telegraphs, and even railroads and mines may be a very good thing for it so long as it owns the government, and it is acting accordingly.

A striking piece of evidence in support of this view reaches us just as we go to press. From the *International News Letter* of Berlin, the official organ of the International Federation of Trade Unions (with which, by the way, the A. F. of L. is affiliated) we quote (italics ours):

Since 1907 the workers in public services have created an international organization with headquarters in Berlin. At its last international conference, 11 unions from 10 countries were represented by 28 delegates. The unions concerned contained 106,000 members. At the present time, the following countries are connected with the International: Belgium, Bohemia, Denmark (2 organizations), Germany, England, France, Holland, Luxemburg, Sweden and Switzerland. The organizations are in the form of Central Unions; they are established on the basis of the modern labor movement and include almost all grades of municipal workers and also, to a small extent, State workers. It is stated in the printed report, which lies before us, that *all these organizations are more or less opposed by municipal authorities*, and that in the matter of improving wage and labor conditions, the men have to be extremely cautious. One of the reports which was laid before the Conference, dealing with the work time, wages and protection of the municipal workers in different countries shed light on the wage and labor conditions.

On the basis of the facts which were presented, the statement was made that a number of improvements had, indeed, been made in the past years, but that standard conditions were rarely to be found. A motion prepared by the secretary was laid before the Conference. This motion stated that at the present time wage and labor conditions for the majority of the workers in Public Services do not correspond to demands which are made by the public upon these institutions. *As a rule the work-time is longer and the wages lower than in similar private concerns*. Anything which might have been done for the benefit of the worker is now being undone. *Safe conditions of working are not sufficiently guaranteed* and consequently further improvements of the conditions are desired.

The question of the legal rights of workers in Public Services was one of the most important matters discussed, especially in regard to the “right to combine” and “the right to strike.” After statements had been made as to the legal position in the various countries a resolution was unanimously adopted which made a short protest against any inroads being made on the suffrage, combination and strike rights. The workers in Public Services in all countries were invited to make use of all existing means provided by the modern labor movement to entrench themselves in a strong position and to mutually support each other with financial assistance. A

united organization was recommended as the best weapon and best means of defence against all attacks on the right "to combine and to strike" and the workers in Public Service were asked to strengthen and increase the ranks of the defenders by means of active recruiting work.

Government Railways in the U. S.

Not only is it practically settled that the United States government will proceed at once to build and operate railways in Alaska; we have the authority of the *Chicago Tribune* for the statement that Senator Kenyon of Iowa, with the approval of the heads of the Santa Fe and the Baltimore and Ohio railways, is about to present to the Senate an argument for the purchase by the government of the entire railway system of the United States. The *Tribune* says:

The railroads now are reaping the whirlwind as punishment for the high handed methods they applied for so many years. They are being crushed between the federal government on the one hand and the states on the other. They are compelled to charge traffic rates which they insist are inadequate to enable them to meet expenses of operation, development, and extension and to pay reasonable interest on the capital invested.

President Ripley of the Santa Fe said yesterday:

"Government ownership of all railroads is coming, as certain as fate. The legislatures hamper and cut our profits and labor unions take what is left. We are practically between the devil and the deep sea."

President Willard of the Baltimore & Ohio, who spoke for the railroads before the interstate commerce commission in advocacy of the 5 per cent rate increase, used this language:

"It is a mistake to think that the problem is merely a question of dividends to railroad stockholders, although that feature is, of course, involved. The problem in a broad and true sense affects all interests, and the outcome of this particular case, whichever way it is decided, will mark an epoch, because it will in effect largely determine whether we shall, as in the past, continue to look at private capital and private enterprise for our transportation requirements or be compelled finally to accept the only alternative possible."

First Step in Alaska

Undoubtedly the first step toward government ownership will be in the authorization of the construction of the Alaskan railroads. The bill for this purpose will pass the senate next month and the house probably during the winter.

If that experiment shall prove a success nothing will be able to stop the acquisition and operation of all lines by the federal government.

It is contended by advocates of the plan that it will be to the advantage of the people as well as the railroads to have government ownership and operation. They point to the parcel post as an example of what results may be obtained. Parcel post has proved a boon to the people. The system has brought reduced charges on the transportation of packages, and the government has a surplus in the treasury.

President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, is opposed to government ownership. He does not believe it would be in the interest of the men. Congress notoriously objects to increasing wages. Government clerks in Washington have been appealing for years for an addition to their salaries without success.

The recent award by the arbitrators in the matter of the application for increase in wages by the conductors and trainmen in eastern territory will give approximately \$6,000,000 annually to these men.

Why Gompers Opposes.

Samuel Gompers takes the logical craft union position. The immediate effect of government ownership would be to kill off the "community-of-interest" unions which in return for comparatively high wages for the more highly skilled workers have helped the railway owners to keep the unskilled workers in subjection. If the railways were run by U. S. experts, one of the first changes would naturally be to electrify at least half of the lines. This would make it practicable to displace engineers drawing \$8 a day by motormen at \$3 or \$4 a day. On the other hand the unskilled workers would pretty certainly be treated better than now, both as to hours and as to wages. On the other hand to strike for better working conditions would then be a "crime".

This new development is of vital interest to the Socialist Party. We have enough confidence in the good sense of the membership to be sure that this reactionary stand of the craft union leaders will mark the end of their influence inside our party. In due time, economic evolution must replace them with new men of the type of Tom Mann. Meanwhile it clears the air beautifully to have this proof that the craft unions, as represented by their highest officials, are bitterly opposed to even a "step at a time" in the direction of the Socialist demands.

For the rest, let us cherish no illusions as to any immense benefits to the wage-workers from government ownership of

railroads, or of mines, or of anything else, *so long as the capitalists own the government*. This proposed law is a capitalist measure pure and simple. The capitalist class finds that it will soon be unable to feed and control its slaves under old-time capitalist methods. State capitalism is the next logical step. Under it the private capitalist will gradually disappear, and the opposing classes will be bond-holders and wage-workers. While the bond-holders are in the saddle, the condition of the wage-workers will improve but slowly. The struggle will be mainly on the economic field, but meanwhile the Socialist Party can render valuable help by standing firm for the right of wage-workers to organize, whether they be working for a capitalist corporation or the capitalist State.

State Capitalism Already Here

What we have been discussing is "not a theory, but a condition". Things are moving so fast that if you have not read last night's dispatches, you are liable to have an inadequate idea of the extent to which government has already taken over the transportation systems and allied industries. Within the last few days before our going to press with the REVIEW, four official announcements have been made, all of the highest importance. The Alaska Railways bill has been given an early date for consideration in the Senate; it may even have passed by the time this issue is in the hands of its readers. The parcel post rates have been still further reduced; this means that the transportation of practically all small packages will be car-

ried on by the government. Finally, Postmaster General Burleson has just given out an interview in which he says that "there is a concerted demand from every section of the United States for public ownership of telephone and telegraph lines" and that "there is a widespread feeling that this step is the logical successor to the parcel post, and our improved postal system". And in Secretary Daniels' annual report he says he thinks that the time has come when the Navy should be freed from excessive prices charged by private manufacturers of armor plate, guns and gun forgings, powder, torpedoes, and the other supplies and munitions, so the Secretary recommends appropriations for an armor plate factory to be run by the people under government ownership. The Secretary also urges oil wells and refineries to supply the death dealing monsters with fuel.

What We Socialists Should Do

It is time for us to stop "advocating" in our platforms and propaganda the enactment of "public ownership" laws such as the capitalist class is already beginning to enact in its own interest. Let us make it clear that we welcome such legislation *on the part of the enemy*, because it will be easier and simpler to expropriate a capitalist state than a multitude of capitalists. But let us also make it clear that we are as much against the exploitation of wage labor by the capitalist state as by the private capitalist, and that we propose to end this exploitation by the revolt of the wage-workers, fighting as best they may, in the shops and at the polls.

From a Soldier in the U. S. A.—"Kindly renew my subscription for the coming year, as I don't care to be without the valuable magazine a month. This is how favorable I wish to speak of the good your magazine will do to the workers, and also keep me posted on what the working class is doing.
—J. F. N.

From the Navy.—"Having found and read a copy of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, I am enclosing \$5.00 for subscription and Socialist books. A lot of the men out here are interested in Socialism and some literature would be just what they need."—Shanghai, China.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The People, The Government, and the Socialists in Germany. Again it has been proved that when it comes to a real fight against tyranny the Socialists are the only real political representatives of the people. The Prime Minister of the German Empire has openly defied the Reichstag. He says officially that when it comes down to a plain issue the Emperor is the ruler. And the Socialists are the only ones to stand up and fight him.

It all grew out of what looked like an insignificant incident in Alsace. Early in November the Governor of this province, the direct representative of the Emperor, told his soldiers that they would be rewarded for abusing the citizens. The citizens got excited and hooted the soldiers. A certain lieutenant ordered a charge on them and succeeded in valorously wounding a lame shoemaker, who was the only one who could not make his escape. There was a storm of protest throughout the empire. The troops were removed from Zabern, the town where this little drama took place. The Socialists asked for an explanation from the Prime Minister and concluded by moving a vote of lack of confidence. Their motion was carried by a large majority. Herr von Bethmann Holweg conferred with the Kaiser and then told the Reichstag that their vote was nothing to him. The Socialists proposed that the Reichstag reply by refusing to vote a military budget. If they had had the support of the other parties, this would have brought matters to an issue. But at this point the others fell away. They are willing to talk bravely, but not willing to fight it out with the Kaiser on the other side.

All this may not lead to great immediate results. But it will lead to great results in time;—perhaps at the next parliamentary election. It tears away the mask of friendliness from the face of the Kaiser and the ruling parties. It reveals the government as what it really is, a military despotism. And it puts the Social Democratic party definitely before the country as the only representative of elementary freedom. All this clears the

way for revolution. Of course, the mere winning of real parliamentary government would be no great thing; they have had that in other countries for over a century. But at present all signs point to the fact that a parliamentary victory will mean a Socialist victory.

England: For some time here we have had a committee inquiring into postal grievances and wages. So many of these have failed to bring the postal employes any relief that one wonders at the woodenheadness of the trade union people in asking for another. There is a strong agitation going on at present among the more advanced of the rank and file for one union for all postal workers, thus following the lead of the railwaymen in whose ranks a fusion has taken place, resulting in the birth of the National Union of Railwaymen. This railway workers' union has a membership of 188,000 and it is the biggest union in England. If the union of postal employes is consummated, they will lead the way numerically in industrial unionism in this country. The Civil Service Socialist Society, a militant society of government workers, has taken a prominent part in this agitation and can justly claim a good share of credit when the industrial union is organized. With the advent of a real, live workers' paper, like the *Daily Herald*, the cause of Socialism has received a much needed fillip. This paper is decidedly militant and will help to develop a greater fighting spirit in the minds of the workers. In times of strikes or election this paper will prove to be of inestimable value. Formerly at an election, the workers had no means of knowing about their own Socialist candidates and the progress of Socialist propaganda and organization. The teachings of Socialism make a distinct impression upon the workers who have never realized that men from their own class are running for office in the interest of the working class. It takes the Britisher a long time to move, but when he does, he usually gets there!

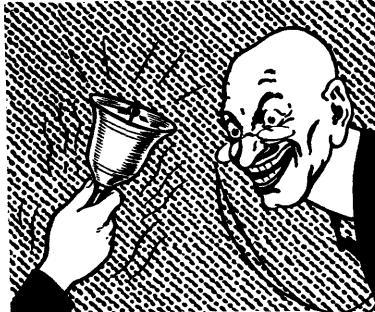
F. W. DUNN.

Just See Your Pimples Flee

**After You Have Used Stuart's Calcium Wafers and
Rid Your Blood of All Its Impurities.**

The abolishing of all skin disorders must begin with the blood. Lotions, salves, cosmetics, etc., will do no material good. The trouble comes from within and there the remedy must be applied.

If you really desire quick action and at the same time a common sense, natural, harmless blood purifier, then Stuart's Calcium Wafers is this remedy.



**"After Using Stuart's Calcium Wafers
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NEWS AND VIEWS

The Masses.—Art Young, whose cartoons have delighted readers of *The Masses* for many months and Max Eastman, whose editorials stick in our minds like a burr in a patch of wool, are being sued for criminal libel by the Associated Press. It seems that Comrade Max printed a cartoon by friend Art in which the latter represented the Associated Press as distorting or suppressing strike news until all became (to quote from the cartoon) "poisoned at the source." Comedy upon comedy! Now will come the little judges, the lawyers and all the other pigmy folk. And who among them shall dare to offend the stream that supplies ideas to the whole nation! Luckily the Socialist press is growing everywhere. If the REVIEW were to judge the merits of the case and define the obnoxious phrase, it wouldn't take us one-half of a little minute. Keep up the good work on the *Masses*, boys. Every time you get under the skin of the enemy you know you are that much stronger. Young and Eastman are getting all kinds of valuable help from radical writers all over the country and expect to win an easy victory.

Haywood in Dublin.—Only one month ago Haywood was ordered to take a complete rest for many months if he hoped ever to recover his old time strength and vigor, and already comes word that he has disobeyed orders. The *Dublin Daily Herald* is filled with glowing accounts of the way he has jumped into the fight in Dublin and of the enthusiasm he is arousing everywhere in the strike-locked city. Jim Larkin and Bill Haywood are billed to speak in every quarter and every day brings the hope of victory closer to the strikers. The *Daily Herald* reports: "In one sentence of his magnificent speech at Albert Hall, William Haywood pierced Mr. Bernard Shaw with the most stinging criticism that this much criticized gentleman has ever had to meet. Said Haywood, 'Shaw tells you to shoot policemen. Let Shaw do the shooting himself!' Haywood knew better than to worry. He said 'cut down the tree of capitalism that grows policemen as its fruits.'"

The Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain sends in \$1.00 for subscription to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and we are all swelled up over the event, for no less a personage than Lord Abinger is the Right Honorable treasurer of this Union, whose motto is "For King and Country."

From a Miner.—"Enclosed one dollar for REVIEWS. Sold all copies I had and could have sold more." J. E. England.

From the "Live" Ones.—The following Reds have sent in ten or more subs. during the past month:

Gibbs, Pa., 240.
Bartlett, Cal.
Carris, Mich.
Mott, Kan.
Sciarini, Ill.
Phillips, Kan., 20.
Nason, Mass.
Nicholson, Ohio, 20.
Stange, Kan.
Willensky, Minn.
Morgan, Ohio.
Koblik, Cal., 20.
Williams, Cal.
Asbjornson, Alaska.
Beck, Alaska.
Kaario, Canada.
Phillips, Ky.

Akerson, Minn., 18.
Custer, Ohio.
Fetheroff, Ohio.
Kaish, N. Y.
Butler, Wash.
Wyman, Ga.
Brockway, Mich.
Waas, N. Y.
Hurn, Pa.
Park, Pa.
Johnson, N. Dak.
Kaelber, Wash.

Cain, Ohio.
Johnson, Cal.
Rourke, Idaho.
Kanto, Mich., 25.
Schisker, Wash., 22.
Furlong, Ohio, 20.
Martin, Kan.
Auvil, W. Va.
Adair, Mass.
Deil, Alaska, 18.
Nichols, Cal.
Walker, Wash.
Skidmore, Iowa.
Plain, Idaho.
Theller, Ohio.
Elschlager, Pa.
Abrahamson, Wash., 15.

Cooper, Colo.
Ritchie, Ohio.
Pritschan, Cal.
Holt, Ohio.
Long, Ohio.
Cammack, Cal.
Zucht, Tex.
House, N. Y.
Peterson, Colo.
Mahony, Cal., 20.
Heldahl, Mont.
Steiman, Cal.

Gowganda Miners' Union, W. F. of M. No. 154.—"Enclosed please find money order for \$7.20 for the renewal of our ten REVIEWS. Trusting you will find same O. K. and that we will not miss a copy. I remain, yours for the Revolution,—A. D. Hardie, Secretary."

Socialism Becoming Popular.—Following letter from the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C., will interest REVIEW readers: "Would you kindly send to us your issues of October and November, 1913? The university plans to collect and preserve in its library the issues of the entire Socialist press of the United States for those two months. We hope in this manner to give to our students added opportunity to understand the spirit and teaching of the movement through contact with its most direct and powerful expression.

"I beg to assure you in advance of our appreciation of your kindness should you find it convenient and agreeable to comply with this request."—Wm. J. Kirby, Prof. of Sociology.

From Akron, Ohio.—"Enclosed find fourteen subscriptions for the REVIEW, which we

secured in one day, and we are donating five as Christmas presents to friends who live out of town. You know we are 'direct actionists' and as long as the REVIEW prints such articles as made up the November number you may look for all the support we are able to give it. Yours for a speedy Revolution."—Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Furlong.

From Jackson, Mich.—"The Socialist local is down and out at present. We haven't had a meeting for six months. I enjoy your magazine very much and think it is the best in the service of the slave class."—Ira Welch.

From Oregon.—"I heartily agree with the comrade who wants a weekly REVIEW for the 'Fighting Magazine' contains just the virus that the American movement needs."—D. M. DeLoug.

Haywood's Story.—The Dublin strikers have published a souvenir pamphlet that is filled with working class cartoons that are worthy of our own *Masses*. In this souvenir a few of the old war-horses were called upon to contribute messages, little stories, etc., etc. Haywood tells the story of "One Black Leg" (which is the English and Irish word for scab.) "Here is a story with a little of all the elements," writes Haywood. "It happened during the shoemakers' strike in Brooklyn, N. Y. Some time previous to the strike a worker in the factory had a leg torn off. His fellow-workers made up a collection and bought him a fine artificial limb. While the strike was on, the cripple went scabbing in the Wickert Gardner factory. The fact that he was scabbing was bad enough in itself, but that the ingrate went to the factory on the leg that they paid for was more than the strikers could stand. One morning a group of them caught him, unstrapped the leg—THEIR leg—and carried it to headquarters, leaving the scab to hop home without cane or crutch."

Mexican Rebels.—Some of our Mexican rebel friends recently sent in a remittance for some REVIEW subscriptions. The Federals, who were in control of the city from which the letter was sent, have steadfastly refused to honor the money order. We have just received word that the rebels have succeeded in forcing the enemy to evacuate by turning off the entire water supply. With our friends at the helm we may confidently expect to resume our pleasant relations with our friends in Mexico.

Couldn't Put It Over.—The capitalist class, which has long persecuted J. E. Sinclair, principal of one of the Washington public schools, has failed in all its attempts to oust him. Its press has repeatedly declared that Socialists in charge of the educational institutions are a menace. They ARE—the best kind of a menace to slavery, ignorance and poverty. However, the Board of Education has refused to withdraw Comrade Sinclair's license, which means score 1 in the fight for science in the school room. We hope the comrades who are taking up Comrade Sinclair's Study Course will advise their friends that it is getting better with every number.

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SHOZO TANAKA

By S. Katayama

WITHIN a week two notable deaths have occurred in Japan. One was the death of Shozo Tanaka, a Japanese farmer-hero, and the other was Prince Katsura. Both were figures of great importance to Socialists.

Prince Katsura was the leader of the powerful bureaucracy of Japan and the arch enemy of Socialism! It was he who persecuted Socialists so severely and conducted the infamous trial that sent Comrades Kotoku and Sugako Kanno and ten others to their deaths and twelve more to life imprisonment!

Three times Prince Katsura was Premier of Japan, but during the last period of his ministry he was forced to resign owing to the great uprising in Tokyo. After resigning from the ministry Prince Katsura formed his own political party, which failed utterly to accomplish anything. He became the most hated and unpopular man in the Empire. It is doubted if many lamented his death except his wife and his concubine, Okoi!

On the evening of the death of the great suppressor, a few of us held a regular meeting under the auspices of the Modern Thought Society. We took supper together at a restaurant and celebrated the death of this infamous man. With his death the old bureaucratic rule will crumble and decay also.

I speak of Katsura because he was the relentless enemy of all Japanese Socialists, be-

cause he, above all others, bitterly and brutally persecuted us.

On October fourth died Shozo Tanaka, a farmer seventy years of age. He was for many years a member of the Diet, having been returned many times by his friends. Long ago he began to espouse the cause of the farmers along the river Watarase, whose waters had poisoned the irrigated districts through the pollution of the copper mines. Over 300,000 people suffered through this deadly copper pollution. Rice and all other crops refused to grow in the poisoned soil. Fertile farms became waste land and famine spread along the river banks. Tanaka fought wisely and bravely to have the mine owners prevented from spreading their poison over the rice fields. Again and again for many years he spoke with the tongue of truth and eloquence of the devastation the copper mines was bringing, but growing discouraged after thirteen years of unsuccessful effort, he resigned his position in the Diet to devote his remaining years to active work among the farmers. A fertile village called aYnakumura had been confiscated by the government without the inhabitants being at all consulted in the matter. The government decided to use it as a reservoir into which flood waters were to be turned.

This meant ruin to the farmers. Shozo threw all his strength into this fight for the retention of the land for the people who had tilled it. But against the government, even he could not prevail. The villagers were driven off in the most brutal fashion.

But never did he give up. Always was he to be found fighting the cause of the farmers, with the farmers. In his work of education and agitation he has taught them many things.

When the grand old man passed away thousands upon thousands of workingmen and women flocked to pay their last tribute to one whose entire life had been spent in trying to help the conditions of his own people.

In heart Shozo was a true Socialist. He did not understand our theories; he had never studied them. Besides, he was not a scholar. From the ranks, he rose to an assured seat in the Imperial Diet. But position and comfort had no attractions for him when he saw that he could not be of service to those he loved.

And so he left the Diet and his comfortable position and returned to the ranks of the farmers, from whence he had come. He had labored with those who rule and found no help in their hands. The message of his later years was that the farmers must protect themselves. His work will bear good fruit among them as the years pass.

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SHOZO TANAKA

By S. Katayama

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Rare Tobacco

The tobacco grows in a mountainous district of Cuba. A resident expert picks it out for me. I first had it for my private use. It still bears my own monogram band. The aroma is rare, sweet and exquisite. I have never found anything like it. And I've been for 40 years an inveterate smoker. But please don't expect a heavy, strong cigar. These are mild indeed.

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The Wheatland Boys

NELS NELSON has "hanged himself" (we quote) in his lonely cell at Marysville jail—Nels Nelson with one arm shot off by a deputy sheriff on Wheatland's "Bloody Sunday." Sixteen-year-old Edward Gleaser has disappeared after being technically released by the prosecution to prevent his uncle from regaining possession of the boy through habeas corpus proceedings. Where is the boy? Are the Burns sleuths hiding him, or, possibly, has he like Nels Nelson passed beyond the cowardly mockeries of Justice as it is administered in Yuba County?

These, the most recent developments in the Wheatland cases, of which the first case comes to trial January 12, are somber as the whole story of the Wheatland trouble. There is but one bright spot in that story—the superb solidarity shown in the strike which preceded the sheriff's raid, when a motley crowd of Swedes, Mexicans, Japanese, Syrians, Americans and other nationalities, men, women and children, stood as one man for decent human conditions and a living wage. The fear inspired in Ralph Durst by that solidarity was the unacknowledged cause of the sheriff's raid incorrectly known as the Wheatland riots.

On August 4 of this year the small army of workers on the Durst hop ranch at Wheatland, Yuba County, California, met to protest against their conditions and pay. Two thousand three hundred in number, men, women and children, they had answered the flowery advertisements for hop pickers published by the Durst Brothers. Arrived there, for their accommodation they found six toilets; water lukewarm and polluted by nearness of refuse and garbage and furnished meagerly under a temperature registering daily 110 degrees (one of this thrifty family sold acetic acid lemonade at five cents a glass to the hop pickers in the field). Their pay was disgracefully small, for the Dursts saved the expense of high pole men to pull the vines down, demanded extra clean picking, and exploited the workers

further under the infamous bonus system. Most of the strikers' demands covering the above abuses Ralph Durst parried; he flatly refused the increase in pay. He was given time for further consideration, the strikers awaiting his answer.

But Durst feared their solidarity, so he sent his answer—the sheriff of the county, the district attorney and two automobiles filled with deputies, with guns full loaded and hearts bitter with scorn of the homeless man, the "blanket stiff" and his comrades in toil. Against the law he represented, the sheriff ordered the perfectly peaceful meeting the strikers were holding to disband. Without protest the strikers descended from the platform. Crazed with power, however, someone among the capitalist-owned posse fired his gun—Mr. Durst testified it was Sheriff Voss himself. The sheriff dropped his gun; a Porto Rican striker seized it. In the melee following a young Englishman and the Porto Rican were killed, also two of the attacking party, the district attorney and a deputy sheriff, while a number of others, including the sheriff, were wounded.

Within a twinkling, the craven hearted deputies, ready enough to fire on a defenseless crowd which included women and children, fled to their automobiles, leaving their dead and wounded to the miraculous gentleness of the strikers. This is the story of California's "Bloody Sunday."

Answering the call of the cowardly and bloodthirsty county authorities, the militia was rushed to Wheatland—authority given by Governor Johnson for calling out the entire state body. Victims of Bloody Sunday's outrages were arrested. The hop fields were searched minutely for guns; none were found—the "blanket stiff" knows better than to carry them, and women and children do not (as yet) run around even industrial America with revolvers. It remained for the Burns Agency to "find" guns.

It is to the methods of the prosecution in Yuba County, however, and the methods of the

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A-MONTHLY-REVIEW-OF-INTERNATIONAL-SOCIALISM

The following are some of the more important articles to appear in the early issues of the New Review:

MIDDLE CLASS AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT	Frank Bohn
THE BRITISH LABOR MOVEMENT	Theo. Rothstein
THE NEW INTELLECTUALS	Robert Reeves La Monte
FRENCH SYNDICALISM	Wm. English Walling
PHASES OF SOCIALIST EVOLUTION	Herman Simpson
SYNDICALISM AS IT IS	Robert Reeves La Monte
THE THRESHER'S WIFE, A Narrative Poem	Harry Kemp

With the January issue of the New Review we begin the publication of a MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND A SOCIALIST LITERARY DIGEST. The aim of the new department will be to convey reliable, unbiased information concerning the activities of the Socialist Parties, Labor Unions, Co-operatives, Labor Legislation, etc., the world over, and to present a succinct summary of the development of Socialist opinion in all its phases, including that of the critics of Socialism.

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Burns Detective Agency, that we would especially call your attention. Then, if the court in Yuba County refuses a change of venue, as the violent talk of the county indicates, you will be able to see what kind of justice these Wheatland victims are likely to receive.

No sooner had the sheriff's posse made its raid, than the Blood Hunt began on William J. Burns' field of dishonor. Dollars blew the bugle the smell of human blood drew the Burns carrion lovers. Even into other states men were hunted—innocent men, wanted as witnesses only. From one town and jail and hotel to another they were dragged—Suhr, Nelson, the lad Gleaser and others, that the prosecution and its agents might the more safely torture, beat, drive mad and lose them beyond all tracing, to their friends. Everywhere the Burns ruffians had the freedom of the jails, for they are the servants of the Money Lords! No act was too inhuman which might wring from the broken bodies and nerves of men too honorable to be bought, fake confessions against themselves or their fellows.

Again and yet again counsel has been denied the Wheatland victims. They have been kept in jail for as long as sixty days without being taken before a magistrate as the law demands. Suhr, who had been tortured into attempting suicide in Alameda County jail, was prevented by Prosecuting Attorney Stanwood and other so-called officers of the law, from filing complaint against his assailants. Counsel has been repeatedly denied the right to see their own clients, and thus far no notary has been found in Yuba County courageous enough to take the prisoners' depositions. The shorthand reporter is not allowed to take their statements, and representatives of the press are barred from seeing them.

Such is law and order in Yuba County, in the State of California. We put it to you—Would any jury in Yuba County dare acquit these innocent men?

The defense, working against these well nigh insurmountable obstacles, is in great need of funds—money needed for immediate use. During the trial, the witnesses for the defense, workmen, ill paid and irregularly employed at best, must be housed and fed. The working class cannot subpoena men from its own numbers and leave them to starve.

Funds should be forwarded to the Wheatland Hop Pickers' Defense Committee, Andy Barber, Secretary, at 1119 Third Street, Sacramento, California.

I. W. W. Wins.—The higher courts have failed to sustain the action of the lower courts in their attempt to railroad Wm. D. Haywood, Gurley Flynn and Tresca on a false charge of "disturbing the peace" and "inciting to riot." The lower courts were unable to prove their charges in each and every particular, so that these three fighters in the Paterson strike will not need to stand trial. Lest we forget—Alexander Scott, Sumner Boyd and Pat Quinlin are still on the rack.

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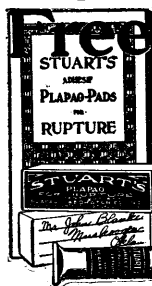
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Books Received

Under this head we shall hereafter try to make a prompt acknowledgment to the publishers of each book sent for editorial notice. Certain books will receive further comment in the editorial department.

Between Eras: From Capitalism to Democracy. By Albion W. Small, Editor of the American Journal of Sociology. Kansas City, Mo. Intercollegiate Press. \$2.50. A social dialog and story, good in spite of its great length.

Gold, Prices and Wages. By John A. Hobson. New York. George H. Doran Co. \$1.25 net. A book by a "revisionist," full of fallacies and contradictions.

Social Insurance, with special reference to American conditions. By I. M. Rubinow, former statistical expert U. S. Bureau of Labor. New York. Henry Holt & Co. \$3.20 postpaid. An exhaustive work by a Marxian Socialist, who has specialized in this field.

Labor and Administration. By John R. Commons, Professor in the University of Wisconsin. New York. The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Ave. \$1.75 postpaid. An important and suggestive work on which we hope to comment further.

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IN

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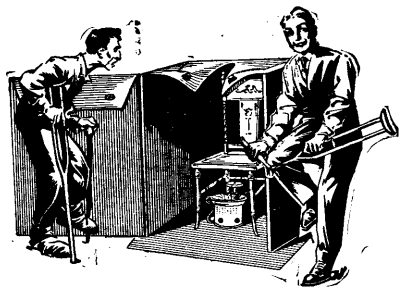
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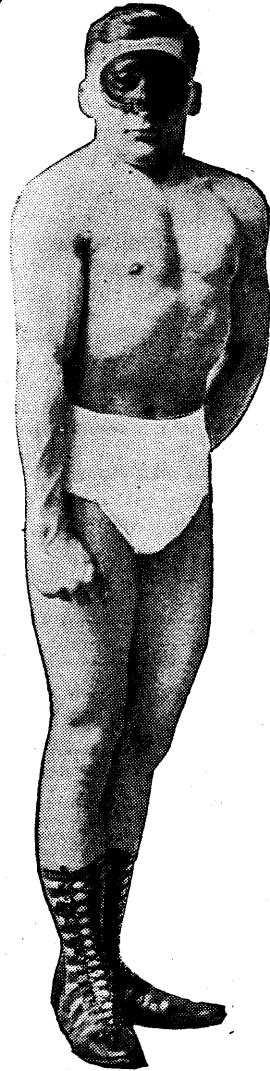
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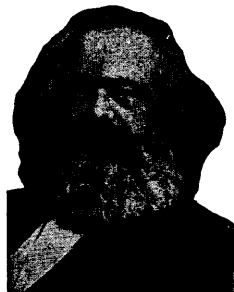
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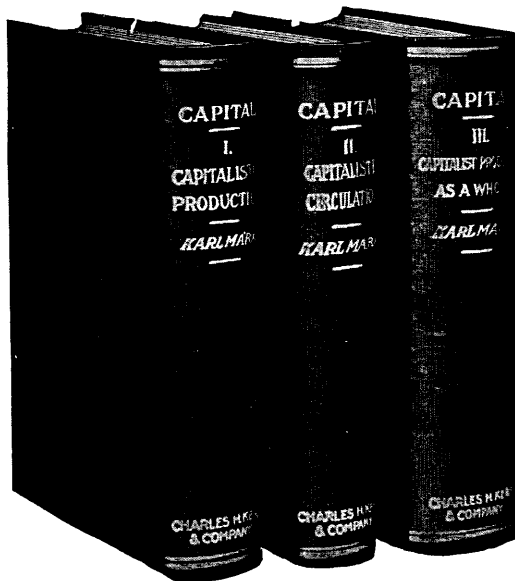
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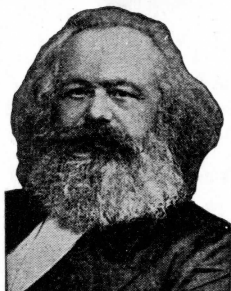
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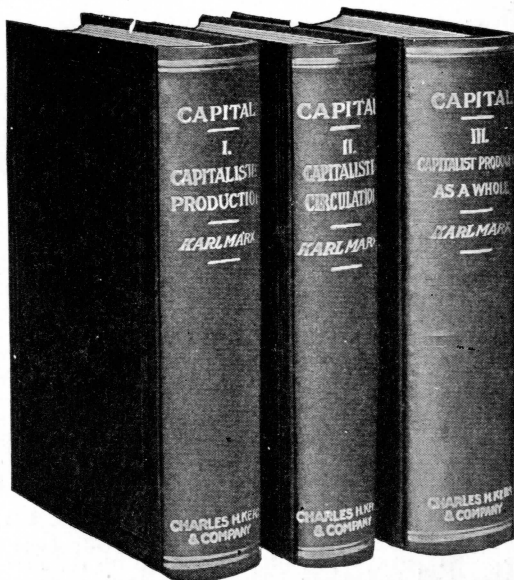
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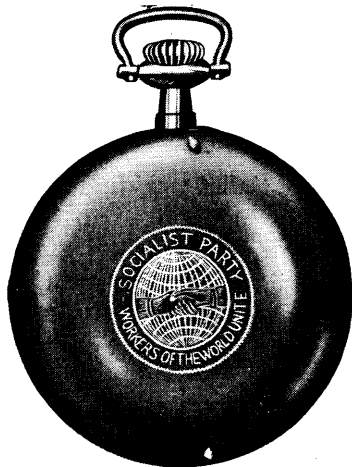
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