

OCTOBER, 1916

*The*

PRICE TEN CENTS

# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



THE WINNER

OCTOBER, 1916

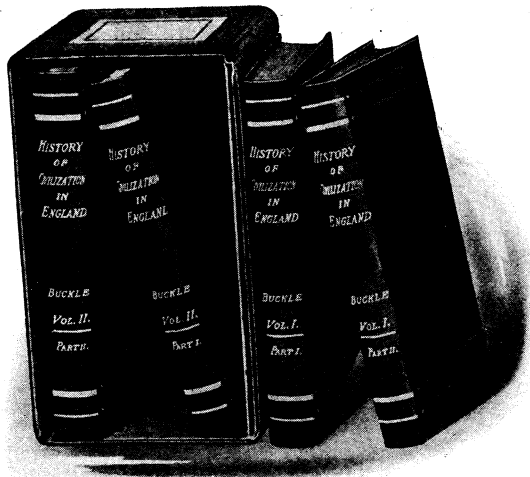
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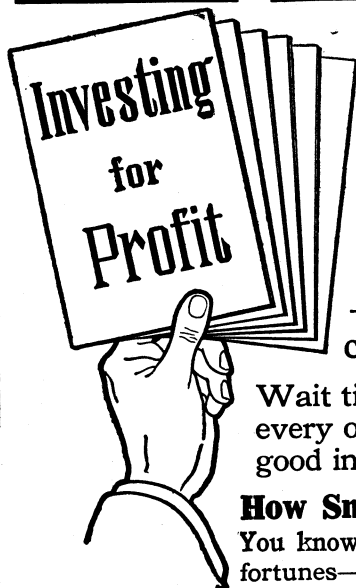
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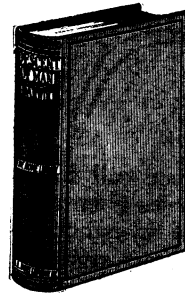
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Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 4

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Mary E. Marcy, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn,  
William D. Haywood, Phillips Russell

*The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature.*

## T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

Cartoon, Pennsylvania Cossacks .....	<i>The Masses</i>
Why the Rails Won! (Illustrated).....	<i>Militant</i>
Murder in the First Degree (Illustrated).....	<i>Eugene V. Debs</i>
Politics and People.....	
Women as Gun Makers.....	<i>London Engineer</i>
Shorty's Philosophy .....	<i>Harrison George</i>
Kings, Queens and History.....	<i>Grace Ford</i>
The New York Street Car Strike (Illustrated).....	
What Capitalists Are Saying.....	<i>Forum</i>
The San Francisco Frame-Up.....	<i>Robert Minor</i>
Crime and Economic Conditions.....	<i>Clarence Darrow</i>
Industrial Unionism .....	<i>F. H.</i>
About Bananas (Illustrated).....	<i>Marion Wright</i>
Hamstringing the Unions.....	<i>Mary E. Marcy</i>
A Man vs. Taxes.....	<i>Georgia Kotsch</i>
The Militant Harvest Workers.....	
At the Mercy of Their Employes.....	<i>Jack Morton</i>
The Left Wing Mass Action.....	<i>S. J. Rutgers</i>
The Railroad Work Day.....	<i>Fullstroke</i>

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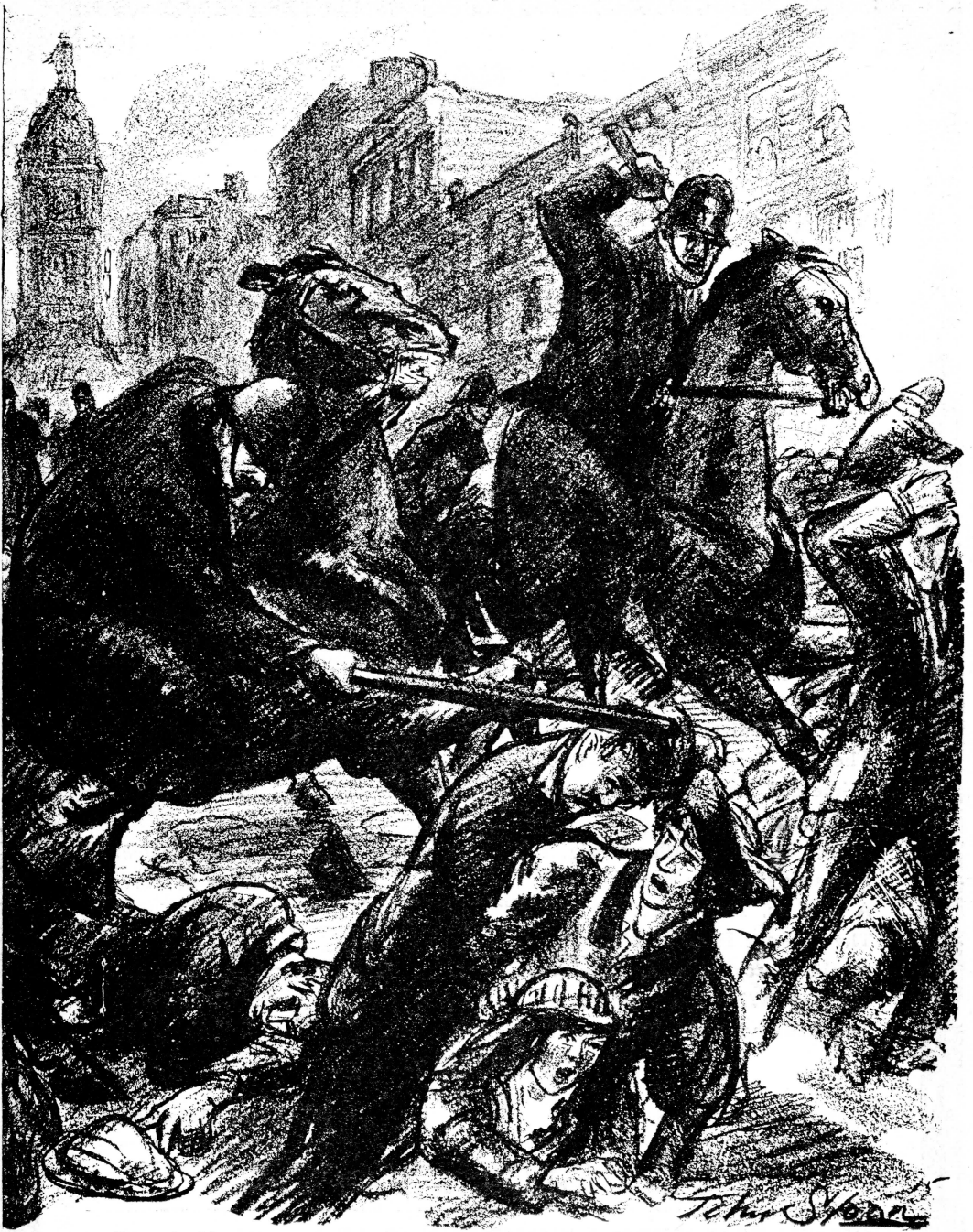
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From the Masses

### PENNSYLVANIA COSSACKS

ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 320 I. W. W. COAL MINERS IN PEACEFUL ASSEMBLAGE, AT OLD FORGE, PA., WERE ARRESTED, CLUBBED AND THROWN IN JAIL BY STATE COSSACKS, AIDED BY THE SHERIFF OF LACKAWANNA COUNTY AND FIFTY DEPUTIZED THUGS. BAIL HAS BEEN FIXED AT \$1,405,000.



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## WHY THE RAILS WON

By MILITANT

**F**OR the first time in the history of the United States, organized labor by threat of physical force action has compelled the national congress to come across with legislation. This is the big outstanding fact of the clash between the four railroad brotherhoods and the railroad companies, with their dispute brought to the doors of the federal government for settlement.

Whether the legislation demanded and obtained will result in material benefits to the railroad workers is yet to be seen. If the eight hour law enacted by congress does not end up with higher wages for the freight trainmen and freight engineers of the United States, then another chapter of fierce railroad history must be undergone. It may not go as easy all round as it did in August and September of 1916.

Next year the passenger trainmen and passenger enginemen of the United States have their contracts with the railroads expiring. The passenger service employes are to make fresh contracts in the same period of time in which the railroads will be on trial as to whether they will obey the eight-hour laws now enacted by congress. The outlook is that all the solidarity of ranks and direct simplicity of demands which distinguished the four united brotherhoods in the summer of 1916, will again be to the front in 1917.

Let no one mistake. The experience of August, 1916, went deep into the blood, bone and marrow of the railroad brotherhood organizations. Scabs were detected. Many of that dirty, detested breed known as "company men" were caught with the goods, caught with their false faces off, identified as fakes in their presumed loyalty to the brotherhoods, and marked for their dependability in possible strikes. The prophecy of Eugene Debs a few weeks before the crisis that the companies count on a large percentage of scabs among "old and tried loyal employes," and among firemen who have ambitions to become engineers, was shown to be a true prophecy in those first few days of September when the railroad managers expected a strike, were ready for a strike, and polled their workers and lined up and signed up those who would scab on the jobs of strikers.

If a big rail strike is written in the cards and dice of destiny—if a great transportation tie-up is due at some future date next year or the year after, the loyal men of the brotherhoods are better equipped for it than they would be if the August, 1916, crisis has not been passed thru. They have the numbers and names of the deserters, the victims of the itching palm and the celluloid backbone, who can be figured as failures and fizzles if a showdown struggle is called for.

Again let no one mistake. The railroad managers were ready for a fight. Thousands of engineers and trainmen were called to inside offices and talked to in a brotherly and fatherly way and asked to stand with the companies if a strike came. Recruiting offices for strike-breakers were opened. Big ads were run in daily newspapers. The daily papers, for years fed with railroad advertising appropriations and owned by railroad capitalists and railroad banks, splattered their pages with stuff intended to poison the public mind against the outrageous anarchists who are going to block rail transportation from coast to coast. Yes, the rail managers were ready for a long hard grapple. Then came President Wilson with the declaration that the eight-hour workday is sanctioned by the sober judgment of society and his farewell to the railroad presidents, "God forgive you—I never can." Then came congress, house and senate, passing the eight-hour law.

In its essence it says that the railroads of the United States must from January 1, 1917, pay their freight train conductors, brakemen, engineers and firemen the same wages for eight hours that now prevail for ten hours, and all overtime must be on a pro rata basis. The original demand of the brotherhoods for time and a half for overtime was waived by them in their demands on congress. Punitive overtime as a principle was thrown overboard. What was gained was a uniform wage raise of about twenty per cent—and an increased confidence in the value of physical force tactics. The punitive overtime principle must come into practice on the railroads before the theory of the eight-hour day is ever actually in working effect.

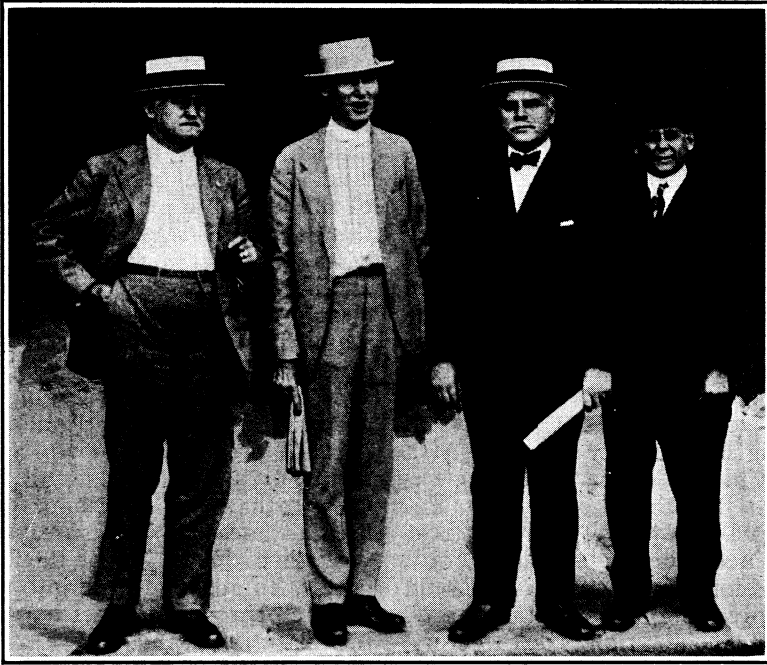
This is recognized well by the aggressive minority of thinkers and agitators in the railroad brotherhoods who were active in bringing about the crisis just passed. One way or another must be found for the organized railroad workers so that the companies will be punished with increased wage expense whenever a railroad man is worked more than eight hours of twenty-four. The next crisis comes when the day is at hand for the railroads to live up to the wage increase provided for by the federal eight-hour law. If, by trickery of lawyers and courts, the railroad companies are able to defeat

the purpose and intent of the eight-hour law, all the forces inside the brotherhoods which were ready for a nation-wide transportation tie-up early in September, will be again ready for direct action.

One secret chapter in this rail history of the summer of 1916 is yet to be written. Some kind of a message was sent by President Wilson thru some sort of reliable go-between to the railroad presidents and capitalists. They knew whether or not the president stood ready to seize the roads, grant the eight-hour day, and run them under government management. The mobilized militia of the nation, sworn into service on the Mexican border, was available for action in backing whatever the president notified the railroad managers to be his wish. Whatever Wilson's stand was in this respect, it was a factor in the ensuing settlement.

In the highbrow philosophies of our day is a thing called "pragmatism." It means doing what you want to do when the nick of time and the proper moment has arrived in the process of evolution for doing that thing. The freight handlers at Chicago and other points have long wanted to organize. The Big Four brotherhoods in their exclusive and aristocratic craft organizations have never gotten to the point of helping the freight handlers organize. Their motive has been to let the freight handlers take care of themselves. So on the big day when it looked like a rail strike was sure to come, the organized freight handlers walked out and presented demands on a number of roads. They won out and established organizations on some roads, failing on others. They called the bluff of the rail barons on arbitration and showed the country that Hale Holden, president of the Burlington, and other officials are only noisy prattlers on "arbitration." It was shown that the railroad managers are awfully ready for arbitration, will shed salt tears for the beautiful principles of arbitration, when a powerful combine like the Big Four is making demands, but arbitration gets a kick in the rear buttock and goes out the door into the alley if it's a weak, minor union like the freight handlers', which is asking for arbitration.

The cry for arbitration that went up from the capitalists' organizations, from newspapers and from pulpits, was a weird



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington, Courtesy of *Review of Reviews*

THE CHIEFS OF THE FOUR RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS, WHO LED THE FIGHT FOR SHORTER HOURS

(From left to right: W. G. Lee; president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; A. B. Garretson, president of the Order of Railway Conductors; Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; and W. S. Carter, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.)

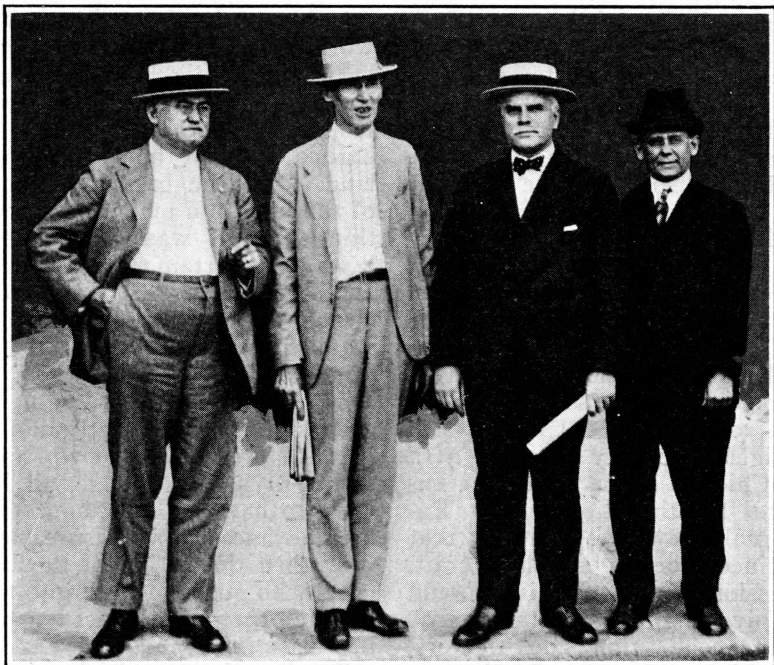
chorus. The United States Chamber of Commerce, a Rockefeller-controlled machine organized by Harry Wheeler, a Chicago banker shown in the U. S. Industrial Relations Commission-Rockefeller-Ivy Lee correspondence to be a Rockefeller tool, was one organization that shed tears for arbitration. Various manufacturers' bodies who regularly choke off labor unions before there is any chance for organization, also wept for arbitration. Victor Lawson's *Daily News* in Chicago, which four years ago was autocratically absolute in its denial of arbitration in the pressmen's lockout, in cartoons and editorials wept for the betrayal of arbitration. To some of us with eyes and ears for the present and with definite recollections of the past, it was all as incoherent as a mixed quartet sung by traveling salesmen at four o'clock in the morning in wet territory after months in a dry state.

Once more, let no one mistake. The magic of arbitration is passing. The bunk of arbitration has been argued by mouth-pieces whose declarations have gone nation-wide. Never again can arbitration as

a principle for settlement of labor troubles get the old standing it had a year ago or ten years ago. New principles, new methods, must come into practice. It has been discovered that arbitration is a game at which those win who are able to employ the slickest talkers and the slickest manipulators. The statisticians and arguers and deliberators are only so many pieces and pawns moved back and forth in a puppet show. And the master hands and the master money bags behind the show are dark forces able to win at arbitration.

That the most powerful, commanding, conservative, strategically situated labor unions in the United States should now come to the point where they specifically tell the nation that they are forever thru with arbitration as a method for settling disputes of wages, hours and conditions, is probably one of the most significant single developments that has come to the front in recent years.

In his rarely keen series of articles in the *Masses*, Max Eastman, on "Towards Liberty," says the governmental forms of



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington, Courtesy of *Review of Reviews*

THE CHIEFS OF THE FOUR RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS, WHO LED THE  
FIGHT FOR SHORTER HOURS

(From left to right: W. G. Lee; president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; A. B. Garretson, president of the Order of Railway Conductors; Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; and W. S. Carter, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.)

the future are "a shadow of mystery." That is, we don't know where we're going but we're on the way. It is true, for instance, that the Big Four railroad brotherhoods are aristocrats and their doors of membership and affiliation are barred to the trackmen, shopmen and shovelmen. And the Big Four stands aloof from the American Federation of Labor. They are by themselves. They walk alone. They have special reputations and seem to wish freedom from the social stigma newspapers and pulpits attach with discredit to "union labor." Engineers and trainmen hold themselves above hod carriers in the social scale, as Clarence Darrow pointed out in a speech to an intelligent minority of them at a meeting in Chicago. One Louisiana engineer wrote to the Locomotive Engineers' Journal last year suggesting that railroad engineers belong not to a craft, but a "profession," and something should be done to give engineers a standing as "professional men" alongside doctors, preachers and lawyers.

And yet, tho there is an aristocratic spirit among the railroad brotherhoods, there is also no doubt but that their way of fighting and their achievement of demands

is a big push of progress for the whole working class. A strict analogy applies between the Big Four this summer challenging the railroad kings and the English barons of King John's day. The barons were not the working class of England. But the barons broke the power of the king and made that power a lesser thing than it was. And the upshot of it was that certain rights of human beings, all human persons, came to be more clearly defined and upheld. The whole English working class by this process of aristocrats breaking in on the king's power came to have rights of habeas corpus and rights of the ballot which they did not previously enjoy. Similarly, the rights of human beings, all human persons, to have an eight-hour workday has been advanced to a measureable extent this year thru the action of the labor aristocrats who got it written into national law for the benefit of a select few of the working class.

The Big Four brotherhoods take in only eighteen per cent of the total railroad workers. The remaining eighty-two per cent was not in on the negotiations. Their time is to come.



Evans in Baltimore American

THE WILSON WRIST WATCH



Evans in Baltimore American

THE WILSON WRIST WATCH



EUGENE V. DEBS

## Murder in the First Degree

By EUGENE V. DEBS

**T**RUE bills against four strikers and one woman and against Carlo Tresca and two other leaders of the striking iron workers on the Mesabe Range in Minnesota charging them with murder in the first degree, have been returned by a Steel Trust grand jury.

Not one of the accused is guilty. On the contrary, they are all absolutely innocent of the crime charged against them.

It is another case of punishing the workers for the crimes committed against them by their masters.

Let us briefly review the facts in this extraordinary strike on the Mesabe Range. First let me say that I have several times been over that territory and that as far

back as twenty years ago I spent several weeks there organizing the iron workers on the range. I am therefore familiar with the conditions which are responsible for the 20,000 iron workers in and about the mines being out on strike.

These mining properties belong to the Steel Trust and in its program of union extermination the trust wiped out all the unions on the range. From that time to this a union man has been a criminal there and treated accordingly.

The Steel Trust, having their employes absolutely at their mercy, began to grind them to the marrow of their bones. Not only were wages reduced to the starvation point but they were treated in all respects



EUGENE V. DEBS



more like cattle and hogs than human beings.

If they dared complain they were discharged. Spies among them kept them under suspicion of each other. Petty bosses ruled over them like despots and if they would hold their jobs they must be bootlicking sycophants and slaves.

Finally these insulted, outraged peons could endure it no longer and a whirlwind of revolt swept them out of the pits and into a strike. The Steel Trust lost not a moment in attempting to break up the strike and drive them back into the pits. George P. West, field examiner of the Committee on Industrial Relations, tells the story in the report of his investigation. It is as revolting as Colorado at its worst. Every worker in America ought to read it.

The sheriff of the county, a subservient tool of the trust, at once swore in a thousand gunmen and turned them loose, "armed with carbines, revolvers and riot sticks." It did not take long for these assassins to incite a riot and in that riot two of the strikers were killed. A deputy sheriff who broke into the home of a striker and precipitated a fight was also killed.

Arrests speedily followed and in every instance the victim was a leader of the strike or influential in its support.

Now comes the indictment of the packed grand jury of the Steel Trust, charging them all with murder in the first degree, and there is not a shadow of doubt that the trust has them all marked for execution.

In the face of these facts what is our plain and imperative duty? What would we expect of our fellow-workers if we had been as loyal as they and were now in their places?

I shall not believe that in this crisis the working class will coldly ignore the indictment of these comrades, the heroic service they have rendered, and abandon them to their fate.

Read the report of the Labor Commissioner of Minnesota and the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations and you will see why these men and this woman, comrades of ours, have been indicted.

Just as the mine owners attempted to murder Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone ten years ago, so now are the same bloodthirsty tyrants attempting to repeat their infamous crime in Minnesota.

These comrades, tho as innocent as babies, will be murdered by the Steel Trust as certain as the coming day unless the working class is aroused and stands between the brutal trust and its intended victims.

The Steel Trust is itself the arch-criminal in the case and its clutches are red with the blood of the innocent, but no grand jury will find an indictment against these multi-millionaire murderers.

It is only the poor who are indicted for being the victims of crime and only the rich who go free in spite of their guilt.

I have said enough. You know the story. We are going to stand by our own and see that they get a fair trial. Every one of us must do our part and contribute our share.

My blood runs thru my veins a stream of fire as I contemplate this impending crime against our comrades.

It shall not be!

By the Gods, it shall not be! The bloated, beastly Steel Trust pirates shall not murder our innocent comrades and fellow-workers!

---

Carlo Tresca, Jos. Schmidt and Sam Scarlett, organizers of the I. W. W. were indicted by a Grand Jury of St. Louis County at Virginia, Minnesota, charged with first degree murder. The same Grand Jury indicted Militza Masanovitch, her husband, Phillip Masanovitch, Joe Orlanditch, Joe Nicitch, and Joe Chernogrotchevitch. The last four named are strikers. All of the prisoners, including the woman with her nine months' old babe, are held in prison without bail at Duluth. The date of their trials has not been set. The indictments show that the seven men and woman are charged with killing a deputy sheriff by the name of Myron. Remember that none of the organizers were at Biwabik at the time of the shooting. We are confronted with a cold-blooded frame-up. The strikers must have a proper defense, and it is up to you to see that they are not railroaded to prison, or to the gallows.

A general protest must be aroused throughout the entire country. Sunday, October 22nd, 1916, will be a day of defense meetings to open the jail doors. Let every Union and Local arrange a meeting for that date. Have speakers of

different nationalities. Tresca, Schmidt and Scarlett have done noble work for the strikers and must be set free. John A. Keyes, of Duluth; Victor Power, of Hibbing; Leon Whitsell, of California, and Arthur LaSueur, of Ft. Scott, will defend these men. Send all funds for the defense to William D. Haywood, 164 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.



CARLO TRESCA

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

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CARLO TRESCA

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

# POLITICS AND PEOPLE



Knott, in Dallas News.  
HUGHES: "I AM ONE OF YOU"

FOR every seven men in this country who are over 21 years of age and have the right to vote at the elections next month, there is one man who can't vote.

Such a statement may not seem serious nor indicate any situation of importance, at first glance. Put into figures, however, it throws a vast flashlight of meaning across the workings of the so-called political republic in which we live.

The number of aliens in this country over 21 years of age who have taken no steps to become citizens jumped amazingly in the last ten-year period of which there is record. In 1900 they numbered 900,000. In 1910 they numbered 2,600,000.

These are the figures of Senator Dillingham in a speech in the United States senate. The speaker was a member of the immigration commission appointed by Congress to investigate the extent of illiteracy and the number of alien born men ready for citizenship if they want citizenship.

Not counting women or children, but reckoning only those men who have full rights and privileges to take out their first citizenship papers, it is found that they number 2,600,000. These are men who came here to find relief from the oppressions and hungers of the old feudal countries of Europe. Yet for some reason or other they have been so busy making a liv-

ing or else they have become so disgusted with the boasted beauties of American citizenship that they don't care for it.

Look at one small item of the findings of agents working for the commission of which Senator Dillingham was a member. They stated with much detailed evidence that they came in contact with 86,000 persons in the iron and steel industry and it was found that the average wage of these 86,000 persons was \$326 a year.

When we recall that at least \$800 is the minimum wage that will buy the needs of life for maintaining physical efficiency for an American family, we get a suspicion that the reason these millions of newcomers to America have not yet taken out their citizenship papers is that they are too busy hustling for something to eat. Something to eat from day to day is their fundamental requirement. That secured and they may take time to ask where the office of the local election commissioners or federal judges is located.

To solemnly swear to uphold the laws, constitution and government of a nation which pays an average wage of \$326 a year to 86,000 steel workers is a matter that has not time for thorough consideration in the heads of these very, very, very casual laborers.

"What does it mean to have 2,600,000 men who are aliens, who are liable to come into full citizenship immediately?" asks Senator Dillingham. "Do you realize that this vast volume of male aliens amounts in number to one-seventh of all the votes cast in the presidential election of 1912? The entire presidential vote of California, Oregon, Washington, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas, in 1912 amounted only to 2,280,000."

**H**URRAH for the Flivver!  
O you Tin Lizzie!

Gee, but you got 'em guessing.  
Yes, you honking Henny, you.

The Ford Motor Company for the fiscal year ended July 31 showed net earnings of \$59,994,118.

That is to say, just frinstance, to point a moral and adorn a tale.

The big Tin Lizzie plant in Detroit cleaned up nearly sixty million dollars last year, all the time paying anybody and everybody of the 30,000 workers the minimum wage of \$5 a day.

And Henry, the Pacifist. Henry may be a hero or a grafter. Nobody cares. What tickles all of us is the way he makes all the other motor car manufacturers look like pikers, cheap skates, and dubs.

The widespread newspaper attacks on the pacifism of Henry Ford were 90 per cent attacks on him as a nut who ought to know better than break away from the traditional policy of buying labor in the cheapest market.

**JIM WADDELL.** A terrible name. A terrible job.

He's the world's greatest strikebreaker, Jim Waddell.

He knows the dives and dumps, the alleys and rendezvous where hungry men, lost men, desperate and racked men, lousy and hopeless men can be found. And there among the lousy and hopeless, Jim Waddell recruits his armies. Then he goes forth. He goes to West Virginia and he goes to Calumet and this month he went to New York.

Coal miners, iron miners, street car motormen and conductors, it makes no difference to Jim Waddell what craft or industry is tied up. When the call comes for him to enter the field with his banner leading his cohorts of the lousy and hopeless, he goes, he gets on the job. He puts guns in the hands of the lousy and hopeless. And he thrusts criminals and professional slugs and gunmen, well-fed and well-whiskied, into the ranks of the lousy and hopeless. And these, the adepts of violence, the veteran evangels of the gospel

of physical force, they use arguments and they employ booze and shape a temporary fighting body out of the lousy and hopeless.

On a private car in a special train, sitting as the grand, lone passenger, Jim Waddell made the trip from Chicago to New York, June 6-7. It cost \$3,000. The steam railroads gave glad and handsome co-operation with the New York trolley roads in order to get Jim Waddell, the Joffre of strikebreakers, the Hindenberg of scabs, promptly and effectively on the job in a hurry.

**A** MERICA is known as a "melting pot" for populations of the earth. Now it has a rival. It is France.

After the great war ends, France will have one of the most amazing chop suey agglomerations of human blood ever seen on the planet.

The north of France has always held a strain of German blood flowing from the near German frontiers. What with German soldiers camped for years in northern France during the war, there have been contacts that will keep many of them on French soil after the war. British soldiers are in France now by millions. Tens of thousands will stay lured by women, climate, and what not. Arabs, negroes, Sikhs, Gurkhas, after two, three, four years residence in France—and with France needing armies of labor to rebuild from the ravages of war—these will stay in tens of thousands. Into southern France during the war have poured tides of Spaniards to take the places of Frenchmen gone to the battle fronts, and many of these Spaniards will stay.

The chief republic on the continent of Europe will have interesting problems and developments. It will add new romance to its picturesque crimson past.

## WOMEN AS GUN MAKERS

**T**HE changes in social and industrial conditions brought about by the great European war are nowhere more strikingly exhibited than in a recent article in the *Engineer* (London) from its Swiss correspondent, dated at Berne, June 8th, and describing the war work of women in the famous Krupp shops at Essen, Germany.

On August 1, 1914, the Krupp works gave employment to 36,880 men and 1,241 women, the latter exclusively in such capacities as charwomen or saleswomen or assistants in the various shops and other establishments supplying the Krupp workmen. By April 1st, 1916, the number of women had increased to 13,023, mostly in the ammunition departments,

and the number of men had increased to 55,959. By the summer of 1916 it was believed that over 14,000 women were employed. In 1914, 8,114 of the Krupp male employes were called to military service, and in 1915 7,500, the total number of men and women employed on April 1 being 68,972.

This force worked in two shifts of twelve hours each, with an hour and a half for meals. These long hours of labor, enforced conditions of military necessity, and without doubt poor and insufficient food have had most serious effect on the work people, especially the women, and there has been an extraordinary amount of sickness. Sickness among the female employes in 1915 amounted to 76.60 per cent and among the males to 62.31 per cent, with an average duration of 15.18 days for the men and 12.02 days for the women, though it must be said that these average times were less in 1915 than for three previous years. This, however, was explained by the fact of the stressed conditions of living no less than manufacturing demands from the war office, so that usually none went on the sick list until absolutely compelled. This is further borne out by the mortality figures, which were 5.84 per thousand in 1915 for the sick fund members, as compared with 4.12 in 1914.

Many of the women employes were either the widows or wives of soldiers serving at the front and having dependent children, and their employment was the sole source of support of a number of persons, and in addition to the Krupp works women were being generally employed in Germany. In some machine shops and manufacturing plants as many as 80 per cent of the operatives are women.

The women workers in the Krupp works and other ammunition factories and machine shops are supplied with special costumes designed to permit the greatest freedom of movement and not endanger their lives by catching in the machinery. Such dress includes knickerbockers and leggings in a single garment, worn with a loose sack coat coming down over the hips and worn either open or closed, or sleeveless overalls covering body and legs, or special upper garments for women where special ease of movement seems to be required for the upper part of the body.

The success of women in industry in Germany has led to a movement in favor of compulsory government service for women analogous to military service for men, required of all except those physically incapacitated or prevented by motherhood. Yet this participation of women in industry has been attended by disadvantages, for it is claimed that so apt have the women proved at their work that with small wages their labor has been exploited, and many married women claim that with the long hours of employment, six a. m. to six p. m., and their release from labor only towards the late evening, after there is virtually nothing left in the markets to purchase, they cannot make adequate provisions for their families. Another complaint is that soldiers' widows are taxed on their pensions and thus are in a worse situation than the soldiers' wives, to whom an allowance is also made.

Furthermore, considerable disquietude is being produced by the employment of women in ammunition works and mines at small wages, where the corporations are reputed to be making vast profits. The twenty-six leading German mining companies showed an aggregate surplus for the last quarter of 1915 of 13,868,377 marks (about \$3,500,000) as compared with 7,158,823 marks in the first quarter. Naturally there has been a scarcity of labor, which has been met by the employment of women, and also by the employment of prisoners of war, of whom there are said to be almost a million in Germany; but it has been a notable fact that labor costs have only increased about 12 per cent in comparison with a vastly greater output and greater profits.

Excellent performances of women are reported also from the manufacturing industries of Great Britain and other European countries and the facts brought out by the *Engineer's* correspondent emphasize further the changes in industry and also the future changes wrought by the war. With women even excelling men in the use of automatic machinery, it is intensely probable that they will play a still more important part in manufacturing, and a considerable readjustment of social conditions must ensue. However that may be, it is undeniable that in Europe shop and home have experienced a

revolution of ideas and methods no less than on the battlefield and the high seas.

The war, which has wrecked the lives of many European women, has nevertheless been a great victory for the sex. While the men have marched off to the firing line the women have calmly filled their places in finance, factory and even politics and have raised funds for hospitals and supplies for the wounded on the side. They have met the demands of the war with a high courage, set aside the campaign for the ballot and have displayed a remarkable degree of efficiency in their new occupations, which has been none the less conspicuous because of its quietness and calm.

As a result the men are beginning to be worried. Some are already entertaining disquieting visions of a time when, the war over, the status of the sexes will be changed and the men will be dependent on the women for support. The Germans were the first to recognize the danger of woman's success in former masculine monopolies of work, and to compile a neat list of statistics on the question, which is soon to be made public. The other belligerents followed suit and heated discussions on the subject are now being held in all the capitals of Europe.

It is really a very difficult problem. The women have become used to their economic independence and like it.

## SHORTY'S PHILOSOPHY

By HARRISON GEORGE

SHORTY was not actually drunk, at least, not yet.

To get drunk properly requires time, and Shorty had just blown into town (Cody, Wyoming) from his job on an irrigation project close by.

Now as he tipped the brown bottle and watched that mysterious mixture of joy and sorrow gurgle into his glass, he remarked that he was "goin' back t' Hingland."

With that unconscious audacity common to the west, the writer butted-in by inquiring if Shorty intended stimulating the European demand of American metals by enlisting under the cross of St. George.

A look of profound disgust came over Shorty's tanned visage as he sat the bottle down and unburdened his soul in choicest English.

"Wot t' bloody 'ell y' tyke me for? *Me*

fight fer t'em bloody — — —s? Nar, not Hi."

"Wy, cully, wen Hi lands on th' docks at th' Pool, an' one o' t'em bloody ossifers struts up an' pats me on th' back an' says, "Well, Shorty, m' lad, Hi suppose yer come 'ome t' fight fer th' kink." Wot th' 'ell d' yer tink Hi'll tell th' bloody booger?"

"Hi'll arsk 'im: Wot did th' kink hever do fer Shorty wy Shorty shud fight fer 'im?"

"Strike me Prussian blue."

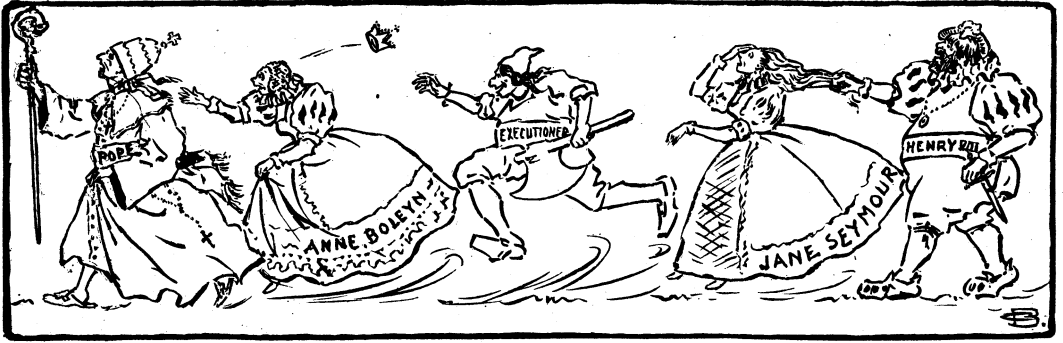
"Did th' kink hever sy, 'Shorty, come 'ave a drink? Nar."

"Did th' king hever sy, 'Shortly, m' lad, come 'ave a good feed? Nar."

"Then Gor blime, wy th' 'ell *shud* Shorty fight fer th' kink?"

After which bit of logic, needless to say, we had another one.





# KINGS, QUEENS AND HISTORY

By GRACE FORD

REMEMBER reading Dickens' Child's History of England when I was ten years old. For a long time it gave me my ideas of what history is. When anybody said anything to me about the history of England, I would think about Mary, beautiful Queen of Scots, with the long golden hair, who was be-headed because somebody was afraid she would seize the throne of England.

A picture would come to my mind of bold Queen Elizabeth, who executed so many of her Catholic subjects, or Bloody Mary, who waged relentless war on English Protestants. Then there came Henry the VIII, who had so many wives and was excommunicated by the Pope and who later founded the Church of England, and Oliver Cromwell and the War of the Roses. It seemed to me that every little while a Pretender would raise an army and kill off the King and then the Pretender would sit upon the throne, until the Prince grew up, or the Prince's party grew strong and then there would be more wars and more killings, and sometimes somebody else would seize the throne.

All this was my idea of history—the doing of Kings, Princes and Queens. And, as a matter of fact, this is still the prevailing idea of history. People imagine that the various Kings and Queens, their wars and their intrigues, or the presidents and the political parties which elect them, make what constitutes history. Writers still write about Great People, who are

usually little more than figure-heads, and tell us what these Great Men do and we believe this is history. Only in recent years have historians begun to tell us anything about the great mass of the people and the kind of lives they lead and how they produce and secure the necessities of life.

And the production of food, clothing and shelter and the *methods* by which they are produced and the changes in these methods are the underlying roots of all history. And the changes in the methods of production are made by the *machines*.

First of all, farm machinery liberated the young men from the soil, while machinery for spinning and weaving drew them toward the rising factory in the rising cities. Only a few years ago nearly everybody in America lived "in the country." Now over three-fourths of the population of the United States live in towns or cities.

Our grandparents left the farms because farm machinery made their labor no longer necessary to run the farm. Some of them got work in the new factories—until, a few years later, improved machinery cut down the number of men and women employed in the factories. Then some of them and their sons built more railroads and went to work in shops and mills, and new factories.

And so it went on. First there would be a new industry with crude hand-meth-



ods of production; then machinery would be invented and gain general use and men and women would be thrown out of work. Other new industries would spring up and these men and women would secure jobs in the new factories or mills until new machinery would cut down the labor force necessary to produce in those factories or mills.

And by and by, with improved methods of production and the use of greater and greater machinery, the owners of the factories and mills found themselves requiring fewer and fewer men and women. They discovered that sometimes one man, using modern machinery, could produce as much as ten men could make by hand. It became unnecessary for *all* the people to work *all* the time, and some of them were thrown into the Army of the Unemployed.

Within a few years, almost within the memory of our fathers, all these great historical changes have occurred. Railroads have spanned continents, great systems of ocean liners have been organized and new machinery and new methods have appeared in every department of industrial life. This has changed the lives of all the American people.

The *machine* sent men *from* the farms instead of *toward* them. It cut down the human labor it took to make things and threw millions of men and women into the ranks of the unemployed. It permitted a vast army of parasites to spring up on the backs of the toilers, parasites who live off the products of the workers: lawyers, doctors, brokers, merchants, bankers, judges, soldiers, policemen, etc. Machine production makes it possible for one-fifth of the people in any civilized country today to support the entire five-fifths.

And during these changes a never-ending, gigantic quarrel has been going on between the workers who *make* things and the employers who *take* these things.

We workers have been trying to get more of the value we make and our employers have been trying to appropriate more of that value. We have voted the Socialist ticket, organized strikes, practiced sabotage, tried to get other jobs—all in our efforts to get *more* of the value of the things we make. The capitalist class has used the law, the army, the scab,

the lock-out to force us to accept *less* of the value we create.

Even with hundreds of thousands of men and women out of employment, the capitalist class finds that it has more of the workers' products on its hands than it can sell. It has found itself with more *capital* on hand than it can invest in the United States at a *monopoly* rate of profit, which it has been receiving on its privately owned monopolies in this country.

And the French and English and Belgian and German capitalist classes have found themselves in the same situation. Everywhere the capitalists hire the workers for wages and keep the products of the workers. And the products of the workers are several times the value of the wages paid. If all the wage workers receive, say \$4, for making commodities, shoes, clothes, furniture, worth \$16, it is obvious that they cannot buy back the things they have made. They don't get enough money.

Even with millions of useless workers employed by the capitalist class, in the sphere of the circulation of commodities, and the millions of doctors, lawyers, preachers, and men and women working on the press, magazines, in the field of advertising, etc., the entire working class—useless, as well as useful workers—does not receive enough in wages *and* salaries to enable it to buy back the things the productive workers have made and which the productive workers need.

So the capitalist class wants new, half-civilized colonies in which to sell these products. The capitalist class wants new fields in which to invest its billions of dollars of profits made from the labor of the working class.

The purchasing power of the working people of Germany, England, France, Belgium and America is not big enough to enable them to buy their own products. Modern machinery has made the labor of millions of workers unnecessary in these countries. Excluding the youths and incapables, less than half the remaining population is capable of supporting the whole nation today *on a war basis*.

This is what modern machine production has done. It has made possible the accumulation of vast wealth, or great capital which the capitalists want to invest abroad. It has given the civilized nations

a great army of unemployed at home which can be used to back up capitalist aggression. And so imperialism is bound to increase in all the "forward" nations.

For the interests of big capital dominate all our social institutions, permeate all our thought, control our press, our clergy, our colleges. Capitalist desires form the newspaper headlines. From parasitic journalist brains come one fake drama after another, plot and counter-plot, to inflame the working class into a patriotic fervor that will make them join the army or navy, will excite the people into thinking they want what a powerful group of capitalists alone really desires.

And so—because modern machinery has permitted the owners of the tools of production to grow rich at the expense of the working class, has thrown millions of men out of work, has bred the desire in the owning class for further conquest, new fields for exploitation—we have a war-mad Europe today; we have a war-mad capitalist class at home.

Men have not learned to use their brains very extensively, have they? The human animal was poorly equipped originally, except for his wonderfully fine and responsive nervous system. He had neither the teeth of the lion, the speed of the sabre tooth, the weight and strength of the mastodon. With his bare hands he built up his first shelter, his first crude tools, builded his first fire. He conquered the wilderness and subdued all the other, many of them stronger, animals; made himself Man upon this earth.

With new security, he increased in numbers, learned to till the soil, building ever more perfect tools wherewith to feed and clothe, to shelter and protect himself. Today he has reached the point where the terrors of early man are forever abolished. Man has conquered the desert, has drained the swamp, has crossed rivers, built canals. Man and the

modern machine have forever banished the necessity of want and hunger.

If every strong man and woman, using the land and modern tools of production, worked only three hours a day, they could produce more than enough to feed and clothe and house the whole world. There is no longer any need of excessive toil.

But as long as the working class grants the right of a few privileged individuals to own the tools and instruments of production—the land, the mines, railroads, factories, shops and mills—just so long will these workers labor for *wages*, for a *part* of the value they create. Just so long will the owning class appropriate to themselves all the workers have produced.

Every day is going to make the fighting harder for us—because every day brings new labor-displacing machinery that throws more and more men and women into the ranks of the non-producers. Capital is going to try to use these non-producers to wage their wars of foreign conquest—for new fields for exploitation—and a military class can always be used to crush every revolt on the part of the workers at home.

So now is the time for every working-man and woman to hunt up every Socialist and industrial unionist—every other working man in his district—and organize into a fighting unit. Get up debates, speeches and lectures; organize study clubs and get every Henry Dubb into line so that he will know what we are fighting for, and how to fight.

We cannot *make* a revolution; but the day is coming, perhaps sooner than some of us believe, when the working class is going to be forced to rebel, is going to fight with its back against a wall. That will be our great opportunity. If we do our work well now, we shall have enough *informed, educated* workingmen and women to swing the acts of the working class into *revolution!*





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NEW YORK TELEPHONE GIRLS ON THEIR WAY HOME

## THE NEW YORK STREET CAR STRIKE

**N**EW YORK, the tremendous city of five million inhabitants, has become the Prize Ring in which is being fought one of the most colossal battles ever waged in this country between Capital and Labor. A general strike on the subway, "L" roads and street car lines of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company was declared on September 7th, in spite of the truce signed by the company and the men on August 7th. It developed that the company merely signed to gain time to organize to break the new union which has sprung up so amazingly within the past few weeks.

When it felt that it was in a position to defeat the carmen, the Interborough began to circulate the "master and servant" contracts the purpose of which was to destroy

any benefit that might accrue thru belonging to the union. Union men on the Interborough who refused to sign were immediately discharged and at a rousing mass meeting held by the union men on the evening of the seventh, the crowd declared enthusiastically for a general strike to enforce the right of the street car men to organize into a union.

Almost from the beginning of the strike, the struggle began to take on a *political*, or class character. The Central Federated Union, combining all the powerful labor unions of the city voted to stand by the strikers to the last man and the last dollar. Longshoremens, firemen, engineers and boatmen were among the first to rally to aid the men battling on the street car lines.

Instead of sending up the usual howl



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NEW YORK TELEPHONE GIRLS ON THEIR WAY HOME

for a safe and scheduled car service, Big Business felt that the time to strike a death blow to unionism in New York city, and offered Mr. Shonts, president of the traction interests, from twenty to thirty per cent of their forces if he needed them to *break the strike*. Hundreds of strike breakers, at high wages, were rushed to New York, while Waddell, the Private Car King of strike-breaking bosses, raced across the continent in his own special, at a cost of \$3,000 to help crush the revolt of the car slaves.

James L. Quakenbush, attorney for the System, declared there were a lot of Columbia college students who wanted jobs as ticket sellers and choppers.

400,000 trade unionists in New York City are threatening to walk out in a sympathetic strike to aid the street car men win their demands and President Shonts, Big Boss of the Interborough, declares

that Capital intends to "go to the mat" with union labor in Manhattan right now.

As the REVIEW goes to press it is still too early to know just how far either side will be willing to go to win this fight. The unions have not yet declared for the sympathetic strike. But if these men do go out, it will mean a great step forward for labor solidarity all over the country.

Don't forget that the street car struggle is assuming the proportions of a *political* (or *class*) struggle. The trade unions are *talking* of making it a real one, and November first may yet see New York City in the throes of a momentous class war.

Later: We are just in receipt of news that 20,000 longshoremen and boatmen have gone out on strike in sympathy with the car men and that 25,000 machinists have decided to go out. Union men are predicting that if the car men are still out in a week's time, thousands of other unionists will strike to help them win a victory.



## WHAT CAPITALISTS ARE SAYING

IN the September Forum, George Weiss, very evidently writing as the spokesman of the National Association of Manufacturers, says, while bemoaning the fact that "labor is on the offensive" and has made great inroads on capital the past year:

"A large steel company wrote: 'It is not so much that the men are expecting and demanding high wages, as that *they are not inclined to give a reasonable return for wages*. They will not take orders from their superiors and they take many holidays. Laboring men do not seem to take advantage of the situation to improve their conditions.' Another declares 'not only have rates gone up, but the *efficiency of labor has gone down*.' A steel maker wrote: 'labor has become so independent that it is difficult to keep discipline and instead of attempting to earn more money at

high rates, the *laborers simply reduce* the amount of work they turn out, etc.'"

Mr. Weiss says that one large manufacturer wrote: "Labor as a whole, certainly North of the Mason and Dixon line and east of the Mississippi, is suffering from a species of insanity. It does not know what it wants but it wants *more*."

"A shipbuilder sent in a poster used in England, which he declared represented a condition now prevailing here. It read:

*Don't scab upon the unemployed by working hard. Slow work means more jobs. More jobs means less unemployment. Less competition means high wages, less work, more pay. Slow down. Slow down. Don't be slaves.*

Mr. Weiss has prepared the following figures showing a few of the wage increases.

	Men	Monthly Increase
United States Steel Corporation.....	500,000	\$3,500,000
Bethlehem Steel Company.....	24,000	170,000
Youngstown Steel plants.....	20,000	150,000
Colorado Fuel & Iron Company.....	6,000	75,000
Other steel plants.....	140,000	400,000
Overland Automobile Company.....	18,000	1,250,000
Butte miners and smelters.....	14,000	189,000
Anaconda mines.....	5,000	8,290
Anthracite coal miners.....	200,000	1,000,000
Portland and Coeur d'Alene district mines.....	3,000	3,000
West Virginia Coal Mines.....	20,000	98,000
Chicago packing houses.....	25,000	210,000
Hart, Shaffner & Marx.....	10,000	70,000
Allis Chalmers Company.....	2,000	16,800
Milwaukee teamsters.....	600	4,200
St. Louis brewers.....	5,000	30,000
St. Louis machinists.....	500	5,600
Ohio Electric Railway Company.....	1,000	5,000
Columbus, O., street-car men.....	700	2,700
Cincinnati building trades.....	14,000	17,400
Toledo carpenters.....	300	210
Toledo electricians.....	200	2,072
Fall River cotton operatives.....	30,000	250,000
New Bedford cotton operatives.....	25,000	200,000
American Woolen Company.....	30,000	125,000
Providence India Rubber Company.....	2,500	19,600
Rhode Island cotton operatives.....	6,000	30,000
Philadelphia carmen.....	6,200	22,600
New York carmen.....	12,000	75,000
Brooklyn carmen.....	8,000	60,000
Cleveland building trades.....	20,000	291,000
New York building trades.....	150,000	350,000

Mr. Weiss adds: "Artists, mechanics and laboring men have *lost what small respect they had for their employers.* \* \* \* Manufacturers of America have not stood idly by and watched labor make inroads. They are working quietly but effectively; and when the condition of trade is once again normal the retribution coming will precipitate a crisis."

The Railway Age, in its spasms over the passage of the Eight Hour Law by Congress, says:

"While the terrorists, like those of the French Revolution, led by a reincarnation of Robespierre in the person of the arid, loquacious, lean and tearful Garretson, and a reincarnation of Marat, in the person of the strike-thirsty Carter, stood over Congress with a stop-watch in one hand and a threat of national ruin, starvation and anarchy in the other, that 'august deliberative body' lashed itself into breathlessness and lather by feverish and desperate efforts to pass the 'eight-hour day' law before the time limit fixed should expire!"

In an editorial commenting on the recent demands of labor in the United States, the Journal of Commerce says:

"It is obvious that the rights of labor cannot be extended any further. There is nothing beyond. The community is now anxious to know whether there is any protection for it in a labor controversy where the employers can yield nothing more without giving up their capital. State ownership of public utilities will not obviate the serious controversies, as the Colony of Victoria and the Republic of France have demonstrated, and a Labor Minister in one and a Socialist Minister in the other had to resort to strong measures against the strikers."

If you have been thinking Labor was not making any advances in this country read over some of these quotations from the press of the capitalist Enemy and cheer up.

And as for the editor of the Journal of Commerce, we believe that every reader of the REVIEW will be able to assure him that *there is a lot for labor still beyond* and that *the rights of labor can be extended until the private capital, the factories, mines, mills, shops, etc. shall become the social property of the workers, just as soon as the workers unite to take these things!*



# THE SAN FRANCISCO FRAME-UP

By ROBERT MINOR

(The following telegram was received as we go to press)

**O**NE of the bitterest fights in the history of labor is being waged on the coast. It is the fight of the bosses against unionism, the fight for the open shop.

For the readers of the International Socialist Review, it is not necessary to emphasize the real meaning of this struggle. The investigation of the industrial commission has proven, with a wealth of statistics, that the open shop means the scab shop, the reduction of wages, the lowering of the standard of living, unsanitary conditions, misery and prostitution.

This is the campaign that the Chamber of Commerce in San Francisco is carrying on at the present moment. It has seized on the bomb explosion during the preparedness parade as its chief argument in favor of downing the unions. The parade itself was to muster the strength of the organized opposition to labor, but the workers refused to participate, and the parade proved a complete failure. Instead of the boasted 150,000, only a few business men, followed meekly by their 22,000 unorganized employes, marched through the streets on July 22nd. The Chamber of Commerce saw its defeat, and forthwith grasped the opportunity to discredit labor.

"This is a good chance for the open shop," a prominent business man said, on



# THE SAN FRANCISCO FRAME-UP

By ROBERT MINOR



hearing of the bomb explosion that killed ten bystanders. The city at the time was overrun by the professional thugs imported for the 'longshoremen's strike, and hundreds of warnings had been received by the newspapers and many citizens that the parade would be dynamited. But when the arrests were made, it was discovered that every one of the police "catch" was a prominent labor man, for years actively connected with the struggle of the workers for better conditions.

The men charged with responsibility for the bomb explosion are:

Edward D. Nolan, member of Machinists' union No. 68. Had just returned from Baltimore four days before his arrest, where he had been sent as a delegate from his union to the machinists' convention.

Thomas J. Mooney, member of the Moulders' union and organizer of the street car men.

Warren K. Billings, ex-president of the Boot and Shoe Workers' union; has also been a delegate to the labor council from his union.

Israel Weinberg, one of the directors of the Jitney Bus union, and Mrs. Rena Mooney, wife of Thomas Mooney, a music teacher.

Not for decades has such a brazen attempt been made to drive labor, in shame for its own supposed crimes, into the rat hole of hopeless disorganization.

Back of the official prosecution is Big Business of San Francisco, specifically the United Railroads, to whom every active labor man is a criminal by virtue of his being a union man. They are especially bitter against Tom Mooney, who recently attempted to organize the platform men of the United Railroads and to call a strike. All the other defendants are widely known as of the most loyal and active labor element on the coast, and the chief detective in their prosecution is actually an employe of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

The situation is critical. The accused men are absolutely innocent of the charges against them, but the private detectives are hungry for the \$21,000 blood money promised for the conviction of the arrested. The district attorney—himself a creature of Big Business—is rushing the cases to court, viciously taking advantage of the excited and prejudiced state of public mind which he has helped to create by daily trying the accused in the newspapers and assuring the public that he already has "the hemp around the necks" of the four men and one woman.

The same district attorney and his assistants have carried on a campaign of terrorization against all who had the temerity to try to get attorneys for the prisoners. To go to the jail and ask to see the men in the interest of their defense was enough to get one's self ordered "To see Mr. Brennan," and "seeing Mr. Brennan" meant to undergo hours of shouted threats of hanging and such at the hands of that bulldog-jawed person.

A witness who naively thought the authorities were looking for the dynamiter, went to the prosecutor's office with a clear story as an eye-witness. Because he would not lay it on one of the union men, he was "thrown out of the office," according to the press.

This case is going to turn the tide of battle on the coast. For the accused are innocent and we can prove it. When we get them out into the sunlight again, and we are confident that we can, the sinister efforts at their mobbing by public sentiment will cause a reaction that will mean a long respite from the "suit case dynamite" charges which are the business man's fashion here. It is the hour of victory. We must win. We are hampered only by a terrible lack of money.

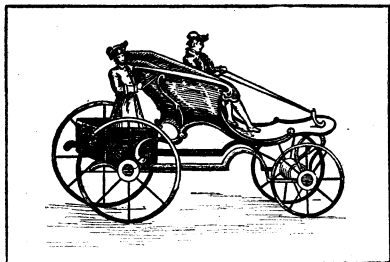
The first case, that of Warren K. Billings, comes to trial now. Publicity and funds are urgently needed. No friend of labor should remain passive in the face of this all too evident conspiracy. Act immediately. Give all you can, quickly. Send funds to Robert Minor, Treasurer of the International Workers Defense League, 210 Russ Building, San Francisco.

# FOOT-PROPELLED VEHICLES

THE dominating impulse to find mechanical substitutes for legs and feet may doubtless be traced to the cave men, but at a comparatively recent date the inventive and erudite Egyptian had made little progress, though it is alleged that mingled with his hieroglyphic writings were figures bearing a faint resemblance to the velocipede. Be that as it may, even the luxury-loving Roman possessed, with all his wealth, his marble palaces and famous baths, but few mechanical contrivances to minister to his comfort. In fact it was not until the close of the Middle Ages that substitutes for the litter, sedan chair and palanquin were sought. The thirteenth century found the wheelbarrow in use for the transportation of the sick, and it is stated in a recent article that there is extant an old print of the sixteenth century, showing a man-pushed, wheeled contrivance similar to those seen at seaside resorts.

In 1766 John Vevers had developed a horseless carriage which took its motive power from the footman. No frosty-countenanced dignitary with arms folded and eyes front was this individual. His task was a real one for he had to balance himself on the more or less precarious foothold of two levers and by shifting his weight first to one and then to the other, impart a reciprocating action which was transmitted to the front wheels. The rider steered by means of lines, much as though he were driving a team.

The velocipedes of the early nineteenth century were virtually hobby-horses,



Drawing by Edna Hood Lissak

JOHN VEVERS' HORSELESS CARRIAGE, 1766, WAS PROPELLED BY THE FOOTMAN, WHO BORE HIS WEIGHT ALTERNATELY ON THE LEVER PLANKS BENEATH THE VEHICLE.



Drawing by Edna Hood Lissak

THE PEDESTRIAN HOBBY HORSE, LONDON, 1818

mounted on two large wheels, the motive power being supplied by pushing against the ground with the feet. On a day of uncertain date the inhabitants of a Swiss village were startled by the sight of the Baron von Drais of Manheim riding, it appeared, to certain destruction at the terrific speed of six to eight miles an hour on one of these contrivances, invented by the Baron himself. Tho of crude workmanship, it was of better construction than many of the devices which had preceded. Its movements were guided by a handle-bar attached to curiously curved forks, and it bore withal a far-off resemblance to a bicycle.

Many and strange were the devices employed during the next decade in the effort to find a means of propelling the machine with the feet raised from the ground, for the crank movement had not yet been applied.

The principle of the multiplying wheel had long been known and used for various purposes, and by the third quarter of the century hand-propelled bath-chairs, similar to those still in use, were not uncommon at seaside resorts, but their movements were slow and not easily directed, so they gave place to the hand-pushed chairs, first exhibited, it is said, at the Paris Exposition of 1889.

Meanwhile the bicycle and tricycle experienced no improvement and did not come into general favor until 1869, when, following the introduction (in 1866) of an improved velocipede by Pierre Lallemont, of Paris, more than fifty patents were recorded at Washington in a single month. And now the two and three-wheeled velocipedes started upon their respective careers in earnest, for cycling had at last become a fad.—*The Edison Monthly*.

# CRIME AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

BY CLARENCE DARROW

“CRIMINALITY and Economic Conditions” is a good book.\* I only wish that lawyers and judges would read it and pay some attention to it. It was written from what might be termed a “Socialistic standpoint,” which is the only standpoint, broadly speaking, from which crime can be rationally considered.

I use the word “crime” knowing that it does not mean anything, but because it conveys some sort of a vague impression as to what you are driving at. This book pretty well demonstrates that the word “crime” has no meaning. Strictly speaking, a “crime” is an act which is contrary to the law, committed by one who, under our mediæval ideas, is possessed of free will and responsibility. Of course, as long as people have neither free will nor responsibility, there can be no crime, and then, too, it might be the highest act to violate a human statute.

Another definition that is perhaps more commonly used, and substantially the one that is used in this book, is that a crime is an “anti-social act.” An act committed by one which is inconsistent with the best good of the community.

Under this, of course, men like Rockefeller would be the greatest criminals, but nobody seeks to apply this rule, except as to poor criminals.

The main theme of this book is that social conditions are the cause of crime. The author brings together a large array of statistics to prove this statement and he does prove it conclusively. Of course, no one needs statistics to prove any such contention. Those few people who have any sense know from personal experience that it is only the poor who fill our prisons, and therefore there must be some relation between poverty and crime.

This book shows that most of the crimes are what might be classed as “property crimes”—larceny, burglary, forgery and the like. These crimes against property have all been committed by people who have no property, while those who have property have not committed crimes against property.

To my mind, the author does not lay enough stress on heredity, but puts everything on environment. I am not acquainted with any author who has as yet stated this question as it should be, and I presume I shall never find it correctly stated unless I write a book myself, but I am too lazy to do it. As a matter of fact, heredity is a great factor in all conduct, and it seems to me that the connection between heredity and environment is perfectly simple and I could never understand why authors failed to harmonize these two factors in human conduct.

For at least six months before a man is born there is almost no chance to change the man. There is very little chance for a hundred generations before he is born, and it would be safe to say that there is NO chance after he is eight to ten years old. He is born as he is, without any power to change himself. If it should be admitted that there was some little chance to change, that chance comes from infancy up to eight or ten years, when his character is forming, and neither before birth, nor for eight or ten years after, has the individual from his own efforts, the slightest chance to change. He probably has no chance at any time, but every one must agree that up to ten years of age there is no opportunity whatever. Then at least the man is made.

Long before he is born it is fixed irrevocably whether the germ from which he develops shall be a dog or a horse, or a white man, or a black man, or a man or a woman. It is also determined whether he will be one of the four hundred since the beginning of the world who have been singled out for geniuses, or one of the four hundred out of a million who have talent; or one of the great mass of common people who have neither; or whether he should be a defective, or an imbecile. There are, no doubt, men who are born with so much ability that they will survive almost regardless of environment. There are a few who are defectively born, so that in no possible environment will

\*“Criminality and Economic Conditions,” by William Adrian Bonger, Boston; Little, Brown & Co., \$5.50.

they thrive; the great mass of people will go one way or another, according to the environment in which their lot is cast. Whatever becomes of them, the intrinsic person is the same. Changing them is out of the question. Under a hard environment, they may become burglars or thieves. Under a good environment, they may become millionaires, preachers, lawyers, congressmen, aldermen or constables. If you take all the rich and make them poor, a lot of them will go to jail. If you take all the poor and make them rich, very few will go to jail. In this sense, environment is the whole thing. Heredity is the seed and environment is the soil. The oak seed will produce an oak, no matter what the soil. It will be a bigger one and a stronger one if the soil is good, but it is an oak just the same. It seems to me that biology has practically proven this proposition and all questions of sociology ought to start from this basis. This does not make the question of environment less important, but more important, and that is where this book is very valuable. Nobody can read it with an open mind without understanding clearly that crime is almost entirely a question of environment.

The talk of reforming criminals is idle and silly. Nobody ever reforms. They do not need to reform, for they are right as they are, from their own standpoint. Talk to a thousand bank presidents and every one will not only say they are right, but will prove it. Talk to a thousand prisoners and every one, if they trust you, will tell you that they are right and will show you conclusively how they happen to be in jail. They could not have been anywhere else.

While you can do nothing to reform anybody, everything can be done to change the environment of men and women. Good conduct can be made more profitable than burglary and larceny, or even than organizing a trust, and when society does make it more profitable almost all men will be good, but not until that time; and all the work that is of any value along the line of helping the criminal should be along the line of prevention and giving him a chance to live. Punishing him is not only cruel, but it accomplishes nothing except to weaken what little stamina there is in him.

All of this is very clearly brought out in this book by statistics and by incontrovertible facts, and I presume there are some people who still need statistics and facts. To them this book ought to appeal. All one really needs is to open his eyes and see the truth.

Economic conditions will not fully explain every anti-social act. They will explain most of them. A large part of the rest of them are secondary results of economic conditions.

The author treats of sex crimes and shows their origin; that a large proportion of them are due to economic conditions. Probably, if he would go deeper into it, he would find that practically all of them were due to the same cause.

For instance, this author shows that the crime of rape is more common where times are not too hard. He accounts for this by the fact that under good times prostitution is less common, with the result of rape. Very likely this is true, but with anything like equal environment for all it is hard to imagine such a crime, excepting where one is born with a radical defect. I have seen a judge sentence a man for practically his life for this crime. A man who was poor, illiterate, unattractive, who probably came in from six months' work on a steamboat. The judge was well fed, well dressed, attractive and a member of society. Of course, he never thought what would happen to him if he was poor, had no clothes and had been a long time away from society. Ordinarily judges have not imagination enough for this—neither have lawyers, neither has anybody, excepting cranks.

The author shows that there is practically no connection between alcohol and crime. Nobody except surface thinkers ever believed there was. But most people are surface thinkers.

The chaplain of a penitentiary who gathers statistics goes through the prison and asks the inmates if they drink. They all say they do, and the chaplain makes up his statistics and shows that drinking is the cause of crime. The inmates are willing to charge it to drink, too. It gives them a good standing with the chaplain, and then, too, I never yet saw a man in jail or out who could tell what brought him where he was. As a matter of fact,

I never could find what they put in alcohol that caused men to commit burglary after they took it. There is no such thing, and never was any such thing.

This question is easy, and this book shows it. Men live by their emotions. Some get emotional life one way and some another. The poor, the unimaginative and those in trouble are apt to drink. In this way they forget themselves. Of course, they spend their money, and altogether their poverty and surroundings cause them to lose their self-respect. Alcoholism is due to intellectual inaction and a poverty of other food for a highly-strung nervous system, and if men use alcohol to excess, it is because their minds and nervous systems are not occupied some other way.

Not long ago a man asked me if I knew of any way to cure his brother of drunkenness. I told him I did. I told him to get him converted to Socialism. That would furnish him all the stimulant he needed. Some do it with Christian Science. Some go to hear Billy Sunday. You can only have one kind of drunk at a time—any kind of dope will serve.

Outside of the crimes due directly to economics, there are crimes of murder. Perhaps the largest group of these are caused by sex jealousy. These will exist until nature finds some other way of producing life, which will be some time yet, in spite of reformers.

The number of these crimes may be diminished by giving people better opportunities and a larger social life, but no other way. Crimes of revenge will no doubt exist, to some extent, for ages to come. These, too, would be lessened and modified by giving a larger physical and intellectual life. People who are busy do not spend their time figuring out a way to get even with some one else.

The author takes a crack at the theory of sterilization. This is always in order. The Eugenist is a conspicuous example of the old saying that "a little learning is a dangerous thing." If it was only dangerous to him, it would be all right, but it is dangerous to the world. The Eugenist has read the "Jukes" case, where more or less reliable statistics were gathered to show that a large percentage of a well known family of New York, for

seven generations, had been inmates of prisons and almshouses.

One ought to have a photograph of the persons who gathered the statistics before they put much reliance on them, but for the sake of the argument we will admit that the statistics are true, though statistics never are. All they prove is that a family that started in poverty and misery was unable to right itself because of its environment. This is true of 90 per cent of families, although they do not all go to jail.

We might take an example of another anti-social family from the other side. Take the Vanderbilt family, who stand for the other end. Three or four generations ago one of them got rich. Since then almost every one in the direct and collateral line have been rich. They cannot help it. Does anybody think that the Vanderbilts are smarter than other people? They are simply born in that environment and cannot get out of it. None of them can rise above it.

Eugenists take the "Jukes" family and they say if the first man and woman had been sterilized the rest would not have been paupers and criminals. This is true, but what of it? Who are the wise "gazabos" who are going to pick out the right people to be sterilized? The question would have to be submitted to a vote as to who should be the head executioner. When the fellow is elected he will get rid of the people he does not like and the people whom his backers do not like. When they create this office I want that job. I wouldn't like to trust anybody else. A person who knows anything about biology knows that there is no sure way to prove that good offsprings are going to come from good people, or bad offsprings from bad people, to pass up the question of who is good and who is bad.

Nature is a stupendous blunderer. She does nothing right and nothing wrong. Simply goes ahead blindly and does things, but it will be a sad day when the world turns from the mixed wisdom and ignorance of nature to the mixed ignorance and prejudice of the reformer. Me for nature, with all her mistakes.

I am willing to admit that a thoroughbred is a thoroughbred and a scrub is a scrub, but while we experiment on

animals we have never yet experimented on man. The generations are too long and our ideas of the sacredness of life are too fixed, and then, too, it would be "immoral" to breed people for experimental purposes. With the human race there are no thoroughbreds who have an attested pedigree. There are a lot of thoroughbreds but we do not know who they are, except by the way they act. The animal's record we can get for a good many generations, because his life is short and we can do with him as we will, and when we know that the pedigree is good we know what it will produce, but this you cannot know of man.

No one who thinks and studies can ignore the power of heredity and the impossibility of overcoming it.

Take a well-bred animal and place him in an environment where he cannot get

enough to eat and he will soon be poor and scrawny, but he will breed thoroughbreds. Take a scrub and put him in an environment where he gets enough to eat and he will be fat and sleek, but he will still breed scrubs. No doubt, the human race is the same, but we have no way of sorting them. The man in jail with the rags may be a thoroughbred, and the professor or the preacher, well-fed and clothed, may be the scrub and breed scrubs. Then, again, if he had the second sight to pick out all the scrubs and kill them and leave only the thoroughbred men and women, the world would be awfully lonesome, with nobody left to do the work.

I recommend this book. I wish every one would read it. It might do some good, but it probably will not.

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## INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

F. H.

**R**EVOLUTIONARY Industrial Unionism—that is, the proposition that all wage-workers come together in "organization according to Industry"; the grouping of the workers, by the workers, in each of the big divisions of Industry as a whole into local, national, and international industrial unions, all to be interlocked, dove-tailed, welded into One Big Union of all wage workers; a big union bent on aggressively forging ahead and compelling shorter hours, more wages and better conditions in and out of the workshop and as each advance is made, holding on grimly to the fresh gain with the determination to push still further forward—gaining strength from each victory and learning by every temporary set-back—until the working class is able to take possession and control of the machinery, premises, and materials of production right from capitalists' hands, and use that control to distribute the product entirely amongst the workers—such is the aim and teaching of the I. W. W.

This conception of working class unionism is not the wild dream of a handful of radical trade unionists, fanatically trying to force their ideas on to the rest of Labor; nor is it some complicated scheme worked out on paper by a few cranks, and impossible in practice. It is a crying necessity to the working class; a method of organization which, when studied, commends itself to an intelligent worker; a truly scientific way of organizing on thoroughly up to date lines, according to the evolution of Industry; a unionism which must be adopted by Labor if Labor is to move forward.

Industrial Unionism is a growth, a plant, so to speak, whose seed was deeply embedded in the soil of capitalism, and bound to come up. A young plant, truly, but virile and sure to thrive and flourish until, as the full-grown tree, it blossoms out into the Industrial Commonwealth, the Workshop Democracy which shall be the foundation of a future society such as mankind has never known.

Industrial Unionism is revolutionary—

because it is based on the Class Struggle and aims to bring about a social revolution by shifting the control of production from the capitalists—the non-producers—to the workers—the producers. A small portion of the population controls the means of life and buys labor as cheaply as possible. The vast majority of the population in order to live at all, have to sell their labor—as dearly as possible. The working people, on the average, only get enough to just live on out of the vast total of what they produce, while the capitalist class revel in luxury, extravagance and waste. Therefore, a struggle goes on ceaselessly for the product; a struggle which can only be ended by the workers taking possession.

The only way the workers can add to their bare subsistence which they receive is by combination—by organization.

Ordinary unionism as we know it—trade unionism—does not aim at ending the struggle, but tinkers with conditions, barter for bits of the product instead of claiming and struggling for the whole. It therefore perpetuates the wage system with its necessarily ceaseless struggle. Furthermore, trade unionism has the workers split up, and mis-organized so as to be worse than if they were not-organized at all. Trade unionism does not advance the workers—it keeps them back.

The Labor movement today, with its wretched tin-pot unions, each only covering one small section of one industry—and often not covering that properly; often overlapping, and jealous of other unions in the same industry; acting spasmodically, incoherently—when they act at all; going, as a rule, cap in hand, at long intervals, to ask for some slight increase in wages—not to really better their conditions or standard of life, but to catch up to the increased cost of living, and often failing in that; undertaking agreements, which are in reality but promises to turn down, scab on, their fellows; bureaucratically governed by officials who are sometimes unscrupulous and often ignorant enough; with their affiliations and so-called federation—foisted in the name of one big union, but functioning only to further the political ambitions of the leaders—presents a sorry

travesty of what militant Labor should be.

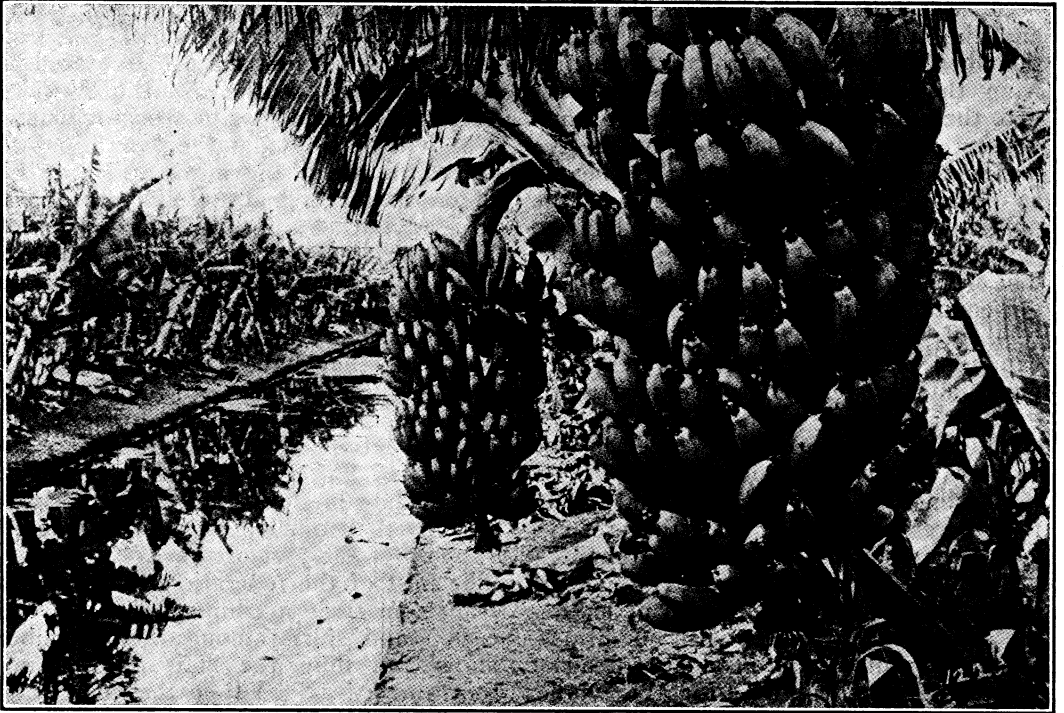
Industrial Unionism as advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World is very badly needed by the working class.

It will be said that the federations referred to are a move towards one big union of workers; at any rate an attempt to evolve the unions in that direction. True, big federations of labor have developed, notably in England, France and America, but, in the main, their successes have been very meagre and then only in so far as they have approached the Industrial Unionist plan of organization by industry, and by industrial or inter-industrial action. The best of them are still dominated largely by craft union ideals, out of date methods, and are led by the nose by their officials, besides lacking the support of the rest of the working class. The best of the federations will have to transform their machinery, develop education and spirit among their memberships and fling the "fair day's wage" motto away. Even then they cannot go far beyond the rest of the working class. If they have served any useful purpose in developing the one big union idea, that purpose is done. Federation must go by the board. The boneshaker must make way for the motor-bike.

Revolutionary Industrial Unionism embraces every individual, unit, section, branch, and department of industry. It takes in every color, creed, and nation. From Scandinavia to New Zealand; from Moscow to 'Frisco it appears to every worker, and forges a mighty weapon of freedom.

Revolutionary Industrial Unionism—I. W. W.-ism—organized efficiency. Every worker in one industry; every industry part and parcel of the one great whole.

And in the forging of the weapon we get paid, "not in the sky when we die," not in the distant Utopian future, but as we go along; for every fight won, every advance made through efficient organization can be held by the same means, and will be reflected in better conditions, better homes, more of the good things we should have, or as the Yankee reb. said: "We'll have more pork chops."—From Direct Action, New Zealand.



## ABOUT BANANAS

BY MARION WRIGHT

**A**MONG the many excellent things which came to be generally accepted in the United States during the Nineteenth Century may be listed the yellow, mellow banana, along with tomatoes and Socialism.

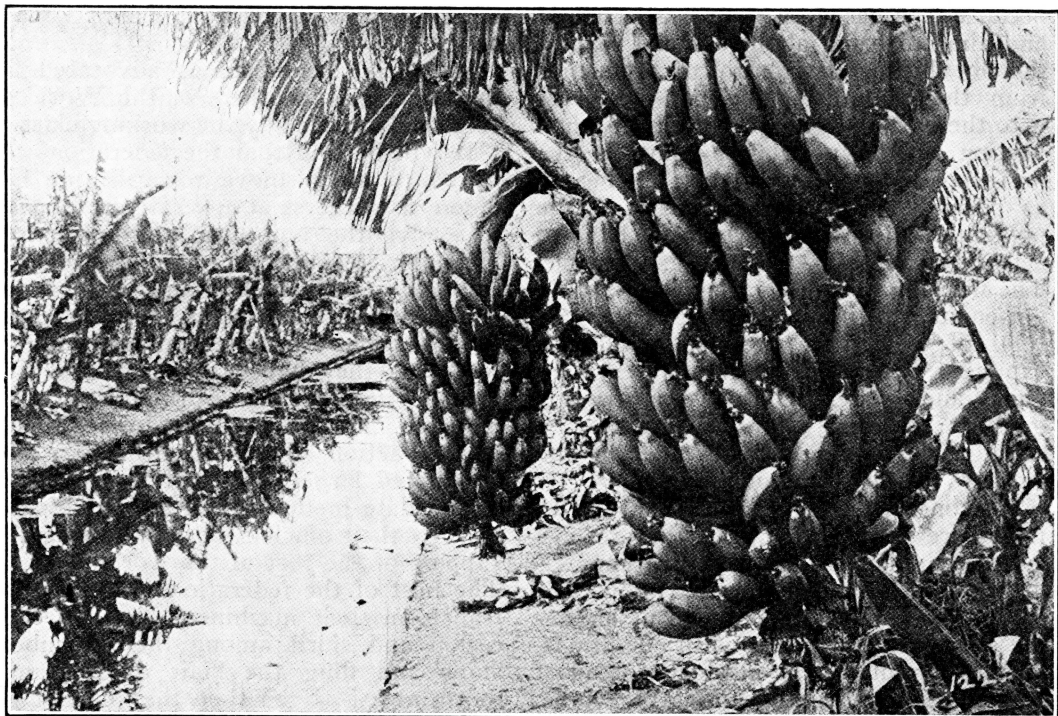
At the beginning of the century a tomato was called a "love apple" and was considered poison. After some fifty years the tomato was finally accepted, but Socialism, by its present name, was unknown. Those who professed its principles were considered fit subjects for the gallows.

The banana made its bow to the public much later and under much more favorable circumstances. Unlike the tomato it gave off a seductive, pleasing odor, and

unlike Socialism it did not "hurt" business. When our grandparents were little folks they did not have any bananas unless they lived in a seaport town. It was not until 1870 that one Capt. Baker nosed around the island of Jamaica, in his two-masted schooner and brought off a cargo of the fruit. Like Adam with his apple, the American public nibbled its banana and found it good and the banana business sprang into being at once. Today we import around 45,000,000 bunches a year, which sell for over \$50,000,000.

Most of the fruit comes from Central America and the West Indies, Mexico and Hawaii furnishing a small portion. About 15,000 bunches are received in San Francisco monthly from the Hawaiian islands.





# ABOUT BANANAS

BY MARION WRIGHT

The history of the culture of the banana in Hawaii extends backward to the early days when only hand implements were used for farming. About 1855 the Cavendish, or Chinese variety was introduced into the islands and proving much superior to the wild variety, was adopted for culture. At the close of the Civil war in the States a small export trade had been worked up by Hawaii. As the Central American and West Indian planters did not begin the culture of the fruit in earnest until some twenty years later the Hawaiian planters had an excellent opportunity to capture the banana trade, but she did not do so for the reason that at about this time the introduction of machinery made the production of sugar on her lands much more profitable than bananas. It is the same in our other island possessions to a great extent. The greater profits arising from the culture of sugar causes the banana business to be neglected and little scientific study has been devoted to its culture.

At the present time there is practically no selection of plants with a view of multiplying plants whose heredity is good. Plants are selected indifferently from those which have produced large bunches and those which have produced small.

The preparation of the land by thorough, deep tillage and plowing before the plants are set is important. And it must be remembered that the process of producing a good bunch of bananas is a continuous one and cannot be arrested even for a few days without damage to the coming bunch. If a banana plant is split down through the middle with a sharp knife when it is about eighteen months old, it will be found that the bunch is already formed within the stem. That is, if it happens to be a plant that will bear. Some banana plants do not bear fruit. Proper tillage and care determine at a very early age the size and number of the flowers which are first to blossom on the "bunch" before the fruit forms, and like flowers, like fruit. After the flower forms no power under the sun can increase the number of bananas on the forth-coming bunch. The planter can see the size of his crops many months in

advance, figuring out the losses from disease, insect pests, etc.

Banana plants grow from 15 to 20 feet high and the blades are sometimes a dozen feet long by two feet wide. The stem pops out of the stalk, sometimes three on one tree and turns down so that when the fruit forms the bananas are pointing up instead of down.

After the bananas mature the stalk gradually dies down and then a new shoot comes up from the roots. The fruit is picked green for export and stowed away in the holds of ships or dark warehouses where it ripens. It is impossible for one in this country to know the taste of a real ripe banana right off the tree, unless he or she has been in a banana country. And like the cocoanut, the banana tastes much better when allowed to ripen in its natural way. The finest, yellow banana on the market in our inland cities was pulled green. At that it is excellent eating and figure for yourself how it must taste right off the tree.

And it is not alone as a fruit that the banana is used by the people in its native land. When the fruit is pulled green and properly dried an excellent flour is made which is used for about every purpose to which wheat flour is adapted. This is not an article of commerce, but is used extensively by the natives.

There are red bananas and bananas five times as large as any seen in the markets to be seen in the home ports of the fruit. But these varieties are so perishable that they cannot be shipped. In fact there are about as many varieties of bananas as there are of potatoes.

Some agitation is being carried on now in the Hawaiian islands to have the government take hold of the banana industry. Some lands unsuitable for sugar cane would produce the fruit and with a trade built up with Pacific Coast cities Hawaii would have a great market at her very door. At present the growers of the islands are unorganized and they are at the mercy of the commission merchants of the coast cities to whom they ship their product.

The banana is a rich article of food as well as a toothsome fruit and its use and culture should be encouraged.



MARY MARCY

sabotaging the property interests of employers, for it is obvious that all strikes damage these property interests. Every intelligent striker hopes for victory *thru the destruction of property interests*. It is by stopping production, and, therefore, stopping *profits* that all strikers hope to attain victory. They hope to bring employers to the point where they prefer to yield a part rather than to lose *all*.

We do not see how an isolated trade union can fight this latest weapon of the mine owners. Or how a trade union that permits and encourages its members in different states and counties to sign up contracts which expire at different periods of time—can hope to win out against the mine operators. It looks to us as tho the union men have forged their own chains. The courts are against them; the laws oppose them and if a portion of the miners go out on strike at the expiration of their contracts, the other portions of the United Mine Workers will probably keep right on working and scabbing on their fellow workers. One half of the "union" (?) miners will break the strike of the other half.

It looks to us as tho the isolated, conservative trade unions were going to be doomed by this last move on the part of the capitalist class. They are certainly doomed so long as they remain conservative, respectable and *divided* by time contracts.

To begin with—no union ought to have a million dollars in its treasury. As Bill Haywood used to say when he was secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, "the best place for the miner's money is *in the miner's pocket*." As fast as a union receives dues it should spend that money for revolutionary, class literature

and in broadening its organization. An empty treasury makes a strong and a fighting organization. The leaders will not so often try to block progress or prevent strikes when they have no Honey Pots to protect.

The situation is like this. Take the railroad brotherhoods. These organizations have great sums in the treasuries of the various organizations. If the railroad men go out on strike, they face the possibility of losing these funds, a large part of which may mean insurance to the men. If they do *not* go out on strike (later on) they may find, as they have found out in the past few years, that wages will continue to fall and the hours of labor to increase.

Wasn't it Bismarck who said, "Help every German workingman to own his own home, and he will never rebel against the government," or words to that effect? The capitalist class is counting on something like that. Mont Bozeman declared that a workingman would slave twenty years at \$20 a week, when he might have gone on strike and secured \$30—rather than risk losing the \$500 he had paid on his home, or the \$1,000 coming to him on union insurance.

It looks as tho the conservative unions were going to be crushed by their conservatism.

A mass of workingmen can defy any power on earth. Four hundred thousand men, well organized, defied the United States, its government and its capitalist class. It has won—at least a temporary victory—thru its *economic strength*.

The working class can *make* any law *break* any law, scrap any court or any constitution, win any victory—whenever it decides to *unite* and *fight* for these things. It alone is the real Court of Last Appeal!

## A MAN VS. TAXES

By GEORGIA KOTSCH

**A**S a whooperup of the prosperity attitude, Los Angeles is the great Pacific coast cave of the winds.

During the lean years thru which it has been struggling its organs of business have asserted, asseverated and vociferated that prosperity perched upon every bill board with which its fair hills

are weatherboarded. While the pathetic real estate grafter—a shadow of his former self—found no one willing to become a millionaire upon an acre of sunburnt beach sand and landlords were haunted with the hollow mockery of tenantless rooms; while fruit rotted on the ground for want of a market and people who re-

fused to live upon climate exclusively quietly suicided in the parks, the voice of the prosperity spieler was loud in the land.

Then one day the unthinkable happened: The Earl papers came out with a flat declaration that Los Angeles is not prospering; that in the past two years business generally has been forced to reduce expenses twenty-five per cent. What this burst of candor meant was that the shoe was pinching the other foot. Prosperity of the Los Angeles Christian Science what-aint-is variety came high in the way of taxes.

After that anything might happen, so Ed Gammons, secretary of the Workers' International Defense League, looked up a few details and lack of details of the enormous expenditure by the present district attorney in the Schmidt and Caplan trials. These he laid before the squirming tax payers thru the daily papers and letters to the Improvement Associations, along with the reminder that they were expected to pungle up \$40,000 more of good tax money to try Caplan again.

By this time the campaign for a 25 per cent reduction in taxes was in full cry and the Earl papers announced in a long editorial that law and order have been upheld in the community and dynamiters punished and that another trial of Caplan would not be worth the price, the likelihood of conviction being remote.

The candidate for district attorney supported by the Earl papers, Mr. Helms, has announced that if elected he will dismiss the Caplan case, while Thomas Lee Woolwine, present incumbent, is shouting his pure love for justice and that, therefore, necessity is laid upon him to re-try Caplan. He states to the public, from which Caplan's jury must be drawn, that he is convinced of his guilt. Unkind people say the five jurymen who voted first to last for acquittal in the former Caplan trial blurred a vision of the gubernatorial chair for Mr. Woolwine which they say

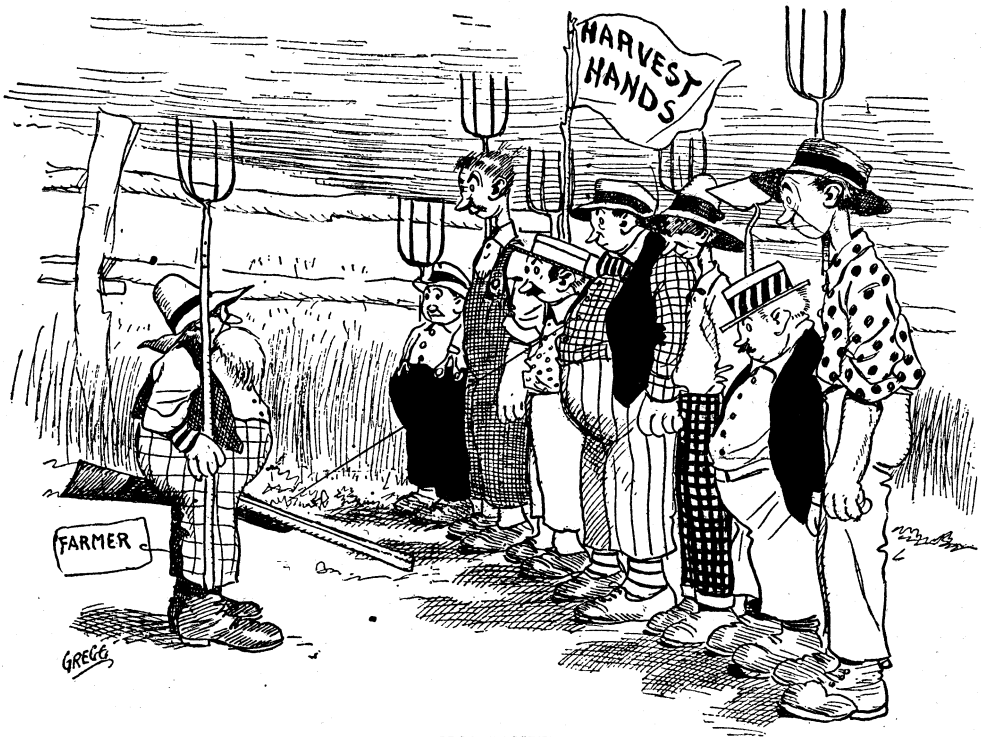
he was seeking through these prosecutions.

Today I visited David Caplan in the county jail. He was suffering from a cold but said nothing about it. He came to meet us with the same brave, cheery smile. After his loss of liberty his greatest hardship is lack of exercise, that being limited to walking back and forth in a cell in which there are nineteen other prisoners. He makes the best of the situation, is president of the jail club in his section and seems to be regarded by the jail attaches with a feeling of good fellowship. He is allowed to meet his friends in the reception rooms down stairs. He is uncomplaining and appreciative. At the same time there is no one so alert and so keenly analytic of every smallest point in relation to his case. Asked as to making an appeal for funds he said: "No; I believe my friends are doing all they can for me. It would look like a lack of recognition of their efforts to make an appeal."

And yet he is one of our prisoners of war and he is none too well provided for in the way of defence. If Woolwine is re-elected district attorney he will be the subject of a relentless prosecution. His having been brought into the political conflict will make him the sacrificial goat upon whom Woolwine will demonstrate and around whom the consuming flames of his passion for justice will crackle.

Caplan's case is peculiarly one in which money will count. The case itself is weak and needs only a full presentation of his defense for acquittal. It must have that, because of the strength of the prejudice. It will not be a feather in the cap of the labor movement if David Caplan is left so poor a second time as to be denied the primary right of presenting the witnesses necessary for his proper defense.

His trial is set for October 16th. Anyone desiring to aid him should send funds to Luke North, editor of *Everyman*, 230 Douglas building, Los Angeles, California.



UNORGANIZED

## The Militant Harvest Workers

**H**UNDREDS of swarthy faced, hard muscled harvest workers are now turning their backs upon a hard summer's work and are bound for the lumber camps and mills in the northwest, where they will be heard from during the coming winter.

The Agricultural Workers Organization, better known among the farmers as Local 400 I. W. W., is closing its second year's work 20,000 strong. The members are going to carry their organization with them into the lumber camps and on construction work. Thus insuring not only the continued growth of the organization, but new unions in other industries.

In spite of the fact that crops were small in North and South Dakota, the boys were able to enforce job control on half of the machines, making \$3.50 per day for ten hours' work.

In Montana the harvest is now on in full blast and the farmers insist upon paying their help by the hour, as well as docking the boys every time they take a drink of water.

The officers of the law have been partic-

ularly busy in their efforts to break up the organization. Hundreds of members have been arrested at one time or another during the season, on all sorts of flimsy pretexts. At the present time Charles Bonner is being held at Valley City, N. D. When a lawyer for the Organization wrote to the State's Attorney, he was advised that there was no state charge against Bonner, and referred to the magistrate, who is holding Bonner under \$1,000 bail, which shows how the majesty of the law is tangled up in its own machinations. Of course, the big idea on the part of the Commercial Clubs, Citizens' Alliances and others of like ilk, is to try and break the organization by piling up as much legal expense as possible.

All sorts of false reports are spread thru the little country papers, the following is a fair sample:

### I. W. W. SEIZE TRAIN AS SPECIAL

#### Refuse to Let Nonmembers Ride

Great Falls, Mont., Sept. 13.—Twenty-five professed members of the Industrial Workers of the World, a portion of a crowd of more than 100

that boarded a Great Northern freight train yesterday at Havre, were arrested on the train's arrival here last night at the request of Great Northern Railroad officials. The arrests were made by Sheriff Kammers and his deputies, aided by the entire police force of Great Falls.

According to Conductor Marcott, the men insisted on running the train as an "I. W. W. spe-

cial" and refused to let any one ride who was not a member of the organization.

At Fort Benton the sheriff was appealed to, but made no arrests because the capacity of the county jail was too small.

The Annual Convention will be held in Chicago, beginning November 20th, when plans will be made for the coming year.

## MILLIONS MADE ON THE MESABA

**A**NDREW CARNEGIE, father and patron saint of the Steel Trust, once said: Take away all our money, our great mills, ore-mines, and coke-ovens, but leave our organization, and in four years I shall have re-established myself.

That the Steel Trust wields more power than the government at Washington is but saying something which every student of industrial and political life recognizes as a cold fact. Its will is law. Its supreme will is the supreme law.

The State of Pennsylvania has been owned, body and soul, by this trust for years. The making of steel is its leading industry. Pennsylvania politics is steel and coal politics. Its laws protect steel and coal property. Only last Thursday, September 14th, 262 coal miners in an open union meeting were arrested in a body, thrown in jail and are now being held in default of \$1,305,000 bail, by orders of the Coal and Steel Trust.

In Minnesota six men and one woman are charged with murder in the first degree, by orders of the Steel Trust.

The story of how the coal and iron happens to be owned by the Steel Trust will never be written. More than once the Steel Companies have accepted large money losses rather than disclose their secrets in courts, but, we find that sometime in 1892 a Pittsburgh capitalist by the name of Oliver formed a company to operate the Missabi Mountain mine on the Mesaba Range, in order to secure as cheaply as possible a supply of high-grade Bessemer ore for his Pittsburgh mills.

However, he was short of capital and soon after we find him giving the Carnegie Company one-half the stock of the Oliver Mining Company, in consideration of a loan

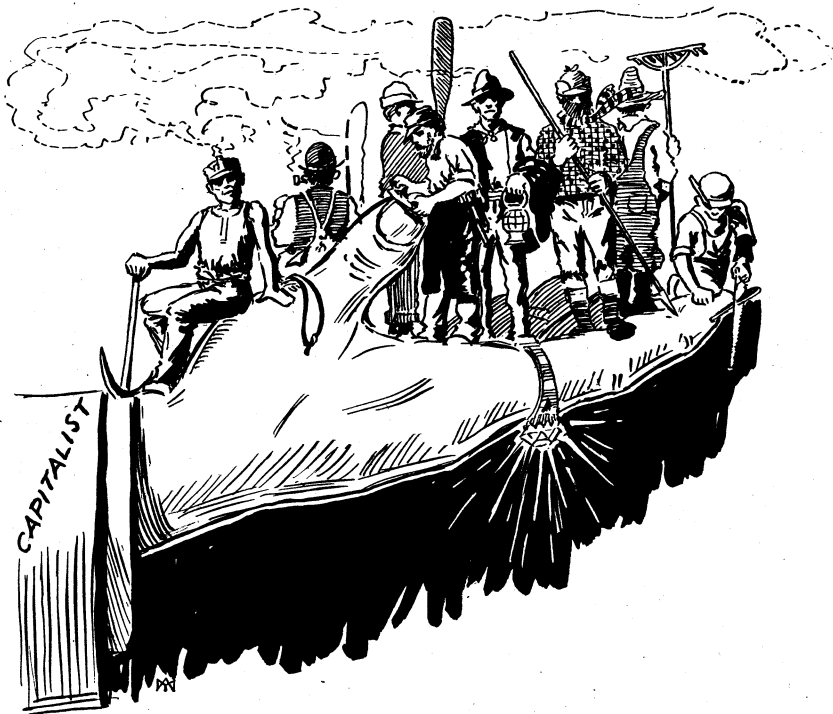
of one-half million dollars, secured by a mortgage on the ore properties, to be spent in development work. In this way the Steel Trust secured its first grab at the iron ore without the cost of a dollar.

In 1896 Capitalist Oliver and Capitalist Frick leased the other great mines on the Mesaba Range from John D. Rockefeller on a royalty basis of only 25 cents a ton. This low price was given by the Rockefellers on the condition that the output of 1,200,000 tons a year be shipped over the Rockefeller railroads and steamships on the Lakes. The contract was to run for fifty years and meant a saving of \$27,000,000 to the two gentlemen. How easy it is for a capitalist to save money!

We thus see the mines, transportation and mills tied together in one vast industrial organization. Upon the organization of the United States Steel Company, the Carnegie-Oliver Company owned two-thirds of the known Northwestern supply of Bessemer ores—roughly, 500,000,000 tons, which Mr. Schwab valued at \$500,000,000.

The first Mesaba mine secured by Mr. Oliver had an output of 164,000 tons per month. In fact, eight men with a steam shovel not only mined but loaded 5,800 tons of ore in ten hours, at a cost of less than 5 cents per ton for labor.

Nineteen summers and winters have passed over the range since the first mine was opened. Thousands of miners worked long hours during the hot months, only to be laid off when winter came on, because they had mined too much ore. Strikes also came and went. In June, this year, 15,000 strikers downed tools, although unorganized. They faced an army of Steel Trust gun men without flinching. They are now facing the courts. Meanwhile, what are you doing to help them win?



THE WAY THE CAPITALIST SEES HIMSELF

## AT THE MERCY OF THEIR EMPLOYEES

By JACK MORTON

UNTIL very recently when workingmen went out on strike, their employers have declared they "had nothing to arbitrate." But when it became apparent that the railroad men had decided that arbitration always meant victory for the railroad companies and refused to arbitrate their demand for an eight-hour day, the very roads that had formerly insisted that "there was nothing to arbitrate" sent their bitter appeal broadcast over the land for "the principle of arbitration." They declared that the loss of arbitration as a means of settling labor disputes and controversies meant that the railroad companies would hereafter be "at the mercy of their employes."

The railroad companies do not realize that they and all other employers of labor are ALWAYS AT THE MERCY OF THEIR EMPLOYEES. Far from recognizing the fact that the capitalist

class is merely the leaf upon the twig of the branch upon the limb of the social tree, they actually imagine that the capitalist class *supports* society as it is organized today.

There are many institutions for fostering this belief in the importance of the mine owners, the railroad stockholders, the mill and factory owners—in the social schemes today. Books, newspapers, periodicals propound this viewpoint. Schools, colleges, churches regard the factory and mill owner, the railroad stock manipulator and banker as the *Pillars of Society*. They believe that private property is the *foundation* of society upon which all other superstructures rest. All classes of men and women absorb this viewpoint at every source of information, or misinformation, from childhood to old age and it is small wonder that workingmen who have never learned to think for themselves accept it without question.



My mother brought me up on Sarah K. Bolton's "Lives of Poor Boys Who Become Famous," which assured the innocent reader that all you had to do to reach the very top rung of the ladder of wealth and fame was to work hard, be honest, loyal and saving. And the arguments of mother and Sarah K. Bolton were reinforced at every point of personal contact till working for wages and the class struggle set me to thinking for myself.

As a matter of fact, the capitalist class, which contributes no useful service to society and which produces no value, has come to believe it is the actual basis, the actual foundation of society. It believes that the tail wags the dog; or it imagines itself to be the dog.

Have you ever known the leading manufacturer in a small town? Perhaps he employs two hundred male workers out of a population of two thousand people. He fancies himself master of the chief industry in that town. As he walks or rides down the main street he is accosted by the village minister, who asks him to make a job for one of his needy relatives. Workingmen stop him on the streets and ask for work. This small manufacturer *owns* the factory and hence *controls the jobs*. He imagines that *he* supports the town; that he supplies work; that the town owes its prosperity and its life to him.

In reality he owes his high (?) position, his power, his wealth and his dividends to the productive workers in his factory. They produce commodities and he appropriates them and pays wages to the workers, or the market price of their labor power. Without the workers there would be no products, no wages, no profits. He is *at the mercy of his employes*, for when his wage workers learn to co-operate with their *class*, they can demand all things—even the abolition of the *private ownership* of the factory and of all the other instruments of production and distribution.

The whole question involved in the struggles going on constantly between the

owning class and the working class is a question of *private ownership*. Because we permit the factory or mine or mill owners, or the railroad companies, to privately own the instruments of production and distribution, they insist upon making the rules under which we shall labor.

One workingman cannot win in a controversy with the mine or mill owner because the boss can give the job to some other workingman. Our only chance of victory is in an ever widening organization of the workers of our class. With every mechanic in the country united in one big industrial union the mechanics can hold the bosses entirely at their mercy. With all the railroad men in one big union, fighting together in every struggle against the railroad companies, the railroad men are certain of victory.

It is only because he is unorganized, because he is not united with his fellow workers, that the workingman is ever at the mercy of the employing class. The working class produces all the food, and says that the world may eat; the working class builds all the homes, and says that the world may find shelter; the working class digs all the coal, transports all the food and clothing; it makes all the clothing. It performs all useful and necessary service; it produces all useful and beautiful things. The working class supports society from the cradle to the grave. It says always whether trains shall run, whether coal shall be mined, whether clothes shall be made and food produced. The whole world is at the "mercy of the working class."

Kings, courts, parliaments, congresses, constitutions, laws, supreme courts—not one nor all of these—can stand before the active opposition of the *working class*. Whenever the workers decide to unite as a class, the world is theirs for the taking for they are the real economic masters of every society.

The idle, official, legal—the parasitical world—is at the mercy of a *united, militant working class*. But why show any mercy to the idle parasitical class?

# The Left Wing Socialists

## MASS ACTION

By S. J. Rutgers-Holland

IN THE August issue it was stated that the European middle class democracies are passing away, and it was found that in the United States this process had already developed so far, as to eliminate almost entirely the influence of the working class, and also to a great extent that of middle classes, on the Government controlled by Big Capital.

The result is, that as long as the Socialist Party is working on the old lines, it is doomed to inactivity. There, of course, is left the possibility of doing some work of propaganda and education, but we know that without *action*, the general educational work does not amount to much. Besides, in keeping to the old conception of a growing political democracy, it is logical that the party looks upon the empty form of democratic institutions as upon the most precious treasure, and mistakes governmental jobs, which are acquired by some of the leaders, in co-operation with non-socialist elements, for real power. The result is this most disgusting situation, of electing socialist mayors, sheriffs, aldermen, etc., only to expel them afterwards from the party or else to disrupt what is left of the socialist organization. Is there any wonder that there has been a general feeling of discontent among the rank and file, and that the workers as such do not join the Socialist Party?

As soon, however, as we recognize the fact, that the old democratic form is rapidly losing its significance under the new form of Imperialistic Capitalism, there is some hope of adopting methods in accordance with the new conditions.

Voting for Congress or for political jobs, and in general what we call parliamentary action, pure and simple, loses much of its significance as a proposition to improve the conditions of the working class, and it is simply absurd to expect that we could vote our ruling class out of power.

*But parliamentary action is not the only form of political action.*

To understand European literature and to understand the Resolution of the Left

Wing mentioned in the May issue, it is necessary to realize what European Left Wing Socialists mean by political action. In this resolution one of the most important forms of future action is indicated by what is called "political strikes," by which are meant strikes that go beyond the purpose of getting higher wages or shorter hours, or any other improvement in the position of the workers on the job. Not only a strike like the one in Belgium to conquer general suffrage is called a political strike, but also strikes for free speech or to protest against reactionary decisions by judges, and in general, those strikes in which the general class interests of the workers conflict with general capitalist class interests. An economic conflict and strike, in which the capitalist class uses its political power of militarism and militia, may broaden into a political strike, because it is no longer a conflict between the worker and his employer, but becomes a conflict between the working class and the capitalist class.

Now, some of you may feel as if this were playing with words, but it always proves an absolute necessity to keep to fundamental definitions, in order to know exactly about what we are talking. And at all events, it is essential for you to know what our European comrades understand by certain expressions, if we want to cooperate with them on an International understanding.

As far as the United States is concerned, it has long been recognized by a great number of our comrades, that the old form of economic action, as represented in the craft unions and the A. F. of L., has been outlived. The highly concentrated monopolistic industries are beyond the reach of unions on craft lines and it has been recognized that the future forms of fighting will have to be along industrial lines. It has been realized also that, in this industrial action, unskilled labor will play a decisive part, and that this action is only possible when the rank and file emancipates itself from the system of all-powerful leaders.

This is most apparent, be it only for the simple practical reason, that it has already become a practice of your ruling class to imprison or to shoot the leaders as soon as an important mass action is at hand.

Now, there is no doubt that, as far as *economic action* is concerned, the general recognition of the fact, that class power has to concentrate from craft unionism into industrial action, has made more headway in the United States than in Europe, and this is in harmony with your more developed concentration of industrial and financial capital. But on the *political field* the old methods have been maintained on account of the successful attempts of Capital to fool the workers with the obsolete forms of a sham-democracy. It, however, must be clear to anybody with some sense for reality, that a parallel change in political action is absolutely indispensable.

As soon as we don't stare ourselves blind on parliamentary votes and jobs, it is easy to understand that political influence can only result from power, and that power, now that the laboring class is confined to its own force and has nothing to hope for from the help of middle classes, can only be developed in mass action. So we get to the very logical result, that political action must be developed along the same lines, along which economic action has already started: *those of mass action*.

Now there can be different forms of political mass action: meetings, street demonstrations, political strikes and revolts, which gives an opportunity to develop gradually into higher forms of mass action. Even voting in an election can be made a mass action, if only there is no compromising and no effort to catch non-socialist votes, but real Socialist propaganda and education. If you don't compromise, there is not much danger of getting jobs, and wherever there should be so much influence of uncompromising Socialists, as to conquer a political position by virtue of their own strength, mass action means that the workers themselves keep control of their nominees, or else have to leave them to their own fate. Mass action, however, is by no means confined to elections, nor is this the most promising field for this form of political action.

As soon as there is a general (or political) class issue, for instance, reactionary measures in Congress or Senate, an attack

on free speech or free press, a reactionary decision of the Supreme Court, an attack from the police or the militia, etc., the working class should get into the habit of showing their sentiment and indignation by protesting in meetings, on the streets, in temporary strikes of protest, etc. And the more reactionary our present-day, Imperialistic capitalism becomes, the stronger will be the feeling of protest and the more the mass actions will develop, and will gain in power. Of course, we cannot "make" a powerful mass action, but the more we make the workers see that the present methods are insufficient and that the only possible result is in mass action, the sooner we may expect that the general discontent and oppression will give birth to an organized mass action, which will lead to a new and effective form of political action.

It must be clear, that this mass action as a political method, at the same time solves the problem of democracy. The old democratic system of voting the power into the hands of leaders and leaving it to those leaders to make the best of it, has utterly failed. The German Socialist party certainly is the best and unmistakable example. There evidently is no other alternative to the old "democracy" than a permanent and effective influence and control by the masses. We have so long worshipped the old forms of democracy that we can hardly imagine how to do without a complicated system of more or less independent leaders, but we must understand that the spirit and capacities necessary to have democratic mass control will develop gradually, together with the development of mass action itself. It is already much to see the direction in which the only solution of this important problem is to be found and it is encouraging that this is the same solution that has already been recognized on the economic field.

This leads us to another important feature of this form of political action. It solves the antagonism between political and economic action. Present day parliamentary action does not appeal to the industrial wagers. There really is not much to gain for an industrial wage slave in joining the Socialist Party, and every now and then they lose a good comrade, who becomes a "politician," gets a job and ends by being a traitor to his class. This proves to be almost a natural process, which only strong

personalities can resist. No wonder that this sort of outgrown parliamentarism is condemned, nor that at the same time, to the disadvantage of the working class, political action as such sometimes is condemned with it.

On the other hand, some among those workers who realize, what cannot be denied anyhow, that the political power of the capitalists is a strong weapon in their class struggle, advocate a kind of political action by direct influence of the industrial organizations. This opinion, for example, dominated in some of the older preambles of the I. W. W., and also among those of many of the European Syndicalists.

Practical fighting methods, however, have increasingly developed a feeling among industrial unionists, that there is a great strength in self-restraint, and it is the prevailing opinion that the industrial organization should confine itself to the industrial field, in order to broaden its membership and to concentrate its efforts.

Some may have a conception for the future, to develop this industrial action into a general or political action, but they see this more as an ideal than as a practical working proposition for the present day class struggle.

Those who admit that it is possible to organize political Socialist parties on the principles of mass action and what we might also call a more direct action of the workers, will greet every effort in this direction with sympathy. And although it may often be difficult to decide where industrial action ends and political action begins, this is no disadvantage, provided both are real *class* action. On the contrary, whenever there proves to be a field, covered by both actions, there can be co-operation, and this co-operation will again broaden the mass action until both industrial and political action become practically one strong class action, which means the realization of the ideal of the Socialists, as well as of the Industrialists.

Many of you will perhaps admit that this sounds well, that it is almost too attractive, and they will ask, whether this is more than a scheme, and whether we may expect that the working class will be able and willing to fight in this way, which no doubt will involve great sacrifices.

I answer:

*First.* Old political "democracy" is

doomed by the Imperialistic development, under the iron heel of Big Capital.

*Second.* On the industrial field, the new form of mass action has already developed, and few doubt that the future belongs to the more concentrated form of industrial action.

*Third.* Industrial Unionism, under present conditions, cannot cover the whole field. It is, as such, powerless against the most powerful modern manifestations of capitalism: Imperialism, militarism, judges, and last, but not least, the crippling of the minds in public schools and educational institutions.

*Fourth.* Political instruments of Capitalism in its Imperialistic form, with police, judges and militarism, will strongly and brutally interfere with industrial action and will compel the working class to put its *general class-power* against the general class-power of capitalism.

*Fifth.* Therefore, political mass action in the new and only possible form is bound to grow out of the very fact of aggressive capitalism and the only problem is to realize *in time* what will be the most efficient form of political class action, so as to lose no time and restrict the sacrifices in misery and life to the smallest possible amount.

*Sixth.* As soon as conditions will be ripe for it, industrial action and the political action will both emerge into the unit of one fighting organization on democratic mass action lines, in accordance both with the ideals of social democrats and industrialists.

There is another feature in this conception of political mass action which is not less important to us. It solves the dualism in the conception of the "Revolution." In reading some of the excellent articles in your REVIEW, I often found that, up to a certain point, there was a climax, leading to a final peroration about the Revolution. Almost without exception however, there was an absolute lack of sense for reality, as to how this revolution could be expected.

It seemed to drop from the air, rather than to result from some previous developments.

Most of us understand that there cannot be such a thing as a sudden revolution, resulting from some accident with a

stone or a gun, and that the working class cannot seize *and hold* the power, unless it has developed forms of organization and democratic institutions of its own. To the old style Socialists this was easy enough and most of us will remember that there was a time when the general conception was as follows: The influence of the workers on the political institutions of the bourgeoisie was considered growing. One industry after another was to be converted into State or municipal ownership. It was admitted that this was not yet Socialism, but with a growing democracy, some day or another we would get to have the majority in parliament and State owned industries could be changed into socially owned and managed ones, while at the same time the working class would have acquired the necessary qualities as to organization and government, in the practice of increasing democratic institutions.

This idyllic conception has been destroyed, but at the same time the Revolution has become for many of us such a vague, unreal ideal that it seems to be no practical issue in our expectations. As soon, however, as we understand that the only possible form of democracy is in mass action, we must realize that this new form of democracy is able to develop gradually the qualities which the workers need to organize and maintain a new social commonwealth.

Those qualities, as well as the necessary power, will develop in the fighting itself, which at the same time is bound to disorganize the existing instruments of class power of our dominating class.

It is beyond the scope of a series of articles like this, to even attempt going into details of what action is required at present, altho a few remarks may prove of advantage.

Mass action means meetings, street demonstrations, political strikes, and can be developed from our present methods. It is, however, essential that a spirit of readiness must develop in the minds of the workers, which makes them rise to protest at important issues, without it being necessary that orders be issued from headquarters.

While the necessity of paid officers to

serve organized labor cannot be denied, there must be effective control by the rank and file. To break down the so-called party machinery is one of the most important issues at hand. If this cannot be done in the present organization, it is worth while breaking down this organization and building a new one. It is far more important to develop the rank and file, so as to make future mass actions possible, than to sustain a most complete system of rules and order, which may have the admiration of judges and schoolmasters, but which requires, even for them, years of practice to use it efficiently to control conventions, and to kill whatever fighting spirit there may develop in the workers of the rank and file.

Together with the development of an organization on democratic mass control lines, our meetings and street demonstrations will have to grow and will meet with the resistance of the capitalist political instruments: police, law and judges.

Protests against these brutal forces will call for stronger means and there will be a logical development into strikes of protest. Here we touch the industrial field. But the issues at hand will be such as free speech, the right to organize and to hold meetings, or such as the shooting of Joe Hill and others. And no industrial organization on class lines will have any objection to supporting such action. Political strikes, moreover, have the advantage that their character in the first place will be that of protest, and therefore, they often can be short ones. There may be not even a direct demand which could be granted at once, and the principal effect often will be that of disorganizing the capitalist instrument of class power. This is not only a conception in the air, but we have had a practical illustration in Russia after the Japanese-Russian war. Under those enormously difficult circumstances, labor there has gained most remarkable results. It even secured an eight-hour day in most of the leading industries. In this movement, economic and political demands were often mixed, and an actual "leadership" was utterly impossible, on account of Russian conditions. As soon as a labor strike was pressed too hard by the instruments of the capitalist state, the strike was dis-

solved, only to spring up in several other places and to be renewed as soon as pressure was released. In this way wholesale slaughter was prevented and the action resulted in such a degree of disorganization of the Government that European Socialists eagerly watched conditions in Russia; many of us expecting that this action would, at that time, spread over the rest of Europe. In fact, there was a beginning of mass action even in Germany, as shown in that remarkable successful demonstration in Berlin contrary to the most positive instruction of the almighty chief of the Berlin police. Continuation of this action was strongly advocated by Rosa Luxemburg, Pannekoek and others, but the party machine, with the assistance of Karl Kautsky, advocated a policy of defense, rather than aggression, and helped to kill a beginning mass action which might have prevented the present European war.

The Russian movement could not maintain itself against a new strengthening

of the Government, inaugurating a new reactionary period. Russian industry being only in its infancy, the working class proved to be too weak even to maintain the results, without the response from the older and stronger labor organizations in other European countries. But the glorious achievements of the Russian proletariat will stand as an example of what can be accomplished under difficult circumstances by mass action.

And it is hardly possible to imagine what could be achieved along similar lines in a country industrially developed like the United States.

Left Wing Socialists in Europe realize that the only hope in the coming reactionary period, under Imperialism, lies in mass action, internationally organized. Will our American comrades fail to join hands, or may we expect a brilliant example, which would do more to help the present European situation, than a dozen peace resolutions and as many congresses for peace and Internationalism?

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## THE RAILROAD WORKDAY

By FULLSTROKE

**T**HE nation-wide strike of the four labor organizations in train service being set for Labor Day, September 4, has given a new meaning to that national holiday. All these years since its institution, Labor Day has had little real significance other than to show by parades that labor, on the whole, was happy. Now like a thunderbolt right out of the blue came this proposition, catching up with and passing anything this continent ever contemplated, like the pay car passing a tramp.

Still it is understood amid the superior brains who are in control of things that the railroad movement for an eight-hour day has been neatly sidetracked somewhere at a backwoods station where no tracer will be able to find it. For in the

last hours of waiting for something to happen, the manufacturing and shipping interests got into the game to save their own hides, pried congress loose from its moss-backed dignity and there was enacted in Washington what you might call a hurry up scenario. Not that congress was willing to make any move at all, but for a short time it did go some. The so-called Adamson Bill was passed almost at the last hour, a bill which the labor committee left at the national capitol said would be satisfactory. And the strike was called off.

This Adamson Bill is certainly a peach as bills go. In the first place it provides that on railroads eight hours shall constitute a day's work, which is just an ordinary amendment to labor schedules

previously in force. However, being a law instead of a signed up agreement and as it carries no provisions for a penalty when violated, it may be considered a joke even as a law. The next section provides for ten hours' pay for the shortened work-day. Stop for a minute and think what would happen to any law which might provide for the small matter of compensation for labor where a corporation is concerned, when that law comes before a court. The United States Supreme Court is, if anything, a far more conservative body than congress itself, but if that provision in the Adamson law ever gets before that outfit, the way it will be kicked down stairs and across the street will place judicial dignity among the lost arts of past ages. Lastly the law takes effect January 1, 1917, date far enough after the national election to permit any old party politician to safely add his kick to what is expected will be already dead, without visions of himself in the class of the lame ducks.

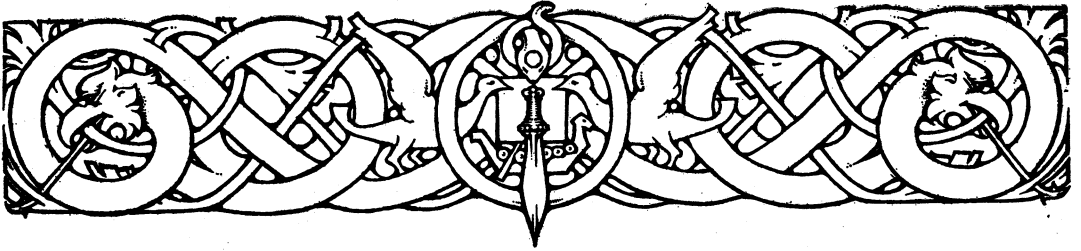
As far as law goes, this one may be considered as a first class joke. President Ripley of the Santa Fé has already stated thru the press that his road will pay no attention to the law, which is about the position of all railroads on any law, and they should not be expected to make an exception of this one. Just what position the roads will finally take, it is too early to state, except that their conception of law and order appears to be normal, which is that it is something for the working class to swallow, while it remains invisible to the corporation lords.

Still the roads are going to accept it and without much of a fight. There will be the usual gag and splutter about taking the somewhat bitter dose, but it is going down after a fashion. For behind the enforcement of the Adamson law stand 400,000 men, militant at least on this one question of the eight-hour day, and those men hold a strategic position in modern industry which it is far better for the masters to have them remain unconscious of as long as possible. Then also there is another rate raise, for the

rates have not been raised now going on a year and a half. This idea of any section of labor really getting even a part of a rate raise is what startles the adapt. Never before has it been deemed necessary to give it a thought even after using the argument to the limit for acquiring the raise. But just now the gentle art of rate raising cannot get by without it. Lastly it insures the private ownership and control of the greatest cinch ever worked upon the unthinking multitude, at least until the next social shake-up. So the railroads are going to come down to the eight-hour day in the very near future, not as a basis of a maximum work day, but as a matter of pay.

What makes all this noise that is driving out the chimney swallows is not the eight-hour day, but the time and a half for overtime. That is the thing which, from now till the end of the swindle will stick and hang. And by the term "end of the swindle" is meant the end of private ownership and control of railroads. All the genius and power behind the game is to be turned loose on that part of the demand, with probabilities that the men will lose. Railroading as conducted at present postulates starting with all tonnage in sight and robbing every siding for the next sixteen hours along the right-of-way. With time and a half paid for overtime, it surely will increase the pay roll and then some. To get a train over the road would be an unpardonable violation of the sacred memory of Jim Hill, or whoever it was that made this method of train operation the standard.

But something has been gained right here. The sacred principle of arbitration is gone among these workers and gone forever. The social patchers are now searching for a substitute, but what can be done with workers rather critical on the source of whence these things come? In a world governed by certain laws of evolution perhaps to get rid forever of arbitration is all that can be expected of one move. The ground will be soon cleared for the next step, and that is due soon.



# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**The Hague Conference Once More.**—Last month the Review commented briefly on the Hague conference of Socialists from neutral countries. Early reports gave the impression that the delegates spent much of their time discussing free trade and the terms of peace. There was no sign that the serious problems which face the Socialist movement were honestly faced.

Full reports which are now at hand modify this view only slightly. To put it boldly, the great problem is, What is to be done with the war Socialists? Or, to put the same question differently, How are we to build up an international movement that will stand in spite of war? The capitalist governments will settle this war. The labor movements of the world may have a certain influence on the terms of peace. But the Socialist movement as an international force is at present non-existent. When a couple of dozen Socialists get together and talk in high sounding terms about peace and economic agreements they are in great danger of making a joke of Socialism. Let us start a Socialist international. Let us make up our minds what Socialism is. Let us go ahead and build up a movement against capitalism, against imperialism, and against war. Let us talk plainly to one another. Let us say what we think and stand by it—even when war comes. Then there will come a time when we shall have something to say about the fate of nations.

The two great resolutions which were accepted at the Hague were the least interesting part of the proceedings. One was against boycott schemes, such as the

one being worked out against Germany by the entente allies. The other had to do with the war. It stated very well the fact that war and militarism are products of capitalism and that, therefore, the chief duty of Socialists is to fight capitalism. It developed, further, an argument in favor of using all our influence in favor of an early peace. As to the general principles to underlie the treaty the resolution went back to one accepted at Copenhagen in 1910. All of this seems colorless and almost useless.

What was my surprise, therefore, to read in *l'Humanite* a statement by Camille Huysmans: "The conference said plainly that the immediate cause of the war is to be sought on the German side." After seeing this statement I went back over the resolutions and the accounts of the debate. There was to be seen not a clean statement of any sort, but, by innuendo, an implied condemnation of the German Socialists. There is, for example, in the war resolution a passage about countries which lack parliamentary government. In one of his speeches, Troestra said that the position of the French Socialists is quite different from that of the Germans, because the French were attacked. The German and Austrian Socialists were rather looked down on both for lack of political influence and for betrayal of Socialism.

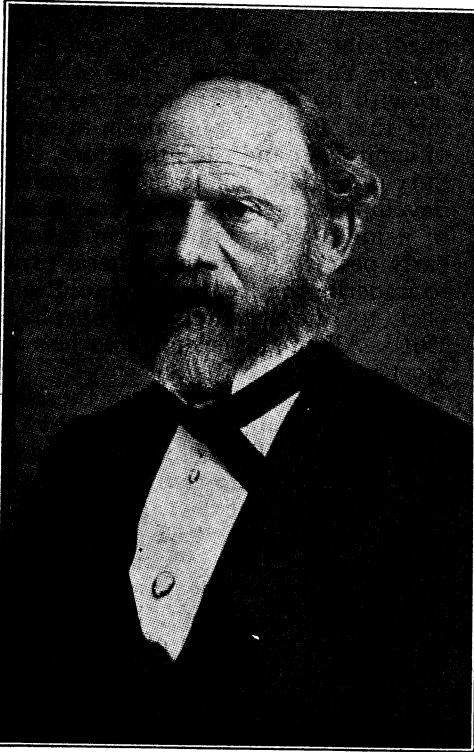
This leads one to think that these men really had some ideas in their heads—something more than they said. Then, why did they not make some attempt at formulation? Why could they not do at least as well as those others did at Zim-



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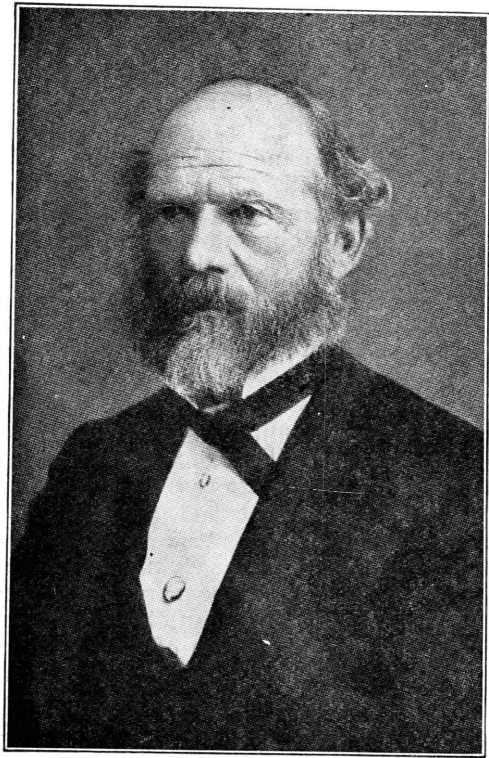
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merwald? Their whole plan, so far as organization goes, was to secure a full meeting of the International Socialist Bureau. This would mean, of course, attendance of Scheideman, Sudekum and their friends. One cannot help smiling at the thought of what would happen at such a meeting. The French object to sitting down with such folk. Which is very much to their credit. But these delegates at the Hague seemed to think everything would come right if only the brethren would come together and make a few speeches. There is some charm about such simplicity.

Meantime they must be interested to observe that their conference has fallen flat. Not a single heart has beat faster for what they did. Not a new hope has been roused, not a new thought awakened. Socialist papers dutifully recorded that a conference was held—and that was all. Troelstra issued a warning against Zimmerwald. He might well do so. For it has been proved over again that ideas count for more than credentials.

**Position of the French Socialists.**—We have all been slow to discuss the actions and words of French Socialists. They were prepared to fight against war to the end. Then they woke up one morning and learned two things: The German army was sweeping thru Belgium and the German Socialists had voted for war. Then they joined in the national defence. No one has blamed them for taking this action; no one can blame them. Socialist opposition to war must be international.

But the war has gone on for two years. A strong minority has developed within the French party. In the sessions of the National Council on August 6 and 7 this minority had an opportunity to state its position and measure its strength.

In fact, this new group represents the Zimmerwald and Kieuthal movement. But under the peculiar circumstances which surround French Socialism it does not at present demand a vote against the war credit. In its resolution it said, in effect. The entente allies proclaim the destruction of Germany as their aim; we are fighting in the national defence and we demand that our Socialist deputies force the government to define its war purposes; if these purposes are imperialistic, we demand that the Socialist party

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work against them; in order that our influence may be brought to bear internationally and that the whole situation may be cleared up we demand a conference of delegates from the Socialist parties of the allied nations.

The debate on this resolution was very bitter. The majority was represented by such well known men as Bracke, Marcel, Sembat and Renandel; the minority by Mistral and Valière. In the end 935 votes were cast for the minority resolution and 1,917 for another one in favor of things as they are.

Strange to say, the majority was also in favor of a conference of the allied Socialists. But it favored drawing up for this conference a program that would prevent the discussion of vital problems. The minority fought to safeguard the conference against the attendance of non-Socialists (like the Italian Reformists) and to secure an open program. It lost. In the end the council asked the International Socialist Bureau to call the conference. This will mean that the Italian Reformists and British National Socialists will be excluded, for they were not members of the International before the war. But the dis-

cussions of the conference will probably be limited to such matters as the tariff and the industrial boycott.

Of course, this division between majority and minority in France does not mean at all the same as the division in Germany. Many more than a third of the members of the French party are real internationalists. But a third of them are so keen, so vigorous, that they will not give up their internationalism or keep still about it, even while a large part of France is being destroyed by German soldiers.

**A Conference of German Socialists?—**  
The executive committee of the German Social Democracy has started a movement to call a party conference. The Socialist Labor Federation (Haase-Ledebour group) have protested vigorously against this action. The war-Socialists are evidently trying to get full control of the party machinery—to whitewash themselves—before peace is declared. At present most of the active Socialists are in the trenches. Moreover, the minority members are locked up for treason if they say what they think; their meetings cannot be reported and their papers are confiscated. Even in a national conference

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they might be pulled from the platform by the police. The majority, on the other hand, have every encouragement. Very likely if a conference is held in the near future the war-Socialists can ride roughshod over the real Socialists.

At the end of July the minority met to consider the matter. After protesting against the official action they resolved to do all in their power to secure full representation of the minority. All their friends are urged to vote and attend the meeting. So there will, no doubt, be a pleasant gathering when the Socialists assemble.

**State Socialism for Profit.**—Yes, Socialism is coming in England. The lesson is an old one, but it must be learned over and over again. The British government now has industrial power. The labor unions have abdicated.

On August 7 various labor members of Parliament put questions to the Minister of Munitions. They drew from him several reluctant admissions. A company of British soldiers are working in the Slanelly steel works. They are marched to work and marched from it. They receive no pay, but the government is paid for their labor at the regular rate. Another company works under the same conditions at the Woolwich arsenal. It is all according to Army Council Instruction 707, and who could have anything to say against that?

"Labor must arouse itself," says The Herald. We all agree.

**Liebknecht's Sentence Increased.**—Karl Liebkecht appealed from the decision of the court martial. He had been sentenced to 30 months' imprisonment and dismissed from the army. His appeal was heard, near the end of August, by a high court martial. As a result he was resented to four years and one month of penal service, expulsion from the army and loss of civil rights for six months.

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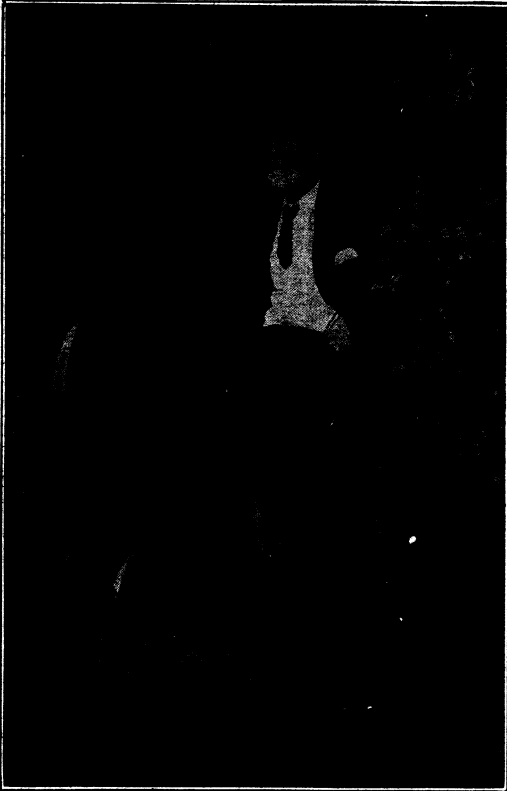
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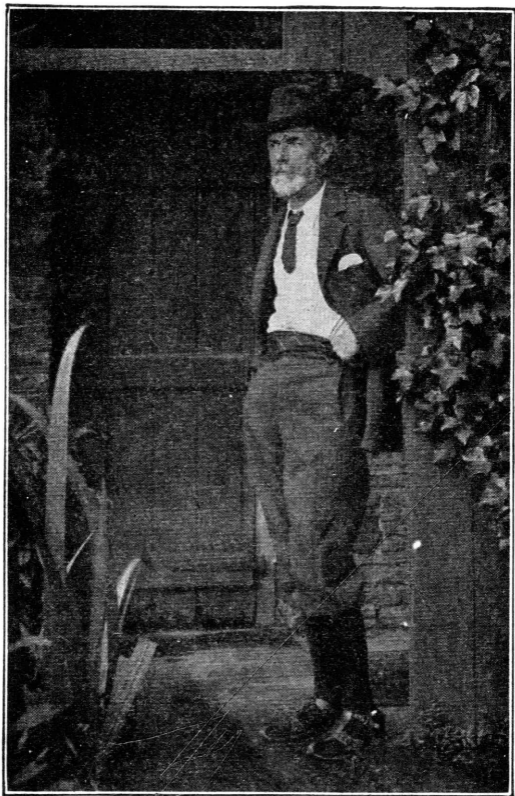
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## NEWS AND VIEWS



LATEST PORTRAIT OF KARL LIEBKNECHT

**Karl Liebknecht**—This photo of Carl Liebknecht was taken behind the front of the German Prince in Loraine. Liebknecht, who had served one year as an active soldier in the Kaiser's army as pioneer, was soon after the outbreak of the present war called to arms and compelled to work with the pick and shuffle, wheeling crushed rock on wheelbarrows, building highways behind the battle line in France, and later in Poland.

All his comrades were given strict orders, under heavy penalty, not to speak to him. The most ragged uniform was selected for him, as it was probably thought advisable to make him look as unimposing as possible. In this shabby costume our comrade appeared in the Reichstag and before the Committee on Military Affairs. Liebknecht always had been the most feared and hated enemy of Prussian

militarism, and he knew what to expect from them. The treatment of Liebknecht was no surprise to him or his friends. The surprise came when all the German party officials and all his colleagues in the Reichstag, with the exception of one or two, treated him even worse. He was driven like a coolie and worked like a slave on the front. The Scheidemans and Heines did not miss this splendid opportunity to start a campaign of slander and abuse against him.

To silence the one man who had dared to face the war-crazed ruling class and their shield bearers, the official Socialist party of Germany, those renegades and traitors, went so far as to declare him insane. There was hardly a sheet of the official party papers that did not bear the glad tidings that Liebknecht had gone mad. His unpatriotic anti-war stand was explained in this way. This low method of attack proved to be a failure. A more crude and positive way was found. On the first of May, 1916, at the International Labor Day meeting, the foremost international Socialist of the world was silenced at last. His enemies, including the patriotic Socialists, may well rejoice, but who can say that the walls at Spandan are of more solid foundation than were the walls of the Bastille. In the meantime the Liebknecht spirit is growing outside of these walls.

KARL WITTMAN.

**There's a Red Spot in Ohio**—Local Cleveland Socialist party is on the job all the time. Their little, clean-cut weekly news letter is chuck full of what they have done and are going to do. Everybody seems to have their "Socialist working clothes" on. Picnics, street meetings, Benson meetings, Bennett meetings, and all kinds of social activities are pulled off regularly per schedule.

Three hundred September REVIEWS were ordered for the annual picnic and they wired in for 300 more for their Benson meeting. The secretary writes: "We have been selling the REVIEW successfully at our street meetings."

More power to these wideawake militant comrades! If we had a hundred more Local Clevelandans in the Socialist party there would sure be something doing across the country.

**From Colorado**—"Glad to send you one sub. to the I. S. R. You have got the goods. Keep it up!—J. M."





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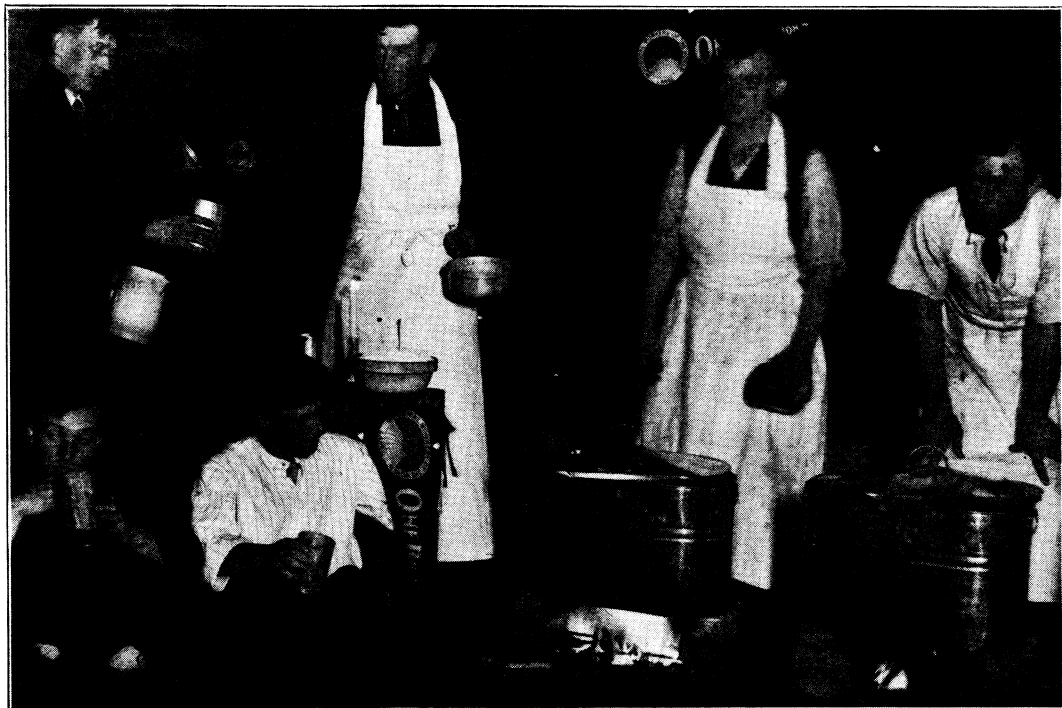


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**From Local 65, I. W. W., Bisbee, Ariz.**—Secretary writes: "We have been very successful in raising funds for the Mesaba Range strikers. Over \$200 was sent in the first part of August."

"Local 106, W. F. of M., has donated \$50. Warren District Trade Council has sent \$10, and the state convention of the A. F. of L. donated \$50 to the strike fund. We are selling 100 copies of Strikers' News every week and forty copies each of the Industrial Worker and Solidarity, as well as a bunch of REVIEWS. Yours for the O. B. U. Sebla Maxwell."

**Encampments a Success**—The Northwestern Encampment Association of Oklahoma is a success. Comrades write that they will reach 30,000 people during the thirteen encampments of three days each. Comrade Kirkpatrick is drawing large crowds. Comrade Whalen, secretary and treasury of the encampments, sends in a good bunch of subs. every week.

**From Local 222, I. W. W.**—"We had no difficulty at all in disposing of 180 copies of the September issue. Could have easily sold twice as many if we had been fortunate enough to have had them on hand, for it certainly delivered the goods. Yours for O. B. U. R. B."

**From Away Up in Alaska**—Comrade Wadleton of Juneau orders a good sized bundle of September and October REVIEWS and expects to send in a good, big order for the entire year of 1917. The REVIEW is not too red for our red-blooded Alaska comrades.

**From Nevada**—Comrades write that the chances "look good" to elect several officers, including sheriff's office, at Tonopah, Nev. We sure need all the Socialist sheriffs we can get, as they come in very handy during strike periods.

**Moving in Memphis**—A comrade who sent us in some live wire notes from Memphis last month writes that the spirit of revolt is ripe among the wage slaves of that southern berg, but he says they are "badly misdirected, as usual. As I told you in my last letter, the street car men won out and went back to work. They had demanded 25 cents an hour minimum and an eight-hour day. And then their leaders went and signed them up for three years at one and one-fourth cents an hour raise and a ten-hour day. Can you beat it? The company still has some of its gunmen running cars, and it is rumored that the company is not even living up to this new contract and that the men will have to strike again before Christmas. The ice drivers are out, demanding a shorter day and more money, but, as usual, the men in the plants are still sticking to the job and making ice, and it looks as though the drivers would lose. One instrument quitting in an orchestra doesn't stop the music. The girls at a snuff factory here are out on strike and we hear that the street car men at Chattanooga won out and have returned to work. But we are doubtful here, as they are leaving the question to arbitration, and this nearly always means working class failure."



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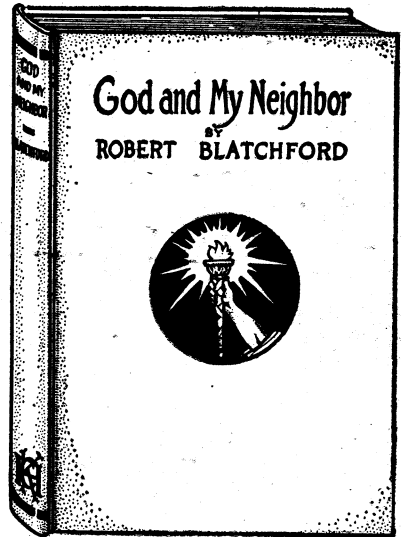
"If you were a human father, would you rather your children praised you and neglected each other, or that brother should stand by brother, and sister cherish sister?"

GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR is not an attack upon religion. It is a study of the Bible from the scientific point of view. It is one of the most thought-provoking books of the age. It is being discussed from hundreds of platforms and in thousands of homes.

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**The Shame of Louisville**—Whenever you see a group of "union" men, belonging to an organization, turn traitors to their brothers and fight with the very corporations which exploit them you may well ask for the nigger in the woodpile.

A remarkable exhibition of working-class treachery and ignorance was given in Louisville this past month when the call was being sent forth over the whole country by the four railway brotherhoods for the strike.

Workingmen organize themselves into unions for the purpose of improving their working conditions, of shortening hours and increasing wages. Day by day they are learning more and more that the only way they can protect themselves is by organizing with their fellow workers to fight the encroachments of the bosses and to make new progress. Nobody ever heard of the railroad companies doing anything to improve the working conditions of the railroad men until they were forced to do so.

When the brotherhoods have asked anything in the past the companies have stalled, or lied, evaded or arbitrated them into defeat until the railroad men have at last awakened to the fact that the only way to get anything from the railroads is to fight for it. And so their officers were instructed to send out a call for a general strike of the men on 225 roads.

The real railroad men, who receive no pay from any corporation except their wages for working on the roads, knew that their only hope of a complete victory was in standing faithfully by their comrades and presenting a solid front to the enemy.

But some of the "union" men on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad secured a restraining order (an injunction) against the calling of a strike by the Order of Railway Conductors of America. They claimed that it was against the rules of the union to call a strike without the vote of two-thirds of the membership, which, they declared, had not been obtained.

The petitioning conductors said they would be thrown out of work and cease to receive wages if the strike order became effective, and that if the railroad men went on strike the funds of the organization would be greatly depleted, paying "strike benefits." They said they were joint owners of these funds and it was more than evident that they did not want them spent. According to the Louisville Evening Post the conductors said:

"It would be a violation of the duty of said men as American citizens to cease work at one time on practically all the railroads of the United States, as directed by the strike orders aforesaid."

Names of the men who did all in their power to help the railroad companies to defeat the

far too temperate demands of the brotherhoods are given herewith. We believe these men have sought to betray members of the working class to the profit of their enemies, and we wonder if they are finding it more profitable to themselves!

Are these men drawing pay from the railroad in more than one capacity?

The plaintiff conductors are:

J. G. Harrison, F. J. Fitzgerald, H. P. Duncan, R. D. Thompson, P. C. Summers, N. S. Campbell, Robert Creeden, J. H. Johnson, L. B. Parsons, R. L. Utterbach, L. Van Arsdale, W. W. Gregg, P. C. Renaker, Thomas Lananan, C. S. Ashby.

**From Idaho**—Comrade Hofstede fires in three yearly subs and adds: "THE REVIEW is doing real service and I shall do my best to secure subscriptions."

**From Local 76, I. W. W.**—"Last bundle of September REVIEWS went like hot cakes.—J. C. W., Secy."

**From East Liverpool, Ohio**—"We sold all our REVIEWS at the Kirkpatrick meeting. Please send us another bundle of twenty by return express.—N. K. B."

**An Idol Has Fallen**—George R. Lunn, Socialist mayor of Schenectady, has accepted a nomination for congress on a so-called non-partisan ticket of Democrats and Progressives. Comrade Lunn, it will be remembered, has been a source of much contention and strife between the comrades of Local Schenectady.

A considerable portion of the membership of Local Schenectady were suspicious of Lunn from the beginning of his activities in the Socialist movement.

Owing to his social and political prominence, together with a pleasing and fascinating personality, Lunn captivated the local and at once became the dominant personality in the political phase of the Schenectady movement.

The pure and simple politician is a miserable misfit in the Socialist movement, and the case of Comrade Lunn should serve as a warning to the comrades who persist in making heroes and leaders of politicians with fascinating personalities.

The politician, ordinarily, has no more conception of an industrial Democracy than a child, yet he will invariably insist upon directing the movement; and his greed for office impels him to divert the movement into a scramble for political spoils.

Beware of the politician; the Jimmie Higinsons are the best asset of the Socialist movement.—L. D. Gillespie.

**Socialist Sunday Schools**—We want to perfect a national organization and standardize our methods before the fall opening. A convention should be arranged, if possible, but much can be accomplished by correspondence. All comrades who are teaching in Socialist Sunday schools, or interested in that line of work, write to T. J. Mead, 811 E street, N. W., Washington, D. C. No dues or contributions will be solicited for the present.

Socialist papers, please copy.

**Mammy**—A drama by Mrs. Benie Babcock, made up of sobs and smiles, of simple faith in "shadder angels" and a gripping pro-

## Don't Whip Children

Or scold older persons who wet the bed or are unable to control their water during the night or day, for it is not a habit but a Disease. If you have any Kidney, Bladder or Urinary Weakness, write today for a Free Package of our Harmless Remedy. When permanently relieved tell your friends about it. Send No Money. Address **ZEMETO CO., Dept. 18, Milwaukee, W. S.**

—THE—

# Universal Kinship

This is the most important of the works of J. Howard Moore, author of our recent books, "The Law of Biogenesis" (50c) and "Savage Survivals" (\$1.00). "The Universal Kinship" has been out of print some years; we have now in response to persistent demands issued a new and very attractive edition. The book includes the following chapters:

## The Physical Kinship

Man an Animal.  
Man a Vertebrate.  
Man a Mammal.  
Man a Primate.  
Recapitulation.  
The Meaning of Homology.  
The Earth an Evolution.  
The Factors of Organic Evolution.  
The Evidences of Organic Evolution.  
The Genealogy of Animals.  
Conclusion.

## The Psychical Kinship

The Conflict of Science and Tradition.  
Evidences of Psychical Evolution.  
The Common-Sense View.  
The Elements of Human and Non-Human  
Mind Compared.  
Conclusion.

## The Ethical Kinship

Human Nature a Product of the Jungle.  
Egoism and Altruism.  
The Ethics of the Savage.  
The Ethics of the Ancient.  
Modern Ethics.  
The Ethics of Human Beings Toward  
Non-Human Beings.  
The Origin of Provincialism.  
Universal Ethics.  
The Psychology of Altruism.  
Anthropocentric Ethics.  
Ethical Implications of Evolution.  
Conclusion.

**Mark Twain**, the greatest of American writers, said in a letter written shortly before his death: "The **Universal Kinship** has furnished me several days of deep pleasure and satisfaction. It has compelled my gratitude, at the same time, since it saves me the labor of stating my own long-cherished opinions, reflections and resentments by doing it lucidly and fervently for me."

**Jack London** says: "I do not know of any book dealing with evolution that I have read with such keen interest. Mr. Moore has a broad grasp and shows masterly knowledge of the subject. . . . And then there is his style . . . He uses always the right word."

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test against war. It is a picture of life in the Old South during the closing period of the Civil War and is unique in American literature in that its leading character is a negro, the first really great negro character since Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom. By southern critics the drama is said to stand alone as the greatest drama of the Southland. The great humanity of the simple story will make its appeal to all sections, for real heroism is not determined by the color of the skin. The volume is issued by the Neale Publishing Co., New York. \$1.00.

**Birth Control**—This league begs to call your attention to a matter of great public importance. Van Kleek Allison, a young newspaper man from New York, was recently sentenced to the house of correction for a term of three years, which sentence is likely to be soon confirmed on appeal if an adequate defense is not made for him in the Superior Court.

He was sentenced for distributing (to a police officer in plain clothes, who represented himself to be a poor working man with a large family) pamphlets giving detailed methods as to effective birth control. Allison also received a year's sentence for circulating in a periodical, which he and a friend were publishing, an article discussing the abstract question of the desirability of birth control. The article was written by a regular physician, had been published previously in a reputable medical journal in New York state, and contained no detailed information as to contraceptive methods.

It is apparent from the above statement of the case that the sentence passed upon Mr. Allison amounts to saying that it is unlawful in this commonwealth even to discuss the abstract proposition whether birth control is desirable.

We ask you to contribute to the defense of Mr. Allison in the upper court. Checks may be made out to Stuart Chase, treasurer, and sent to 84 State street, Boston.—Massachusetts' Birth Control League.

**Socialist Work Among American Japanese**—A monthly paper for Japanese working men is published at 2204 Pine street, San Francisco. The editor is Comrade S. Katayama, well known for many years for his heroic services to the working class of Japan. His purpose is "to break the ground for the labor union movement among his countrymen." He is hopeful of good results. The name of the paper is *The Heimen*, and the subscription price is 50 cents a year. Socialists and labor unionists who want to settle the race problem the right way cannot do better than to support Comrade Katayama in his good work.

**Revolutionary Propaganda in Portland**.—All of our old-time readers will be glad to read the following news from Comrade Tom Lewis, the veteran fighter of the Pacific Coast. He writes: "The reds who formerly belonged to Local Portland, S. P., are as busy as in former days. All during the summer we have held on an average of six street meetings per week. In fact, our meetings have been the only outdoor meetings held, and they have been attended by large and enthusiastic audiences.

"Moses Baritz of Manchester, England, has

been lecturing week after week with such good results that we have already arranged for a popular science course during the fall and winter months.

"The Portland Socialist Club has secured Turn Hall, at Fourth and Yamhill streets, which we hope will be large enough to take care of the class and lecture work planned. The professors of Reed College are going to co-operate with us by giving one illustrated lecture per week, beginning October 6th, on which day Prof. Wm. M. Morgan, chair of chemistry, will lecture on 'The New Materialism.'

"Every Sunday night Comrade Baritz will lecture on some phase of Socialist philosophy and we want all comrades who visit Portland this winter to drop in and see the work we are doing. You will find the hall always open and some one on the job."—Tom Lewis.

**From Michigan**—The following platform was drawn up and unanimously endorsed by Local Muskegon, Mich., 125 members in good standing:

We, the Socialist party of Michigan, affirm our allegiance to and support of the principles of the revolutionary working class as propounded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Labor, applied to the natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system, being based upon the private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth, it follows, as an inevitable result, that the product of labor belongs to those who privately own the means of life; that is, to the capitalist class.

From this body of created wealth the capitalist returns to the worker, in the form of wages, an amount sufficient to enable him to maintain himself in working condition and reproduce his species. The private ownership of natural resources and machinery, however, vests in the owner the power to deny absolutely to the worker access thereto, and, therefore, to take from him the means of life. The capitalist, therefore, is a master and the worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class retains control of the government, all the powers of the state will be used to protect and defend its so-called property rights in the means of wealth production and distribution and its control thereof.

The capitalist system is constantly increasing the wealth of the capitalist class and inflicting on the working class an ever-increasing degree of misery and degradation.

The economic interest of the working class demands that it free itself from capitalistic exploitation by the abolition of the wage system under which this exploitation at the point of production is now cloaked.

To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of the production and distribution of wealth into socially economic forces.

Their repressible, everyday conflict of interest between the capitalist class and the working class necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political and industrial supremacy. This is the class struggle.

This is the only struggle in which the workers can be interested, and we stand steadfastly opposed to all other struggles. All wars, except the class war, are fought in the interest of the capitalist class.

Therefore, we call upon the workers of Michigan to organize under the banner of the Socialist party with the object of seizing the political power for the purpose of establishing 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 and distribution (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collectively owned means of production and distribution.

2. The organization and management of industry by the working class.

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

**Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., Required by Act of Congress of August 24, 1912**  
Of International Socialist Review, published monthly at Chicago, Ill., for October 1, 1916.  
STATE OF ILLINOIS,  
COUNTY OF COOK—ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Charles H. Kerr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the International Socialist Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Charles H. Kerr & Company, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

Editor, Charles H. Kerr, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.  
Managing Editor, Mary E. Marcy, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

Business Manager, Leslie H. Marcy, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

2. That the owners are (give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock):  
Charles H. Kerr, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.  
(All others hold less than 1 per cent each.)

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are (if there are none, so state):  
None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest, direct or indirect, in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is \_\_\_\_\_ (This information is required from daily publications only.)

CHARLES H. KERR, Editor.  
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of September, 1916.

MICHAEL J. O'MALLEY.  
(My commission expires March 8, 1920.)



# THE SITUATION IN THE FIFTH DISTRICT OF INDIANA

By MAYNARD SHIPLEY

(Associate Campaign Manager, Fifth Cong. Dist. of Ind.)

THE candidacy of Eugene V. Debs for Congressman, from the Fifth District of Indiana, has turned the eyes of the world on Terre Haute, 'Gene's home town. His election on Nov. 7th is a matter of concern as well as of interest to the workers of the world.

"The workers of Australia and New Zealand have their eyes on the Fifth District of Indiana," says Comrade Scott Bennett. And from Italy, Switzerland, and other countries come words of cheer and good wishes. "We workers in Ireland know all about your campaign here, and we expect to see Debs sent to Congress, so that he may speak not only for his own district but for the workers of the world," declares Comrade Cornelius Lehane.

"The election of Debs to Congress in November would have such an invigorating effect upon the Socialist movement of this country," said a visitor to this office yesterday, "that the usual post-election slump and inactivity would be entirely missing for once." And I, for one, believe that this is no exaggeration of the wonderfully stimulating effect that the voice of Debs, heard in Congress, would have. On the other hand, I candidly admit that, in my judgment, the defeat of Debs for Congress would have a most disheartening effect on comrades throughout the nation. All comrades with

whom I have talked agree on this point. And yet—

The comrades of this nation only wish the election of Debs \$20-a-day's worth!"

Yes, comrades, the contributions to the Debs campaign fund have averaged \$20.31 for the eighteen days ending Sept. 2nd.

This is just the amount needed to keep one automobile, a speaker and his advance-agent and helper, and a chauffeur in the field for one day. And this allows nothing for cost of free literature, leaflets, bill-posting, etc.

And we have six big, mostly unorganized counties to bring into line.

On \$20 a day for all expenses incident to the campaign.

We might just as well face the situation right now, and then get busy with subscription blanks, all of us, every Socialist in the United States! Get your shop-mate or your neighbor to contribute *something*, if it is only a ten-cent piece. But get busy, comrades, before it is too late.

No campaign manager on earth could win this election on the basis of \$20 a day for all expenses!

Talking and begging and explaining are useless.

I state here merely the plain, bald facts in the case.

YOU will have to get into action, and act quickly, unless YOU do not think it worth while to DO YOUR PART.

## LET US PRINT YOUR BOOK

¶ If you wish to publish a book on any subject, get our advice before you close a printing contract.

¶ We buy choice book papers direct from the mills. We have favorable contracts with some of the best **Union** printing and binding houses in America. We have thirty years' experience in book-making. We can give you the BEST work at a fair price. We will, if desired, put your book into the hands of the important book-reviewers of the country. Address

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# REVOLUTIONARY CO-OPERATION

## Socialist Books Below Cost to New Co-operators in Our Socialist Publishing House

The strength of American Socialism has been the outgrowth of the vast educational work in the principles taught by Marx and Engels, which has equipped tens of thousands of active workers with a clear understanding of the social process now evolving. This educational work has been in great part due to the literature circulated by Charles H. Kerr & Company, a co-operative publishing house owned by three thousand Socialists.

Socialism in the United States is now entering upon a new stage. The growth of big capital, the suppression of competition, and especially the new factor of government control of hours, wages and working conditions—all these will presently make our old Socialist propaganda obsolete and useless. History has verified the social laws discovered by Marx, but a new set of economic conditions has arisen differing radically from the conditions analyzed by Marx fifty years ago. To interpret these conditions will require the clearest of thinking on the part of Socialist writers; to circulate the new literature will tax the resources of our publishing house.

Most of our capital was subscribed from five to fifteen years ago. Selling literature at cost, we have been unable to build up a surplus. The new need can be supplied only by newly subscribed capital. The object of this argument is to show why YOU should do your share toward raising the capital that is needed.

**How the Publishing House Began.** It was established here in Chicago in the year 1886, long before the Socialist Party existed. Its early publications were in the line of "a religion that is rational and a rationalism that is religious;" from 1891 to 1898 it was identified with the "Populist" revolt against big capital, and since 1898 we have been actively tho unofficially identified with the Socialist movement. In 1893 the business was incorporated

without change of name, and in 1898 it was placed on a co-operative basis. In 1899, with the money raised from the sale of the first few shares of stock, we published the first complete American edition of Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," and from that time on, as fast as our scanty resources made possible, we have been bringing the Socialist classics of Europe and the clearest writings of American Socialists within reach of the working people of the United States.

No other Socialist publishing house in the world has a list of books that compares with ours.

Our annual sales of literature increased from less than \$10,000 in 1899 to more than \$60,000 in 1911, in which year we had the active co-operation of the Socialist Party, our books being sold all over the country in connection with the Lyceum Lecture Course. The unfortunate dissensions over tactics in the party reduced the circulation of literature for the next two years, and the outbreak of war in Europe almost paralyzed our work for many months, resulting in a deficit for the year 1915, as shown by the following financial report as published in the International Socialist Review for February, 1916.

December 31, 1915

### ASSETS

Cash on hand .....	\$ 230.81
Books, bound and unbound.....	12,414.07
Electrotype plates .....	13,953.80
Copyrights .....	12,165.94
International Socialist Review.....	5,000.00
Office fixtures and furniture.....	485.00
Real Estate .....	450.00
Accounts receivable .....	619.08
Bills receivable .....	1,001.25
Total .....	\$46,319.95

### LIABILITIES

Paid-up capital stock.....	\$41,160.00
Co-operative publishing bonds.....	620.00
Accounts payable .....	454.63
Loans from stockholders.....	4,085.32
Total .....	\$46,319.95

1915

## RECEIPTS

Book sales .....	\$16,351.69
Review subscriptions and sales.....	8,342.97
Review advertising .....	1,706.58
Donations .....	620.40
Deficit for year.....	2,300.36

Total .....\$29,322.00

## EXPENDITURES

Manufacture of books.....	\$ 5,076.78
Manufacture of Review .....	5,871.81
Wages .....	8,408.07
Postage and expressage.....	4,259.31
Advertising .....	917.50
Review circulation expense.....	43.80
Review articles and photographs....	428.09
Authors of books.....	477.26
Books purchased .....	1,376.94
Rent .....	1,110.00
Taxes .....	44.51
Miscellaneous expense .....	772.82
Interest .....	25.59

Total .....\$29,322.00

Since that time we have kept down expenses and reduced our indebtedness to stockholders, and have continued to pay all bills promptly.

**High Cost of Paper.** This year we are confronted by an unexpected condition, in the sudden advance in the price of all grades of book paper. The cheaper grade has advanced from \$2.50 to \$6.50 per hundred pounds; the higher grade from \$4.00 to \$8.50. The increase is due to the war, and it is probably only temporary, but no relief can be expected while the war lasts. Thus far we have been able to protect our stockholders in their privilege of buying our books at 40 per cent discount, postpaid; this was equivalent to cost on the old price level, but will not cover cost should we have to produce our books at the new scale of prices. Fortunately our stock of most titles is large.

**The International Socialist Review.** We established this magazine in the summer of 1900; it has a circulation in every country in the world. It is the largest and best of Socialist magazines, and the sun never sets upon its readers. The **Review** is of, for and by the working class. Every month it publishes the latest news of the Class Struggle all over the world, with photographs from the scenes of action. The ablest writers in the socialist and labor movement are its contributors, and it is the mouthpiece of the worker in mine, factory, field and mill.

The **Review** tells of the never-ending struggle between the owners and the workers for the product of the workers. It describes the new machines that are revolutionizing the jobs and the lives of the workers; it pictures the new inventions and new methods of production that are making history.

In the stormy days now impending, we want to make the **Review** more vitally useful to the workers than ever before.

**Our Plans for the Future.** When the smoke of the world war blows away, we shall see a different world from the kind we have hitherto known. Industrial power in all the warring nations is concentrated in the hands of the central governments. When the war is over, will the rulers generously resign this power? Will they not rather use it ruthlessly in the interest of the property-owning classes? And if that is their course, how long will American capitalists be satisfied to remain unorganized in competition with European capitalists organized efficiently and aggressively under their governments? The answer to this question spells STATE CAPITALISM. It is coming, and it is not the wage-workers who will be active in establishing it; on the contrary it is we of the working class whose liberties will be menaced by the change.

To help American wage-workers to understand these coming changes and to perfect their organizations so as to be ready to meet them is the task of our co-operative publishing house. It is a task that will be beyond our strength unless we have at least a thousand new co-operators. Will you be one?

**What It Means to Be a Stockholder.** Our company is organized under the general corporation laws of Illinois, with an authorized capital of \$50,000, divided into \$5,000 shares of \$10.00 each. Of these 4,160 have been subscribed, including about 1,100 still held by Charles H. Kerr. We want to sell the remaining 840 shares before the end of 1916, so as to build up a reserve fund that will enable us to push the work of education rapidly when the time is ripe. And we have an offer that we believe will sell the shares.

**Books Below Cost to New Subscribers.** As already explained, the cost of paper has more than doubled this year. Con-

sequently we shall be unable to reproduce the books now on hand at anything like former figures. But we have a stock of at least a thousand each of the following titles, and we offer them to NEW stockholders at LESS THAN COST, for the sake of raising at once the capital that is urgently needed. Here is the offer:

Send us FIVE DOLLARS, with your written promise that you will pay a dollar a month ten months for a share of stock, and we will ship to you by express, CHARGES PREPAID, a thirty-volume library of Socialist Classics, bound in cloth, as follows:

Communist Manifesto and No Compromise, Marx, Engels and Liebknecht.  
 Class Struggles in America, Simons.  
 Doing Us Good and Plenty, Russell.  
 Eighteenth Brumaire of Louise Bonaparte, Marx.  
 End of the World, Meyer.  
 Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History, Kautsky.  
 Evolution of Man, Boelsche.  
 Evolution of Property, Lafargue.  
 Evolution, Social and Organic, Lewis.  
 Feuerbach, Frederick Engels.  
 Germs of Mind in Plants, France.  
 High Cost of Living, Kautsky.  
 Human, All Too Human, Nietzsche.  
 Life and Death, Teichmann.  
 Memoirs of Karl Marx, Liebknecht.  
 Marx Versus Tolstoy, Lewis and Darrow.  
 Militant Proletariat, The, Austin Lewis.  
 Positive School of Criminology, Ferri.  
 Puritanism, Clarence Meily.  
 Revolution and Counter-Revolution, Marx.  
 Russian Bastille, Pollock.  
 Science and Revolution, Untermann.  
 Science and Superstition, Lewis.  
 Social and Philosophical Studies, Lafargue.  
 Social Revolution, Kautsky.  
 Socialism, Positive and Negative, LaMonte.  
 Socialism for Students, Cohen.  
 Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels.  
 Ten Blind Leaders, Lewis.  
 World's Revolutions, Untermann.

The books just named retail at 50 cents each, and sell regularly to stockholders for 30 cents each. If desired, we will substitute for any TWO of the foregoing ONE of the following books retailing at \$1.00 each:

Changing Order, The, Triggs.  
 Economic Determinism, Lida Parce.  
 Landmarks of Scientific Socialism, Engels.  
 Looking Forward, Rappaport.  
 Love's Coming-of-Age, Carpenter.  
 Marxian Economics, Untermann.  
 Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, Fitch.  
 Principles of Scientific Socialism, Vail.  
 Revolutionary Essays, Burrowes.  
 Savage Survivals, Moore.

Theoretical System of Karl Marx, Boudin.  
 Thoughts of a Fool, Evelyn Gladys.

For descriptions of all these books, see our illustrated catalog, mailed free on request. But observe that no other substitution will be allowed. Our stock of the other books described in our catalog is comparatively low, and we must hold these for the benefit of stockholders who wish to buy them at 40 per cent discount.

**Cash Price for Books and Stock, \$41.25.** On the installment plan just described, the books will cost you \$5.00 and the stock \$10.00, making \$15.00. But if you have the money to spare you can save 75 cents for yourself and 75 cents worth of extra work for us by sending \$14.25 cash with order.

**What This Offer Means to You.** The Socialist library that we are putting within your reach on such easy terms will help you **educate yourself** in the principles of Marxian Socialism, so that you can understand the bewildering changes that have come and are coming so swiftly. Your ownership of a share of stock will enable you to supply yourself and your comrades with the literature of Socialism at the lowest cost possible. And finally, your subscription of stock may be the deciding factor in enabling this publishing house to do the all-important work of education thru the stormy years that are just ahead.

Let us hear from you at the earliest possible moment. We are doing the work that you want done, and we count on your help.

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 341 East Ohio Street, Chicago.  
 Comrades:—

I enclose \$5.00 and promise to pay \$1.00 each month for ten months, for which it is understood that you are to send me, at once, charges prepaid, the thirty books offered (with substitutions as noted in enclosed letter), and that on completion of my payments you will issue to me a certificate for one share of stock in the corporation of Charles H. Kerr & Company, fully-paid and non-assessable.

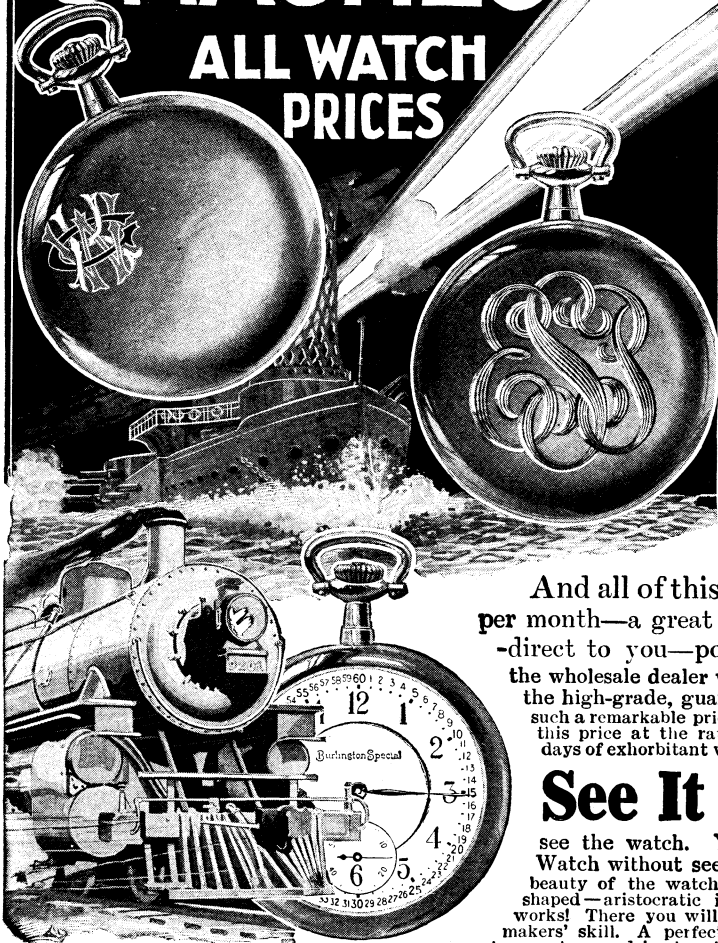
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# The Burlington SMASHES

## ALL WATCH PRICES



### Look!

- ☞ 21 Ruby and Sapphire Jewels—
- ☞ Adjusted to the second—
- ☞ Adjusted to temperature—
- ☞ Adjusted to isochronism—
- ☞ Adjusted to positions—
- ☞ 25-year gold strata case—
- ☞ Genuine Montgomery Railroad Dial—
- ☞ New Ideas in Thin Cases.

# Only \$2.50 A Month

And all of this for \$2.50—only \$2.50 per month—a great reduction in watch prices—direct to you—positively the exact prices the wholesale dealer would have to pay. Think of the high-grade, guaranteed watch we offer here at such a remarkable price. And, if you wish, you may pay this price at the rate of \$2.50 a month. Indeed, the days of exorbitant watch prices have passed.

## See It First

You don't pay a cent to anybody until you see the watch. You don't buy a Burlington Watch without seeing it. Look at the splendid beauty of the watch itself. Thin model, handsomely shaped—aristocratic in every line. Then look at the works! There you will see the masterpiece of the watch makers' skill. A perfect timepiece adjusted to positions, temperature and isochronism.

Every fighting vessel in the U. S. Navy has the Burlington Watch aboard. Many have over 100 Burlingtons—a few over 200. This includes every torpedo boat—every submarine as well as the big Dreadnaughts.

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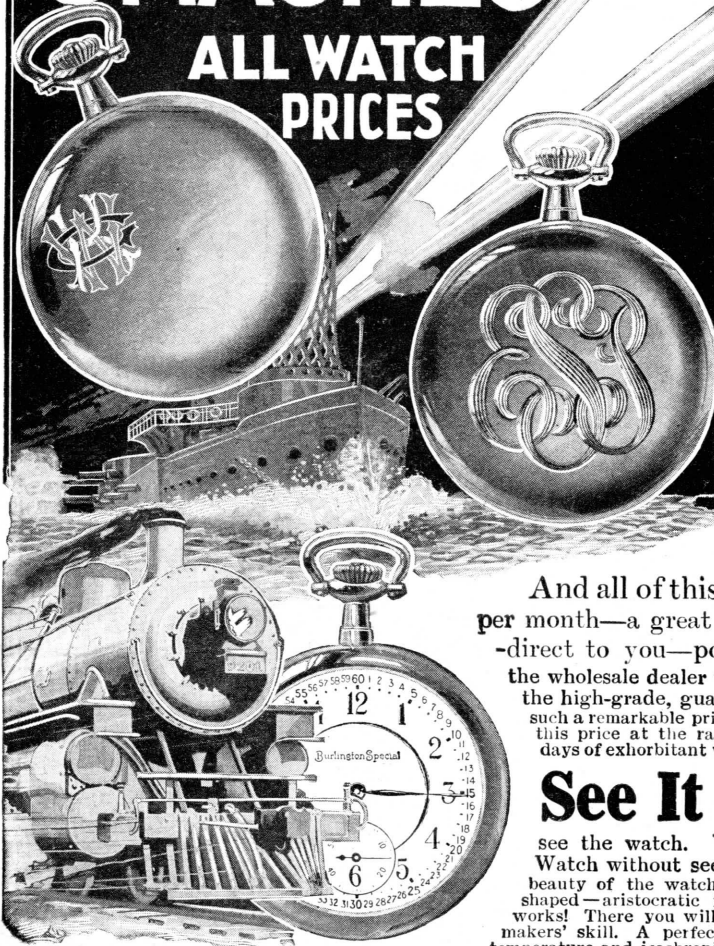
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