

THE TOILER

NO. 130.

Published weekly
at Cleveland, Ohio.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, JULY 30th, 1920.

Address all mail to
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

\$1.50 A YEAR

Capital and Labor Testify in Communist Trial

Duncan Refutes Hanson's Story of Red Terror in Seattle General Strike

By H. Austin Simons
Staff Correspondent—The Federated Press.

CHICAGO, JULY 19.—Evidence concerning the general strike at Seattle, Wash., was admitted today by Judge Oscar Hebel into the trial of twenty members of the Communist Labor Party here. The court ruled against the defense after hearing arguments which lasted throughout Saturday and almost all of this morning.

This paved the way for the appearance of Harry J. Wilson, secretary of the Soldiers, Sailors and Workmen's Council of Seattle. He will be followed by Ole Hanson, former mayor of Seattle. James Duncan, president of the Seattle Central Labor Council, appeared in the courtroom this afternoon and William Forrest, counsel for William Bross Lloyd, announced that he would testify for the defense on the Seattle strike.

Wilson, who says that his life is not safe in Seattle, painted a lurid picture of what a general strike means. He said he heard Hulet M. Wells, now in prison for violation of the Espionage law, declare at a meeting preceding the strike:

"I'm a Bolshevik and I'm proud of it! I have only one flag, that of my fellow men dyed red by the blood of Russia."

He testified that all industries were shut down completely after the strike order was issued, that he witnessed a funeral in which the hearse bore a sign stating that it moved with permission of the strike council. But he failed to prove that force or violence had been used. His nearest approach to this was a quotation of Walker Smith, officer of the general strike committee, who said, the witness testified, "that the workers must control all industry, that they must avoid bloodshed if possible, must control the government peacefully if possible but by force if necessary."

Attack upon the Illinois Anti-Anarchism statute marked the trial on Saturday. William S. Forrest, counsel for defense, arguing against admission of evidence concerning the Seattle and Winnipeg general strikes, declared the law was drafted "by a member of the legislature who did it to please the people who hired him to do it."

Forrest maintained that all terms of the law—"force, violence or other unlawful means"—are synonymous, that the state must prove that the defendants conspired to commit acts of violence and that evidence as to Seattle and Winnipeg did not tend toward that end. He argued that overt acts, such as those strikes, could not be admitted because they tended only to prove that the conspiracy charged had been enlarged, not that the conspiracy had been effected by them.

July, 20th.—Ole Hanson, former mayor of Seattle, recently Chautauqua "baiter," went on the witness stand here to prove that the Seattle general strike was an attempt to overthrow the government by force, violence and other unlawful means. This is how he proceeded:

Testifying about a meeting of the strike executive committee which he attended on the eve of the strike, he

said that the strike leaders, Hulet M. Wells, Anna Louise Strong, Bert Swain, Leon Green and Phil Pearl, urged him to turn over the municipally owned electric lighting plant to the strikers. "The plant belongs to us, and we're willing to operate it if you turn it over to us," the mayor quoted Pearl as having said.

"I rejoined that it belonged to all the people of Seattle and that we (all the people) were going to run it." Thus Ole Hanson did not deliver the Chautauqua lecture on "Bolshevism versus Americanism" which he had come prepared to give. The psychological effect of his testimony upon the jurors was all spoiled by Forrest, who interrupted him at almost every sentence with objections. It is upon the court's rulings on these objections—almost invariably in favor of the state—that the defense plans to base its appeal in case of an unfavorable verdict from this jury.

July 21st.—James Duncan, testifying on behalf of the defense in the trial of twenty members of the Communist Labor Party here, put the onus of use of force in the Seattle general strike upon Mayor Ole Hanson. He gave the lie to Hanson and to Harry J. Wilson, a spy in the Soldiers, Sailors and Workmen's Council, on important points as to conditions in Seattle during the strike.

Duncan followed immediately Ole Hanson, who was the last witness for the state. Counsel for defense waived the right of preliminary argument and immediately produced Duncan.

Mayor Hanson had testified that the strike had been called to overthrow the government of Seattle. Duncan's testimony will establish that it was called to back up the shipyard workers who were out for a 10 per cent increase in wages.

Wilson, the spy, said that the Soldiers, Sailors and Workmen's Council had been organized to police the city in behalf of the general strike. Duncan said, point blank, that it had no part in managing the strike.

Special Prosecutor Comerford, arguing for admission of evidence on the Seattle situation, painted a lurid picture of a city deprived of all its utilities by dictatorship of the proletariat. Duncan stated that there had been less disorder during the strike than ever before.

And as to the use of force, Duncan testified as follows:

First he related a conversation he had with the mayor and other officials two days before the general strike. He said:

"Our talk was principally as to lighting. Mr. Hanson said to me, 'Jim, Jim, won't you please give me the lights. I need those lights, Jim. Won't you be a regular fellow and give them to me. I don't give a damn about the lights. Come on, Jim, be a good fellow.' It was a repetition of this 'Jim, Jim' stuff for about an hour. And I told him that I was not responsible for the lights and that I could do nothing about it."

"Next day," the witness continued, "I met him again. He asked me if something couldn't be done to prevent

(Continued on page 2.)



Bird of Freedom -- "No roost there for me!"

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF AMERICA

Well may the Bird of Liberty arrest its flight and pause ere it settles to rest upon its once proud home. From its high place it may glance downward at numberless instances of "man's inhumanity to man" as pictured there in prison, scaffold, burning pyre, suffering, want and despair, evidences of the raging class struggle.

From North to South and from East to West he will see dotting the country over, fort like bastilles in which the ruling class has imprisoned those who had the fortitude and courage of their convictions to oppose it, however in what pacific manner, and refused to shoulder arms with which to murder in cold blood men of other nations, the rulers of which were

in commercial rivalry with their own. More than a thousand still lie in these dungeons. Many have died, some have gone insane what of their cruel treatment; all have suffered the torments of the damned, which they truly are. At Atlanta, lies Debs, noblest of them all, doomed to remain there until ten years have passed, or life itself, unless the political needs of the ruling class compel it to turn the key in the door and release him—or the workers arise in their might and open the door for him.

From a hundred burning pyres the shrieks of the black victims of the white man's own crimes arise to make earth

(Continued on page 3.)

Notice To Our Readers

Beginning August 1st the subscription price of The Toiler will be advanced to \$2.00 per year, six months \$1.00. The continued increase in the costs of publication make this advance in price necessary.

Bundle Orders.

The price for bundle orders will be as follows:
Five copies each issue for one month payment in advance75c
Ten copies each issue for one month payment in advance\$1.50
Twenty copies each issue for one month payment in advance\$3.00
One hundred copies\$3.50
One thousand copies\$35.00

Bills upon bundle orders of 100 or more rendered monthly.

Monthly. Bills must be paid upon presentation. Order a bundle of Toilers weekly and sell them to your shopmates.

Subscribe -- Renew Now!

Are you a subscriber? If not, become one. Is your subscription expired? If so, renew-NOW. Use this blank, send \$2.00 for a year's subscription, 6 months \$1.00.

THE TOILER, 3207 CLARK AVENUE,
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Send _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____

THE TOILER for _____ months.

I. W. W. IS POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Bellingham, Wash.—The I. W. W. is a political organization.

This was the ruling here of Judge Edward E. Hardin of the Whatcom county superior court in denying the application of the prosecuting attorney for an injunction restraining four alleged I. W. W.'s from further participation in the activities of that organization.

The judge held that no court in the land has yet decided that political parties should be restrained. Judge Hardin in refusing to restrain the I. W. W. said:

"The I. W. W. is an exotic from continental Europe where it was nurtured by centuries of oppression. It can not live in the light of public discussion in a government which provides constitutional methods of changes to fit new conditions and if it should thrive for a time and assume menacing proportions in this, the greatest of republics, that fact would itself be evidence that somehow, somewhere something needs fixing." Judge Hardin also held that the

prosecuting attorney was seeking the wrong method of attempting to abate the I. W. W. The injunction plan would prevent the man enjoying their right of trial by jury, he maintained.

Copenhagen, (By the Federated Press)—A dispatch from Moscow via Helsingfors received here tells of the publication in Ivestia of a wireless message sent to Nikolai Lenin by a group of leaders of the Indian revolutionists expressing the joy with which India accepts the proffered hand of friendship of Soviet Russia and thanking the Bolshevik Premier for having listened to the cry of anguish of a people of 315,000,000. Lenin replied to this message as follows:

"We rejoice to hear that the basic principles of the supporters of the Soviets are shared by the Indians, whose awakening to freedom is being followed with sympathetic interest by the Russian proletariat. We welcome the union of the Mohammedan and the non-Mohammedan elements in India, and voice the wish that all the workers of the Orient will adhere to this union in order to insure their common liberties. In such solidarity lies the guarantee of victory."

TRYING TO FOOL THE WORKERS

The speech of acceptance of the Republican candidate for president indicates the policy toward the workers which the capitalists will follow in the presidential campaign that is now underway. While the Democratic candidate has not yet officially declared his acceptance of the nomination, other statements he had made before and since his nomination, show that in his attitude toward the workers he is in substantial agreement with his opponent.

It is clear from the utterance of both candidates that the capitalist class realizes that the workers are not in a mood to be trifled with. While the lines of the class divisions are not yet clearly drawn in the political struggle in this country and the situation is not as threatening as in France, England, to say nothing of Italy, the capitalists see that a defiant attitude or any attempt at repression would quickly solidify the opposition of the workers and sharpen the character of the struggle. Their policy, therefore, is to blur the class lines and to keep up the illusion of a unity of interests between the capitalists and the workers.

The Republican candidate is for high wages. He is "ready to acclaim the highest standard of pay". But on one condition, which is that the "wage-earners will give full return for the wages received." On that condition the workers may have anything they desire. "Full return", of course, means that the workers shall produce a goodly margin of profit for the capitalists over and above the wages they receive. As long as they do that the wages they receive will not be seriously questioned.

Since high wages can be paid only on this condition, the workers are urged that they must "join hand and brain in production, more production, honest production, patriotic production, because patriotic production is no less a defense of our civilization than that of armed force." How these various forms of production differ we are not informed, but one thing is certain, they all mean more profits for the class Mr. Harding represents.

The essential point in the relations between the workers and capitalists having thus been disposed of in a form that leaves the workers fine phrases to respond to and the capitalists assured good profits, the next thing is to show that there is really no reason for the workers and capitalists to fight each other. Mr. Harding "declines to recognize any conflict of interest among the participants in industry". Although at the time of Mr. Harding's statement several million railroad workers were expressing their disgust with a wage award which had just been made to them and some of them were threatening to take more decisive action, and only a few weeks before a pitched battle between striking workers and the capitalist tools raged in the streets of Bridgeport, Connecticut, Mr. Harding sticks his head in the sand and mumbles the usual platitude. Since there is no conflict of interest, he continues, both the workers and the capitalists must be good and "economic justice" will surely result.

Then comes the usual appeal to "Americanism" and our glorious institutions" under which all wrongs can be righted by orderly procedure. "The constitution contemplates no classes and recognizes no group", thunders Mr. Harding. While

other men have proven that the constitution is an exceptionally cunning class document, Mr. Harding will have none of that. The constitution does not mention classes. There must be no classes. There can be no classes. All the time Mr. Harding knows that he was nominated by the capitalist class, is the candidate of the capitalist class and will loyally serve the capitalist class if he, rather than Mr. Cox, who stands in the same position, is elected president. Why two capitalist class candidates, (or three or four)? Because there are group capitalist interests to be settled in the political struggle.

Keep your mind in the old rut, workingmen, continued this mouthpiece of the capitalists. We ask nothing more of you than that you limit your effort to improve your conditions to trying to gain control of the machinery of government which we have created for our own class purposes, by going to the polls and voting for "good men". We prefer that you vote for the men whom the capitalists have selected, but if you can't quite stomach these men, you may nominate men of your own. That may be a little more troublesome, but really it doesn't make much difference, for so long as we control the means of publicity and education, you haven't much chance of electing them, and if by any chance you did, they would quickly wear themselves out trying to do something for you through the government machinery which we have created for our own purpose.

So long as the workers are good and do only these things they can have all the freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of assemblage they can use. But if they are not satisfied to play

the game according to the rules which the capitalists have framed for their own protection, then woe to them! Those who would "destroy our economic system" are to be stifled and crushed. Thus runs Mr. Harding's declaration.

There is, of course, nothing new in this. It is the same sort of stuff that has been handed out to the workers for many months. If the workers will keep on voting, if they will continue to lock with respect and awe upon our American institutions of government, the capitalists don't care much. They feel themselves safe and secure.

Should they, however, rely upon their own organizations, should they develop their own organs of power and teach the necessity of establishing a working class government—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, then all the power of the capitalists will be used to mercilessly crush them.

Mr. Harding has proven himself an admirable mouthpiece for the expression of the current capitalist policy, but his platitudes will have as little effect in stopping the onrushing class conflict as a pebble thrown against the waves can stop the onrushing water.

The economic forces at work in society will set the workers in this country in as sharp opposition to the capitalists as the workers of Italy are in opposition to their ruling class. All the nice phrases which Mr. Harding and Mr. Cox may utter during the presidential campaign will not stop this class conflict from growing sharper, nor will the masses of the workers be fooled much longer into believing that they can win their emancipation by such methods as the capitalists urge them to use.

THE TOILER

CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, JULY 30th, 1920.

Address all mail to
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.



Bird of Freedom -- "No roost there for me!"

Notice

Beginning A
Toiler will be o
\$1.00. The contin
make this advanc

The price for
Five copies each issue
Ten copies each issue
Twenty copies each is
One hundred copies
One thousand copies

Bills upon h
monthly.
Bills must b
Order a bun
your shopmates.

Subsc

Are you a su
Is your subs
Use this blan
6 months \$1.00.

THE TOILER, 3
CLEVELAN

Send _____

Street _____

City _____

THE TOILER f

I. W. W. IS PO ORGANIZATI

Bellingham, Wash. --Th
is a political organization
This was the ruling he
Edward E. Hardin of t

COMMUNISM AND THE FAMILY

— By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY, —
Commissar of Social Welfare of the Russian Soviet Government.

THE WOMAN NO LONGER DEPENDENT ON THE MAN.

Will the family be maintained in the Communist State? Will it be just as it is today? That is a question which is tormenting the women of the working class, and which is likewise receiving attention from their comrades, the men. In recent days this problem has particularly been agitating all minds among the working women, and this should not astonish us: Life is changing under our very eyes; former habits and customs are gradually disappearing; the entire existence of the proletarian family is being organized in a manner that is so new, so unaccustomed, so "bizarre," as to have been impossible to foresee. That which makes women at the present day all the more perplexed is the fact that divorce has been rendered easier in Soviet Russia. As a matter of fact, by virtue of the decree of the People's Commissaires of December 18th 1917, divorce has ceased to be a luxury accessible only to the rich; henceforth the working woman will not have to petition for months, or even for years, for a separate credential entitling her to make herself independent of a brutish or drunken husband, accustomed to beat her. Henceforth, divorce may be amicably obtained within the period of a week or two at most. But it is just this ease of divorce which is a source of such hope to women who are unhappy in their married life, which simultaneously frightens other women, particularly those who have become accustomed to considering the husband as the "provider" as the only support in life, and who do not yet understand that woman must become accustomed to seek and to find this support elsewhere, no longer in the person of the man, but in the person of society, of the State.

From the Genetic Family to the Present Day.

There is no reason for concealing the truth from ourselves: the normal family of former days, in which the man was everything and the woman nothing — since she had no will of her own, no money of her own, no time of her own — this family is being modified day by day; it is almost a thing of the past. But we should not be frightened by this condition. Either through error or through ignorance we are quite ready to believe that everything about us may remain immutable while everything is changing. It has always been so, and it will always be so. There is nothing more erroneous than this proverb! We have only to read how people lived in the past, and we shall learn immediately that everything is subject to change and that there are no customs, nor political organizations, nor morals, which remain fixed and inviolable. And the family in the various epochs in the life of humanity has frequently changed in form; it was once quite different from what we are accustomed to behold today. There was a time when only one form of family was considered normal, namely, the genetic family; that is to say, a family with an old mother at its head, around whom were grouped, in common life and common work, children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren. The patriarchal family was also once considered the sole form; it was presided over by a father-master whose will was law for all the other members of the family; even in our days, such peasant families may still be found in Russian villages. In fact, in those places the morals and the family laws are not those of the city worker; in the country there are still a large number of customs no longer found in the family of a city proletarian. The form of the family, its customs, vary according to race. There are peoples, such as, for instance, the Turks, Arabs, Persians, among whom it is permitted by law for a husband to have many wives. There have been, and there still are at present, tribes which tolerate the contrary custom of permitting a wife to have several husbands. The habitual morality of the present-day man permits him to demand of a young girl that she remain a virgin until legitimate marriage; but there are tribes among whom, the woman, on the contrary, made it a matter of pride to have had many lovers, decorating her arms and legs with rings to indicate their number. — — — Such practices, which could not but astonish us, practices which we might even qualify as immoral, are found among other peoples to have the sanction of holiness, peoples who in their turn consider our laws and customs to be "sinful." Therefore there is no reason for our becoming terrified at the fact that the family is undergoing a modification, that gradually the traces of the past, which have become outlived are being discarded, and that new relations are being introduced between man and woman. We have family system and what, in the relations of the working man and working woman and the peasant woman, are their respective rights and duties which would best harmonize with the conditions of life in the new Russia, in the worker's Russia which our Soviet Russia now is?



Alexandra Kollontay.

Alexandra Kollontay, Commissar of Social Welfare of the Russian Soviet Republic, is one of the best known women of the Revolutionary Movement. Previous to the Russian revolution she had twice toured the United States, speaking in many cities. "Communism and the Family", her latest pamphlet, will be well-combed by the Movement in this country, not only for its fine analysis of the historical development of the Family in all industrially developed countries, but also for laying out in graphic form the basic lines along which the Family of the future will develop as indicated in the new industrial life of the masses under Communism—the next step in the scale of human life.

Everything compatible with this new condition would only to ask: "What is it that has become outlived in our life? What is it that has become antiquated in our life? All the superannuated rubbish which has been bequeathed to us by the cursed epoch of servitude and domination which was characteristic of the landed proprietors and the capitalists, all this shall be swept aside together with the exploited class itself, with these enemies of the proletariat and of the poor.

Capitalism Destroyed the Old Family Life.

The family in its present form is also simply one of the legacies of the past. Formerly solid, compact in itself, indissoluble — for such was considered to be the character of marriage that had been sanctified by the priest in person — the family was equally necessary to all its members. Were it not for the family, who would have nourished, clothed and trained the children, who would have guided them in life? The orphans' lot in those days was the worst that could befall one. In the family such as we have become accustomed to it is the husband who earns and supports wife and children. The wife, on her part, is occupied with the housekeeping and the bringing up of the children, as she understands it. But already for a century this customary form of the family has been undergoing a progressive destruction in all the countries in which capitalism is dominant, in which the number of factories is rapidly growing, as well as other capitalist enterprises which employ working men. The family customs and morals are being formed simultaneously with the general conditions of the life surrounding them. What contributed most of all to change the family customs in a radical manner was without doubt the universal spread of wage labor on the part of woman. Formerly, it was only the man who was considered to be the support of the family. But for the past fifty or sixty years we have beheld in Russia (in other countries even somewhat earlier) the capitalist regime obliging women to seek remunerative work outside of the family, outside of the house.

30,000,000 Women Bearing a Double Burden.

The wages of the "providing" men being insufficient for the needs of the family, the wife in her turn found herself obliged to look for work that was paid for; the mother was obliged also to knock at the door of the factory offices. And year by year the number of women of the working class, who left their homes in order to swell the ranks of the factory, to take up work as day labourers, saleswomen, office help, washerwomen, servants, increased day by day. According to an enumeration made before the beginning of the world war, in the countries of Europe and America there were counted about sixty million women earning a living by their own work. During the war this number increased considerably. Almost half of these women are married, but it is easy to see what sort of family life they must have — a family life to which the wife and mother goes to work outside of the house, for eight hours a day, ten, if you include the trip both ways! Her home is necessarily neglected, the children grow up without any maternal care, left to themselves and all the dangerous risks of the street, in which they spend the greater part of their

time. The wife, the mother, who is a worker, sweats blood to fill three tasks at the same time: to give the necessary working hours as her husband does, in some industry or commercial establishment, then to devote herself as well as she can to her household and then also to take care of her children. Capitalism has placed on the shoulders of the woman a burden which crushes her: it has made of her a wage-worker without having lessened her cares as a housekeeper and mother. We therefore find the woman crushed under her triple, insupportable burden, forcing from her often a swiftly smothered cry of pain, and more than once causing the tears to mount to her eyes. Care has always been the lot of woman, but never has woman's lot been more unfortunate, more desperate than that of millions of working women under the capitalist yoke today, while industry is in its period of greatest expansion.

Workers Learn to Exist Without the Family Life.

The more widespread becomes the wage labor of woman, the further progresses the decomposition of the family. What a family life, in which the man and wife work in the factory in different departments; in which the wife had not even the time to prepare a decent meal for her offspring. What a family life when father and mother out of the twenty-four hours of the day, most of which are spent at hard labor, cannot even spend a few minutes with their children! It was quite different formerly; the mother, mistress of the house, remained at home, occupied with her household duties and her children, whom she did not cease to watch with her attentive eye — today, from early in the morning until the factory whistles blow, the working woman hastens to her work and when evening has come, again, at the sound of the whistle, she hurries home to prepare the family's soup and to do the most pressing of her household duties; after an all too scant sleep, she begins on the next day her regular grind. It is a real workhouse, this life of the married working woman! There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the fact that under these conditions the family ties loosen and the family itself disintegrates more and more. Little by little all that formerly made the family a solid whole is disappearing, together with its stable foundation. The family is ceasing to be a necessity for its members as well as for the State. The ancient forms of the family are becoming merely a hindrance.

What is it that made the family strong in the days of old? In the first place, the fact that it was the husband and father who supported the family; in the second place, that the home was a thing equally necessary to all the members of the family; and in the third and last place, that the children were brought up by the parents. What is left of all this today? The husband, we have just seen, has ceased to be the sole support of the family. The wife, who goes to work, has become the equal of her husband in this respect. She has learned to earn her own living and often also that of her children and her husband. This still leaves us as the function of the family the bringing up and the support of the children while very young. Let us now see whether the family is not about to be relieved also even of this task just mentioned.

Household Work Ceasing to be a Necessity.

There was a time when the entire life of women in the poorer class, in the city as well as in the country, was passed in the bosom of the family. Beyond the threshold of her own house, the woman knew nothing and doubtless hardly wished to know anything. To compensate for this, she had within her own house a most varied group of occupations, of a most necessary and useful kind not only to the family itself but also to the entire state. The women did everything that is now done by any working woman or peasant woman. She cooked, she washed she cleaned the house, she went over and mended the family clothing; but she not only did that. She had also to discharge a great number of duties which are no longer done by the woman of today: she spun wool and linen; she wove cloth and garments; she knitted stockings, she made lace, and she took up, as far as her resources permitted, the pickling and smoking of preserved foods; she made beverages for the household; she moulded her own candles. How manifold were the duties of the woman of earlier times! That is how the life of our mothers and our grandmothers passed. Even in our own days, in certain remote villages way off in the country, far from the railroads and the big rivers, you may still run across little spots where this mode of life of the good old time has been preserved unchanged, in which the mistress of the house is overburdened with labors of which the working woman of the big cities and of the populous industrial regions have for a long time had no idea.

(To be continued next week)

GLEANINGS AND COMMENT

By John Brown.
Los Gatos, Calif.

Richmond P. Hobson—the courageous and kissable—press-agented as the hero of the Merrimac (think of the modesty of posing as the hero, among the countless millions who have so recently acted out the heroic part, unsung) held forth last evening in our Rockefellerized Baptist Church on—"America and The Destiny of the World."

Church and State (Chamber of Commerce rejoiced and applauded to learn that two of Paul's pernicious and misleading declarations to his "son" Timothy—"For the love of money (property) is the root of all evil!"—"Drink no longer water, but take a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities" are now refuted, exploded, obsolete. — "My research Secretary has discovered that the love of alcohol is the root, source and cause of all wars, all crimes, all poverty, all distress. The family of the drinker becomes absolutely barren in the fourth generation; on glorious, righteous, redeemed, dry America alone now hangs the destiny of the human race—therefore, dig down in your jeans right now and rush to save all other nations of earth from extinction by drying them up."

But wait a moment—consider our recent boastful announcement and expensive pilgrimage to "make the world safe for Democracy"—our accomplishment the making of our own land the unsafe place on earth for Democrats—the most profitable place on earth for profiteers.

Consider Homestead and Ludlow, Bisbee and West Virginia, Centralia and Butte, Jefferson City and Atlanta, Leavenworth and Alcatraz, and our ten thousand other foul reeking jails and penitentiaries, where crimes against the innocent, and "crimes against criminals" vie with the horrors of the "Inquisition", and the "Black hole of Calcutta".

Consider how applicable to us as a nation the blistering words of the Hebrew prophet—"Thou hast taken usury and increase, and hast greedily gained of thy neighbors by extortion, and hast forgotten me saith the Lord God. Wherefore I have smitten my hand at thy dishonest gain which Thou hast made."

Consider how true today the words of a notable Brooklyn preacher of a quarter century ago—"The two leading political parties of this country, which alternate in its control, have putrefied, until they have lost all further power to rot; now there they lie! side by side, two great carcasses of iniquity, each one worse than the other."

Consider our divorce courts, and insane asylums—our "pride, fullness of bread, abundance of idleness, and indifference to the cause of the poor," passing that which incurred the destructive wrath of Jehovah against Sodom. Consider how, even now the very foundations beneath our feet, are rocking with the earthquakes, and seething with volcanoes of the same righteous indignation. Consider all this and our ten thousand other infamy's and shames, and you get a faint conception of the colossal enormity that would propose going outside our own borders on cleaning expeditions, while so many foul masses reek and clamor for removal here at home.

"Thou hypocrite; first cast out the beam from thine own eye, and then shalt Thou see clearly to pluck out the mote from the brother's eye."

But to get the real "meat from the coconut of Brother Hobson's discourse—interpret the hints, read between the lines, strip off the camouflage—"The Government has the names of two million men in this country who are ready to do what the "reds" have done in Russia"—Those who wish to overthrow our Constitution should leave the country and should be helped out," great applause. —So—you see our "hero" at heart belongs with the "shippers and shooters"; apparently, blissfully unconscious that among the first to feel the toe of the boot should be our unholy Attorney and Postmaster Generals—who, like they, have trampled in the mire our Constitution, and proved themselves the real "Criminal Anarchists" of hate and violence! The meeting opened and closed with the familiar anthem "My Country, 'Tis of Thee, Sad land of tyranny, For thee we mourn." No, that as not it. Having more regard for "patriotism" than for truth—they sang it right lustily in its original form, as did our forbears for a hundred years—the while they blithely bought and sold their dusky brethren, as cattle in the market place. Now could they do it without choking?

"Beware ye of the leaven of the church members, which is hypocrisy."

CAPITAL AND LABOR TESTIFY IN COMMUNIST TRIAL.

(Continued from page 1.)

the strike the next day. I said that I thought something could be done if he was big enough to do it. The thing was to reduce the cost of living 10 per cent which would be equivalent to the increase of 10 per cent asked by the shipyard workers. He said, 'Well, I think I can do it' and left, saying he'd be back in an hour. Then he left and he hasn't come back yet."

Duncan then described a meeting at the Mayor's office the second day of the strike between city officials, a committee representing the strikers and a committee from the chamber of commerce.

"The mayor claimed that the radicals had got control of our organization," he testified, "and he wanted to know if something couldn't be done to call the strike off that day. Finally he said that if it weren't called off by noon that day he'd declare martial law. As spokesman for the strikers' committee I replied:

"Labor has nothing to fear from martial law. Because labor hasn't committed any unlawful acts and doesn't propose to commit any."

"I reminded him that gas was flowing through the mains, because the strikers, who had complete organization in the gas plant, had investigated the hospitals and had found that that was necessary. I told the mayor that, if

he introduced martial law, he undoubtedly would find the responsibility of keeping gas flowing on his own hands."

"I reminded him also that the coal miners throughout the state also probably would join the strike if martial law were declared."

"Finally I told the mayor, 'We don't know, and you don't know, what attitude the soldiers will take if they are called in here. You don't know whether or not they will serve as strike-breakers. You do know they didn't enlist for that purpose.'

"Mr. Hanson then said, 'Well if there is a doubt of that the quicker we find out the better.'

"I replied that my attitude on that

point was different from his, that the strikers didn't want to see a test of that sort made in the streets."

Hanson's reasons for resigning as mayor of Seattle seven months before his term was up, were brought out by William Forrester, counsel for defense, in cross examination this morning.

"Why did you resign?" he asked.

"Because of poverty, neuritis, the absolute necessity of earning a living for my family," Ole answered.

"How do you earn your living?"

"By writing and speaking on 'Americanism and Law and Order'."

Ole then revealed that he has received \$38,000 gross in the last seven months of his writing and lecturing, of which 65 per cent is profit. The

\$7,500 annual salary of the mayor of Seattle was not sufficient for him, he testified.

Moscow.—(N. Y. Bureau)—At a conference of kindergarten workers here for which there had assembled fifty-three delegates from thirty-four Russian provinces, it was learned from a report made to the conference, that there were in the soviet republic on January 1, 1919, 1799 kindergartens, which were attended by 99,950 children, altogether. On January 1, 1920, the number of kindergartens was 9,623, with 11,234 workers, and 204,

913 children in attend once. The work in the establishment of rest homes at Petrograd is rapidly advancing. Fifteen rest homes are already in operation, providing accommodations for about 1,000 workers. The opening ceremonies will soon be held.

PARIS.—(N. Y. Bureau)—A resolution to federate all maritime workers into one big union without regard to rank or grade was passed at a conference of the national council of maritime workers held here recently.

The Toiler

ONE YEAR \$200 BUNDLE RATES \$3.50 Per Hundred SIX MONTHS \$1.00

Address all mail and make all checks payable to THE TOILER

3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Entered as Second Class Matter, under the name of The Ohio Socialist, February 21, 1917, at the Post Office at Cleveland, O., Under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITOR Elmer T. Allison

Published weekly by the Toiler Publishing Association Telephone: Harvard 3639

CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, JULY 30th, 1920

Uncle Sam -- Scab Herder

If there is any one who had any illusions of the outcome of the results of the deliberations of the Railway Labor Board, they must be sufficiently disillusioned now.

That the decision simply throws a sop to the railway workers in the hope of keeping down their clamoring for a living wage, is apparent. The award of \$600,000,000 sounds big, but when it is measured by the individual share of the workers it dwindles into insignificance. With a calculation which placed the award barely above the "deadline" at which the workers would refuse it, the board made its award with a surety that it would be accepted and the workers once more induced to continue their slavery upon pitifully inadequate wages.

Just how long before the railway workers will be compelled to resort to another mass demonstration for more wages, depends upon whether the cost of living takes an upward or downward course. At present its course is continually upward with to deterring object in sight. The fact that all branches of the railway workers with the exception of the telegraphers, have accepted the award under protest augurs ill for their continued loyalty to the corporations which with insufferable and conscienceless exploitations reduces them to the plane of peons and serfs. There is every indication that this award instead of being an element of satisfaction in the conflict will tend to arouse the workers to increased demonstrations of solidarity and further demands for some sort of consideration at the hands of the corporation and the government.

Under the award the railway workers will continue to receive the lowest industrial wage paid. Section men will receive the stupendous award of less than \$25.00 weekly, this being the lowest paid labor. Engineers, being the highest paid will receive a little less than \$70.00 weekly. Between these extremes comes the firemen, conductors, brakemen, baggage-men, telegraphers, carpenters, car-repairers, boilermakers, machinists, gang foremen and so-called unskilled workers, comprising many hundreds and thousands of skilled workers who are forced to labor under a yoke of pitiful wages inadequate to sustain a family at a decent standard of living.

Not only are the railway workers still scandalously underpaid, but if the reported threats of the government are carried out, those who have had the courage to continue on strike are new to be set upon by slenchs and bludgeoned back to work under penalty of a jail sentence. According to press reports the Grand presidents of five railway brotherhoods were notified in Chicago by a representative of the department of justice that workmen who persisted in remaining on strike would be persecuted under the Lever act. While the improvement in the amount of traffic moved in the strike centers has been noticeable, the cost has been tremendous, and since the government was to foot the bill in case the railways return less than a profit of 5% per cent, it is determined to put an end to the outlaw strikes. On account of inability to secure scabs at the wages paid the regular crews practically double the scale is being paid the scabs who have taken the strikers places. Their unfamiliarity with the work has also added to the expense of freight movements. The government is therefore acting as a scabherding agency for the railway owners and paying the bill as well. It cannot find a funds pay American workers a living wage but it has plenty with which to hire scabs at double pay to help beat them into submission to a wage agreement that means slow starvation for the workers and their families.

In this manner does all "arbitration" work for the undoing of the worker. Its latest results should assist in letting some light into the heads of the workers

A Humane Protest

The assertion of Parley P. Christensen, candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party for president, that would enter no campaign against Eugene V. Debs until he is released from prison must meet with the accord of all thinking and humane people. He has since requested the candidates of the old parties to place their names with his upon a memorandum to President Wilson asking for the release of Debs; this likewise commend itself as an act worthy of a presidential candidate and a man.

If any man can be found in public life who would remain so immune to a sense of fairplay and sportsmanship, and, without protest, enter a presidential race while his opponent was behind prison bars as in the case of Debs, it would brand him as totally unworthy of the confidence of any voter.

That this move for clemency in the Debs case has come from the third party would seem to signify that the two old parties will have to come out from under the smoke screen of lies and falsehood at least this once and either commit themselves to one good act or to oppose it. Whichever they do the honor should go to Mr. Christensen. If he can drive them into aiding the release of Debs then the birth of the latest political baby will have been worth the cost.

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

Music and Cheese

The Mayor and city council of Lawrence Massachusetts, have taken William M. Wood, President of the American Woolen Company to task for shutting down his mills and turning a great many thousands of workers into the street and making no provision for their welfare while awaiting the reopening of the mills. The mills have now been closed nearly one month and the demands upon the charity institutions of the city for assistance for the hungry families of former Woolen Company employes is increasing.

Mayor William P. White flayed Mr. Wood for his heartless lack of consideration of his employees' welfare in saying, "Mr. Wood has entertained thousands of his employees at his estate in the past few weeks with music and cheese; now some of them are starving. I do not want to open soup kitchens in this city. The big war profits were made by the American Woolen Company, not by the city of Lawrence, and the Company could well afford to sell cloth at cost or at even a slight loss, if necessary."

It is interesting to note that that new and unique idea that industry should bear the burden of unemployment and not society at large has reached into the halls of municipalities. The shifting of responsibility for the lives of employees from the municipalities to the industries which employ them is apparently growing. In respect to the war profits of the American Woolen Company, let us see what Basil M. Manly has to say in his report upon the subject.

On page 330 of the Treasury report is shown the income of a woolen company capitalized at \$60,000,000. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is only one woolen company in the United States capitalized at that amount—the American Woolen Company. The Treasury Department's report shows that in 1917 this sixty-million-dollar woolen company reported a net income of \$28,569,312. The annual report of the American Woolen Company for 1917 shows a net income before taxes were deducted of only \$13,883,155. If this sixty-million-dollar woolen company is in fact the American Woolen Company—and the evidence seems to be conclusive—it is clear that the American Woolen Company in 1917 concealed from the stockholders and from the public profits of nearly \$15,000,000. In other words, the actual profits of the American Woolen Company in 1917 appear from this comparison to have been more than twice as great as the company acknowledged in its annual report.

Thus we have a concrete instance of a huge modern industry coining millions in profits from the toil and sweat of its employees during a period of "prosperity"; and when the prosperity wanes, it turns them into the street to shift for themselves, without taking any further responsibility for them, whether they live or starve. Had they been black slaves they would have been fed and clothed in slack times as well as in good times.

The hypocrisy of capitalistic industry is seen wherein it assumes a paternalistic attitude toward its employees by giving "free" outings, picnics, etc. as long as it is gouging out of them the last penny in profits and when that is no longer possible sets them a drift. The bosses can well afford such "generosity", it is paid for by the workers themselves.

The Polish S. O. S.

With an S. O. S. to all parts of the capitalistic world, the Polish imperialists have sounded the death knell of their ambitions and preposterous war against the Soviets. What of Budenny's cavalry and the strategists at Moscow, the Polish front has crumbled and fled, the while uttering cries for support, financial support, military support, "moral" support, any old kind of support that will stay the onpouring advance of the Red Army toward Warsaw and save the prestige of the none too strong Polish bourgeois government.

The defeat of Poland registers another failure of Great Britain and the Allies to stay the march of Sovietism and to destroy the workers' government of Russia. Seeing the inevitable collapse of Poland the perfidious Allies have made haste to urge the cessation of the war. So long as they viewed Poland as a possible bulwark against the spread of Sovietism, they sanctioned the war, furnished munitions and encouraged Poland in her ambitious schemes, but the moment they saw the Red Army nearing the Polish border, the advisability of peace at once asserted itself to them.

That the fear of Bolshevism contact with Germany lies like a deadening weight upon the minds of the Allies is frankly admitted. From no motive of humanitarianism do the Allies urge the cessation of hostilities.

The war might continue indefinitely so far as their humanitarian impulses are concerned if only there was a chance of winning in the end. But they know well enough the strength of Soviet forces, and since they desire above all else a capitalistic nation between Russia and Germany, in order to save Poland from utter collapse and possibly a revolution and establishment of Sovietism, they urge peace upon the combatants while yet capitalistic Poland stands. The Allies realize the possibilities of Soviet connection with Spartacist and Communist workers of Germany. The continued Allied exploitation of Germany depends upon the subservience of the workers, a victorious Soviet state on Germany's border would be a practical assurance of a German proletarian revolution; and the end not only of Allied exploitation but the assurance of the spread of Sovietism to every country in Europe.

With the Poles now actually appealing to Russia for peace, the war assumes a new aspect, and development there will be watched with the keenest attention. That the terms of peace and the boundaries of Poland will be laid out by the victor, and that they will be in accordance with fairness to Poland is assured. Soviet Russia, in contradistinction to every capitalistic government, has no ambition to exploit any nation.

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF AMERICA.

(Continued from page 1.)

hideous. The toll for the year 1918 was 84, 324 for the thirty year period previous to 1919, a sacrifice to the race hatreds nursed and cultivated by a class society in the interests of the parasitical ruling class.

"Moral Support"

An especially sinister report emanated from Washington last week containing the information that the State Department was about to announce to the world its moral support for munitions—of which we have plenty to supply any capitalist nation at war with either its own working class or that of another nation.

According to the report, the question of a violation of this country's neutrality with Russia, a nation with which we are not at war, was very quickly disposed of, it being pointed out that this country had at one time an army in Siberia, and anyway the need of saving Poland was of "more importance than neutrality". So we see that international law applies only as between capitalist governments. If it is necessary to violate it in the interests of capitalism—to hell with it.

The State Department has already protested to the Czecho-Slovak government the holding up of 35 carloads of munitions enroute thru that country to Poland by the class conscious workers there. These munitions were war supplies left in France and were exchanged by this government for Polish bonds. There were seventy-five million dollars worth of them sold. Aside from the emity which this government holds against the Russian worker's government, we have here a concrete example of the financial reasons at the bottom of this "moral" support. There can be no question of the moral nature of the support which the government will extend to Poland—support based upon a loan of \$75,000,000 could not be otherwise than moral according to capitalistic ethics.

The government apparently has no illusions concerning the lack of class consciousness of American workers. The workers of Slovakia may assert their comradeship and common interests with the workers of Russia in refusing to dye their hands with blood in assisting in the shipment of munitions with which they will be murdered; London dockers may refuse to load ships with bullets and powder for the same purpose, but Uncle Sam knows that none of his family will be so loyal to capitalist interests as to refuse to do its bidding. That is what Uncle Sam seems to think NOW. But Seattle longshoremen DID refuse to load munitions destined for use against Russia. We would suggest to Uncle Sam that the loyalty of American workers to capitalistic butchers is perhaps not so deep seated as the surface indicates.

And we appreciate the elucidation on the nature of "moral" support as defined by capitalistic ethics.

War and Why

"What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil in the British village of Dumbudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these there are successively selected during the French war, say thirty laboring men. Dumbudge at her own expense has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected, all dressed in red, and shipped away at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain, and fed there till wanted.

"And now to that same spot in the south of Spain are thirty similar French artisans from a French Dumbudge in like manner weeding, till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and thirty stand fronting thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway, the word 'fire' is given, and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses which it must bury, and anew shed tears for.

"Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest! They live far enough apart; were the enirest stangers, nay, in so wide a universe, there was even, unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them.

"How then? simpleton! Their governors had fallen out, and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot."

Thomas Carlyle.

From a thousand industrial battle fields arise the clash of interests of the exploited and the exploiters. Amid the conflict of economic interests we hear the rattle of the machine gun, the rifle shot of the hired gunman and the Cossack, brutal arms of a capital State, the sole purpose of which is to serve its creator, the exploiters of labor, the parasitical ruling class. The jails are filled with Labors' spokesmen. Its leaders are murdered in cold blood. Every attempt of the workers to break their slavery's chains is met with the armed force and violence of the capitalist class exercised thru the State, the police, militia, the department of justice. Witness the persecution of the I. W. W. the outlawing of elected socialists, the Communist trials now going on at Chicago. All are evidence of the enslavement of the masses to the owners of industry; all is terrific condemnation of the boasted liberties which capitalist apologists inform us are the foundation stones of this government.

Until these conditions are brought to an end by the its power of the laboring masses and industry is rid of its parasitic ownership, can any real liberties for the masses find a foothold here.

Buy Your Books from Our Book Department

BOOKS ABOUT RUSSIA

We advise you to "read up" on Russia if you would understand the present world-wide proletarian revolution that is holding aloft the torch of liberty to the earth's disinherited. Here are the books you cannot afford NOT to read:

- BOLSHEVISM AT WORK
Studies of the actual working of the government in Soviet Russia. — By William T. Goode \$1.00
- LENIN—THE MAN AND HIS WORK
To know the Russian revolution you must also know its greatest leader—Lenin. — By Albert Rhys Williams \$1.50
- RUSSIA IN 1919
An authoritative account of Russia and how the people live and are transformed by the revolution. — By Arthur Ransome \$1.60
- TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD
The first and greatest of the books depicting the actual revolution by one who was there. — By John Reed \$2.00
- RAYMOND ROBINS' OWN STORY
A book full of interesting facts of the revolution, showing especially the colossal stupidity of the Allies in misunderstanding the import of the revolution. Splendidly written, intensely interesting. — By William Hard \$1.50
- SIX RED MONTHS IN RUSSIA
Actual experiences of an American revolutionist during six critical months of the Russian Revolution. The story of the Bolsheviks' rise to power. — By Louise Bryant \$2.50
- BULLITT'S REPORT ON RUSSIA
At the instigation of President Wilson the Paris Peace Conference sent Wm. C. Bullitt to investigate Russia. This is his report. President Wilson never found time to hear it. But if you would know just what the Peace Conference really thought and proposed relative to the Soviet government you must read this work. — By Wm. C. Bullitt 30c
25c per copy off on order of 5 or more (except Bullitt's Report).

SOCIALIST CLASSICS

One cannot learn the meaning of Communism by reading only a pamphlet; nor can he act an intelligent part in the workers' struggles if he consents to remain merely a superficial student of Socialism. Study of the Socialist classics is necessary. These are the foundation stones of the Socialist philosophy and tactics.

CLOTH BOUND BOOKS

- Landmarks of Scientific Socialism, Engels \$1.25
 - Socialism and Modern Science, Ferri, 1.25
 - Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen 1.25
 - Positive Outcome of Philosophy Dietzgen, 1.50
 - Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, Fitch, 1.25
 - Ancient Society, Morgan, 1.50
 - Ancient Lowly, Ward, 2 vols, each 2.50
 - Essays On Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola, 1.25
 - Economic Causes of War, Lorja, 1.25
 - Socialism vs. The State, Vandervelde, 1.00
 - Economic Causes of War, Loria, 1.25
 - The Universal Kinship, Moore, 1.25
 - Savage Survivals, Moore, 1.25
 - Woman Under Socialism, Bebel, 1.50
- 25c per copy off on order of 5 vol. or more

CLOTH BOUND BOOKS, 75c EACH

- Fenerbach: Roots of Socialist Philosophy, Engels
 - Value, Price and Profit, Marx.
 - Origin of the Family, Engels.
 - World's Revolutions, Unterman.
 - Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels.
 - Anarchism and Socialism, Plechanoff.
 - The Evolution of Banking, Howe.
 - Struggle Between Science and Superstition, Lewis.
 - Collapse of Capitalism, Kahn.
 - Evolution, Social and organic, Lewis.
 - Law of Biogenesis, Moore.
 - Ethics and History, Kautsky.
 - Positive School of Criminology, Ferri.
 - Socialism for Students, Cohen.
- Communist Manifesto and No Compromise, Marx and Engels
25c per copy off on order of 5 or more.

PAMPHLETS FOR YOUR POCKETS

- Wage Labor and Capital, Marx, 10c
 - Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c
 - Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels, 10c
 - Shop Talks on Economics, Marcy, 10c
 - Industrial Socialism, Haywood, 10c
 - Industrial Autocracy, Marcy, 10c
 - Value, Price and Profit, Marx, 10c
 - Evolution and Revolution, Fischer, 10c
 - Mr. Block and the Profiters, Riche, 10c
 - The Right to be Lazy, Lafargue, 10c
 - Strength of the Strong, London, 10c
 - The Apostate, London, 10c
 - Revolution, London, 10c
 - No Compromise, Liebknecht, 15c
 - The Soviet of Deer Island, 15c
 - Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels, 15c
 - The Class Struggle, Kautsky 25c
 - Truth About the Lusk Committee, 25c
 - Principles of Scientific Socialism, Vail, 25c
- One third off on orders for 10 or more copies

RUSSIAN PAMPHLETS

- Manifesto of the Third International 10c
 - Constitution of Soviet Russia, 10c
 - Labor Laws of Soviet Russia, 10c
 - Structure of Soviet Russia, Humphries, 10c
 - The Soviets—76 Questions and Answers, Williams, 10c
 - Soviet Russia, Williams, 10c
 - Lessons of the Revolution, Lenin, 10c
 - The Soviet, the Terror and Intervention, 10c
 - Old Order in Europe—New Order in Russia, 10c
 - Radek and Ransome on Russia, 5c
 - Russia and the League of Nations, Lenin, 5c
- One third off on order for 10 or more copies

MISCELLANEOUS

- The Brass Check, Upton Sinclair 60
- Debs—His Life and Writings, Karsner, \$1.50
- Man or the State, Philosophical Essays 1.00
- Stories of the Cave People, Marcy, 1.25
- Pelle the Conqueror, 2 vols., 4.00
- News From Nowhere, Morris, 1.00
- Labor in Irish History, Jas. Connolly, 50
- The Crisis in the German Social Democracy 25
- From October to Brest-Litovsk, Trotsky 35

JACK LONDON'S BEST STORIES, 85

- The Little Lady of the Big House. Martin Eden.
- Michael, Brother of Jerry. The Sea Wolf.
- A Daughter of the Snows. Adventure
- Tales of the Fish Patrol. The Son of the Wolf.
- The Mutiny of Elaine. South Sea Tales.
- The Valley of the Moon. The Star Rover.
- The Turtles of Tasman. Burning Daylight.
- The Call of the Wild. Jerry of the Islands.
- The Faith of Men. Before Adam.
- The Night Born. Moon Face.
- John Barleycorn. Smoke Bellew.
- A Son of the Sun. White Fang.
- The Iron Heel. 5 Volumes or more 75c each.

