
THE INTERNATIONAL Socialist Review

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The Free Speech Fight at Spokane



THE working class of Spokane are engaged in a terrific conflict, one of the most vital of the local class struggles. It is a fight for more than free speech. It is to prevent the free press and labor's right to organize from being throttled. The writers of the associated press newspapers have lied about us systematically and unscrupulously. It is only through the medium of the Socialist and labor press that we can hope to reach the ear of the public.

The struggle was precipitated by the I. W. W. and it is still doing the active fighting, namely, going to jail. But the principles for which we are fighting have been endorsed by the Socialist Party and the Central Labor Council of the A. F. of L.

The I. W. W. in Spokane is composed of "floaters," men who drift from harvest fields to lumber camps from east to west. They are men without families and are fearless in defense of their rights but as they are not the "home guard" with permanent jobs, they are the type upon whom the employment agents prey. With alluring signs detailing what short hours and high wages men can get in various sections, usually far away, these leeches induce the floater to buy a job, paying exorbitant rates, after



JAMES P. THOMPSON.

which they are shipped out a thousand miles from nowhere. The working man finds no such job as he expected but one of a few days' duration until he is fired to make way for the next "easy mark." „

The I. W. W. since its inception in the northwest has carried on a determined, relentless fight on the employment sharks and as a result the business of the latter has been seriously impaired. Judge Mann in the court a few days ago remarked: "I believe all this trouble is due to the employment agencies," and he certainly struck the nail on the head. "The I. W. W. must go," the sharks decreed last winter and a willing city council passed an ordinance forbidding all street meetings within the fire limits. This was practically a suppression of free speech because it stopped the I. W. W. from holding street meetings in the only districts where working men congregate. In August the Council modified their decision to allow religious bodies to speak on the streets, thus frankly admitting their discrimination against the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. decided that fall was the most advantageous time for the final conflict because the members of the organization drift back into town with their "stake" to tide them over the winter.

A test case was made about three weeks ago when Fellow Worker Thompson spoke on the street. At his trial on November 2nd the ordinance of August was declared unconstitutional by Judge Mann. He made a flowery speech in which he said that the right of free speech was "God given" and "inalienable," but with the consistency common to legal lights ruled that the *first ordinance* was now in vogue. Members of the Industrial Workers of the World thereupon went out on the street and spoke. They were all arrested and to our surprise the next morning were charged with disorderly conduct, which came under an-

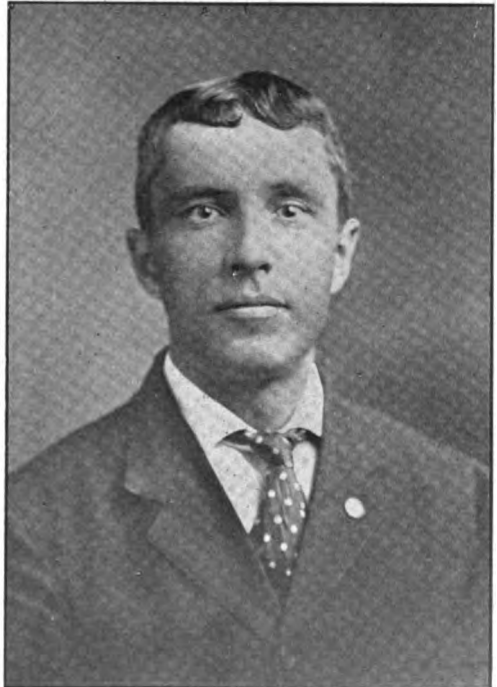


A. E. COUSINS.

other ordinance. It looked as if the authorities hardly dared to fight it out on the ordinance forbidding free speech. From that time on, every day has witnessed the arrests of many members of the Industrial Workers of the World, Socialists and W. F. of M. men.

On the third of November the headquarters of the I. W. W. was raided by Chief of Police Sullivan and his gang. They arrested James Wilson, editor of the *Industrial Worker*, James P. Thompson, local organizer, C. L. Filigno, local secretary, and A. E. Cousins, associate editor, on a charge of criminal conspiracy. E. J. Foote, acting editor of the *Industrial Worker*, was arrested out of the lawyer's office on the next day. The idea of the police was presumably to get "the leaders," as they are ignorant enough to suppose that by taking a few men they can cripple a great organization. The arrest of these men is serious, however, as they are charged with a state offense and are liable to be railroaded to the penitentiary for five years.

The condition of the city jail is such that it cannot be described in decent language. Sufficient to say, that the boys have been herded twenty-eight to thirty at a time in a 6 x 8 cell known as the sweat box. The steam has been turned on full blast until the men were ready to drop from exhaustion. Several have been known to faint before being removed. Then they were placed in an ice-cold cell and as a result of this inhuman treatment several are now in so precarious a condition that we fear they will die. After this preliminary punishment they were ordered to work on the rock pile and when they refused were placed on a diet of bread and water. Many of the boys, with a courage that is remarkable, refused even that. This is what the capitalist press sneeringly alluded to as a "hunger strike." The majority has been sentenced to thirty days. Those who repeated the terrible crime of saying "Fellow Workers" on



JAMES WILSON.

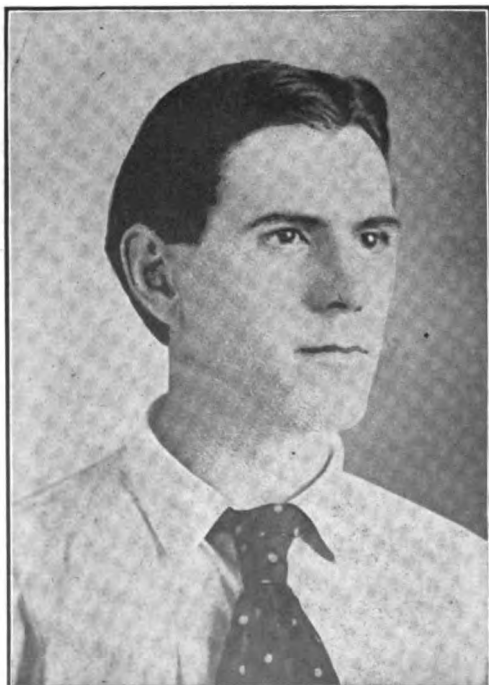
the street corner were given thirty days, one hundred dollars' fine and costs. The trials have given additional proof to our much-disputed charge that justice in the United States is a farce. Fellow Worker Little was asked by the Judge what he was doing when arrested. He answered "reading the Declaration of Independence." "Thirty days," said the Judge. The next fellow worker had been reading extracts from the Industrial Worker and it was thirty days for him. We are a "classy" paper ranked with the Declaration of Independence as too incendiary for Spokane.

A case in point illustrates how "impartial" the court is. A woman from a notorious resort in this city which is across the street from the city hall and presumably operated under police protection appeared and complained against a colored soldier charged with disorderly conduct. The case was continued. The next case was an I. W. W. speaker. The Judge without any preliminaries asked "were you speaking on the street?" When the defendant replied "Yes" the Judge sternly ordered thirty days, one hundred dollars' fine and costs.

Fellow Worker Knust, one of our best speakers, was brutally beaten by an officer and he is at present in the hospital. Mrs. Frenette,

one of our women members, was also struck by an officer. Some of the men inside the jail have black eyes and bruised faces. One man has a broken jaw, yet these men were not in such a condition when they were arrested.

Those serving sentence have been divided into three groups, one in the city jail, another in an old abandoned and partly wrecked school-house and the third at Fort Wright, guarded by negro soldiers. These outrages are never featured in the local leading papers. It might be detrimental to the Washington Water Power-owned government. The usual lies about the agitators being ignorant foreigners, hoboes and vags



E. J. FOOTE.

are current. Assuming that most of those arrested were foreigners, which is not the case, there are 115 foreigners and 136 Americans, it would certainly reflect little credit on American citizens that outsiders have to do the fighting for what is guaranteed in the American constitution. Most of the boys have money. They are not what could be called "vags," although that would not be to their discredit, but they do not take their money to jail with them. They believe in leading a policeman not into temptation. They are intelligent, level-headed working men fighting for the rights of their class.

The situation assumed such serious proportions that a committee of the A. F. of L., the Socialist Party and the I. W. W. went before the City Council requesting the repeal of the present ordinance and the passage of one providing for orderly meetings at reasonable hours. All of these committees, without qualification, endorsed free speech and made splendid talks before the Council. Two gentlemen appeared against us. One was an old soldier over 70 years of age with strong prejudices against the I. W. W. and the other president of the Fidelity National Bank of Spokane; yet these two presumably carried more weight than the twelve thousand five hundred citizens the three committees collectively represented. We were turned down absolutely and a motion was passed that no further action would be taken upon the present ordinance until requests came from the Mayor and Chief of Police. The Mayor, on the strength of this indorsement by a body of old fogies who made up all the mind they possess years ago, called upon the acting governor for the militia. His request was refused, however, and the acting governor is quoted as saying that he saw no disturbance.

The "Industrial Worker" appeared on time yesterday much to the chagrin and amazement of the authorities. Perhaps they now understand that every member in turn



C. L. FILIGNO.

will take their place in the editorial chair before our paper will be suppressed.

The organization is growing by leaps and bounds. Men are coming in from all directions daily to go to jail that their organization may live.

The fight is on to the finish and we rely upon the active co-operation of our fellow-workers everywhere. We must have funds. The legal defense of the men who are charged with penitentiary offenses will be an expensive one. Resolutions of sympathy are very encouraging but they will not pay expenses or fill jails. Our plan is to make this difficulty as expensive for the taxpayers of Spokane as possible. Let them cry quits to their Mayor and police force if they do not relish it. We can keep up the fight all winter.

Coeur D'Alene district of the W. F. of M. has passed splendid resolutions boycotting Spokane as a scab city. Pressure brought to bear upon the pocket book of the average small business man is the only plea that will ever touch him.

I hope that the readers of the International Socialist Review will realize the seriousness of the situation. It is a fight for life as far as the I. W. W. is concerned. Men and women here are willing to sacrifice everything. Surely it is not asking too much if you endorse our stand, to dig up part of your daily earnings. "An injury to one is an injury to all."

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

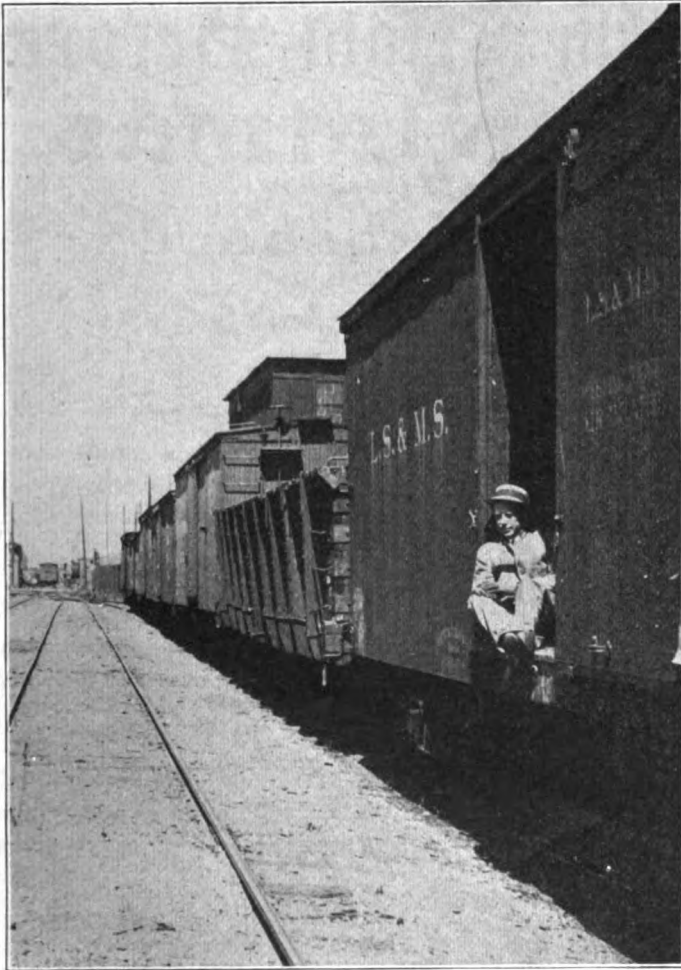
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And now, from almost every state in the union, socialists are on the way to help their comrades in Spokane. Comrade Tom Lewis writes us from Portland, Oregon, that in response to the telegrams sent out by the I. W. W. and Socialist Party headquarters calling for men, the Portland friends arranged a meeting to call for volunteers.

"At that meeting forty men lined up. A collection was taken and handed to the little band to be used for 'Coffee-and-' while the men were en route. At this time the rainy season is on and it requires men of the real stuff to volunteer to go, especially since nearly all of them will have to make their way jumping freights. Where would we be without such material!

"As the time for the men to depart approached, those who were unable to go, gave up their sweaters and overcoats to their comrades. It was an inspiring sight. Finally the word was given. 'Boys, forward,' and the little army of proletarians made their way through the streets of Portland in silence, while the rain splashed in the gutters. The passers-by looked and wondered where the determined-looking marchers were going and the police followed them. Doubtless they expected the men to jump the freights in Portland, but we decided it would be better for

them to walk to the ferry, cross to Vancouver, Wash., and at 12:30 midnight, board the 'Workingmen's Flyer'—the freight. These are the men we need in our organization, men who are not afraid of the truth, men who will fight, men who have nothing to lose, but a world to gain. Strange as it may seem none of our 'reformer' friends joined the band

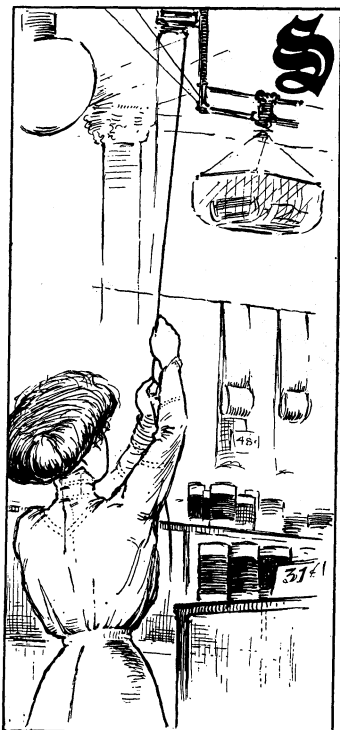


ON THE ROAD TO SPOKANE.

going to Spokane. But—as I have said—the night was a rainy one, and the reformers care only to lead and be looked up to. It would be well if these would-be saviors of the party got out and allowed it to become a wage-workers' organization."

The Night Before Christmas

A MONOLOGUE
by
MARY·E·MARCY



CENE: The ribbon counter of a large department store in Chicago. It is eight o'clock of the night before Christmas. The store is thronged with people and a crowd continues to edge its way to the ribbon counter to purchase ribbons with which to tie up Christmas packages. The speaker is a neatly dressed young saleswoman aged about twenty-five years. Her pleasing face is stamped with the marks of excessive weariness.

Cora (replying to the inquiry of a disheveled shopper):

"Furs? Third floor, madam; take elevator to your right.

(To prospective customer):

"Mam? The Exchange Department? We don't exchange goods during the holidays. No, mam. Mam? No, mam.

"Have you been waited on? (to a woman waving a sample of cherry ribbon). Same color? Yes, mam.

(Digs around in show case for bolt to match sample. Aside to next saleswoman):

"Gee! I'm dead to the world. I'd

give ten dollars for a chance to sit down for five minutes. (Showing bolt of ribbon to customer):

"How many yards, mam?"

"Mam? You only want it HALF the width of the sample? Yes, mam. I'm afraid we're all out of that width. (Digs around in show case.) (Aside to next saleswoman):

"Have you had your supper check yet? You HAVE? Gee, I wish I'd a had you bring me a sandwich. I haven't had a bite since eleven o'clock. (Emerging from show case with a bolt of ribbon a hair's breath more narrow than specifications):

"This is the nearest thing we have, madam. Mam? No, mam. We're all out of it. (To next saleswoman):

"Kate, are you sure there's no more of this 234? What? He DID? (To customer):

"We're all out, madam. (To question, aside):

"Ladies' handkerchiefs? Mam? Yes, mam. Seventeenth aisle; third to your right. (To customer debating over the cherry ribbon):

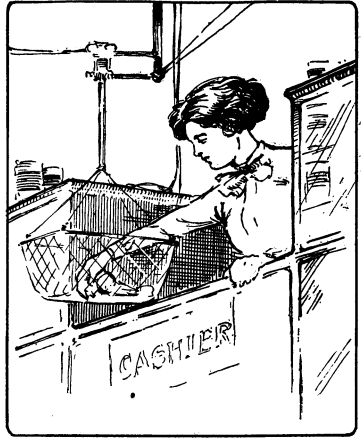
"Would you like some of that, madam? (To another questioner):

"This Alice blue? Five cents a yard. Ten yards?. Yes, mam. (Measures off ten yards; makes out check.) (Aside to next saleswoman):

Gee, I guess Mr. Nesbit's forgotten me. Has Sadie been out to supper? She HAS? Well, ain't that the limit? I'm the first one to go to lunch at eleven and last to get my supper check. It's eight hours since I ate anything. Wonder what he thinks I'm made of. (To customer):

"Fifty cents, mam. (As she sends parcel to be wrapped, she turns to the red ribbon customer):

"Would you like some of that, mam? (But the prospective customer decides not to take the plunge and disappears in the crowd.) (Cora, speaking to the woman who has just purchased the blue ribbon):





"Mam? Yes, mam, it IS hard. I've worked fourteen hours every day for the last three weeks. Seats? No, mam. They don't have them. Mam? No, mam. We wouldn't have time to sit down in them anyway. (To new inquirer):

"Children's toys? Fifth floor; elevator to your left, sir. (Handing parcel to customer and counting out change):

"Fifty an' fifty and one—two dollars. Mam? O yes, mam. Merry Christmas! Mam? Same to you. (Aside to next saleswoman):

"Merry Christmas NOTHING! Every time I hear any Christmas talk, I feel like slapping somebody in the face. I HATE Christmas. It's nothing but work, work, extra work, without extra pay and keep-a-going till you DROP during the holi— (to a questioner):

"Mam? Kimonas? Fifth aisle to your right; fourth aisle down. (To new customer):

"Hollyberry ribbon? Yes, mam. No, mam. It's something NEW. Twenty cents a yard. You saw the same thing at Hillman's for twelve cents? Is that so? No'm, I suppose not. (Aside to next saleswoman):

"Gee, if I don't get something in my stomach soon, I'll keel over. I'm so weak I can hardly stand up. I— (to prospective customer):

"White? Yes, mam. Same width? Yes, mam. Mam? (To new inquirer):

"Candy? Six aisles up; three to your left. (To customer again):

"How many yards? Half a yard? Mam? Yes, mam. (To a perplexed man):

"Umbrellas? Straight down to the State street side (pointing): "Yes, sir. That way.

(Measures off ribbon and makes out check—aside to next saleswoman):

"Gee, I'm so hungry I'm dizzy. Maybe I won't be glad when the holidays are over and I shan't stir out of my bed all day tomorrow. What? A DULL way to spend Christmas? Well, the

best present anybody could give ME would be a REST. (To customer, holding out hand for change):

"Seven cents, mam.. (To last inquirer):

"No'm, they've been moved to the basement. Mam? The elevator to your left. (To next inquirer):

"This hollyberry ribbon? Twenty cents a yard. Mam? Yes, mam, I think it would wash. Mam? No, mam. I've never washed any of it myself. (To somebody who has called a question over the heads of the customers):

"The collars are right behind you, madam. (To new customer):

"This black satin, mam? Thirty cents. Two yards? Sixty cents, mam. (Aside to next saleswoman as she measures off the ribbon):

"O dear, I'm so faint I can hardly see. The lights are kinda dancing—it seems to me. (To customer):

"Mam? THREE yards? I thought you said TWO. Mam? No'm, my hearing is not bad. Tend to my work? Well, I've been putting in fourteen hours a day at it—for three weeks. Mam? Yes, mam. (Cuts off three yards):

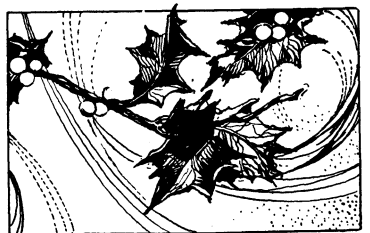
"Ninety cents, mam.

"You thought I said SIXTY cents? Well, I SAID sixty cents for TWO yards. Three yards would be NINETY cents. (Customer goes off grumbling without taking the ribbon.) (Aside to next saleswoman):

"Well, wasn't she the worst ever? O dear! How I wish I could sit down for five minutes! My feet feel as if I were standing on BOILS. (To new questioner):

"Mam? The linings? No'm, they used to be here, but they're on the fifth floor now. Elevator to your left. (Aside to next saleswoman):

"My, but I'm dizzy. Things look kinda darkish." (Leans weakly against the counter and drops noiselessly to the floor in a faint.)



The Same Old Spain

BY JAMES EDWARDS.



WHEN Americans think of Spain, we call to mind all the old methods of repression and bloodshed with which the short-sighted rulers of that country have been wont to seek to stifle the spread of science and democracy. But the recent judicial murder of Francisco Ferrer proves that the present rulers still refuse to profit by past experiences. It is not true, as many papers and periodicals have claimed, that the teachings of Ferrer bore no menace to the government of Spain. As a matter of fact Ferrer was primarily a teacher, an educator, who sought only to permeate the country with modern evolutionary ideas, but these ideas in themselves, once accepted and become general, could not fail to awaken in the working people of Spain a spirit of intelligent revolt against the despotism and repression of the church and state.

But the charge against Ferrer was not based upon the work he had accomplished in the anti-clerical schools he had founded. He was accused with instigating the uprising in Barcelona, when the workmen refused to go to Melilla to kill and be killed in a war of conquest. An ex-liberal minister of the government claimed at the beginning of the Moroccan war, that the Spanish and French mining companies operating at Melilla ordered the assassination of four workmen in order to attribute the assassinations to the Moors and make a pretext to start a war of conquest. The ambitious directors of the Melilla mining companies obtained an intervention from Spain. These are the bare facts about the origin of the working class uprising in Barcelona.

From the time of his arrest to the day of his judicial assassination Ferrer claimed that he was "absolutely ignorant of the plan for a general strike on April 26th in protest against the Moroccan war. I therefore do not know why they should spread the report that I was the promoter of same. I paid no attention to the rumor, feeling safe in the knowledge that I in no way had participated in that movement and thinking that I would soon be left in peace.

"But along came a member of my family from Alella, frightened to death, saying that he heard a young girl state that I was in Premia at

the head of a band of incendiaries, about to burn a convent. That gave me food for thought.

"Note that no convent was burned at Premia and that up to that moment I never was in the town. * * * * *

"On Aug. 29th I read in the papers that the public prosecutor who had gone to Barcelona to make his inquiry, had just said, on leaving the palace, where he had read his report to the king, that I was the organizer of the revolutionary movement in Barcelona and the neighboring towns.

"Then I could no longer remain under cover and, despite the counsels of my friends, I decided to appear before the authorities. * * *

"But I had counted without the rural police agents of my town, who arrested me and, despite my supplications, instead of leading me to the judge, conducted me to the Governor of Barcelona." (From the New York Call.)

Ferrer was secretly tried before a military tribunal strongly prejudiced against him, and found guilty. At nine o'clock of the evening before the day of his assassination, he received his sentence of death. To add to the horror and barbarism of the night, he was compelled to enter the chapel and to spend the weary hours among the men who had fought him all his life.

Candles burned continually before the Virgin and two monks clung to his side, offering spiritual help, which Ferrer refused firmly.

It is these Jesuits who now rule at Madrid, as well as at Rome. Everywhere in Spain the Church reigns. Priests and monks are the real kings. It was these Jesuits who dissuaded Alphonso from signing the pardon for Ferrer, and it was by the orders of the Great Jesuit, that the greatest educator of Spain lies dead.

All through that last night the candles before the Virgin were kept burning and every little while the priests approached Ferrer again offering "spiritual aid." They clung to him, despite his protestations, and just before his execution urged him to take the last rites. Vainly they bothered him to the very end.

* * * * *

Already the judicial murder of Ferrer is bearing fruit. The storm of protest, horror and indignation that has swelled around the world, at his barbarous assassination, has resulted in adding to the angry din in Spain. And Maura, the brute, who refused to advise Alphonso to pardon Ferrer, has been borne down in the storm of indignation in his home country.

The new Spanish cabinet is a liberal one, but the church, which rules Spain under any government, is still at work. The inquisitorial Castle of Montjuich is full of anti-clericals. Nearly 2,500 men, women and children are awaiting trial there for their lives.

The reporters and editors of liberal newspapers are being arrested, The press is crushed beneath an absolute censorship. The court martial is still at work.

But the teachings of modern science have been given an impetus through the death of Ferrer, that nothing else could arouse. The anti-clericals are growing in strength and power. New recruits are joining them every day in the great educational struggle they are waging against the violent and cruel, the ferocious and brutal sway of the Catholic Church.

The sixty Modern Schools founded by Ferrer have already been closed. These schools had become very popular among the youths of Spain. Arts, science, economics and history were among the most popular branches of study. These schools were secular—the only sources of education in all Spain free from the stagnating and retrogressive clericalism of the day.

The following is an extract from the writings of Ferrer. From this it will be seen that he was not a man altogether free from ideas inimical to the brutal Spanish régime:

“War is the most criminal aberration of men, and militarism is the union of those who fall in that criminal error. Both support privilege and monopoly in present society.”

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The economic and political organizations of the working class are completely uninterested as to any doctrinal discussion of religious and spiritual dogmas, although they combat the priests of all cults because they are the lackeys of the capitalist class.—Paul Lafargue in the Socialist Ideal.

WAMPUM SAL'S CHAMPION *By*

MAY BEALS-HOFFPAUIR

Illustrations By H. Jones



THE square, lonesome-looking orphanage stands at the edge of a big southern town that already calls itself a city; and ranged on either hand are the small buildings in which, with the aid of the childrens unpaid labor, the various industries are carried on that enable the orphanage to call itself an industrial school. Good christians are always at the heads of these departments, with one exception. The laundry, the store, the school, all have exemplary men and women in charge of them; but printers are notoriously pagan and so for a while the small print shop, in which are printed the "Orphan's Guide," and the job work gleaned from the faithful, was the most popular of all among the children.

"We can hardly keep the children out of the printing office," the matron, known as Miss Sally, said to the printer's wife. "Since your husband has charge of that department all the children want to study printing."

To the preacher at the head of the institution Miss Sally said: "I don't see how that ungodly man gets such an influence over the children. We must keep our eyes open for a good christian printer."

Meanwhile the printer's wife had gone on to the shop with her husband's lunch. An undersized boy of twelve, who had been picked up by the preacher in a Texas city, lingered in the room while they ate.

"Would you rather work in the printshop than in the store?" she asked him.

"Gee, yes."

"How come?"

"O, 'cause."

She offered him some small cakes, which he regarded suspiciously.

"Did you bake 'em?" he asked.

"No," she lied, reassuringly, "my mother baked 'em."

The boy helped himself to three.

"Why do you think I can't bake?"

"'Cause you ain't old enuf," he explained between generous mouthfuls. "De goils in dis j'int is learnin' how to cook. See?"



"WE MUST KEEP OUR EYES OPEN FOR A GOOD CHRISTIAN PRINTER."

"But I'm a heap older than these schoolgirls."

"No, you ain't," retorted the boy with his street gamin air of preternatural wisdom. "You don't come dat racket on us."

She laughed. It is always gratifying to a woman in the late twenties to be mistaken for an early 'teen. Only a philosopher can tell why.

"Do you go to school?" asked the boy.

"Yes," said the woman. "I'm in the fourth grade."

"Bet you'd oughter be in de foist."

"I used to teach school," she said truthfully, though with no ex-

pectation of being believed. "Honest I did." But her words were drowned in a shout of incredulous glee.

"Say," said the boy, "he says he married you when he took dat day off last week."

"Don't you believe it. I'm going to have a better looking man."

"Huh!" said the boy scornfully. "I knowed he was just coddin' me. He wouldn't have you."

"Why not?"

"Cause you ain't a woman. He's too smart ter git took in by no kid like you."

At this the printer joined in his wife's laughter so heartily that the boy eyed them with deep suspicion, which was only in part dispelled by an offering of more cakes.

"You're a shrewd one," the girl said. She glanced at the young printer, about her own age, and rose to further heights of mendacity. "I did try to catch him, but he married my ma. That's how come I bring him his lunch."

"Den's he's yer stepdaddy."

"Right again."

"Gee, I wisht he was mine."

"How come?"

"O, 'cause."

After a moment the boy added: "I bet he don't let your ma lick you young uns like Miss Sally does."

"Does Miss Sally lick you much?"

"Gee, yes. She licked Norman yisteddy till he was plum crazy, an' he broke loose an' run t'roo de hall, an' t'roo de school room, and den back in de dinin' room where Miss Sally was. He was dat crazy he don't know where he's going an' Miss Sally nailed him an' finished lickin' him."

The printer's wife turned to the window to hide indignant tears.

"I don't like good folks," the boy said. "Gimme toughs fer mine."

"Same here," said the printer, dividing the last of the lunch with the boy, who said gravely:

"I won't tell 'em you said so."

While his mouth was yet full the boy went on.

"I knowed another Miss Sally out in Texas—dey called her Wampum Sal." He looked at the printer's wife, who was examining some cardboard in a distant corner, and lowered his voice. "She was one o' de goils, all right, Wampum Sal was, but gee—dat's a easy way ter make a livin'. I don't blame her none, do you?"

The printer glanced at his wife's back and shook his head.

"But she was on de square wit' de kids, see? Any woman wot had

kids could get Wampum Sal's last nickel. An' she had a lot of stories in her head 'bout kings an' castles an' fairies. Gee, but she was bully.

"An' talk about noive," the boy went on excitedly. "Say, Wampum Sal was braver'n a heap o' men. My ma kep' a little fruit stand till she got sick an' t'ought she was goin' ter croak an' den she sells out an'



WAMPUM SAL.

gives de money ter Wampum Sal. 'Keep it all fer de kids,' she says jis' dat way. 'I'm done.'

"An' so Wampum Sal took us home ter her room, me an' Annie, an' kep' us hid so de charity guys couldn't ketch us. Dey had a j'int

out dere fer de kids dat she says is sump'n fierce—wuss'n dis here j'int is. When my ma's croaked Wampum Sal takes us out in de country so Annie could have milk an' things and air. Wampum Sal's sister lives in de country an' Sal fixed it fer us ter board wit' her mighty cheap. We don't like her so much as Sal 'cause she makes us quit playin' on Sundays an' go ter church, but say! she tells us some bully yarns 'bout a whale swallerin' a man an' keepin' him down 'tree days an' nights an' den spittin' him out all whole an' in one piece. An' alive. I t'ought she was kiddin' but de preacher at dis j'int says it straight goods. How you reckon dat man could breathe? Did dey have divin' bells in dem days?"

"No," said the printer, with a mute warning to his wife who had giggled irrepressibly at this novel effort to harmonize theology and science.

"An' she tells us," went on the boy, too absorbed in his subject to notice anything else, "dat a king t'rowed t'ree Sheeny kids inter a fiery furnace an' dey walked straight t'roo de fire an' never singed a hair. Norman says de Lord must a had 'em soaked in liquid air ter keep 'em cool. An' she said de Lord come down from heaven an' brought paper an' ink an' wrote de bible an' other folks copied it. But the preacher says dat ain't so. But he says it's true dat Daniel was t'rowed in de lions' den an' dey never tetched him. I reckon de lions had lockjaw.

"But de rummest yarn dey spins is 'bout dat 'Lige dat went up ter de moon in a fiery balloon. An' was fed by ravens an' et grass an' locusts an' wild honey an' loaves an' fishes. An' stole a vineyard an' made it a potter's field an' fell down in de midst an' his stummick gushed out an' dey took up twelve baskets of scraps.

"But, say! dat jail woman was a awnery cuss—de one dat drove a nail in a man's forehead when he's asleep. Wampum Sal's sister says dat was right 'cause it's in the bible. But I calls it a snide trick Donchu?"

"Sure," said the printer, as the boy paused for breath, rather than for a reply.

"She tells us too 'bout t'ree wise men follerin' a star dat moved like a willow-wisp an' dey spoke wit' de tongues of men an' angels an' de jawbone of an ass. Say, did dey hand you dat bunch o' spiels in yer Sunday school days?"

"Yes," said the printer, laughing aloud as he saw unmistakably that the boy's humor was not of the unconscious sort.

"But she said, Wampum Sal's sister said, 'dat our ma was t'rown inter outer darkness in a lake of fire an' brimstone. An' Annie blubbers 'bout it an' so did I—some. An' he says—Sal's sister's husband says—dat it's a damn lie. So we quits blubberin' an' asks Wampum Sal 'bout it when she comes out dere ter see us an' she says it's a damn lie too, so we knows it is.

"We stays in de country while de dough lasts, 'cause Annie'd been gettin' peaky an' slanky like ma,' but de milk an' de peaches fixed her up all right. When de spuds is gone we goes back ter town an' I can't git no job, so Wampum Sal sets us up in de paper biz. When I gits flush I wants ter pay back her money, but Wampum Sal won't listen. 'Keep it, kid,' says she, 'keep it an' help out some poor devil sometime dat's down on his luck.'

"An' I did." The boy lowered his voice so the printer's wife could not hear. "Dere's a poor devil run off from dis j'int a little while 'fore you come. Say he was havin' tough luck fer fair. Miss Sally had got a grouch on an' licked him an' he sassed her, an' she kep' on a lickin' him an' den he cussed. An' she kep' a lickin' him harder an' sayin', 'Shet yer mouth, now! Shet your mouth!' But she couldn't lick him enough to make him quit sassin' her, so she took a hammer an' a tack an' tacked his tongue ter de table. I don't know how come he stuck out his tongue. I reckon he t'ought she wouldn't dare. An' so me an—me an' another feller—we give him all the money what we got an' he cleared out. Don't tell nobody we helped him. Don't tell dat step-kid of yourn. Goils can't keep no secrets. No, dey ain't never ketched him.

"But I' started tellin' 'bout Wampum Sal," the boy added.

"You were telling about her nerve," the printer reminded him.

"Yes, she sure was all noive," exclaimed the boy. "Jis' de night 'fore we went ter de country de guy what bought my ma's fruit stand climbed in at Wampum Sal's winder, knowin' she's got de dough an' meanin' ter pinch it. Say, Wampum Sal speaks out like a shot, 'You son of a ——!'" the boy checked himself and glanced round anxiously at the printer's wife, but she was perched on a high stool conspicuously absorbed in the latest "Orphan's Guide."

"Wampum Sal she hollers out like dat an' jumps out of bed an' chases him t'roo de winder an' down de street an' catches him an' holds him an' sings out fer de cop. She hain't got no gun on her neither. Say, but she was great!

"An' after we come back from de country Wampum Sal goes with us out on de trolley lines most every Sunday, way out where it's cool an' nice an' Annie keeps on lookin' fat an' right. But one Sunday we goes out on de bayou in a boat, an' dat's what made de trouble, fer little Annie she reaches out fer a flower—a big white flower in de water, an' gits hold of it an' falls out, an' Wampum Sal goes in after her head foist, an' so does I. But Sal sings out to me when we comes up from a dive, 'You stay by de boat.' An' sure I needed to, fer we was pretty far from shore. Sal dives six times 'fore she finds Anne an' when she hands her into de boat—still a holdin' her white flower—I sees she's croaked.

"Sal says, 'It's my fault. I oughtn't to've brought her out. It's all my fault.' And I says: 'Shut up! Tain't neither.'

"We takes her back ter Sal's house. She'd got a house down clost ter de bayou wit' two rooms instid o' rentin' a room up in town like she done before. Dat's 'cause she wanted ter keep house wit' us kids. She hadn't got acquainted none down dere an' some of 'em was church folks, so I don't know which ones ter go ter, an' Wampum Sal she jis' cries an' says she killed Annie, so I hikes up town an' two of de goils come down an' sees us t'rough. Dey says Sal has took cold an' puts her in bed. An' she stays in bed a long while an' her cough gits worse—she's been coughin' some before, like ma uster. An' everywhere she spits on de floor dere's a red spot.

"One night she takes ter cryin' an' groanin', an' I comes ter de bed ter see what's hurtin' her, an' she says she's been a wicked woman an' she's goin' ter die an' de Lord'll give her hell, an' won't I git a preacher ter come an' see her termorrer.

"I says, 'Sure I will, but y' ain't goin' ter croak. Shut up an' git yer beauty sleep.'

"An' nex' day I starts out ter git a preacher. Dere's a church on de nex' street an' when I gits along by it dere's de sky pilot setin' on de porch o' his house clost by. So I takes off my hat an' says ter him, 'Kin yer go ter see a dyin' lady?' And he says 'Cert,' or sump'n like it, an' we starts.

"When we gits on de back street he begins ter look scart, an' when we stops at Wampum Sal's gate he says, 'Is dis—er—hem—er—am I called ter visit de sinful woman who has recently pulluted dis kimmunity?'

"An' I spits out a sinful word or two an' says, 'She's adyin', an' she wants ter see a preacher. I don't b'lieve yer spiels'll do her no good; but she does.'

"An' he gits up courage enough ter go as far as de door an' den he sees a grocer's boy a drivin' past an' de boy grins, an' de preacher gits cold feet. I wouldn't felt so bad 'bout it, but Wampum Sal she hears us jis' right den, an' she raises up on her elbow an' sees de preacher. Gee, but she looks glad.

"'Come in, sir,' she says.

"An' dat son of——" the boy bit his lip and choked back the epithet. "Dat preacher stood in de door an' says, 'I can not enter. We ministers of de gospel must keep ourselves unspotted frum de woild, see?'

"An' Sal laid down lookin' white like she'd croaked. An' I hit de preacher one in de ribs an' says, 'You ——,' I says—well, I handed him a bunch of pet names I wouldn't call no common awnery nigger. An' I tells him any spots he could rub off'n Wampum Sal would look mighty white on his darn black hide.

"I says some more an' puts on fancy trimmin's, an' he goes off an' sets de officers on my trail an' dey takes me off an' puts me in de house o' krection. An' leaves Sal alone an' her dyin'.

"When I breaks out Sal's croaked an' de preacher dat runs dis j'int finds me blubberin' 'bout her an' tells me he'll take me where dere's a better



"SAY, IF WAMPUM SAL IS WENT TER HELL——"

Sally. So he fixes it up wit' de officers somehow an' bring me here. Gee, but dis Sally's no tough. She's a saint, Miss Sally is.

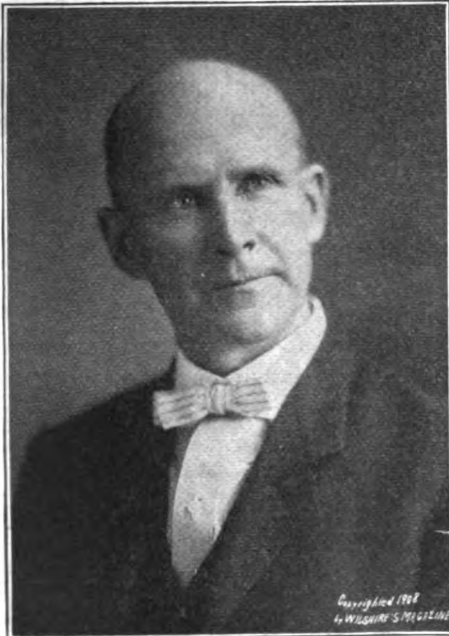
"Say, if Wampum Sal is went ter hell an' Miss Sally goes ter heaven I knows which o' dem two j'int's 'll be de hottest fer us—me an' de rest o' de kids. It's hell fer mine. See?"

Industrial Unionism

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.



THE term Industrial Unionism is used to express a modern form of labor organization whose jurisdiction is not confined to any particular trade or craft, but is co-extensive with the industrial development, and embraces the entire working class. Industrial unionism is the outgrowth of trade unionism and expresses the highest form of industrial organization the working class has yet attained. As its name implies this form of unionism contemplates the organization of industries in their entirety, uniting all employes within the same economic body, subdivided into a number of departments equal to and corresponding with the several trades or general occupations in which they are engaged.



In organizing the workers along the lines of their general industrial interests rather than their particular craft interests, it is claimed that the friction due to overlapping craft jurisdictions is obviated, and that a higher degree of solidarity and efficiency is thus secured in the interest of all.

The industrial union in its present form came but recently into existence, the trade union having preceded it, the latter dating back to a time near the beginning of industrial life in Great Britain, about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The earlier unions were confined principally to the skilled trades, and hence were called trade unions. These unions were built up on the basis of the skilled use of the tools used in the several trades dur-

ing the period of handicraft in industry, and later on were loosely joined together in a federation of trades, without, however, abridging their autonomy or invading their separate jurisdictions.

Organized upon this basis each craft was left free to negotiate its own wage scale, and enter into agreement with the employer upon terms most advantageous to itself regardless of other crafts that might be employed in the same industry. The results that followed in the way of disastrous strikes resorted to by one or more crafts because of having failed to obtain a satisfactory agreement, while others employed in the same industry, perhaps in the identical factory, remained at their tasks, in co-operation with the non-union element which had displaced their own fellow-workers, paved the way for industrial organization.

The trade union rose with the modern trade and flourished with it, the foundation of both being the skilled use of certain tools in the making of certain commodities for market use. This stage of the industrial development prevailed for many years, but has now been largely superseded, and is rapidly declining before the march of industrial evolution, made manifest in the concentration of capital, the displacement of the small shop by the great factory, the handicraft tools by steam-driven machinery, the segregated trade by associated industry and competitive effort by co-operative labor. Along the same line the trade union of the past is now expressing itself more and more in industrial unionism.

Industrial unionism, having evolved from the lower primal forms of trade unionism through the successive stages of the industrial development, and adapting itself to present industrial conditions and their tendencies, has encountered serious opposition on the part of trade unionists as well as the employing class, the former tenaciously adhering to the craft form of organization and resisting all attempts to materially change it, and the latter opposing it on account of its aggressive and revolutionary character; but, notwithstanding this, the new unionism has made rapid advance during the past two or three years, and its principles have now come to be generally recognized by the progressive elements of the labor movement.

Greatly as the industrial union differs from the trade union structurally, the difference in their tendencies and ultimate objects is still more radical and far reaching. Whereas, the trade union occupied itself mainly with establishing and maintaining satisfactory wage scales, hours of labor and working class conditions, industrial unionism, based upon the mutual economic interests of all workers and the solidarity arising therefrom, aims not only at the amelioration of the industrial condition of the workers, but at the ultimate abolition of

the existing productive system, and the total extinction of wage-servitude.

It is in this fundamental principle that industrial unionism is most radical and revolutionary in contrast with the earlier trade union forms of industrial organization.

The concentration of capital and the highly complex productive mode of the present day, grouping in vast industrial establishments thousands of workers engaged in scores of different trades, and forcing them into closer and closer co-operation, based upon the minutest division of labor, have tended to obscure, or perhaps totally obliterate, the lines that once so sharply defined the skilled trades, and in this interweaving of the trades the jurisdictions of the several unions based upon them have overlapped each other, and this has been the prolific source of the increasing friction between many of the larger unions which have approximately reached their maximum of growth and are jealous of maintaining the prestige of an expanding membership regardless of the effect upon a rival union which may lay claim to jurisdiction over the same craft, or division thereof. Following the lines of least resistance the tendency of these unions, so far as external forms are concerned, is toward industrial unionism, and this is undoubtedly the form that will ultimately supersede the trade union of the present and past.

Not only in the matter of organic form and fundamental aim does industrial unionism differ from trade unionism, but also in the matter of tactics and methods. Quite as revolutionary as the ultimate end of industrial unionism, are the tactics its adherents have adopted for its realization.

The trade unions of the present and past have with rare exceptions eschewed political action in any independent capacity as an organized body; have accepted, in the aggregate, the prevailing industrial system as a finality, subject only to such modifications as might be effected through the power of organized effort in the amelioration of conditions, and have uniformly affirmed, in express terms or by clear implication, an identity of economic interests between the employing and employed classes.

In contradistinction to this conciliatory and non-political attitude of the trade unions toward the existing wage-system and the capitalist class, it is the declared principle of industrial unionism that the wage-workers have no interests in common with capitalists; that, in fact, their material interests are in conflict, and it is its declared purpose to abolish the wage-system, and supplant it by a system of industrial co-operation in which the workers themselves shall have full control for their own benefit, and to this end they recognize the necessity

of organizing the political as well as the economic power of the working class, and of the harmonious exercise of both by such means as will make industrial unionism the medium of attaining industrial democracy.

In every mill and every factory, every mine and every quarry, every railroad and every shop, everywhere the workers, enlightened, understanding their self-interest, are correlating themselves in the industrial and economic mechanism. They are developing their industrial consciousness, their economic and political power; and when the revolution comes they will be prepared to take possession and assume control of every industry. With the education they will have received in the Industrial Workers they will be drilled and disciplined, trained and fitted for Industrial Mastery and Social Freedom.—Eugene V. Debs, in *Revolutionary Unionism*.

Capitalism International.

The Case of De Lara.

BY CY O. BROWN.



AY by day the capitalists of the world are growing more class conscious. Month by month the "great" men in the more highly capitalized countries are breaking down the barriers between nations and securing industrial control of those nations. And year by year new alliances are being formed between the dummy rulers and the new economic kings who are slowly but surely becoming the dictators of the world.

And still the little kings and presidents cumber their thrones and presidential chairs, while the silent revolution goes on. For my Lord Economic does not announce his triumphs with the blare of trumpets. Quietly and secretly he secures the industrial and economic vantage until the ostensible rulers are compelled to become his servants.

So it is that President Porfirio Diaz and William Howard Taft are only executing the orders of those Higher Up. Nothing must be permitted to interfere with the plans of American Capital to secure further control of the bases of industrial and economic supplies in Mexico.

For gold braid, tinsel trappings, visible retinues, brass bands and empty titles the industrial capitalist cares not one whit. He desires economic control and the power it brings to dictate to the guady figure-heads that sometimes flatter themselves into believing they are the rulers of nations.

Year by year Porfirio Diaz has sold out one economic vantage point after another to the American capitalists, and the American capitalists are eager for still more. They are willing to pay handsomely and Diaz has already found their money good. They desire a Mexican government friendly to American capital. Diaz requires customers for his economic wares. So the United States Government has entered into a friendly alliance with Mexico and we find American capitalists dictating the policy of the Mexican government and the methods of the Diaz régime being introduced into the United States.

The great body of liberty-loving people all over the United States who have been voicing their protests at the institution of Diaz policies in our home country, were dumbfounded to learn of the arrest of L. Gutierrez De Lara, in Los Angeles, California, a few weeks ago by the U. S. Commission of Immigration. De Lara was charged with being an alien anarchist and subject to deportation back to Mexico. We believe that his only crime lies in the fact that he has helped to place in the limelight proofs of the infamous cruelties practiced in bloody Mexico.

Those of us who are reading the articles now running in the American Magazine by John Kenneth Turner, on Barbarous Mexico, recall his words:

Such dangers as the journey held in store for me were clearly overshadowed by the dangers for the man whom I selected for a traveling companion, L. Gutierrez De Lara, himself a Mexican, not one of the revolutionists, but a man who, for voicing sympathy for the revolutionists, had incurred the enmity of his government.

"If they know me they hang me," De Lara told me in his slightly imperfect English, "but I will go with you all the same."

And De Lara went. A highly educated man of famous family, yet he had studied the common people of Mexico as few have studied them. Mexican character and Mexican history were his long suits, and to me he was at once companion, guide, friend, and an easy bridge across the chasm of reserve which naturally separates the people of one race from those of another.

Though we left Los Angeles disguised as tramps, the agents of Diaz learned of the departure of De Lara, and though he crossed the line in disguise and continued to mask his identity under old clothes and unbarbered face, before we had been in Mexico ten days secret police surrounded the house in which we were stopping. De Lara escaped by jumping through a back window, scrambling over housetops and descending into another street, and when we left Mexico City for Yucatan soon afterward, both of us got out of town singly and by means of the cab and suburban car. Sure enough they were after De Lara. Weeks later we learned that an important Mexican government official had offered money to both American and Mexican friends of my companion in an effort to learn where he had gone.

De Lara is a member of the Socialist Party of the United States and at the time of his arrest was National Organizer for the state of California. In an interview given a writer on the New York Call, Comrade De Lara says:

At the time of the strike at Cananea, state of Sonora, against the Cananea Copper Company, I was the only intellectual among the striking Cananeans, speaking for them and assisting them in their efforts to get better working conditions.

From that time on the Mexican government, at the behest of the company, started to hound me until later I was sentenced to be shot, and through the shrewd manipulation of friends and comrades of the liberal movement I succeeded in making my escape and fled to the United States.

In August, 1907, when the arrest of Magom, Vilerreal and Rivera took place, I immediately reported to the Socialist party of Los Angeles, Cal., immediately after I was arrested and a charge of stealing wood to the extent of \$4 was put against me. The charge was based on a case I defended in Mexico of a poor woman who had a claim on a piece of land which the Cananea Copper Company tried to rob her of. I told her to ignore the claim of the company, cut some wood on said property and sell the same. The local court of Cananea found me guilty of stealing the wood, the Superior Court sustained the lower court; it was carried to the Supreme Court of Mexico and it reversed the decision.

After three years had elapsed the Mexican government tried to extradite me from the United States on the above charge; they reappraised the wood at \$56 in Mexican money, thinking it would be sufficient for a grand larceny charge on which they could extradite me. A charge of theft to the extent of \$25 in American money means grand larceny; silver being at its lowest at that time, 46 cents to the dollar, the appraisement only amounted to \$23.65, so you see my life was saved by a mistake in appraisement of the wood of \$1.35. I was discharged by the Federal government of the United States.

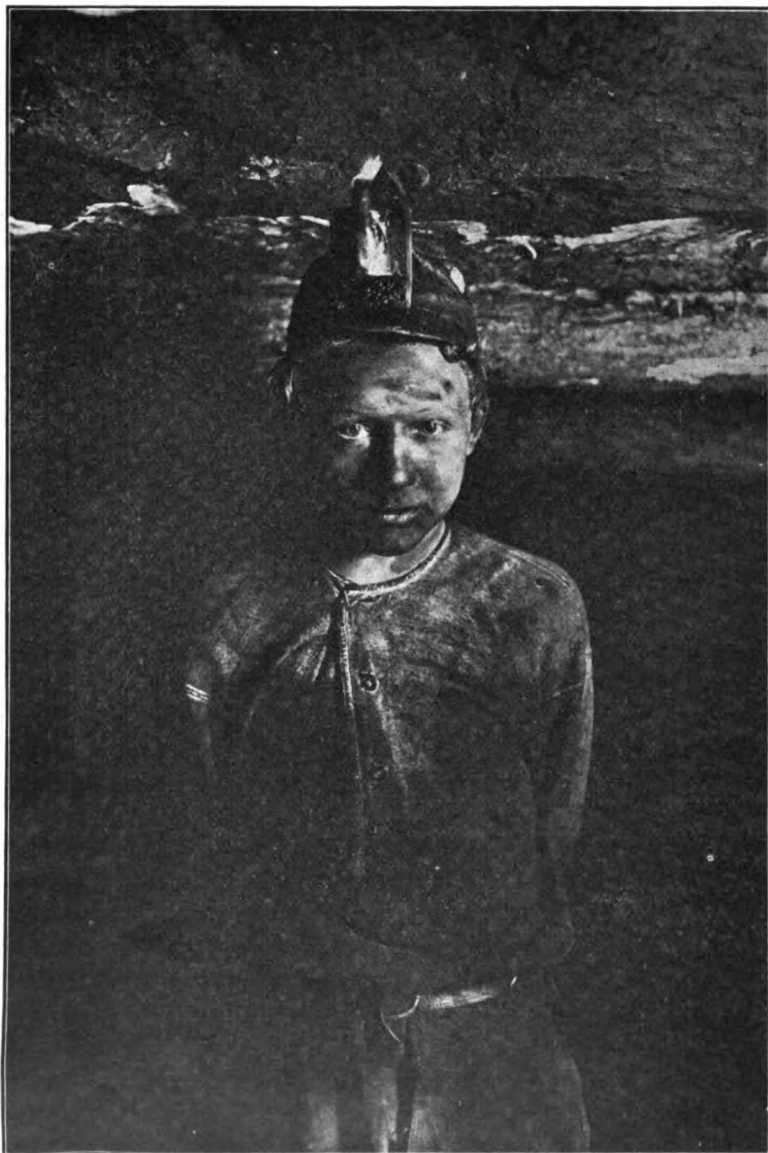
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Not very many years ago, when a political refugee sought escape from a home despot, America held out her arms to him, and press, courts and pulpits held forth in his favor. This was when more workers were needed in the United States—before capitalism had become international and the jeopardy of an existing government meant the jeopardy of invested capital.

But the working class of the world is becoming class conscious also. We socialists of the United States do not say, "Our Comrade, Mr. Taft," "Comrade Rockefeller" or "Comrade Diaz." It is for the kings and emperors to dine together and to entertain Messrs. Morgan and Carnegie, while the working class of the whole world is taking up collections to help their striking comrades in Sweden, or raising money for the Refugees' Defense League in its fight for the lives of their working class comrades who seek to escape a fate similar to that of Francisco Ferrer.

Month by month, with the great revolution in the industrial machinery of the world, and the rise of the economic dictators, the press, the pulpit and the courts are assuming a more hostile attitude toward the workers of the world, and a more open subserviency toward the new industrial kings.

But the press of the working class along with a mighty spirit of international working class solidarity, is growing also. This press will reveal the economic reasons for the change in the governmental front and will be one of the great factors in educating the workers in their great and glorious struggle for the ultimate abolition of wage-slavery.



A BOY MINE WORKER.

By permission from "The Surrey," New York. This is a photograph taken at a Pennsylvania mine, where conditions are not unlike those in Illinois. The disaster at Cherry, commented on in our editorial, occurs just as the last forms of the Review go to press. Next month we hope to publish an illustrated article throwing more light on the subject.

The Value of Woman's Work

BY MAUD THOMPSON.



THE Marxian principles of value deal with social products and their application to woman's work has, therefore, been limited to woman's work in the factory and the shop. But the majority of women are not engaged in industrial production; at least three-fifths of them are engaged in home production. Yet more and more home products are being replaced by factory products, more and more the work of the housewife has to compete with the work of organized business.

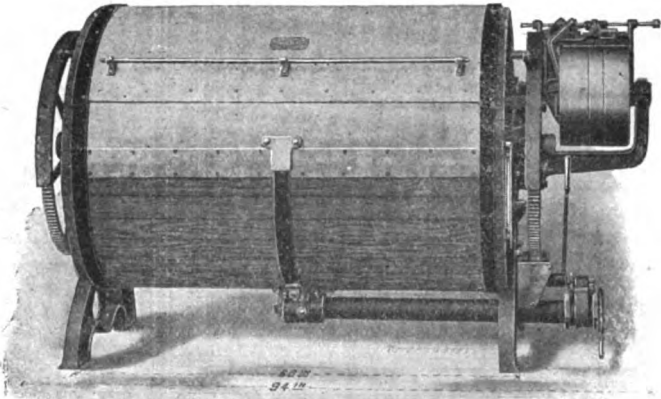


FRENCH WOMEN WASHING ON THE ROCKS.

Through the use of steam-heated flats and steam laundries, by the purchase of prepared foods and by the hiring of house-cleaning machines, the needs of a small family may now be supplied with-

out demanding a full day's work from the housekeeper. But these methods of lessening labor are as yet more expensive than woman's unskilled labor performed at home, and they will not replace the latter in the average family until it costs more to keep a working wife than to buy the products of the factory girl's labor. In the wage-earner's family the work of cleaning, serving, cooking and repairing which is still left to the housekeeper is quite enough to fill more than an eight-hour working-day.

Much has been written about the value of woman's work in the days when she "fed and clothed the world." Is it not worth while to examine the value of the housekeeper's work under modern conditions? If it is to be compared at all with other work, it must be considered with reference to some common standard, must be measured as all labor is by its usefulness, its exchange value and its market price.



THIS MACHINE WASHES 1,000 SHIRTS IN A 9-HOUR DAY.
(Loaned by courtesy of American Laundry Machine Manufacturing Co.)

The worth of a thing lies in its usefulness to some person. If one person in the world desires a thing, it is useful to that person, but if no one else wants it, it cannot be exchanged and therefore has no social value. When a thing becomes exchangeable, it must be measured by some common social standard, and that standard is labor, for labor is the only thing which makes the material furnished by nature useful to man. Since the standard is a social one, the value of any one commodity does not depend on the amount of individual labor that object may happen to contain. If a cobbler makes a pair of shoes a day and a man at a machine turns out a hundred pairs a day, the cobbler's shoes, if of the same quality, will not be worth a hun-

dred machine-made pairs. In the words of Marx: "The labor-time socially necessary is that required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time." It is the average labor-time with average skill and the average tools which determines the value of a product. So the use or worth of work and its products is a very different thing from its exchange-value, and its price, the exchange-value expressed in money, is yet another matter.

In valuing a commodity its use-value may be the hardest thing to determine, for it depends on the people who use it. In reference to woman's work this happens to be the easiest part of the problem. In the individual household the housekeeper is not merely useful but necessary. Men have been known to marry solely to replace her. From an industrial point of view woman's usefulness as a housekeeper has probably been overrated. Men stand in the bread-line because they can get no work while inexperienced girls are sought as houseworkers. Yet in the family as now constituted the use-value of the housekeeper can hardly be overestimated. Only in the slum family, when death or the factory claims the mother, is the housekeeper dispensed with. A home without a woman worker is looked upon as the last misery of humanity.

Woman's work in the family is productive in character and absolutely essential to the existence of the family. Its use-value is comparable only to that part of man's work which designs, makes and distributes things; none of it is of that non-productive class of labor upon which so much of man's labor is expended, such as advertising, gambling and law-suits. Woman's work in the household is the repairing of the daily waste by transforming the man's wages into a thousand material things that satisfy the family needs. Psychologically her work is nearer to the primitive forces of production than is man's, for in modern industry the man who tends a wheel in the big machine of production can get very little sense of the real producing force of his work; a woman's work is all before her eyes.

But while in quality woman's work has exceptionally high use-value to the family, its primitive and unspecialized methods render it a most wasteful social product. Under the present constitution of society woman's work as housekeeper is absolutely essential, but the total productiveness of the race, and that means civilization, is held back by the low degree of producing power in the feminine part of the workers. The team of humanity is not pulling even from the economical viewpoint. Machinery has done little for housework because most labor-saving devices are too expensive to be owned by

the individual family. While man's industrial world has been revolutionized, woman's has been merely modified.

It is because of its failure as a social product that the exchange-value of woman's home-work has remained so slight and so indefinite. Although women have been working in a primitive world of their own, with simple tools and at occupations unskilled because so diversified, that world has been within another world where production is skillful and rapid. It is inevitable that the standards of value in the industrial world should affect the valuation of woman's work in the household. Yet "the labor socially necessary" to measure man's contributions to production cannot fairly be compared with that socially necessary in woman's field, for the one is expended in a world of specialization and machinery, the other in a world of hand-work and unspecialized labor. Industrially they are three centuries apart.

Under the old system of household production some of woman's work done in the home had a real exchange-value. In Crete six hundred years before Christ every woman had her own capital and income from "what she spun." But the household work remaining to women has absolutely no definite exchange-value. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine how much labor is socially necessary to run a household, what is the average skill, what the average equipment.

The difficulty of fixing the value of the housekeeper's work is seen in the confusion and helplessness of those well-meaning couples who try to solve the problem by coming to some working agreement. Some of those who are striving to give the wife a dignified, economic position claim that the husband's income should be equally divided between husband and wife; others would make the income a family fund from which expenditures could be made only by mutual agreement, while others would put the wife on wages, making the husband the employer. The difficulty with the family partnership is that it is a very delicately balanced equality. The sole control is apt to go over to one partner or the other, and which way the power falls is determined not so much by the value of the contribution of each partner as by his or her personal power. So difficult is it for the reformers to make woman's present economic position rational.

But in the real world where philosophers and the just are few, woman's work goes into a market where values are even more confused. Like the wage-slaves woman sells her labor-power, not her product; but unlike others, she does not sell it by the week, the day or the year, but for life. Moreover in the initial bargain the economic conditions are disguised by the fact that the woman's person is

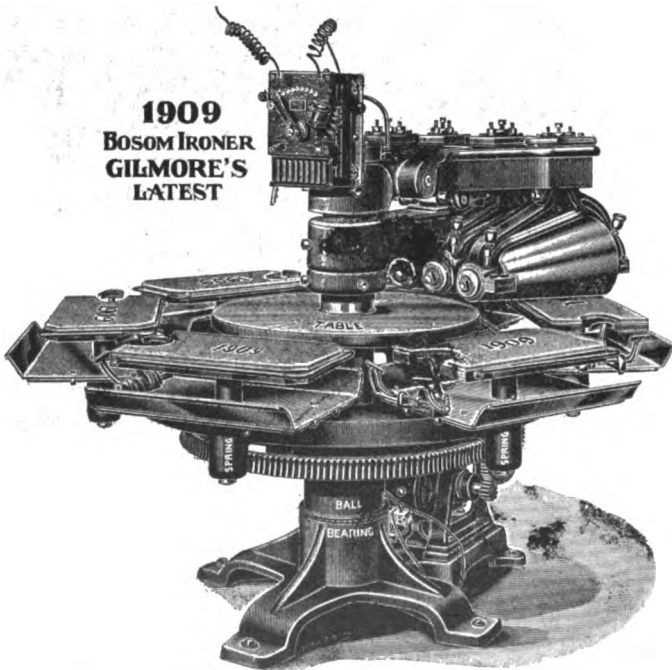
given with her labor-power and that over the whole is thrown a mist of sentiment and tradition. But economically, it is not only a bargain but, especially on the woman's side, a speculation. She gambles on the chance that some particular man may turn out a "good provider" and stakes her whole life on his probable "rise" in the world. She throws her own unskilled and unspecialized labor into the family service as the price of a home. The nature of a home she is able to procure is determined, however, not by her productive power, but by her personality and her social position.



FIELD WORKERS.

After marriage a woman rates, as a worker, as a member of the family she has chosen and not as a member of society. She gets such a "living" as the family has, sometimes worse, rarely better, but never in proportion to her own productiveness. Among the proletariat the reward of her labor is the same as that of the man, subsistence. Sometimes, with the man's, it sinks below the level of subsistence and often below the level where normal reproduction is possible. The higher the man's wage becomes or the more property

he acquires, the more reward, as a rule, the wife receives for her labor. The use-value of her labor has not altered in the least, however, and her skill has not greatly increased. Her reward is evidently quite arbitrary according to any individual standard. As a worker she is not a productive unit but a necessary part of a wage-earning machine. As the machine increases in value she is better cared for, though her own working value is stationary or decreasing. Her own productiveness she is unable to increase to any extent because she cannot improve even her tools unless the man's wage-earning power increases. As a matter of fact, as her wage-earning machine increases in productiveness she usually becomes less and less useful until, like any useless part, she atrophies and drops off from the working body. She is no longer even the feeder of a wage-earning machine, she has entered the class of idle women. In that class her labor power is almost zero, her price depends wholly on her personal and social worth.



REVOLVING TABLE SHIRT BOSOM IRONER, WITH SIX SHIRT BOARDS SUPPORTED BY SPIRAL SPRINGS.

One, two, three or four operators can work to advantage at the same time, and the machine run fast or slow to suit the operators. The bosom ironer will iron six shirts a minute; 3,600 in 10 hours.

(Loaned by courtesy of Chicago Addition Mangle Co.)

It is by the working out of this system that the parasitic class of women is produced. Men perform manual labor to secure food, clothing and shelter; when these are provided, the energies relax or turn to a more attractive kind of labor. In the rise of the wage-earner the wife usually contributes at the beginning far more than the value of her own living. As the family prospers, she receives at some point value equal to the full value of her labor. But as the family acquires property, the housekeeper works less and less until she has passed the point where she is worth her "keep" and has become a parasite. Relieved from the necessity of earning their bread, the weaker relax into idleness varied by eating and dressing and some oversight of hired labor. The women with vitality enough to create for themselves new occupations go into study, philanthropy or the professions.

The class of parasites is larger among women than among men, for men who acquire enough to live on rarely enter a new occupation. The reason is obvious. By the time a man reaches the point where he does not have to work he has escaped from manual labor into the attractive game of business. A woman who manages an elaborate and luxurious household is comparable superficially to a man who directs a business, but the difference between their spheres of action is an important one. In the modern business world the opportunities for the expenditure of a man's energies are almost unlimited, the field of a "lady housekeeper" is a single family. However she may elaborate the scheme of daily life, she can scarcely find room for her energies in directing the labor of others. It is true that by entering the world of social pleasure she may extend the sphere of her activities and find an opportunity for playing as good a game as business, but she enters then upon a wholly non-productive occupation which has no relation to her function as housekeeper.

It follows from this shifting scale of reward and from its curious relation to the producing power of another that the woman houseworker really has no notion of the value of her subsistence. In one class she thinks of herself as "supported" whatever the value of her work, and in another class she considers herself as worthy of any subsistence however slight her contributions to the family service. This haziness of woman as to her own worth extends to the atmosphere of the wage-earning woman. She cuts her subsistence down to the necessity line by cooking her own food and making her own clothing. Thus she makes herself a less expensive machine for an employer and enables him to replace expensively fed men by cheaply fed women.

Another condition which makes it difficult to estimate the value

of woman's work is the elimination of the time-element. Her labor bargain was for life; her labor day is limited only by her own endurance. Her labor cannot be regulated by law; it is not regulated by efficiency. Woman's is the typical "free labor," free to contract for life, selling labor-power for subsistence, the household slave of a wage-slave.

The economic link between the wife who works for board and clothes and the factory "hand" who works for wages is the hired houseworker, the so-called "servant." The "servant" is a remnant of the old household system of labor, as is seen in the "residence requirement," the condition of employment under which part of the wage is paid in board and lodging. The board varies with the financial status of the employer but does not, except in a general way, represent the value of the work. The higher the wage and the easier the work, the better usually the board, but over that part of the bargain the "servant" usually has no control. Her skill as a worker may enable her to get a job in a family where the standard of living is high but her share of the luxuries of the family life is arbitrarily determined by her employer. Thus her situation, as far as her "living" goes, exactly duplicates that of the working wife.



THRESHING GRAIN.

But in the case of a "servant" a new element enters in, wages. It is a curious feature of our marriage system that a woman will sell her labor-power plus her person for less than her labor alone. It is true that for the wife there is always the hope of a "rise" in the social scale, a prospect denied to the "servant."

Except for the one important fact that the houseworker is evidently worth more than her mere "living," the paid houseworker's wage does not help us much in determining the value of the woman's household work. The "servant" works usually under the direction and with the help of another woman, her employer, who is partly emancipated from labor and gives to the housework what time she can spare from other occupations. But for various obvious reasons there is no overcrowding in the trade of house-service and, as a consequence of the unusual demand, the houseworker fares as well or better than the average woman wage-earner. Exploitation of the houseworker through machinery is impossible and so far in the progress of capitalism, exploitation of servants through the use of the reserve army of the unemployed has been blocked by the inexorable family and social sentiment. To "go into service" means not only to lower the worker's social status, but to surrender her family life. Factory toil or any kind of a marriage has been preferable to the average American woman. But the shifting class of the unemployed grows and the end of the capitalistic régime is not yet in sight. If the wall of social pride and family solidarity is battered down by hunger, we may expect to see the same exploitation of houseworkers that we now find practiced on factory workers.

The present housework system under which in one class the housework is done by overworked, unpaid wives, and in another class by hired "servants" who are in the family but, not of it, is an essential part of the bourgeois capitalistic system. Every bourgeois family is struggling to emerge into the servant-employing class; every proletarian family is trying to keep its girls out of the servant class. Under this system of domestic economy the increase of the servant-class means not so much a specialization of the trade of housework as an increase in the class of parasitic women. Where a paid houseworker takes the place of the unpaid wife in order to release the latter for productive, paid labor elsewhere, that is a step in the specialization of labor and the emancipation of women. But at present in only one family in ten in the United States is the housework done by hired labor; in other families it is paid for by "living" only. In spite of the increase of the number of servants and the rise in their wages, the method of paying the other nine-tenths of the houseworkers has not been affected. On the other hand the economic con-

dition of the "servant" depends on the economic status of the women in the industrial world, rather than those in the household. The paid houseworker and the unpaid wife live under the same conditions of family labor, their board and lodging being regulated by their employer, but the wage of the "servant" is measured not by the value of the wife's work, but by the value of the girl in the factory or shop.

It is obvious that to speculate on the value of woman's work in terms of wages is idle, for she is not living under the wage system. The work of running a household involves the practice of a number of skilled trades, requires the use of much unskilled labor and demands some administrative power. To rate this combination of trades and effort with its undetermined labor-time would be an appalling task. But it is a task we need not undertake, for the work of the housekeeper who is also the wife is not exchangeable and, therefore, can have no real money value.

What is clear is that the work of women under this system is socially wasteful and individually unfair. The industrial revolution with its increased production and labor-saving devices must remake the home too. It has already entered there and modified a hundred processes used in providing for the family needs. That revolution must go on. When woman's task in the home is one of oversight only, she will be free to work in any form of labor which is marketable and will receive the actual product of her labor in the form of exchange that is socially recognized. Many a woman would live less well than she does, were her work the measure of her living. Many a woman who now works fourteen hours a day, seven days in the week for board and clothing would have a larger share in the social product, if her work ever came into the market.

Woman's work must eventually conform to modern industrial methods and be measured by a common social standard. What the method of valuation is to be will be determined by the economic structure of society as a whole. If the capitalistic system survives, there is no reason to suppose that the present tendency to divide women into the toilers and the idle will be checked. Women of the proletariat will be forced more and more into the wage system and employed outside the home. Women of the bourgeoisie will come nearer to the bourgeois ideal for women, idleness with power to direct the hired labor of the proletarian women.

The collective ownership of the means of production and distribution would not necessarily mean any economic rating of the work done in the individual home. In other words, state ownership of industries would not make married women economically independent. But social evolution is working toward larger ends than

the mere owning of machinery by all the people, important though that change be; it tends always toward socialized production. Bit by bit the stupid, primitive, unproductive ways by which housework is done are giving way to scientific, co-operative production of food and clothing. Every invention in this realm strikes one more chain from the housebound, unpaid wife. Under the banner of industrial democracy all women will be free to spend their energies either in motherhood or in specialized, paid, productive labor. Socialism works to give every individual full opportunity to live, and its very existence will ultimately depend on its freeing humanity not by sexes, nor by races, but universally.

The bourgeois has thought and still thinks that woman ought to remain at home and devote her activity to supervising and directing the housekeeping, caring for her husband, and manufacturing and nourishing children. Even Xenophon, at the time when the bourgeoisie was newly born and was taking its shape in ancient society, traced the main outlines of this ideal of woman. But if through the course of centuries, this ideal may have appeared reasonable, because it corresponded to economic conditions which prevailed, it is no longer anything more than an ideological survival, since these conditions have ceased to exist.—From Paul Lafargue in *The Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies*.

Moving a River

BY J. A. PHILLIPS.



THE feats of the giants we read about in Grimm's Fairy Tales and the deeds of Hercules pale into insignificance beside the every day labors of the modern railroad engineers, who pierce and tear away mountains, move rivers and force great waterfalls to furnish power for running their trains.

The names of these humble wonder-workers in blue shirts and leggings do not get into the newspapers and we rarely hear about their accomplishments in the modern magazines. John Shanahan was division engineer on the mountain division of the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake railroad company, the road that ex-United States Senator William A. Clark planned. Later Harriman joined forces with Clark and the road was built.

It was John Shanahan's task to see that the division running through the southeast corner of Nevada was located properly, built and kept in good condition. To any man except a modern engineer, this would have been a most discouraging country. It contained few villages and fewer towns, but many high mountains and sandy deserts. Searching for an opening among these mountains, the engineers found the canyon of the Meadow Valley River. To the west lie the Meadow Valley Mountains. The Mormon range lies eastward.

The canyon is from one to ten miles in width, running from northeast to southwest. Meadow Valley creek lies at the bottom of this valley. Normally it is only six or eight feet in width and half a foot deep. For much of the distance the canyon is walled in by steep rocky cliffs.

Through this canyon the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake railroad wound its way down into Southern California. The track twisted about like the creek, for Shanahan sought always the lowest and most even road bed. It was necessary for this reason, to cross the Meadow Valley creek eighteen times in a distance of one hundred miles.

In the spring of 1907, the road was ready for business. Through freight and passenger trains began to run from Salt Lake City to the Pacific Coast. But one night in March, 1907, there was a huge cloud-burst in the Meadow Valley Mountains. In a few moments the creek began to widen out over a mile. It soon became a raging flood. The

deluge tore loose great boulders from the mountain sides and hurled them crashing into the canyon below. So narrow was the bed of the creek that the torrent swept them on down the swelling stream.

In the morning, for a distance of about one hundred miles, there was no railroad. All of the eighteen bridges that spanned the creek were totally destroyed. The whole right of way was jammed with boulders, trees and sand. Part of a freight train that had raced through the valley trying to outrun the flood, was caught and crushed like an egg-shell. The hard work of many months was wiped out in a single night.

Shanahan was near at hand when the storm broke. At once he plunged down the canyon, in the darkness and chaos. Through the raging waters and debris he fought his way. When at last he had staggered back to safety, he said the road was a total ruin.

Speedily the swollen torrent fell to normal size and once more the sparkling Meadow Valley creek wound itself through the valley, this time through the chaos wrought by the cloud-burst.

But Shanahan knew that what had happened that night might occur again at any time. Whenever the tall peaks of the mountains ripped open the rain clouds the first outlet that invited the flood was the canyon. There was no other way for the water to escape. Neither was there any other way to build the railroad through the mountains. The railroad could be moved nowhere else. Therefore John Shanahan decided to move the river.

The problem was to make for the river a new bed, deep and broad enough to carry off any floods that might come, leaving the railroad safe in the valley. So John Shanahan and his little band of workers, armed with a pack of blue prints and a few tons of dynamite, undertook the work.

And wonderful were their tools. Clam shell steam shovels they used, clam shell shovels that nip out four tons of sand or gravel at a single bite; huge steam plows that cut furrows two hundred feet in width and traveling cranes that pick up locomotives and carry them as easily as a man carries a basket of eggs. It was big work. First the valley had to be cleared, for until temporary tracks had been laid nothing could be done.

Nine great sections were cut out for the wild river. The steam plow and shovel gangs went ahead. They removed more than 100,000 cubic yards of sand and gravel and left the bed-rock bare. All the stone, gravel and sand was carefully saved and was used later in building up the new roadbed for the railroad.

After the shovels, came the blasting gangs. In the solid rocks they drilled deep holes, into which they poured dynamite. More than

120,000 cubic yards of solid rock was blasted out of the bottom of the canyon.

When the creek ran into a projecting rock, or peak, and was turned from its course, the dynamite was again used; the obstruction was blown out and carted away.

At one point in their labors, Shanahan and his little army of workers were forced to attack and tear out over a third of a good sized mountain. Nothing was left to obstruct the Meadow Valley creek in its new and straight course to the Muddy River.

But Shanahan knew it was not enough to make a new bed for the old river. He determined to make the road bed of the railroad as firm as the great mountains themselves. With the dirt, stone and gravel taken from the new river channel, they piled up the roadbed. Over 230,000 cubic yards of picked stones they laid with their bare hands, constructing to protect its sides, a solid breastwork. And so tightly were these rocks fitted into each other that one might well judge they had been cut for just this purpose.

In the spring of 1909, the last rock was laid. The work was done. John Shanahan and his army of men—rough men, hard-handed and hard-headed workingmen—had picked up a river and laid it down in a new bed—to stay.

And the tourists traveling in their Pullmans, look out into the canyon in the spring time and watch the river draining two great mountain ranges. Far below the safe, high roadbed—the workingman's new roadbed, the river tears through the new channel, the workingman's channel. All is safe; all is comfortable, but the modern tourist has ceased to wonder.

As Henry M. Hyde said in a recent article about John Shanahan and his work:

"Dragon-taming is an infantile amusement compared with the every day work of making floods and mountains, avalanches and cloudbursts—all the titanic forces of nature—obey orders and never interfere with railroad schedules."



The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem

Fifty Years of the Negro's Progress.

By I. M. ROBBINS.



IN the preceding installment of this chapter a lengthy excursion into the domain of statistics was undertaken. But such excursions are so tedious and discouraging to the untrained, that it would be suicidal for any writer to resort too frequently to it. The main facts necessary for the understanding of the problem were elucidated. And details, however interesting to the specialist, would only prove cumbersome to the general reader. Notwithstanding the general title of this series of articles, which aim to look upon the entire negro problem from the point of view of economic evolution, we must abstain from such details concerning the economic conditions of the negro population, as of comparatively little import for the proper understanding of our problem. The wealth of descriptive material concerning such details is overwhelming. But, strange as it may seem, it is mostly irrelevant from our point of view. For once the nature and occupational composition of this population is understood, the detailed problems of the economic life of the negro are self-evident, and have little that is peculiar. Farmers with little land, farmers with insufficient education, laborers with small wages—these are all old problems, which must be dealt with separately. Only the legal and social position of the negro and his peculiar racial characteristics, if any there be, interfering with his normal development along the same lines as would a white man (if they do so interfere)—these are the factors which make for a negro problem—and they must be studied.

In the study of the development of the negro race in the United States for the last fifty years this is the most important question for us just at present: Does that development indicate the existence of evidence of such racial inferiority, does it disprove the theory, or, finally, does it leave the question still open?

Now, what are the main tendencies as they have been elucidated by an analysis of the statistical evidence brought together?

The negro population grows rapidly. Its growth is a little slower than that of the white population, because of absence of negro immigration, and also because of the high mortality of negro children, but

this is evidently a result of the social forms of existence, and cannot be considered a racial characteristic. The negro is, therefore, amply able to hold his own in the midst of a white population and is in no danger of dying out.

The negro population is gradually spreading out throughout the country, thus showing an appreciation of the comparative advantages of various localities and extending the negro problem throughout the breadth of the United States.

It is moving towards the cities from the rural district. Again this is as it should have been expected. Economically, socially, from the point of view of anything that makes life worth living the American city is preferable to the country, and no race or nationality fails to show this tendency in this or any country.

Occupationally, the working negro population belongs to the lowest groups of farm or other unskilled labor, the labor they were made to perform while in slavery. But gradually a drifting into other occupations is noticeable, into trade, transportation, artisan and factory work and even professions. Negroes are found in dozens of various occupations within these large groups.

In the agricultural field an interesting, steady though not a very rapid transition from share and cash tenantry to farm ownership, one-fourth of the farms operated by the negroes being owned by them.

Thus there is even a steady accumulation of property in agricultural pursuits as well as other occupations, though of necessity it is very slow. This is in the line of economic progress of the negro population in this country; and it is only the line of progress that is important, because the actual data are subject to rapid changes and at best are ten years old, referring to 1900.

Now is there any one feature of this process of economic progress that is distinctly negro rather than universally human? Could the progress of several million slaves suddenly liberated under such circumstances as the negroes received their emancipation—could it have been on any different lines?

It would be preposterous to derive any evidence of racial inferiority from these general data. Yet the economic status and development of the negro is often claimed to be the strongest proof of such inferiority. To defend this position, only little details and never the general tendencies as indicated in the preceding pages, are usually emphasized.

What, then, is the economic indictment which in its ablest form was probably expressed by Mr. A. Stone in his *Studies of the American Race Problem*?

Indictment One: The negro is slow in accumulating property. Of course. So he is. So am I, gentle reader, though I can claim Caucasian blood for hundreds of generations back. So are many of you, I am certain. Property may be both a misfortune and a crime from the point of view of modern capitalistic society, but it can hardly be called a racial characteristic. It is too universal.

It may be admitted that he is slower in this process of accumulation than the white man. Does this call for racial explanations, when—

1. He started from the bottom of chattel slavery only fifty years ago and thus had a long road to travel.

2. He had his feeling of economic self-reliance destroyed by centuries of slavery.

3. He did not have the equal treatment before the law and in other social relations, which is essential for opportunity?

Thus he begun at a lower plane, did not have the necessary economic training and was constantly handicapped by legal discrimination, and social prejudice, which have destroyed his opportunity. And waving aside all these material factors which should be clear to every serious student of southern conditions, there is the palpable psychological factor of habit—habit which is acquired by education, and therefore can be traced directly to the preceding generation, and can thus be termed hereditary—hereditary, that is, in a social and not in a biological sense. That there is nothing essentially racial in this is demonstrated not only by the actual figures of accumulated negro property, but by the growth of a negro bourgeoisie, of which many examples are given by Booker Washington in his book on "The Negro in Business."

Indictment Two: The negro is an inefficient worker. Again the facts may be cheerfully admitted. But what is their interpretation? The degree of efficiency of white workers is also a very variable quantity. Efficiency is the result of home training and school education. Thus all races and nationalities in unfavorable social and political conditions are inefficient. The German is more efficient than the Italian, the Italian is more efficient than the Russian, etc., etc., and the American is a very efficient worker because of the comparatively favorable conditions under which he grew up. The northern man is vastly more efficient than the southern mountaineer, though they both come from the same stock. How efficient a negro worker can be made, a study of the graduates of the Tuskegee can indicate. When the miserable school facilities provided for the negro by the south are considered and it is understood that the training of the negro worker is left to his equally inefficient parent, who is either

an ex-slave or child of an ex-slave—the reasons for inefficiency must be readily understood. But the growth in the number of negro draymen, steam railroad employes, miners and in other correlated occupations shows readily how rapidly this inefficiency vanishes.

In the same way the other indictments of thriftlessness, unreliability, improvidence and extravagance are easily met. The indictment that the negro is not fit to be employed in any regular mechanical or manufacturing pursuit is disproved by the number of negroes so employed. The very claim of the south that technical schools of the Tuskegee type are necessary for the negro for the purpose of teaching him these virtues of thrift and efficiency and habits of regular work are an admission that these faults are only due to social environment and not to racial idiosyncrasies. The racial characteristics cannot be changed in one generation.

Another line of attack upon the potential capacity of the negro proceeds on intellectual grounds. The claim that the negro is not a human being at all, but a beast (of burden?) created with two hands and the power of speech so as to be more useful to the white man—is a view that has persisted from the beginning of slavery, in the middle of the seventeenth century down to the dawn of the twentieth century.

This argument admitted the economic functions of the negro without giving any credit to his brain.

In estimating the intellectual achievements and progress of the negro population his extremely poor school facilities must not be forgotten. Fifty years after emancipation a large proportion of the negroes is still illiterate.

Fifty years ago almost the entire negro population consisted of illiterates. According to the antiquated data of the twelfth census, referring to 1900, the illiterate negroes constituted 44.5 per cent of the entire negro population. The percentage is appalling, but in view of the southern attitude toward negro education, not surprising, and indicates a very rapid increase in the average intelligence of the negro masses. In 1880 illiterates numbered 70 per cent among the negroes; in 1890, 57.1 per cent, and in 1900, 44.5 per cent. With such a rapid drop within twenty years it is not unreasonable to assume that not more than one-third remains illiterate at present, and possibly a much smaller proportion. For besides the increase in school facilities, the gradual weeding out of the older, illiterate generation must be taken into account.

The percentage of illiterates in various age groups is shown in the following table:

Age Group.	Total, Per cent.	Male, Per cent.	Female, Per cent.
10-14.....	30.1	33.5	26.8
15-17.....	31.4	36.7	26.2
18-20.....	33.9	37.0	31.2
21-24.....	34.7	35.5	34.1
25-34.....	39.3	35.7	42.8
34-44.....	52.0	43.0	60.6
45-54.....	68.1	59.3	77.8
55-64.....	78.4	73.4	84.3
65 and over.....	85.4	83.6	87.2
Unknown age.....	55.4	46.2	65.1
All ages.....	44.5	43.1	45.8

Two very important conclusions may be made from this table. First, there is the peculiar fact that for the five age groups from 10 to 34 years the percentage of illiteracy is about the same; this is an evident result of the growth of southern antagonism to negro education within the last decade.

Even were the entire south making an energetic effort to force the negro into schools, the evidences of growth of illiteracy among the negroes, as given by the statistical data quoted above would still be satisfactory. For as the great majority of the adult negroes are children of slaves, and not a few of them ex-slaves themselves, and nearly three-fourths of them agricultural laborers or petty farmers, one does not expect from them any deep appreciation of the advantages of education. As a matter of fact, however, the conditions are exactly the reverse. The negro schools in the south are wretched; they run a shorter time than the white men's schools; they are placed in disgusting buildings; their teachers are paid less than the white teachers, and above all, there are not enough of them. The facts are so well established that it would be waste of space to marshal any statistical evidence in their support. Thus the fall in the illiteracy of the negro is an indication not only of the passive growth of their educational level, as would be the case with foreigners arriving in New York, upon whom education is forced, but also of their active struggle towards light. In view of the dire poverty of the negro population in the southern cities, it is astonishing to find how hard the negro mothers are fighting to get their children into public schools, and how many small paid private schools there are supported by negro servants and washwomen for the education of their little ones. Surely to any unprejudiced mind this is a remarkable illustration of the intellectual possibilities of the negro race.

The possibility, usefulness and even necessity of some degree of education for the negroes is admitted even by a large portion of the white south. This opinion is the result of purely egotistic considerations for the greater efficiency of the man with a common school

education as an industrial worker. Nevertheless the white man finds a last resort for his good old reliable theory of racial inferiority in the claim that the negro is less able to digest the results of education; that he is slower to make progress in school and that at best he may well assimilate the rudiments of an education, but soon a limit is reached beyond which the negro mind cannot go. The higher fruits of culture and civilization are not for the negro brain. Such is the theory.

It is perhaps as difficult to refute this theory as to demonstrate it by either physiological or psychological experimental data. The entire statistical matter concerning this problem is so scanty as not to deserve even mentioning. The theory, or so much of it as is not due to obstinate prejudice or wilful misrepresentation, is a result of everyday observation. A teacher finds a negro child stupid—and a judgment is pronounced over the entire negro race. That some of the negroes have reached the highest standards of general culture or specialized training is easily shown by the number of negro teachers in negro colleges. But if, in addition, it can be easily shown that the condition of life of the vast majority of negro families are such as to hold back the development of the negro child, then any racial argument becomes quite unnecessary.

The American philistine has always sung loud praises to the influence of the American home upon the moral and intellectual development of the young generation. Is the negro home such as was developed through two hundred years of chattel slavery calculated to produce bright and intelligent children? And is it at all wonderful, at all surprising to find that a child coming from such a home is not so highly developed mentally as the child of a white professor or professional man? Even if the comparative backwardness of the negro child were recognized as a universal phenomenon would there be any need for a racial interpretation?

As a matter of fact, however, any one with sufficient opportunities for observation can convince himself to his own satisfaction that among the negroes, as among the white, the "natural" intelligence of the children is as a rule directly proportionate to the intellectual level and social status of the negro family.

If any further facts are necessary to establish the negro's capacity for higher education than that given by the common public school, sufficient evidence is furnished by the statistics of secondary schools and colleges. In interpreting the figures here again the extreme difficulties in the way of a negro child striving for higher education must not be forgotten. The insufficient schools, discrimination against

negroes in the best colleges and universities, and last, but not least, the inability to meet the financial burden of higher education.

According to the reports of the U. S. Commissioner of Education there were in 1896-7, 15,203 high school pupils of the negro race enrolled in the sixteen southern states, of whom 8,259, or 54.3 per cent, were girls. In 1902-3 the total number grew to 20,909, of whom 12,915, or 61.8 per cent, were girls. In 1907-8, according to the latest data available, the number was 26,279, of whom 58.5 per cent were girls. The number of negro collegiate students in the south during the same period increased still more rapidly—2,108 in 1896-7, 3,688 in 1902-3 and 4,602 in 1907-8.

The same rapid growth is noticeable in professional courses, with the single exception of theology.

	Students		Graduates	
	1896-7.	1902-3.	1896-7.	1902-3.
Theology	611	606	68	59
Law	104	110	30	22
Medicine	345	645	71	48
Dentistry	38	58	10	7
Pharmacy	39	50	20	20
Nursing	174	102	35	23
Total	1,311	1,577	234	179
Male	1,137	1,440
Female	174	131

No great overflow of the professions with negroes is noticeable, because the schools of training for them are very few, the expenses of professional training very high and far too high for the majority of the negro students and conditions of success not very encouraging. But here again signs of progress are not missing and all racial arguments fall to pieces.

"Nevertheless, the negroes have not yet succeeded in producing a single great intellectual or scientific worker. What better evidence of their racial inferiority, of the utter futility of higher university education for the negro is necessary?"

That is a familiar southern argument. Besides begging the question (for there are at least a few men among the negroes who have done high grade intellectual work), the argument neglects a very important factor—the very narrow limitations under which higher education for the negro is growing, if at all, in this country. The southern whites accuse the sentimental northerners for pampering and spoiling the negro by providing him with numerous institutions of higher learning. Even Booker Washington, the acknowledged friend of his people, does not miss the opportunity to kick the French grammar and astronomy.

Atlanta alone has five or six negro colleges, universities and sim-

ilar institutions. But the sad truth of the matter is that notwithstanding the high sounding names of colleges, universities, academies, seminaries and institutes, the vast majority of these institutions are so limited in their means that they are able to do only elementary work and the best of the negro colleges cannot compare with the mediocre small New England college. Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, Shaw and a few normal and industrial institutes constitute the entire cultural apparatus which this rich and powerful nation has furnished for the higher training of the leaders and professional men of a ten million element of the population.

But, insists the southerner, small as they are, these educational facilities for the negro are much greater than they should have been, for education only spoils the negro morally and does him no good intellectually.

That this argument is actually made, any one knows who has at all lived in the south. Shall we dignify this argument by a refutation? Coming as it does in the beginning of the twentieth century, isn't the argument itself the greatest indictment against the white south? Here we have been perhaps for a hundred years pointing to the American little red school house and the free American high school and the five hundred and odd American colleges as the greatest institutions of this free democracy, and then we are snapped through the amazing intellectual somersault, of assuming that when applied to a more primitive element of population, more ignorant, without the great traditions of home and family—and therefore evidently more in need of training, culture and civilization—that when applied to these unfortunate ten millions the self-same little red school house, the high school and the college became instruments of demoralization. Come now, let us be serious, and not talk like little spoiled children. The bias is too evident to be denied. Besides the southerner, in its childish simplicity, does not even try to deny it. He frankly says: Education spoils the negro, because it makes him think too much of himself, and deprives him of his respect for the white man.

Mind you, it is not often argued that education injures the negro intellectually, but it is claimed that intellectual training destroys the negro's morals. This is in harmony with the other statements so frequently made. First that the sign of the negro's racial inferiority is to be found in his moral character rather than in his mental capacity, and, second, that within the last fifty years the negro race in this country has undergone a very rapid and perceptible moral degeneration. Here are two statements which are really contradictory, for if this moral degeneration has actually taken place, and under the influence of changed social conditions (effect of environ-

ment), and if this moral level had been satisfactory—what reason is there to give it an ironclad, hopeless, racial interpretation?

Moreover it smacks of an utter lack of understanding of the nature of moral ideas to base any racial distinctions upon them. The differences between individuals of the same race are so great as are the differences in the prevailing moral ideas among different communities of the same racial stock, or those of the same community at different times—all under the influence of social environment. To take a very recent and vivid example, compare the exalted principles of social duty and self-sacrifice for political purposes which dominate the Russian intellectual youth just before and during the revolution, and the new philosophy of crude hedonism and self-indulgence reaching particularly in the domain of sex relations beyond the limits of ordinary decency. Compare these two extreme ethical standards governing the same racial groups at two different periods, scarcely five years apart, what has caused this remarkable change; if not the change in social conditions, the change in environment? and where are the racial biological foundations for our moral ideas, if the historical events of a year or two can entirely uproot them?

Dismissing, then, the organic biological racial interpretation of the moral depravity of the negro, how much truth is there in the statement that the last fifty years were years of moral degeneration of the negro under the influence of the freedom to which he was unused, for which he was unfit, and if there was such moral degeneration, what is its interpretation?

To begin with, the evidence in support of this indictment is by far not as strong and convincing as one would expect finding that the average writer on the subject assumes the fact without further discussion. In the very nature of the problem, any such evidence beyond personal impressions, always prejudiced, always misleading, is impossible without a very laborious and costly investigation such as has never been undertaken in this country.

What do we understand by a moral standard at present anyway? As the economic motive and the sexual motive are the two essential factors of social life—the relation towards property and towards sex relations constitutes the most of our so-called morality. The attitude of 10,000,000 people towards these two problems cannot be easily measured. Whether this attitude is improving or becoming more immoral, will depend not only upon our clearness of vision, and power to form an unprejudiced opinion, but also upon what our social ideals in regard to questions of property and sex are.

But let us for a moment forget our ultimate ideals. In the nature of things, the history of the negro for the last two hundred years

in this country has not been such that we should look towards him for leadership in moral questions? We assume, then, that our present day bourgeois morality as it is universally taught, if not practiced, is right, and that by the respect towards property and towards the bourgeois family must the normal standard of any people be judged.

How then could these virtues have been strongly developed in the American negro. Respect towards property in a being who had none, but was property of another man—respect for the traditional monogamous family when such was systematically denied him for over two hundred years.

Thus the more intelligent negro leaders do not at all try to deny the laxity of the average negro in question of property and sex relations, they do violently resist any effort to explain these vices on racial grounds. They recognize it as a situation which must be met by education and training and a change in the social environment.

Is the situation being met? Has the last half a century witnessed an improvement or deterioration of the negro's moral standard?

Surely the growth of negro property both in city and in country indicates a growing respect for private property; and the slow and steady development of a middle class necessarily followed by the development of the middle class virtues of steadier family ties. To begin with, the increase in property holdings of a family establishes a strong tie towards stronger, more permanent family relations, which the proletarian negro family, based upon the "economic independence of woman," (gruesome as it is in the case of a negro woman) could not possess.

Now, it would be very difficult to prove these statements by statistical evidence. They are largely the result of personal observation, as corroborated by statements of many intelligent negro and white observers. But it is believed to be correct substantially. That there is still an enormous amount of promiscuity, abandonment and even the exploitation of women by lazy negro men, cannot be denied. It would have been preposterous to expect any other situation. Nor are the moralities of any large group of low-paid agricultural laborers very much higher in any European country. Promiscuity and abandonment may be found among the agricultural laborers of Italy, Spain, Russia and even the Germanic and Scandinavian countries.

The large and growing number of negro women in prostitution throughout the southern cities has often been quoted as a strong evidence of the growing negro depravity. But if the drift of negroes into cities, their ignorance combined with low wages of the negro city laborers, are not a sufficient explanation then it is only necessary to point out that the white men were the ones to teach the

negro women sexual looseness, that it was the white slave owner or his overseer who has established the application of the Roman "**jus primae noctis**" to southern plantation life, and that when every negro woman was the property of some white man, there could have been no professional negro women of ill-repute. Even now the demand for negro prostitutes comes primarily from the young generation of southern whites.

One more evidence of moral retrogression of the negro within the last fifty years is often quoted in figures of negro criminality. Professor Willcox, admitted to be an authoritative student of negro statistics, has made a great deal of this argument and it is now the popular resource of every negro hater in the country. How extravagant and misleading the statements concerning this topic often are, has been indicated in the chapter on Lynchings. With the more accurate student the one great important statistical fact upon which so much weight is put, is the higher percentage of prisoners among the negroes than among the whites. In 1890 there were in the southern states six white prisoners to every 10,000 white and 29 negro prisoners to every 10,000 negro persons. In the north the comparison was 12 and 69 to each 10,000 persons of either race.

What an indictment against the negro race! Isn't it really? It is until one stops to consider all the conditions underlying this fact. Like the corresponding comparison of negro and white mortality the facts may sound very bad for the negro until we are able to understand the numerous statistical qualifications of the statement. And perhaps no stronger evidence is necessary of the primitive character of statistical science in this country than the acceptance of such broad, general statistical statements without further qualifying clauses.

The practice of enforced peonage through the instrumentality of anti-negro vagrancy laws in the south on the one hand and the frequency with which the crimes of white men in the south go unpunished is so well known that even Willcox himself feels the unreliability of his southern figures. He is forced, therefore, to refer to northern figures, for, he says, any special injustice to the negro in the north has never been claimed. Let us see: Is southern Ohio and southern Indiana and Maryland and Delaware and even Chicago and Philadelphia in the north or in the south? Is the attitude of the court, police and jury in these northern communities, where centers of negro population have been established, very much better than the attitude of the court, police and jury in Virginia and South Carolina?

But even eliminating this palpable influence of injustice to the

negro—could we have expected anything else than a higher coefficient of criminality among negroes?

Crime is a social congestion. As such it is influenced by social and class conditions. If on one hand we have a racial element consisting of prosperous farmers, professional persons, employers, independent producers and employees of higher groups, and on the other hand a racial element consisting of pauperized farmers, underfed agricultural laborers, unskilled laborers, domestic employees, etc., where would we expect to find the higher criminality rate? If on one hand we find education, training, traditions of citizenship, and on the other illiteracy, ignorance, lack of family training and traditions of slavery where would we expect to find the higher criminality rate?

Surely a gentleman does not get drunk on the street (there is the club for that purpose), the Wall street operator does not need to be a pickpocket (there are the lambs to be shorn and that is not a crime), and thus there are dozens of statutory crimes which constitute the sad privilege of the ignorant and poor. Criminal statistics are worthless unless they take the educational, economic and social status of the criminal into consideration, and in addition to the economic status of the negro his social position, his treatment by other races as furnishing the motive of the crime must not be forgotten. These are true factors causing those infringements of social forms which we designate as crimes. To claim criminality as a racial factor is to misunderstand the social aspects of crime, as an individual infringement of social usage. A certain standard of public morality exists in even the most primitive community of savages. And with the little developed individualism of African races, where strict compliance on the part of the individual with all social usages is much more strongly enforced, and any infringement upon them very severely enforced, the racial tendency towards crime must necessarily be weaker than with highly individualized American communities.

In the preceding pages we have gone over the main evidence of economic, educational, intellectual and moral development of the negro race in this country for the last fifty years. It was our intention to show, in this rapid review—that the negro was human—that his growth and development, in its positive as well as negative features, was only what could be expected under the circumstances; that in face of many handicaps he was making a brave fight for intellectual and moral betterment such as entitled him and his race to an honorable place in the brotherhood of races, and that therefore there was nothing to fear from his final acquisition of all his social, civic and political rights. In doing it, we were intentionally dealing with social values; we did not want to cheapen the argument by reducing it

to a mere test of name, possibly supplemented by photographs and illustrations, as is the habit of the average American journalist. A few Jewish or Irish names do not tell the story of the social value of the Jewish or Irish element of the American population. But surely it would not be difficult to present an array of highly respected negro names, like Washington, DuBois, Douglass, Dunbar and others. In fact, to a man who had the good fortune to make many friends among the "intellectual" negroes, as had the writer of these lines, the very suggestion of mental or moral inferiority of the negro sounds perfectly preposterous.

But the conceited Caucasian has one more argument up his sleeve in defense of the theory of his mental superiority. All the prominent negroes are not negroes at all, he claims, but mulattoes, quadroons or octoroons and they owe their ability and talents to their white parentage. The argument sounds probable, for among the intellectual leaders of the negroes there are a great many in whose veins runs one-half or more of white Caucasian blood. To begin with, however, this rule is not without numerous exceptions, and a great many of them are full-blooded negroes or nearly so.

But granting, for argument's sake, that the entire intellectual growth of the negro is due to the admixture of white blood, what are the inevitable conclusions from the premise?

This admixture of white blood is not an individual but a race phenomenon. Accurate statistical information on the subject is naturally lacking. According to the computations of the seventh, eighth, ninth and eleventh censuses the proportion of mulattoes to the entire negro population in 1850 was 11.2 per cent; in 1860, 13.2 per cent; in 1870, 12.0 per cent, and in 1890, 15.2 per cent. In the nature of things no accuracy can be claimed for these figures. This is sufficiently shown by the fluctuations from 1860 to 1870. Even accepting them, however, the percentage must have increased within the last twenty years to about 20 per cent. All the stringent laws against mixed marriages and miscegenation could not stem this movement because such mixture of racial elements but very seldom proceeds through legal marriages. The considerable increase between 1870 to 1890 shows that emancipation did not discontinue this evolutionary process. Nor is the direct sexual union of representatives of both races the only way to extend this racial assimilation, for the mulattoes intermarrying with the full-blooded negroes are at present the main factor in this process. To take, for instance, a very prominent case: Professor DuBois is often quoted as an example of a very able mulatto. But I have his own statement that there has been no white man or woman in his ancestry for several generations back.

It is, then, a condition and not a theory that confronts us. In many of our large cities one seldom sees a full-blooded negro. The admixture of a greater or lesser amount of white blood is noticeable at a rough estimate in about 75 per cent of the city negroes. This is true not only of the northern cities, but of the southern as well. I found it to be a case by personal observation in Atlanta, New Orleans, Norfolk and many other cities of the sunny south. Thus we are dealing with a mixed race, and all talk of the organic limitations of the African negro are quite beside the mark.

Whether such a mixture of races is desirable and whether it really threatens the intellectual and social growth of the south, is a difficult question which we do not feel ourselves called upon to answer. The fact is that it exists and grows, though mixed marriages are rare. The only difference is that in the olden days the "best" families were responsible, and now it takes place mainly on the bottom of the social scale.

History teaches us, however, that there never were any pure races. Even in the Jewish race, so proud of its purity, anthropologists have found many unmistakable traces of the negro race, strong enough to produce many negroid individuals in that race even today. From a purely biological point of view the interbreeding of such species and varieties is considered a factor of progress. No argument for miscegenation and stimulated mixture of races is here intended. To us personally the idea of the original miscegenation between full-blooded members of the two races is almost unthinkable, surely, much more abhorrent than it is (or was) with the ordinary southern white man, who is after all responsible for most of the interracial mixture and who now so loudly and eloquently champions racial purity. But the fact is that such intermixture has gone so far and produced so many intermediary types, that it is perfectly preposterous to speak of racial purity at present. Surely with thousands of pretty quadroons and octoroons, many of whom can scarcely be distinguished from dark-skinned Spanish beauties, the problem of further interracial mixture is very much more simplified. Some years ago Prof. Franklin Giddings called forth a storm of protest by his assertion that provided there be no further influx of Africans into this country, in a century or two the negro race as such will disappear in a process of amalgamation. There is considerable scientific evidence to be brought forth in defense of Prof. Giddings' position, but the probable developments of two centuries of the future need not be argued here. The essential fact remains that the influx of white blood into the negro race has been so great that any conclusions as to the American negro, which are drawn from the African negro as such, lose all scientific value. Even

biologically the American negro is rapidly becoming a well defined type of its own, and he must be judged not by analogies and inferences, but by his own achievements.

Our brief account has shown, it is hoped, that for the last half a century—the first half a century of freedom—he has demonstrated a capacity for growth—economic, intellectual and spiritual—which in view of the many obstacles and difficulties in his way, conclusively demonstrates his right to an honorable position among the civilized nations of the world. His vices and his virtues, his failures and achievements in no way differ from those which any white Caucasian nationality would have demonstrated under the same conditions. This, and not the actual figures of capital and land acquired, is the essential fact to be derived from the study of the negro's progress during the last fifty years. This, and not the temporary and transitory problems of land, good farming or industrial education, must form the cornerstone of our hypothetical solution of the negro problem.

(To be concluded.)

Christian civilization introduced slavery into America and maintained it there until economic phenomena proved that slave labor is a method of exploitation more costly and less profitable than free labor.—Paul Lafargue in *The Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies*.

Joe's Snap

BY E. N. RICHARDSON.



AY, Dick."

"Wot it was, Joe?"

"I was jess thinking, Dick; do yer s'pose them duffers what lives in them big houses on der avenoo allers gets all they can eat every day?"

"Of course they duz, Joe, they has ham an' eggs three times er day, Joe—Sundays an' all."

"Ham and eggs! Say, Dick, don't it jess make yer mouth water ter think of ham an' eggs! I dreamed wunct I had ham an' eggs, Dick, an' I wor jess eaten me steenth egg when ther cop yanked me outer ther barrel—good joke on me, eh, Dick?"

Dick and Joe were partners, lived in the same alley, slept in the same barrel and sold papers and blacked boots on the same block. They were typical specimens of the thousands of street gamins that inhabit all cities. They never got all they wanted to eat, they never quite starved—just hung on the ragged edge of existence. All days were much alike to Dick and Joe. Sometimes a rough and tumble fight with the boy on the opposite corner varied the sameness a trifle, but even these brief moments of excitement were of such frequent occurrence that even the cop on the crossing had got used to it and generally let them fight it out.

It was 4 a. m. as Dick and Joe crawled out of their bed—a few wisps of hay in a crockery barrel in the alley. "Come on, Joe," said Dick, "I'm hungrier than 'er wolf. We'll have ter hustle if we get ter chew dis mornin'."

"Not on yer life," grinned Joe. "Yer didn't see der lady wid der new spring hat an' ther lilies bloomin' on her cheeks dat gib me der nickel while you was shootin' the snipe dat the cop throwed away? I didn't tell yer about it; wanted ter s'prise yer, Dick."

"Woopee! Yer a trump, Joe, old boy. Let's go over to Jake's and hev real tomatter soup. Dat'll leave yer a cent to shoot craps wid."

* * * * *

Dick occupied the barrel alone that night. Joe was in the hospital. Just how it happened Dick didn't know. A man's silk hat had blown off and rolled into the street among the never-ceasing stream of vehicles. With the vision of a hot dinner ever in his mind, Joe had sprung to the rescue and somehow he missed his footing and had fallèn

in front of one of the many fashionable equipages and had been run over. A lady who had witnessed the accident left instructions that he be sent to the Sisters of Mercy Hospital.

"I wondher if Joe's going ter die," mused Dick, as he shivered in the barrel alone. Somehow it seemed colder than usual with no Joe to snuggle up to. "I'll go an' see him in the morning," he thought, as he dozed off to sleep.

Promptly at ten o'clock Dick presented himself at the hospital. "I want to see my pard," he said to the black-garbed sister that answered his summons.

After some explanation he was ushered into a room where Joe, with a dazed sort of a look in his eyes, was propped up in a spotless white cot.

"Is it you, Joe?" asked Dick in an awed whisper.

"Yer bet it's me, Dick, an' I'm awful glad yer cum."

"But yer face don't look natural, Joe."

"The lady angel washed it, Dick."

"Oh."

"Are yer goin' ter die, Joe?"

"I don't know, Dick; what yer s'pose I had fer breakfast?"

"Dunno. Wot was it, Joe?"

"Der angel lady said it wuz cream toast. Gee, Dick, but it wor good. Wish yer could hev had some of it. And say, Dick, der lady angel said if I'd be 'er good boy, she gib me sum eggs fer dinner."

"Spects it'll be easy fer yer to be good."

"Yer bet. Yer not goin' already, Dick?"

"Yes, Joe; I got ter hustle if I gets to chew today?"

"Here—take this, Dick. I saved it fer you." And Joe fished out a piece of dry toast from under his pillow.

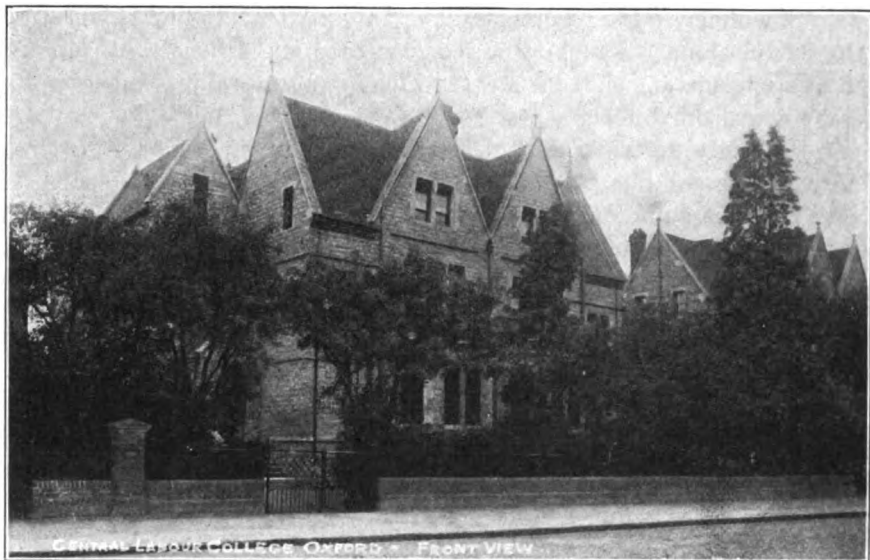
"Well, good-bye, Joe," said Dick, as he stowed the toast away in his ragged jacket.

"Good-bye, Dick. Say, Dick?"

"Wot is it, Joe?"

"Can't ye get run over some way, Dick? It's a snap."

Subsidizing the College



NOT very long ago we boasted in the Review on the success of a real workingman's college—Ruskin College, in Oxford, England. But since that article appeared the forces in Oxford University have entered the arena determined to change the curriculum at Ruskin from the strong-class attitude, that gave the courses and the students who carried them, their chief strength and value.

"If one thinks carefully over this, he will soon see that contributions to a "Labor College" of the "impartial" and "non-partisan" character desired by the capitalists pay. An average of fifty students annually selected from the Trade Unions, as the promising young men of the Labor Movement having some prestige in their various localities, being inoculated with governing-class ideas, is probably far less costly and more efficient than one hundred propagandists with vans. So that from a capitalistic point of view Ruskin College would be a good investment if the ideals of the Executive were realized.

"But, fortunately for the Labor Movement, the industrial development of the country was such that the young men from the Labor World that were likely to be attracted to a reputed Labor College were not easily moulded by some lecturers who were again, fortunately, incompetent. The Students, finding the teaching failing to square with the facts of industrial life with which they were conversant, had in the main to fall back on themselves for their education. And we find in 1907-8-9 the students forming classes among themselves which occupied more time and

attention, and obtained better attendance, than the official lectures, with the exception of Mr. Hird's. Such conditions could not prevail without some attempt being made to remedy them.

"The great necessity was to have clear ideas of the function of Ruskin College. It was popularly reputed in Labor circles to be a Labor College. But was it so in reality? It was controlled by University Dons, private individuals, and a few non-representative Labor Leaders. It professed to be "neutral" in its points of view. Could a Labor College be "neutral." Wherever the Labor Movement has succeeded it is independent. Ruskin College was dependent upon the University for its teaching and ideas, and upon charity for a large portion of its finance. Evidently then the fault with this reputed Labor College was that it was not a Labor College. In order to become that it should be handed over to the Labor Movement. But could that Movement take over a "non-partisan," "impartial" College? Decidedly not! The great aim of the Labor Movement is to raise the working class from being the "submerged tenth" to its rightful position as the controller of society, to make of society a great working class, if it could then be called a class. In every sphere of its activity it is fighting for its existence. Organized into Trade Unions it has to fight organized Capital every day for its bread and cheese. In Parliament its numerous and powerful enemies are using every method to crush it out of existence. No one but an enemy in such conditions can advocate "impartiality." Is not *education* then of equal importance to the workers? Every class that has obtained power in our history has been able to maintain it only by controlling the educational machinery. In the monastic period, when the clergy were the most powerful class in society, they also had the monopoly of learning. When the capitalists came into power only economists who expressed their point of view could lecture in our Universities. There is as much conflict in the educational world as in the industrial and political world. Questions affecting Capital and Labor in social science have to be fought as keenly as in any other department. The Labor Movement cannot afford to be "impartial"; that would be suicidal."—From the Burning Question, published by The Executive Committee of the "Plebs" League.

But the Oxford University dons have succeeded in gaining control in Ruskin College. They have dismissed those members of the faculty who taught the class character of society and working-class economics. They have sought by every means to force the students to pursue those lines of study least inimical to the ruling class, but the students have rebelled, gone on strike, and the result of the whole abortion is the new Central Labor College. The following announcement sent out by the new faculty is one of the most encouraging we have seen in a long time and we wish to congratulate our friends, Comrades Hird and Sims for the splendid work they have succeeded in doing in the face of great odds. The new college will receive support from the working-class itself, and will carry out the plans formulated by the revolutionary members of Ruskin College faculty.

The Central Labor College opened on the 13th of September, 1909,

with twenty students. Lectures began on the 14th of September, and the men are hard at work.

Lectures are being given in Sociology, Logic, Elementary Science, History of Social Movements, Political Biography and Economics.

Other courses will follow, such as Industrial History, Constitutional and Political History, Trade Unionism, Local Government, Bookkeeping, etc.

Most of the above subjects will also be taught by correspondence, and some will be ready in a few weeks.

Among the lecturers are the following: Frederic Charles, Dr. Stanton Coit, J. Arthur Fallows, M. A., Dennis Hird, M. A., O. F. Odell, C. A., Ald. W. S. Sanders, L. C. C., and Harry Snell, Secretary, Ethical Union.

Students have been promised by several trade unions and financial support has also been received from districts, lodges and branches. Also many branches and lodges of trade unions have had resolutions, pledging support, placed upon the Agenda for their annual meetings. Among these are: Northumberland Miners, Durham Miners, Operative Bricklayers' Society, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants.

After carefully considering the claims of the Central Labor College, the Monmouth Western Valleys District and Anthracite District (South Wales Mines) have decided to transfer their students from Ruskin College to the C. L. C.; the former have further levied themselves 1d per member to aid in furnishing, etc., while the latter are now taking a vote of their members on the desirability of levying themselves 3d per member for the same object.

In addition, the Gray Lodge (Western Valleys District) has given £10 towards books for the library.

N. B.—This college is to be under the control of the directly elected representatives of organized labor in the United Kingdom.—GEORGE SIMS, *Secretary*.



Personal Recollections of Professor Francisco Ferrer

BY J. VIDAL.



HE man whose tragic death has aroused the indignation and protests of the civilized world was known personally to me. Shot to death without trial—for a secret court-martial is no trial—the echoes of that murderous fusillade in the the fortress of Montjuich have reverberated around the world and made Ferrer's name and martyrdom famous.

Francisco Ferrer spent a great part of his life in Paris, as the private secretary of Ruiz Zorrilla, the former president of the one-time Republic of Spain. In Paris he was well known to all the prominent French radical writers and journalists as Emile Zola, Anatole France, George Clemenceau, Henry Rochefort, Jean Jaures, Charles Malato and a host of others. He was a collaborator of the "*Mercure*," a scientific review, and also of "*L'Aurore*," taking an important part in the famous *affaire Dreyfus*.

A professor of mathematics and teacher of foreign languages, Ferrer was a scholar of repute even in such a city as Paris.

In the Spanish colony of the French capital, Ferrer was looked upon as the father of the Spanish political refugees. Every Thursday night, in a cafe of the Boulevard Voltaire, meetings of the *Seccion Varia* were held by a group of educated Spaniards and revolutionists where might be seen such men as Nicolas Estevanes, former minister of the Spanish Republic, Ramon Sempau, a noted Barcelona publicist, Luis Bonafoux, the celebrated Paris correspondent of many Spanish papers, Pedro Vallina, one of Spain's most noted student-revolutionists, and many others known to the international working class movement.

When the famous tragedy was taking place in Montjuich, in 19—, and hundreds of workingmen were being shot for their beliefs, Ferrer, with Tarrida del Marmol, denounced through the Parisian press the crimes committed by the Spanish reactionaries against free thought. Some time after this Professor Ferrer went to Barcelona to take care of two orphans of one of the martyred men. On his way back to Paris he saw in a station of Port-Bon, on the French border, Lieutenant Portas, the man who inflicted tortures with red-hot irons on the bodies of the Montjuich prisoners. Ferrer placed the two orphan

boys face to face with the lieutenant, saying: "Look at this man; he is the murderer of your father." It is needless to say that a sensation was created among the travelers at the station and the lieutenant with shame reddening his face attempted to attack Ferrer, throwing one of his gloves in the Professor's face as an invitation to fight a duel. Ferrer serenely accepted the challenge, saying that he would wait for the lieutenant on the France-Belgian border. The officer never appeared at the appointed place and Ferrer continued his journey to Paris where the boys were placed in school, receiving from the friend of their father both education and affectionate care.

I remember when the Paris exhibition of 1899 was in progress that the Spanish government sent a hundred rough and ignorant *Guardia Civiles* to the city as a guard for the Spanish section in the exhibition. Ferrer wrote a biting article in "*L'Aurore*," criticising the Spanish authorities for putting "murderers" on view in an exhibition of progress of the civilized world while other nations, notably the United States, sent educated students to represent them.

In 1901, Ferrer went from Paris to Barcelona as a newspaper correspondent. In this latter city he associated with such radicals as Oden de Buen, a professor in the University at Barcelona, Francisco Vargas, a noted instructor, and the publicist, M. Montenegro, Anselmo Lorenzo and many others of like views, a number of them being Catalonian educators. To this group of notable men Ferrer proposed the establishment of the "*Escuela Moderna*," or Modern School, to be carried on without any religious instruction and adding to its method of education the plan of the *clase mixta*, or mixed classes of both sexes. He also proposed to print new text books because the existing books were totally inadequate for modern educational methods. Ferrer's plans were enthusiastically accepted by the educators at these meetings who had struggled for years against the superstitions promulgated by the Spanish government under control of the church authorities.

A few months after this the *Escuela Moderna* was founded in a spacious and well-ventilated building on the *Calle de Bailen*, in Barcelona, where the class rooms embraced three floors.

The kindergarten occupied the first floor, ably managed by Madame Jacqueline, an intelligent and practical French teacher. On the second floor were the elementary and high classes, and on the top floor was established a splendid museum of natural history, given to the school by Professor Oden de Buen.

The opening of the school was celebrated by a *fiesta*, at which ad-

dresses were delivered by Professor Vargas, the naturalist, Oden de Buen, Ferrer and others.

Every Sunday the school was turned into a popular university for adults where Oden de Buen gave splendid lectures on natural history, Professor Francisco Vargas popularized the sciences, Ramon Sempau lectured on literature and Anselmo Lorenzo, Montenegro and others spoke on sociology.

Ferrer's principal assistants were his wife, Soledad Villafranca, and Jose Casasola, an expert teacher devoted exclusively to the principles of education as advocated by Ferrer.

Every summer Ferrer took all of the youthful students to some part of the country upon vacation excursions, many of the professors of the school accompanying them to explain the various natural phenomena found upon the way.

Each month the *Escuela Moderna* issued a bulletin in the form of a review, publishing all the prominent pedagogic works of the best writers of the world. Ferrer, under the auspices of the *Escuela Moderna*, published excellent works on geography, natural history, grammar, arithmetic, modern and classic Spanish literature. Among these publications was issued "The Man and the Earth," a work of the noted French geographer, Elise Reclus.

Ferrer founded two notable reviews, one called "*L'Ecole Renouvelee*," published in the French language, in Brussels, and the other printed in Rome, Italy, called "*L'Escola Lacia*."

Professor Ferrer was also president of the *Federation d'education*, with its headquarters in Paris, and took an active part in the international free-thinking movement as well as in masonry.

The personal character of the man was most attractive and agreeable; always of an optimistic temperament he made and held a multitude of friends. His life-work was education to which he gave all, body and soul.

Ferrer never was what is called a militant revolutionist. His studious life led him away from the active field of the militant revolutionists, although in theory, being a philosophic communist, he agreed with them.

One of the most popular men in Barcelona, his native city, Ferrer's tragic death has merely accentuated the regard in which the people hold his name and teachings.

As a living teacher, Spain honored him; as a dead martyr the world reveres him.

This is a tribute from one who knew him.



The Murder of Illinois Miners

On Saturday, Nov. 13, fire broke out in the mine of the St. Paul Coal Company at Cherry, Ill., where 708 miners were at work. Next morning 125 men responded to roll call. A few more may have escaped, but the actual number dead in the mine is probably close to 500. The newspaper reports of the fire were so conflicting, and so obviously toned down in the interests of the mine owners, that the REVIEW sent its own representative to Cherry, in order that we might make an accurate statement of the facts before commenting on them. He found the reporters of the capitalist papers snugly housed in Pullman cars, wined and dined by St. Paul officials. He found the surviving miners unanimous in the opinion that the death of their comrades was directly due to the action of the mine officials in keeping the men at work long after the fire started. Direct evidence that this is the case is not wanting. Our representative asked President Earling of the St. Paul Railway at what hour the fire started. He replied, "One thirty." To the question, "Why weren't the men notified?" his only answer was an eloquent gesture indicating that he had nothing to say.

Arturo Pastelli, a young Italian employed in the mine, stated positively to our reporter that at 1:40 P. M. he noticed the fire and hurried to the "cage" at the foot of the main shaft. He urged the petty official in charge there to notify the miners of the fire, and was told to go back to work and mind his own business. He insisted on being hoisted up to the surface, and went directly to the manager, told him of the fire and urged that the men be brought up. His answer was: "We know all about it; you go home and mind your own business." Instead of going home he remained in sight, and saw coal being hoisted for an hour and ten minutes, while the fire was gradually spreading below.

Ben Ferguson says that he left the "diggings" at 2:40 P. M., without having at any time been notified of the fire, and that he was on the last cage that brought men up. Domino Maratto, the last

man taken out, says it was ten minutes to three when he reached the top of the shaft. We mention these names because the testimony of these particular men is direct and at first hand. But they simply confirm what is a matter of common knowledge, that practically every life lost could have been saved by prompt action of the officials in charge of the mine.

The cause for their inaction is not far to seek. Knowing the wishes of the magnates who own the mine, they feared the loss of their own jobs if the process of profit-making were to be suspended one hour before the regular closing time, and so preferred to risk hundreds of lives that they might keep the favor of those above them. This view is confirmed by other well known facts. Our reporter measured the distance between the main shaft and the air shaft of the mine. It is 210 feet. The Illinois law requires that the distance be at least 300 feet. The mine was supposed to be lighted by electricity, but the lighting plant had been out of commission for six weeks, while profit-making went merrily on, and the fire was directly due to the contact of an unprotected torch with a bundle of hay.

And the Chicago Tribune on the day after the disaster said that the mine at Cherry was considered the best equipped coal mine in Illinois. If this was the best, what must the others be?

What will come of it all? Reformers and philanthropists are already discussing changes in the laws to make mining safer for the miners. But we have just seen that the present laws on the subject are not enforced, and it requires the childlike faith of a sentimentalist to put faith in new laws, with the capitalists still owning both the mines and the government. The State is the state of the capitalists. Nothing but revolution will make it the state of the wage-workers. Not until the mines are controlled by those who work in the mines will the lives of the miners be safe. Not until the tools of all industries are controlled by the workers in those industries will the demand of the laborers for better working conditions be effective.

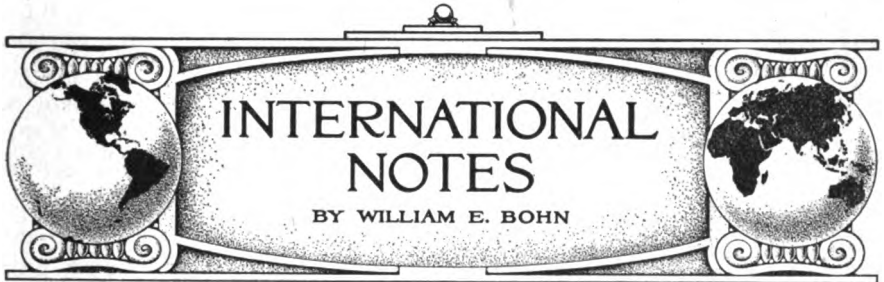
The surviving miners at Cherry, Illinois, are not discussing reforms. Reforms do not interest the wives, daughters and sweethearts of the men who went down into that mine never to return. These men and women are filled with a desperate rage against the capitalist murderers—a rage that would wipe them off the earth if opportunity came. Kept in submission by the soldiers of the capitalist government, they will smother their rage for the time, but the spirit of revolt will live and grow.

The burning of these Illinois miners is one among the daily incidents of capitalist production. Because hundreds on this occa-

sion are sacrificed at one time and one place, the world stops for a moment to look and listen and shudder. But wherever the work of the world is done, men, women and children are being crushed to death or crippled for life in the daily struggle for bread on the part of the workers and for profits on the part of the capitalists. And day by day, with each new tragedy in the lives of some new group of workers, the inner fires of revolt burn fiercer and fiercer, waiting their time to burst forth.

It is for the growing army of clear-headed revolutionists to find the way in which this gigantic energy may so direct itself as to overthrow capitalism once for all. Drunk with power, the capitalists are helping on the work of revolution by stamping out the old craft unions with their "community of interest between employer and employed." Thus the way is being cleared for a revolutionary union, backed by a revolutionary party, to unite the strength of the workers, to grasp with strong hands the tools now used to enslave those who wield them, and to break the world's last chains.

Is the Charge True? The charge has repeatedly been made that the Socialist Party of America is essentially middle-class rather than proletarian. Some substantial arguments in support of this charge were given in the manifesto from the Third Ward branch of Local Denver, which we published on page 450 of last month's Review. Nevertheless, we do not believe the charge is well founded. Whether we are right or wrong will shortly appear. The election of a new National Executive Committee to serve for two years is now under way. Many of the Locals will have voted before the January Review is in the hands of its readers, so what we have to say must be said now. Under the new amendment to the constitution each member must number all the names on the ballot in the order of his choice, from 1 up to 50, if there are as many as fifty names. "The seven candidates receiving the highest vote, preferentially computed, that is, receiving the lowest sum total opposite their names, shall be elected." We believe that the majority of the Socialist Party is made up of wage workers who WANT a proletarian party, but have not been able to make their wishes effective under the old system of voting. It is easy now. Simply put the high numbers opposite the names of the most prominent "leaders" who want to run the party on the same plan as before, and place the low numbers opposite the names of clear-headed revolutionists, preferably wage workers. This will enable us at one stroke to put the Socialist Party on the straight road to becoming in reality a party of, by and for the proletariat.



SPAIN. The Anti-Ferrer Myth. All over the world the persecution of Francisco Ferrer continues long after his death. Roman Catholic journals have published certain palpable fabrications about his trial, and especially about his will, and capitalist dailies have frequently copied these and given them wide circulation. There is little need of examining every charge made by the frantic reactionaries, but it seems worth while to set down here certain facts which may not be generally accessible to our American comrades.

As to Ferrer's trial, the accounts first published in the socialist papers were substantially those sent out from Barcelona by a correspondent of the London Times; they were published in the Times and the Paris *Matin*, two papers far from revolutionary. So far as I know nothing has been adduced to show that they were incorrect.

But the chief charge with which Ferrer's murderers attempt to blacken his memory concerns the nature of the will which he dictated the night before his death. It is said that he disinherited his daughters and left his fortune to a mistress. The truth is that he left his property in trust to be used for the further development of the modern schools. His daughters were not disinherited; from the beginning they have been in sympathy with their father's work and purposes. The only basis for the widely circulated slander which I have just mentioned lies in the fact that one of the two trustees to whom Ferrer left the execution of his will happens to be a woman, the well-known Spanish revolutionary leader, Madame Soledad. The other is Lorenzo Portet, Professor of Spanish in a commercial school at Liverpool, England. It is Professor Portet himself who is responsible for this statement of the case.

The will which has occasioned so much

discussion is a notable document in the great struggle for freedom. It reveals the soul of a man not at all concerned as to his own fate, but absolutely devoted to a great cause. In one passage he says: "I desire that my friends speak little of me, or not at all. For every man who is exalted becomes an idol, and idols have always been our curse. It is deeds, deeds alone, which should be studied and praised or denounced; let us praise them that they may be imitated for the common good, or denounce them that they may never be repeated.

"May no ceremony, either religious or political, be held over my dead body; the time that is spent in laudation of the dead may better be employed for the good of the living."

Reaction Continued. The protest against the atrocities in Spain has been world-wide; even Turkey and Persia have joined their voices to the universal chorus of indignation. But the effect within the Spanish borders has been only apparent. A new prime minister has replaced the old, but there has been no change of policy. At the very start Moret made some show of moderation; within two weeks of taking over the office, however, he had the repressive machinery going again full blast. During the past month nearly every day has brought news of arrests or sentences. Scores of men have been condemned to from one to twenty years in prison. Others have been fined or banished. Hundreds have been confined in abandoned houses in a suburb of Barcelona and left to suffer from cold and hunger. But this is not all. With a sure instinct the reactionaries are striking at the heart of the popular uprising. The modern schools have been closed, and *El Socialista*, the socialist organ, has been suppressed. The attempt to stamp out the revolution is deliberate and systematic. Spanish socialism needs our help now

more than in the days of the recent excitement.

RUSSIA. Four Years of "Pacification."

But the history of Spain during the past month is but duplicate in miniature of the history of Russia during the past four years. Ever since the revolution of 1905 the most disquieting rumors have been finding their way past the Czar's censors and into the journals of the outside world. Again and again we have been startled by accounts of wholesale condemnations. Just recently all Europe was astounded to the point of unbelief by certain figures compiled by Count Krapotkin and published in a book with which the approach of the Czar was heralded on his famous trip. But now the Russian government itself has sent out statistics which show that all our previous notions of the horrors committed at its command fell far short of the reality. Here is the government's own count of the number of civil persons condemned to death by military courts during the past four years: 1905, 34; 1906, 436; 1907, 1,029; 1908, 2,514. Every year the number has been more than doubled. In order to bring about this result a special order was issued from St. Petersburg simplifying the procedure in all military courts. Another order directed the judges not to listen to pleas for clemency.

The Russian socialist parties have thus far made no general appeal for international aid.

GERMANY. The Red Wave.

For months past the German public has been at fever heat. Under Bismarck the imperial government achieved a reputation for state reforms. It fought socialism by giving them "something just as good." But now this policy has been definitely abandoned. The government is throwing all its strength against every popular demand. The new tax law has placed the weight of expense for army and navy on the over-laden backs of the poor. In Prussia, instead of the electoral reform which was definitely promised a year ago, there has been nothing but talk about "preliminary investigations." It has been definitely affirmed by the Chancellor, moreover, that the authorities will oppose any real reform.

And this is not all. The cabinet, the police, the bourgeois organs all have united to make common war on the Social Democracy. No method of campaign

is too dastardly if it promises to bring socialism into disrepute.

The past month has been a period of elections. We have had a chance to measure the results of the bourgeoisie campaign. The nation has spoken its mind; and the bourgeois press and politicians are too stunned to be ready with their customary excuses. I reported last month the overwhelming socialist victories in a number of by-elections to the Reichstag. This month there are greater things to relate. On October 21 came the parliamentary elections in Saxony and Baden. There has long been a Social Democratic majority in Saxony; that is to say, a popular majority. Back in 1903 Saxony sent a Socialist delegation to the Reichstag. But the members of the Reichstag are elected under the provisions of a democratic electoral law. In Saxony, up to the present time, national elections have been carried on under a three-class system like that still in force in Prussia. The recent election is the first under the new four-class law. This new provision is sufficiently reactionary, but it gives a poor man at least a fourth of a vote. The lower house of the Saxon parliament as last constituted under the old law contained one socialist and 46 conservatives out of a total membership of 80. The new house is to contain 92. In the election held on the 21st 31 representatives were elected; 16 Social Democrats, 14 Conservatives and 4 Liberals. More than this, 53 Social Democrats entered the lists for the second elections, as many as the representatives of all other parties combined. The latest news from Saxony is that in the second elections the number of socialist representatives has been raised to 25.

The inhabitants of Baden have forced from their government an equal and secret ballot; so in this province our comrades had a better chance than in Saxony. The results are proportionate. In a chamber of 73 the Social Democracy has hitherto been represented by a group of 12. The recent elections gave it 20. The party's popular vote rose from 50,431 to 86,078.

Berlin has just gone through the throes of two elections. It will be remembered that at the last election to the Prussian Landtag seven socialists were chosen, six of them from Berlin. It was a great victory; for the first time representatives of the working class were to sit in the Prussian parliament. But the governments would not let the matter pass without a last frantic effort.

Technicalities were called in to play their oft-repeated role. Four of the elections were declared illegal. The whole campaign had to be fought a second time. The result proved a bitter disappointment to the governmental strategists. The Social Democrats increased their poll in every district. Three of their four candidates were immediately elected, and the fourth goes into the second election with excellent chances of success.

On Nov. 3rd elections to municipal council were held in sixteen of Berlin's numerous districts. This election has a particular interest for all socialists. In its alignment of political parties Berlin is perhaps the most advanced municipality in the world. In this last election, for example, most of the socialist candidates were faced by only a single opponent. And whatever might be the party allegiance of this opponent he was described in the campaign literature either as the candidate of all the bourgeois parties, or simply as the bourgeois candidate. We have in this case, then, the capitalist class and the working class consciously and openly lined up against each other at the polls. The working class was, of course, at a disadvantage because of the antiquated three-class electoral system prevailing in Prussia. Nevertheless the result was a brilliant proletarian victory. The election covered, as I said above, 16 districts. In the last municipal election held in these districts, that of 1903, 11 socialist candidates were victorious. In the elections of Nov. 3rd this number was raised to 14; so that only two out of the 16 remain to the bourgeois combination.

In its issue of Nov. 4th *Vorwaerts* reviews this succession of overwhelming victories, points out what they mean to the nation, and then breaks forth into a veritable song of victory: "Proud floats our red banner over the whole German fatherland. The indignation of an entire people has at last found expression. And this gigantic revolt is directed against all bourgeois parties, for they are all responsible for the sins of the government, for robbery by taxation and the infamy of our electoral law. Throughout the whole empire the disillusioned and embittered workers are swarming into the ranks of the Social Democracy; at last they are finding out that this party of the proletariat, and this alone, stands unwaveringly for the interests of the laboring classes."

ENGLAND. The "Socialist" Budget Once More. The budget battle goes merrily on. The question now is, Will there be an election in the immediate future? The signs seem to indicate an answer in the affirmative. If the Lords are wise, to be sure, they will pass the measure, and then all will be serene. Otherwise there will be an adjournment and a campaign—with the advantage all on the side of the Liberals, for they will be placed in opposition to the recalcitrant Lords.

The more one considers the case, however, the less reason there seems for opposition on the part of the upper house. *Justice* has recently published figures which bear out completely the generalization which I made last month. No matter how money is raised, the important thing is the purpose to which it is to be devoted. The "socialist" budget under discussion "provides some \$350,000,000 for naval and military purposes, and \$150,000,000 for interest on the national debt, while only \$40,000,000 are provided for old-age pensions and a paltry \$2,500,000 for "development." It is true that a part of this tremendous total is to be paid directly by the rich, but is that sufficient reason why labor members should stump the country in its favor? Are they concerned about the support of army and navy? The Anglo-Saxon proletariat learns its lesson but slowly.

SWEDEN. The Great Strike. For nearly four months the gigantic struggle continues. It will go down in the history of the labor movement as one of the great battles in which much was dared and from which much was learned. But the news that has come over from Sweden during the past two weeks tells a tale of suffering and temporary defeat. *Vorwaerts*, which has been from the beginning very well informed on the Swedish situation, recites the story in detail. There are at present (Nov. 18) some 20,000 workers out of employment and 15,000 locked out. Of the unemployed by far the greater number have been placed on the black-list by the Employers' Association. They have been discharged, each one with a letter stating that he is no longer wanted because of participation in the strike. That means that for him there is no work anywhere within the borders of Sweden. Thousands hitherto employed in the steel industry are being driven from the company houses onto the snow-covered streets. And most of these took

no part in the strike. This is a "sympathetic" lock-out. The men in one small concern went on strike, and as a result their comrades in forty-five other concerns are threatened with starvation. But the most significant development is the fact that the men who return to work are asked to sign an agreement to leave their unions. The Employers' Association has got the upper hand and it is determined to smash the union movement once for all.

For the present our Swedish comrades face bitter defeat. But they have now more than ever need of our vigorous support. Unless hundreds of thousands flow in from foreign countries their suffering will beggar description. Some few of them have emigrated to Brazil. But thirty or forty thousand face the cold and hunger of winter almost penniless. Unless they are supported some will be forced to work on terms dictated by the victors; the rest will starve. There will be time enough in the future to go over the details of the struggle, to discuss the tactics employed and draw lessons for our guidance in battles yet to be fought. The demand now is for immediate assistance. Our feeling of solidarity should run strongest in moments of reverse. This is one of the times for the world's working class to show its metal.

FERRER'S PORTRAIT, on the first inside page of this month's Review, is reproduced from a large engraving published by the New Age Press, 140 Fleet street, E. C., London, England. No copies are for sale in this country so far as we have been informed, and the publishers' retail price was not stated, but we presume they will gladly mail one of the engravings to any address in the United States on receipt of an international money order for fifty cents.

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NEWS & VIEWS



I. W. W. PROPAGANDA LEAGUE HEADQUARTERS, CHICAGO.

KILLED ON WAY TO SPOKANE. James K. Cole, one of the members of Chicago Local 85, I. W. W., who left here in company with many comrades Monday evening, November 15th, to join the men and women engaged in the fight for free speech at Spokane, was killed on Tuesday while jumping a train, en route, in Wisconsin. James Cole was only 23 years of age and for a long time had been known as one of the most uncompromising members of the I. W. W. Always ready to lend his aid to any struggle of the wage-working class, Cole was one of the first to volunteer to go to Spokane. The following photograph of the men who left this city on the 15th was taken Sunday the 14th. Comrade Cole is the fourth man from the right of the picture, in the front row. Cole said: "It's a long trip and it's a cold

trip out to Spokane at this time of year. But don't talk about that. We're going and we are going to WIN." Men like Cole are the fighting timber of the revolutionary movement of the working class. They do not weigh consequences, they scoff at dangers threatening themselves; silently, without any demonstration, or brass bands, or RAILROAD TICKETS they pick up their hats and are on the way whenever their class sends out a call for help. James Cole and his fellow-workers are the BACK-BONE of the revolutionary army. Cole never looked back. He was never afraid. He never gave up. He was the best that can be said of any man or woman of our class—he was a revolutionist. He fought living and died on the way to help in a great fight.

(Special Telegram to the Review.)

SPOKANE, Nov. 19.

Ten more speakers were arrested today, being knocked down and bundled off to jail in the usual rough manner. The police were treated to an extra volley of jeers for their pains by the large crowd.

The conditions in the three jails now being used as bullpens by the city officials is revolting. In the school house a solitary bucket is being used for a toilet. The place is alive with vermin. The prisoners have been refused water to boil their clothes. The windows are broken, offering ready access to the cold winds. All visitors are denied the privilege of seeing the prisoners. There is no place to sleep except on the bare floor. No blankets are provided with which to keep warm. Half a loaf of bread daily are the rations with which the men are expected to fight off hunger.

As a direct result all of the men are suffering with cramps, for which the doctor gives them castor oil. Many are very sick, nevertheless they are ordered to work on the rock pile. Only a few have accepted this means of release.

A six-day striker was released yesterday, badly afflicted. At first they ordered him to the rock pile, but later decided on his release. In spite of the fact that he could hardly walk, he was refused admission to the hospital. He was also penniless, the authorities refusing to return thirty cents taken from his person when he was arrested on the plea that he owed for costs.

TOM J. LEWIS.

(Special Telegram to the Review.)

I am now labeled by the police as dangerous. Offense, mixing in speech fight. I talked to a large crowd at Howard and Riverside for ten minutes. A detective took me down and wanted me to walk. I insisted on riding. The crowd grew and waved red handkerchiefs. As I got into the wagon the crowd cheered. I little dreamed what was to follow. They put me in a cell with drunken women. In a few minutes the officers returned and took the women out, although they told me they were not to go until Monday. They put me in a dark cell. About ten burly brutes came in and started to question me about the union. I was so scared I couldn't answer. "We'll make her talk." "She'll talk before we get through with her," said another. * * * I went into spasms and never recovered till evening.

Hardly over the first when they brought a man disguised as a woman. I thought it was a drunken woman till the "bulls" went out. Then I felt a large hand creeping over me. I jumped into an enclosure screaming. Two of our other girls were brought in or I would have never come to. Even then they showed no disposition to treat me as human. I never slept nor ate the three days I was there. I was very weak when the doctor came. A "trustee" told me that the doctor said that "she cannot stand it another hour." They hurried in and carried me to the window. The matron on the pay roll is a salvation army woman, but is never around the women. Taking me into court an officer said: "Let her walk." "She can't," said the matron. "If she faints we will throw a bucket of water in her face; that'll wake her up.

The court asked if I was let out on own recognizance would I make any disturbance. I told counsel that I would not be able to for a few days, but I did not know what I would do then. The counsel worded it different to the court. The court ordered me to the receiving hospital. I only stayed there a few minutes. I asked a fellow worker to take my arm to the hall. Fellow workers carried me to my room through the principal streets. Advertise brutality of police. Twenty-five more went in today while the "bulls" beat back a crowd of ten thousand.

AGNES THECLA FAIR.

FROM TEXAS. Several articles have appeared in recent issues of the Review on revolutionary unionism and the Socialist Party, especially in the November Review, which, while they contain a great deal of truth, have a tendency to place the Socialist party and press in a false light, especially with those who do not follow closely the general trend of events and read a great deal. Let us notice, briefly, an article by Comrade B. E. Nilsson. He says, in part: "The 'Appeal to Reason' frequently uses the phrase, 'Let the nation own the trusts.'" Then he takes a rap at Spargo and Ladoff and some other "leaders" for drifting into middle-class politics.

Now what are the real facts? While it is true that some Socialist papers and writers are not quite as aggressive as they should be in supporting the new, or revolutionary, unionism in preference to the old out-of-date and conservative craft unionism, it is not true that our



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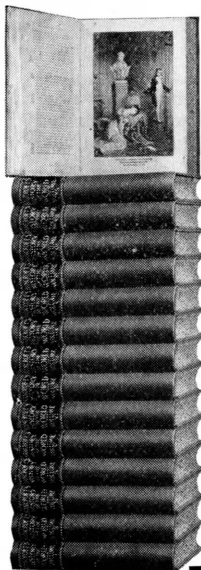
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"leaders," if we have any, have drifted into the Populist-Hearst theory of government ownership. "Let the nation own the trusts" is a mere phrase used by some Socialist writers more or less indefinitely, especially Wilshire, to express the principle of the collective ownership and control of industry by the workers. No Socialist writer of any ability or standing advocates the nation owning the trusts according to the Populist or Hearst meaning of that phrase. All of our revolutionary Socialist literature speaks for itself on this point. The Appeal to Reason is out and out revolutionary on industrial unionism according to the I. W. W. program. Comrade Duchez expresses a *half-truth* when he says: "The wage slaves of the world will not wait indefinitely to vote Socialism in. It will come sooner than that. They will organize industrially and establish the working class republic in their own domain—in the industries." Of course, they will "organize industrially" but in the very nature of things industrial organization can only be made effective by the workers capturing and using the powers of government to that end. We have had many practical demonstrations of this fact. Remember Chicago, Cripple Creek and Homestead. We can not even begin to establish the industrial republic till we take away from the capitalists their power to use the injunction, the bayonets and gatling guns against us. Every thinking revolutionist knows that a political revolution must have a strong and intelligent working class organization on the industrial field and vice versa. But it takes time and experience to organize industrially as well as politically. We of the south and west realize this better than our comrades of the great industrial centers of the north and east. Our comrades at McKees Rocks and other industrial centers have learned a great lesson and have made a good start, but they have a good deal to learn yet. Ask any intelligent capitalist what he considers the strongest prop of the capitalist system and he will tell you the capitalist government. If we had the co-operative commonwealth in operation our "leaders" could not "sell out" even if they wanted to, and perhaps they would not want to sell, as the capitalists' money would be *demonetized* and there would be no one to buy him. Yes, indeed, "let the nation own the trusts," but first let the workers *own the nation* and its government. We can only do this by a strong organization on the po-

litical field as well as the industrial field.
—DANIEL C. GIBSON.

THE UNION LABOR "VICTORY" IN SAN FRANCISCO. Now that the Union Labor Party has again "captured" San Francisco, it may be a real service to Socialists elsewhere to know some of the salient facts that have developed from this San Francisco campaign. Here are a few that seem significant:

1. P. H. McCarthy, the elected Union Laborite, received more of the registered Republican vote than did the regular Republican candidate. The Republican ran third.

2. All the capitalist papers appear to be satisfied with the Union Labor party victory; some of them preferred McCarthy to the other capitalist candidates.

3. Banker Hellman, the head and front of dominant capitalism here, sent a congratulatory telegram to the leader of the Union Labor party—and now it is certain that "industrial peace" is assured. McCarthy made his campaign largely along the line of standing for Peace and Prosperity, for Boost and Altogether!

4. The first public function of the Union Labor Mayor-elect was the banquet of the Business Men's Association, at which the head of the concern, a leading hotel-owner, announced the erection of a twelve-story building as one of the *immediate* effects of McCarthy's victory.

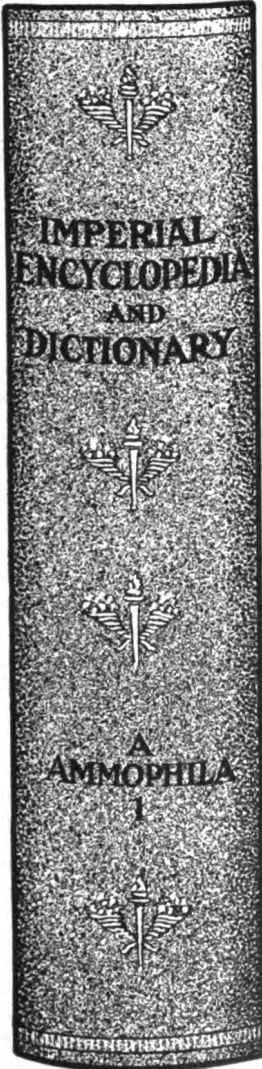
5. After the election it was universally obvious that almost all the keenest political workers of the old Republican state machine had been unanimously "digging in" for McCarthy's election, he being declared a better Republican than the Republican candidate, Crocker, and a better Democrat than the Democratic candidate, Leland.

6. It is now proposed to organize a state Union Labor party along McCarthy lines, with Mr. McCarthy as the probable candidate for governor, thus insuring "industrial peace and commercial prosperity" to the whole state. And as Mr. McCarthy's platform expressly stated that the U. L. Party was not a class party, neither would the state Union Labor Party be a "class" party. The next development then would, of course, be a national Union Labor Party, this to be not a class party, but an industrial peace party. This ought to be a sure way of getting rid of "classes," the "class-struggle," and—incidentally—the

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Socialist Party and the danger of Debs.

This all seems conclusive enough—even for Gompers and the Civic Federation.

It might be mentioned that although McCarthy, as well as the other candidates, refused even to acknowledge an invitation to appear at a Ferrer protest meeting (and, of course, he stayed away from the meeting), yet the avowed anarchists and the "materialists" and the free-thought radicals, nearly all worked and boosted for McCarthy. The Industrial Unionists, however, as a rule were stalwart in opposition to the bogus labor candidate of the A. F. of L.

Finally, the Socialist Party is the only organization capable of piercing through McCarthy's methods and exposing his false attitude, his futile tactics and his inevitable failure.—WILLIAM McDEVITT, *Organizer Local San Francisco.*

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NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION PROPOSED. The following constitution for the Socialist Party has been proposed for referendum by Local Tyler, Texas, and has received the necessary number of seconds:

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in states where a different name is a legal requirement.

ARTICLE II.—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years or more, who has severed his connection with all other political parties, shall be eligible to membership.

Any person occupying a position, honorary or remunerative, by the gift of any party other than the Socialist Party shall not be eligible to membership.

All persons joining the party shall sign a pledge recognizing a class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class and endorse the party platforms and constitutions.

No member of the party shall under any pretext interfere with the regular organized movement in another state than of his residence.

ARTICLE III.—MANAGEMENT.

SECTION 1. The affairs of the party shall be administered by general party referendum.

Motions and resolutions shall be submitted to referendum upon the request of twenty locals in five or more states or territories, or of any smaller number of locals in three states having two thousand members in the aggregate.

SEC. 2. When a request for a referendum is presented as above provided, it shall be published in the party press and shall stand open for thirty days, in which time amendments thereto may be offered in the same manner in which original referendum is initiated, and at the close of thirty days, the original motion, together with all amendments initiated, shall be submitted to referendum.

All amendments shall be submitted without preamble or comment.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of National Headquarters to conduct organization except in unorganized states or territories, or to conduct agitation and distribution of literature except in presidential campaign year.

Locals in unorganized states or territories shall receive their charters from and make their reports to National Headquarters.

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ARTICLE IV.—NATIONAL SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. A National Secretary shall be elected annually, by preferential referendum, as provided in Section 1 of Article V of this instrument. Vacancies shall be filled in the same manner.

He shall receive as compensation the sum of seventy-five dollars per month, and shall give bond in a sum fixed by referendum.

The location of National Headquarters of the party shall be the residence of the National Secretary.

SEC. 2. The National Secretary shall transact the national and international business of the party, using his discretion wherein not instructed by con-

stitution and referendum, and conduct national referendums.

He shall refer communications relating to state and local matters to the states interested, and shall report monthly to all state secretaries, for their transmission to locals, to locals in unorganized states and territories and to the party press the financial and business affairs of his office. Such reports shall not contain editorial comment.

SEC. 3. No member of the party shall serve as National Secretary for more than two years.

ARTICLE V.—NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

SECTION 1. In the party election last preceding presidential campaign year, a National Campaign Committee of five members shall be elected by preferential referendum, as follows: The call for nominations shall issue November 1st. Twenty days shall be allowed for nominations, twenty for acceptances and declinations and forty-five for the referendum. Each local may nominate five candidates. The names of the candidates will be placed on the ballot in alphabetical arrangement. Nominations by five locals shall entitle a candidate to be placed on the ballot.

The member voting shall designate his first choice by writing the figure "1" opposite the name of his first choice; his second choice by writing the figure "2" opposite the name of his second choice; the figure "3" opposite the name of his third choice, and so on, indicating his relative preference for each and every candidate named on the ballot, by different and consecutive numbers. Any ballot not voted in exact compliance with these rules shall be void.

The five candidates indicated by the lowest sum total of numbers opposite their names shall be elected.

National political candidates shall be nominated in the same manner.

SEC. 2. Three years consecutive membership in the party shall be necessary to qualify for national political candidates, campaign committees and official positions.

An editor or director of a newspaper shall not be eligible for national official positions.

SEC. 3. The National Secretary and National Campaign Committeemen may be recalled by the party membership on initiative of ten per cent of the membership.

SEC. 4. The National Campaign Committee may meet in presidential campaign year whenever it shall deem necessary to do so. Expenses of the committee in attending meetings and conducting campaign shall be paid from the national treasury and by funds accruing from such special calls for contributions as may be made by the committee.

SEC. 5. The committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all state secretaries, to be reported to the locals. It shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

ARTICLE VI.—DELEGATES TO INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

SEC. 1. Delegates to the International Congress shall be elected by referendum in accordance with Section 1 of Article V of this instrument, in the year when the congress is held, one delegate for every five thousand members, and their expenses shall be paid from the national treasury.

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ARTICLE VII.—STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

SECTION 1. In states and territories where there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole control of the movement and members within their respective territories, including propaganda, organization and financial affairs, and the national organization or officers shall have no right to interfere in such matters. The activity of state or territorial organizations shall be confined to their respective territories.

SEC. 2. All platforms or subdivisions of the party shall conform to the National Platform.

No state or other organization of the party shall under any circumstance fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations in order to favor the candidates of such other organizations, nor shall any candidate of the Socialist Party accept any nomi-

nation or endorsement from any other party or political organization.

SEC. 3. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.

SEC. 4. No person shall be nominated or endorsed by any subdivision of the party for political candidate unless he is a member of the party in good standing for at least twelve consecutive months.

SEC. 5. Supplies for use of local and state organizations shall be provided by the local or state organizations.

SEC. 6. Each organized state or territory shall remit to the National Treasury five dollars per month, except in presidential campaign, ten dollars per month.

ARTICLE VIII.—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. This constitution may be amended by national party referendum. It shall be in force as soon as adopted by national referendum.



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For Young Women, in cloth, 50 cents, is one of those sensible books, unheard of in the days of our own childhood, when girls were persistently deceived in matters vital to their own health and the future of the human race. Ernest Edwards, the author, says in his Introduction: "A mother is, or should be, her daughter's best friend and companion, and surely the one best fitted to impart that information concerning the peculiarities, duties, responsibilities and dangers of sex, without which a girl's education can scarcely be said to be complete. * * * Complete knowledge is, in the absence of proper tuition, to be obtained by experience alone, and what this means thousands of women now living can testify to their sorrow." We have no hesitancy in recommending "The Modern Mother" and "For Young Women" to our readers.

W. V. Marshall's *A Curb to Predatory Wealth* (in cloth, same publishers) suggests a graduated income tax as the

social cure-all. As Mr. Marshall says it is very true that a graduated income tax would put a check upon wealth, but it is true also that the wage-workers of this country would reap positively no benefits from such a tax. Doubtless this tax would be paid into the government, but unfortunately we do not own the government. The money would probably be used in building up the army or the navy, whose chief function seems to be to shoot down striking workmen who demand a living wage, or to increase the salaries of fat governmental office holders. We socialists realize that "the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie," and we have no desire to vote higher wages to the servants of our economic masters. Neither do we desire to check the growth and development of capitalism. To us, capitalist society performs a vital function in the social evolutionary process. Without it socialism would be impossible. Feudalism could no more produce a proletariat than could slavery. It has remained for capitalism to organize industry, systematize production and inaugurate wage-slavery. With capitalism come wage-workers, who form the revolutionary element that organizes itself into the vast industrial army which shall one day take over the mines, the mills and the factories—to produce goods not only *BY*, but *FOR* the benefit of the workers themselves. We recommend "A Curb to Predatory Wealth" to reformers only.

Religion and the Modern Mind, \$1.20 in cloth, by Dr. Doan, published by Sherman, French & Company. "Dr. Doan, a Professor of the Philosophy of Religion in the Meadville Theological School, has brought together a group of 'essays in modernism.' The 'modern man,' the author tells us in his opening essay, is a 'nobleman—clean and pure in his mind, eager and sensitive in his soul, searching always for a positive and honorable experience of things eternal; wanting and ready at every turn in the spirit path to stand silent and conquered in the present of That he may yet call God.'" The above quotation will give our readers an excellent idea of the new book by Professor Doan.

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among contemporary fiction. Published in cloth, \$1.35, by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, N. Y. "The Silver Box" will afford every socialist a very pleasant evening, for in this play, as in the other two appearing in this volume, "Joy" and "Strife," the hackneyed romantic situations, the absurd sentiment, the vapid smartness, the stogy conception of life—are wholly lacking. Mr. Galsworthy is without doubt one of our most interesting dramatists. His work is thoroughly original and absolutely sincere, and it concerns itself with really important questions which have a vital bearing upon the life of the present time. "The Silver Box" is a realistic comedy and demonstrates, as no other modern drama has done, the inequality of the Poor and the Rich—before the Law. In this play Jack Barthwick, the son of a wealthy Liberal, steals a purse from his mistress, which is, in turn, taken from the home of Mr. Barthwick by a man made desperate by lack of work. Incidentally the workingman helps himself to a silver cigarette box. The judge, prosecutor and police officials unite with Mr. Barthwick, Sr., in shielding his son from the effects of his "peccadilloes" while the workingman is promptly and effectually silenced by being railroaded to prison.

"Joy" is a delightful little comedy growing out of the egoism of all lovers, while "Strife" is a stirring drama of a modern strike. "Strife" is not a made-to-order play, but it is full of the grim fighting spirit that both Capital and Labor are coming to feel more and more with every new encounter. The splendid courage of David Roberts, the leader of the workingmen, must fill every heart with enthusiasm. Even when his young wife died from exposure and insufficient food, David Roberts stood up before his enemies and said, "We will NEVER yield." It is the word of the man who has nothing further to fear and who stakes his life upon a fight for better conditions. It is the word of the inventor and worker made desperate. Such men as these do not turn back. Even to workingmen and women the play is not altogether a pleasant one, but it is a real play, a drama of actual struggle, a picture of the great battles that the wage-workers have fought over and over again against the steel trust—the story of the tin mill strike in Pennsylvania. David Roberts and the men lost the strike (in Mr. Galsworthy's play) for the same reason that the wage-workers are continually losing against the steel trust, in Pennsylvania, because they do not stand together.

Forty copies of the REVIEW will be sent to any address in the United States for \$2.00; larger lots at the same rate. This rate does NOT apply to smaller lots, but if you can not use so many as 40 of one issue your \$2.00 will pay for 20 copies 2 months, 10 copies 4 months, or 5 copies 8 months. If you sell half of them you come out even; if you sell all you double your money.

After this month the REVIEW will NOT be sent out returnable to news dealers. We have for a year been supplying it in this way at a heavy loss. Hereafter only dealers who take enough interest in the REVIEW to order it at their own risk will have it for sale. If you have been buying of a dealer, ask him whether he will promise to keep it in the future, if not, send us your dollar for a year's subscription.



All Records Broken Again

In 1907, under the former editorship, the total cash receipts of the International Socialist Review for the month of October were \$237.88. In 1908, when our new plans for improving the Review were just beginning to take practical shape, the October receipts were \$568.16. Last month's Review receipts were \$1,047.14.

This does not mean that a profit is now being realized by any one from the Review, for our expenditures have increased almost in proportion. But it does mean that the Review is no longer a burden on the book publishing house, and that it has a big success within easy reach. Here are our figures for the month of October, 1909:

Receipts.	Expenditures.
Cash balance, October 1.....\$ 464.73	Manufacture of books\$ 855.98
Book sales 2,084.20	Books purchased 60.25
Review subscriptions and sales. 969.37	Printing October Review 532.45
Review advertising 77.77	Review articles, drawings, etc. 14.00
Sales of stock 151.56	Wages of office clerks (5 weeks) 407.50
Loans from stockholders..... 685.00	Chas. H. Kerr, on salary 125.00
Loan from H. Murray 225.00	Mary E. Marcy, on salary 79.20
A. Boudreau for McKees Rocks strikers 2.00	Postage and expressage 467.29
O. J. Gibbons for Swedish strikers..... 2.50	Interest..... 26.43
	Rent..... 70.00
	Miscellaneous expense..... 66.39
	Advertising 673.17
	Copyright fees 2.00
	Loans repaid 518.41
	Strikers' relief, Pennsylvania .. 2.00
	Swedish Strikers' relief 2.50
	Cash balance, October 30..... 759.50
\$4,662.13	\$4,662.13

The unusually large cash balance at the end of October was due to the fact that money had been borrowed from stockholders to take up a note which matured November 1, and was paid on that day. The statement for November will show a gratifying reduction in the amount borrowed from stockholders.

The amount expended for Review articles, drawings, etc., in

October, happened to be ridiculously small because much of the material required for the November Review had been paid for in September. From now on we expect to increase rapidly the expenditures needed for making the Review more and more readable from month to month.

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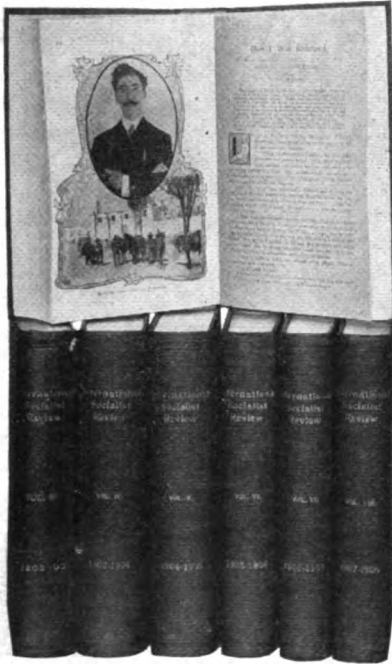
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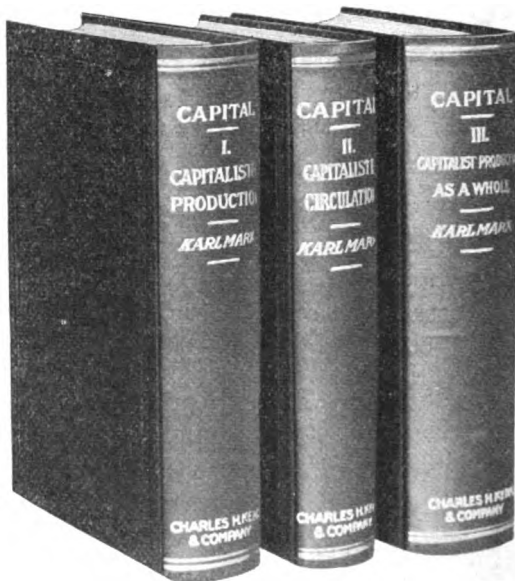
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