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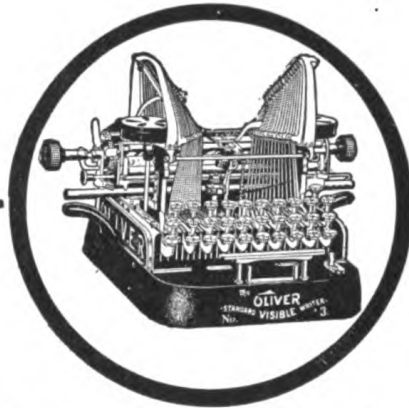
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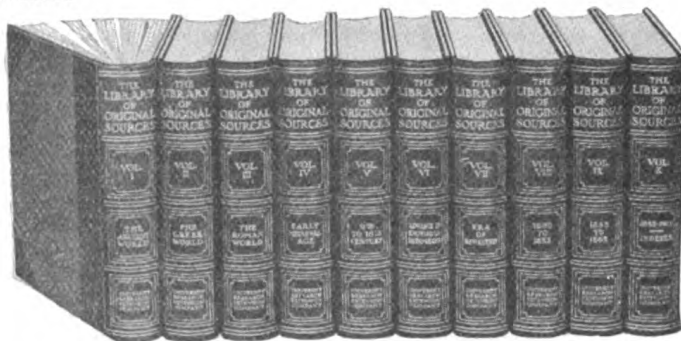
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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*The*  
**INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

VOL. XII

MAY, 1912

No. 11

**THE UPRISING**  
OF THE  
**BRITISH MINERS**

BY

**TOM MANN**

(Photos by Paul Thompson)



TOM MANN.

**I**N writing briefly upon the coal miners' strike of Britain, I shall endeavor to show the extent to which the old time orthodox ideas have prevailed, and the extent to which the principle of Industrial Solidarity has been resorted to.

It has been the almost universal practice in coal mining in Britain for the men to be paid tonnage rates, i. e., to be paid according to the amount of coal produced and sent out of the mine, but as in all coal fields, the seams of coal vary in thickness and hardness, causing, in some cases much other work to be done by the miner besides simply heaving the coal, the amount of coal produced varies accordingly and unless reasonable allowance is made for the conditions under which the miner has to work, it means that a miner though working diligently, may not receive more than a half the amount of wages that men in other seams will get,

working no harder than the miner in the difficult seam. Therefore from time immemorial, it has been the practice to make necessary allowances for men working in "abnormal places," or difficult seams, and probably no one working day has passed over in the British coal fields, for generations without such mutual decisions being arrived at to enable work to proceed.

Recently, partly owing to more perfect combination on both sides, the difficulties of arriving at settlements have been greater than formerly, but a chief reason of such difficulties is the decision given in law courts against the claims of the men when they have endeavored to secure rates in accordance with past custom.

To illustrate, the case of the South Wales colliers may be given. Until recently, the colliers working upon the



DISCUSSING THE SITUATION OVER A LITTLE 'ALF AND 'ALF.

normal price list or tonnage rate, but being in a difficult or abnormal place, would be allowed by the manager, such extra rate as would bring his wages up to the average amount; and usually on cases being brought to court by miners, the court awarded in their favor to secure for them the average wage, but a few years ago a certain Judge Bryn Roberts, decided, that all such extra allowances made by owners were in "the nature of a gratuity or charity," and that the miner could claim nothing beyond what the price list declared, and such decisions played into the hands of the owners in such fashion that the number of instances where miners could not get anything approaching an average wage increased greatly and consequently dissatisfaction grew and showed itself in various ways.

This was the cause of the Cambrian combine miners' strike a year ago, and of fifty or more disputes in the various coal fields.

The wages of the collieries have varied from five shillings a day to thirteen shillings, with an average of about seven shillings and six pence a day, but that some received less than five shillings is quite

certain, and so numerous were the complaints of those already affected that at the conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, held at Newcastle in October, 1909, the following resolution was carried:

"That the Annual Conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain believes that the time has come when a special effort should be made to extend and raise the present minimum to at least eight shillings a day, and remits to the executive committee to devise the best means of raising the present minimum to that extent."

It was something to get this resolution so far, and the miners who were in earnest found it was an exceedingly difficult matter to get the miners officials to take definite action to put the resolution into practice, but the eleven months strike of the twelve thousand men of the Cambrian Combine forced matters to a head.

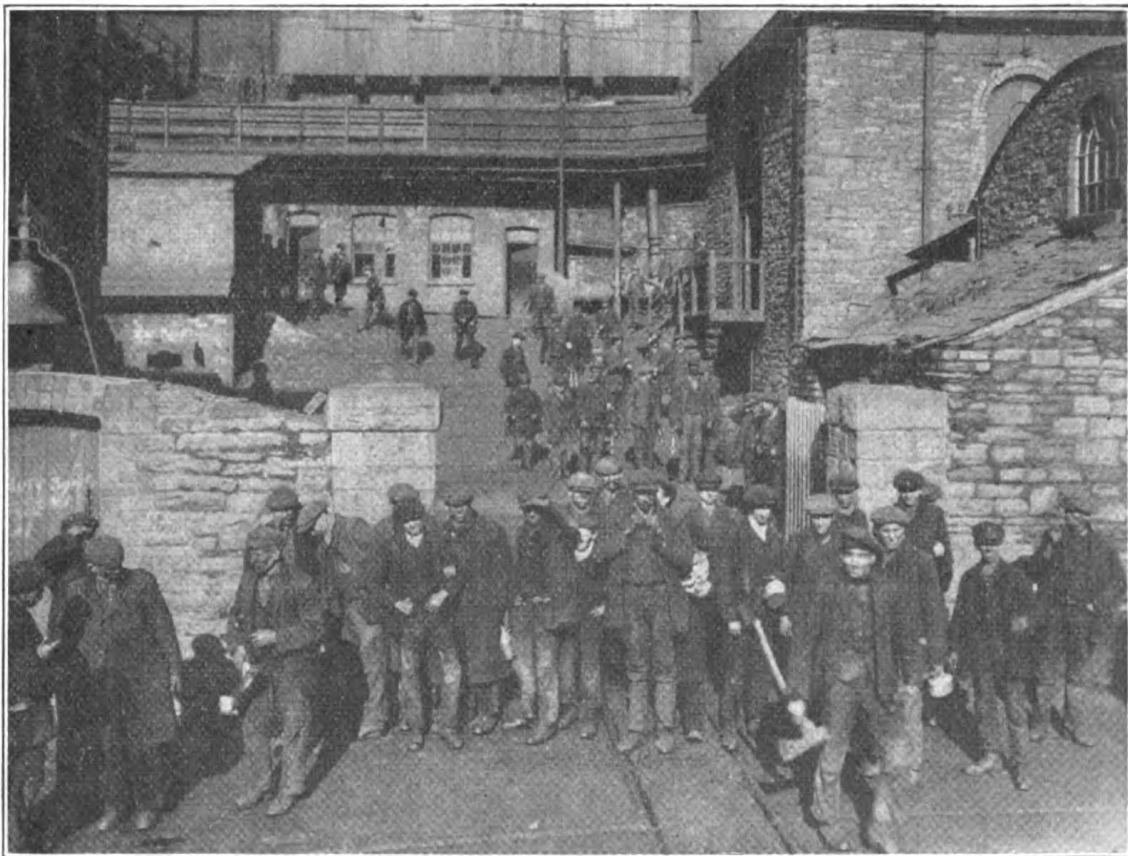
And now it is necessary to deal with the mentality and environment of the miners' "leaders" and of the rank and file. In the first place fully seventy per cent of the one million men in and about

the mines were organized; and practically all of them believers in political and parliamentary action, having returned a number of their "leaders" to the House of Commons. These "leaders" are part of the political labor party; and orthodox believers in the state as the all powerful institution, and therefore favoring the nationalization of the mines, but the miners themselves, and the "leaders," to their credit, have never been favorable to state arbitration in matters of wages or working conditions, and when at length it was decided to try and get a minimum wage through, it was on industrial organization and direct negotiation that they relied to achieve the end in view. But neither leaders nor rank and file (apart from a small but virile minority), had any real grasp of the true principles of industrial solidarity and of the right method of conducting such a fight against such a well organized and wealthy body of opponents as the organized mine owners.

It is true the various miners' associa-

tions were connected with the Miners' Federation, and that they unitedly agreed upon common action, and to this extent they were able to resort to solidarity, in the mining industry, but they made no effort at all to obtain the backing of other industries on the basis of solidarity. Not only did they not ask for the help of others, but when the National Executive of the Transport Workers' Federation carried a resolution of sympathy and informed them of their readiness to help, even to making of common cause if need be, the miners' leaders simply replied that "so far they did not feel the necessity for help."

The miners had intimated to the world for some four months before action was taken by them, that they intended taking such action, and so the capitalists throughout the county obtained stocks of coals, and then, when the notices of the miners expired on the 29th of February, they met in conference for a fortnight, but made absolutely no progress at all. Then



FILING OUT AFTER BEING PAID OFF.

instead of asking for the backing of the Transport Workers, they left the matter in the hands of the government with Prime Minister Asquith, meeting first the owners and then the men, but never getting anything done or causing the stubborn section of owners to alter their position in the least, and the third week of the strike passed over and by this time a million of other workers were thrown out of work as a consequence of the strike.

Then the government declared they would introduce a minimum wage bill unless owners and miners settled their differences. These did not settle their dif-

and the capitalist class far more in three days than the miners alone have done in more than four weeks. The miners have fought on lines and by methods that do not seriously hurt the opponents, and fights that don't hurt are not real fights at all.

I must make it clear that a growing section of the rank and file are possessed of precisely the right spirit, and are quite clear headed as to how to proceed; but the general body do not as yet appreciate the right methods and the present day leaders (80 per cent of them), are of the "rest the thankful order," and whilst en-



THE PIT BOYS RATHER LIKED THE PROSPECT OF A HOLIDAY.

ferences and a minimum wage bill declaring in favor of the principle of a minimum wage, but not fixing a minimum was passed, and the end of the fourth week of the strike is reached, and at the time of writing, Monday, April 1st, we are in the fifth week, but no settlement has yet been reached. The reason is that the miners' leaders are obsessed with the bourgeois notion of constitutional action, and are devoid of the real fighting spirit that would enable them to understand how to bring pressure in the right quarters against those who resisted them. The backing of the miners by the Transport workers would have hit the owners

gaged in a serious class struggle, are amenable to the conventional notions, of "regard for public convenience" and high notions of "citizenship."

But these are passing comparatively quickly too, and this fight was necessary to enable the light to enter.

It has been a remarkable struggle in several respects:

First, It is the first time in British history when real solidarity characterized the whole of the workers in the industry.

Second, Although the leaders have been woefully lacking in the mental conception of centering their forces where the enemy would have been found vulnerable by the





WELSH MINERS WAITING AT PIT TO GO ON LAST SHIFT.

addition to their forces of that solidarity that might have been obtained from other industries, still the leaders have at least exhibited a doggedly unyielding attitude and nothing in the nature of panic has characterized any of them.

Third, They have lost nothing, and have gained something, the declaration by Parliament that a minimum wage must be paid, and that district boards must be set up to fix the minimum for the districts, is no great gain, but at least they have lost nothing, and those younger men, are in the ascendancy who have already made their influence felt and who are assiduously carrying on a systematic educational campaign. These young men, themselves working as miners, have recently issued a pamphlet entitled, "The Miners' Next Step," an exceedingly well written and well thought out product it is, but so far it has received little but contemptuous references by the older and the official school. The pamphlet effectively criticises the Miners' Federation, and in excellent temper and style sets forth other proposals, calculated ere long to be in the main accepted by the general body. For immediate steps it is proposed, "That a minimum wage of eight shillings a day, for all workmen employed in or about the mines, constitute a demand to be striven for nationally at once.

"That subject to the foregoing having been obtained, we demand and use our power to obtain a seven-hour day."

By today's cables, we learn that nine hundred thousand coal miners of the United States are on strike, in the name of those for whom I can speak I send hearty greetings and encouragements. Each successive fight enables us to learn how to fight better and the time is not far off when we shall be able to exhibit solidarity—not in one industry only nor in one country only, but in all industries in all countries. So may it be.

This week the votes of the British miners are being taken on the subject of whether they shall return to work and await the award of the district boards to fix the minimum for each district, which decision is to be made retrospective from the time of the passing of the minimum wage act, and some of the counties have given decided majorities against returning till they know exactly what the wages are to be; but the strike is virtually over and 20,000 men are now at work, but this is not by any means an indication of demoralization, as one-half of these men are in Warwickshire, where they had secured a satisfactory minimum before the strike commenced, but all of whom made common cause for the sake of solidarity and stood quite firm until the Federation officials declared in favor of work being resumed.

It is noteworthy that some of these officials are already declaring in favor of different tactics, thus Wm. Staker, one

of the foremost amongst miners' officials in Northumberland, states that, "if ever again the miners contemplated a national stoppage, they would strike swiftly and suddenly." This lesson ought to have been learned long ago, but better late than never.

All this coupled with the persistent advocacy of "Syndicalism" is rapidly focusing attention on the need for perfected industrial organization. In two months' time, we may expect the demands of the British Railway men to be up for consideration, and if their case be handled discreetly it is likely that very substantial

improvements in the matter of working hours and conditions will be obtained.

For myself, I am now under arrest, but am out on bail to appear at the Manchester Assizes on May 6th, charged with "inciting the military to mutiny," etc.

The cause is moving rapidly, the old time lethargy is giving place to a gloriously healthy activity, at last it is really the fact that the crusade for the abolition of poverty by securing industrial emancipation is inspiring millions; not all by any means, clear minded, but instinctively correct, and exhibiting a superb courage that forebodes complete success.

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## When the Kiddies Came Home

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

After two months' vacation in their temporary homes in New York, Philadelphia, Barre, Vt., and Manchester, N. H., the children of the Lawrence strikers, who had been involved for ten weeks in an industrial war with the master class of the woollen and cotton industries, returned to receive the greatest reception ever held at Lawrence. Most of the children were too young to appreciate what the wonderful demonstration of solidarity meant or the reason of their departure and their return under such changed circumstances. There were among their number, however, some who were strikers themselves and knew their home-leaving was to lessen the burden of their parents. The strikers understood it was not a matter of sentiment, but that this rigorous action was adopted as a war measure.

It was for the purpose of calling the attention of the world to the conditions existing at Lawrence, to the conditions of the thousands of children in the textile industry of the New England states that were slowly starving to death because their parents were unable to make a living wage, likewise for the purpose of relieving the Strike Committee of the burden incident to caring for so many little ones and to remove their emaciated and wan faces from

the vision of their parents who were on strike.

Although this measure had never been adopted before in America, its significance was soon realized and the spirit of class consciousness became aroused in the working class everywhere. The children found excellent homes and the letters they wrote back to their parents were a comfort and an inspiration. At the same time it enabled those who cared for the children to take an active part in the struggle that was on at Lawrence. Ordinarily they would have contributed their quota to the strike fund, but in caring for the little ones of the striking textile workers, they not only gave many times what their contributions would have amounted to, but they took a big part in the real battle.

The strikers of Lawrence hold a feeling of deepest appreciation for those who have cared for their children. They know that their little ones were treated better than they could have been at home. From all reports, they were received as little guests, and when the time came for them to leave their "Strike Parents" there was many a tug at their little heartstrings. They had learned to love their new homes. They left Lawrence physically destitute, often ill-clad and

without underclothes and wearing garments made of shoddy.

These were the children of parents who weave the cotton, linen and woollen fabric that helps to clothe the world.

They went to other cities to be clothed and returned to their homes well dressed, with roses in their cheeks and laden with toys and other gifts.

Their arrival was made the occasion of a great demonstration in celebration of the millworkers' notable industrial victory. More than 40,000 people thronged the streets, over half of them taking part in the monster parade.

While the mass of workers were waiting for the arrival of the train, the Syrians, headed by their drum corps, marched around the county jail playing their inspiring Oriental music and carrying to the cells of Ettore and Giovannitti the glad tidings of the coming children.

Long before the special train with the children arrived from Boston, the region in the vicinity was black with people, while along the side streets leading into Broadway, the different divisions of the Industrial Workers of the World were drawn up in line according to nationality, there being fourteen divisions in all. The Italians and Syrians were accorded the place of honor. The heads of their divisions were made prominent by the beautiful floral decorations, the Italians carrying a massive piece on a litter held up by four men. It was these two nationalities that furnished the martyrs for the strike, Anna Lapizzio, the Italian woman who was killed in a fusillade of bullets fired by policemen, and John Rami, the sixteen-year-old Syrian boy who was stabbed in the back with a bayonet in the hands of a militiaman. His lung was pierced and he died shortly after being taken to the hospital. The floral pieces were in remembrance of the dead.

At the railroad station the jam was terrific and when the train rolled into the station at 5 o'clock there was such a rush to see the little ones that the arrangements of the reception committee were somewhat disjointed, and instead of passing through the parallel lines of the Strike Committee of the I. W. W. on through the station, the

children were swept around the upper end of the depot, where they were put aboard seven big picnic wagons. The sides of the barges were covered with appropriate inscriptions, among the most significant being:

"Open the jail doors or we'll close the mill gates."

"Though you are in prison, our hearts are with you."

"We will remember our exile."

"Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage."

The parents of the returning youngsters were at the station, but had little opportunity to greet their children in the crowd there. But they were soon driven over the route of the parade, shouting and laughing and enjoying the universal jubilation.

The tumultuous cheering that greeted them along the line of march was taken up and carried along for miles of the parade. Up Broadway and along Park street, down Hampshire to the jail, where Joseph J. Ettore and Arturo Giovannitti are confined, the marchers wended their way, keeping step to the music furnished by six bands and drum corps. At the jail every voice rang out with the "Marseillaise" and the "Internationale," which was the battle song of the workers all during the strike. In the jail vicinity every head was uncovered as they sang the last verse of the "Red Flag":

With heads uncovered swear we all  
To bear it onward till we fall;  
Come dungeon dark or gallows grim,  
This song shall be our parting hymn.

Then raise the scarlet standard high!  
Within its shade we'll live and die.  
Tho' cowards flinch and traitors sneer,  
We'll keep the red flag flying here.

On we marched around the Common, down to Essex street, the principal thoroughfare, and thence to Franco-Belgian Hall, where the children were received in the loving embraces of their parents.



DROWNING FREE SPEECH BY HITTING A WOMAN WITH A STREAM FROM A FIRE NOZZLE.

## The Shame of San Diego

BY

HARTWELL S. SHIPPEY

**S**PAT upon, cursed, reviled; the victims of lying calumny and vile vituperation; the recipients of farcical indignities on the part of the legal lackeys of an organized oligarchy; beaten, kicked, clubbed, starved by brass-bound blue-coated Cossacks and vigilantes, the scorned and despised members of the I. W. W. hold San Diego-on-the-bay in their grasp.

Laughing, only passively resistant, singing their songs of solidarity, these homeless, propertyless, countryless "hoboes," incarcerated in the iron-bound bastiles of smiling San Diego, are clamoring not for physical comforts or luxuries, but for mental food, the works of Marx, Spencer, Renan, Rousseau and Dietzgen.

Even without definite knowledge of the rhythmic tread of the thousands marching to their rescue, these modern Crusaders, buoyed up by their indomitable idealism, secure in the virtue of their

cause, have that great faith in the loyalty of their kind to feel, if they cannot know, that theirs will be the victory.

Rivaling the Coeur d'Alene and Colorado, the San Diego fight for free speech and free press will enter the pages of revolutionary history as a stupendous example of red-blooded men heroically enduring every conceivable form of "Man's fact self-control in the face of fiendishly inhumanity to man" and preserving perbrutal persecution.

San Diego may congratulate herself on being the instrument by which two socially valuable bits of education have been given to the world. First the world has come to know the extremes to which an overbearing despotism will go in its efforts to crush labor; and second, it is being demonstrated that, under certain conditions, revolutionary and conservative branches of the labor movement will line up together solidly and unitedly.



For, know ye, the battle is not primarily one fought for a short hundred yards of city street, nor yet for free speech and press alone. It is, at bottom, a struggle on the part of labor for the privilege of organizing and educating its kind to the end that the products of labor shall be rendered unto labor, and that better living conditions for the toilers shall make of this modern miasma of human misery a more fit state for human beings to occupy.

What precipitated this struggle in the non-commercial city nestling on the hills above a beautiful bay with the blue mountains rising in the distance?

California will, barring intervening preventatives, hold two great fairs in 1915, one at San Francisco and one at San Diego. A great amount of labor will be employed in instituting and conducting these fairs. Organized labor, as represented by the A. F. of L., insists on having a voice in determining the rate of wages it will receive and the conditions under which it will work. Organized capital, dominated by the M. and M., declares that IT shall be the sole arbiter in reference to these questions. Organized capital insists that the open shop shall prevail in California; while organized labor realizes that the closed shop is its life-principle. Knowing that it cannot prevail against the unions when there are no idle men to take their places, the M. and M., controlling the press of the country as it does, has systematically published misinformation throughout the country to the effect that jobs are plentiful in California—to the end that jobless men may flood the labor market of the coast and imperil the power of the unions.

The chief function of the Industrial workers of the World on the coast has been, and is, an education of the unemployed to an understanding of the interests of labor that prevents the out-of-works from acting in the selfish and cowardly role of strike-breaker or scab. The M. and M. recognizes this menace to their plans and strikes at the vitals of this education by an attempted suppression of free speech and press, these forms of freedom being imperative to the educators of the floating population.

Not only as preventers of scabbery is the I. W. W. feared, but as a fore-runner of that grim spectre that haunts Europe—revolutionary industrial unionism. An editorial in the San Diego Sun warns the natives that the Syndicalism of France and the industrialism that now holds England in its powerful clutch is rapidly taking form in America.

There are, among the most powerful of the local capitalists, some who state positively that the present rule of the vigilantes is a deliberate and direct result of a meeting of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association held in the U. S. Grant Hotel of this city, presided over by the infamously notorious Harrison Grey Otis. The action taken at this meeting was the beginning of a campaign against labor on the coast and particularly against the I. W. W. as the greatest menace against obtaining a scab-hearted army of unemployed.

That this program is not alone a local affair is proven by the systematic cooperation of the official lackeys of the M. and M. throughout the state. The police of Los Angeles and others points are exerting their power to prevent the marching men from arriving at San Diego. And that it is an attack on ALL forms of labor is evidenced by the arresting, beating and deporting of trades-unionists, Socialists and sympathizers, as well as members of the I. W. W.

The labor movement has good cause to be grateful to the M. and M. and local officialdom. They have accomplished that which the labor movement itself seemed unable to effect—namely a welding together into a solid, working unit, the heretofore widely different factions of labor; and the educating of all isms and osophies to an understanding that "an injury to one is an injury to all," and that all must unite to fight the common enemy.

Following close upon that memorable conference in the Grant Hotel, the city council, acting upon a petition of eighty-five members of the M. and M., and in opposition to a counter-petition of three hundred other citizens and tax-payers, passed an ordinance creating a "restricted district," and forbidding street speaking



Left to Right—Ewald Balz, one of the newsboys, Hartwill S. Shippey, and Stanley Gue, member Socialist Party and I. W. W.

therein. The enforcement of this ordinance excluded the street speakers from that part of the city where they could get and hold an audience of workingmen and men out of work.

The evening of February 8, the ordinance went into effect and forty-three members of the I. W. W., Socialists, trades-unionists and sympathizers were pulled from the historic soap-box—the first speaker being a member of the A. F. of L. Two women, Mrs. Laura Emerson, wife of a jeweler and a forceful speaker for the I. W. W.; Miss Juanita McKamey, 18 years of age and a very enthusiastic member of that organization; Kasper Bauer, Wood Hubbard, prominent and red-blooded members of the socialist party; Charles Grant, a veteran of every free speech fight on the coast, and other members of the I. W. W. and Socialist party composed the party which spent this first night in the city bastille. Forty were locked in the “drunk” cell with no blankets to make the concrete floor more comfortable.

For the following few days several men and women were arrested nightly until 216 were free speech prisoners, each demanding separate jury trials. In the last six weeks, three cases have been tried, and two convicted and sentenced to thirty

days, over 100 veniremen being examined in each of these cases.

From the first the press, including the Scripps sheet, the Sun, supposedly the “friend” of labor, have printed everything but the truth; and fake dynamite scares were only relieved in their monotony by incitation to violence.

The local jails being crowded to capacity and the official physician fearing an epidemic, seventy prisoners were deported to other county jails, where they are at the present writing.

During this time, J. Edward Morgan, one of the most powerful speakers in the revolutionary movement, was filling the halls to overflowing and speaking for the free speech league outside the restricted district. The collections on these occasions furnished ample funds to carry on the fight, so a “move on” ordinance was passed, the same serving as an anti-picketing ordinance in Los Angeles and elsewhere. To this ordinance the trades unionists are bitterly opposed, as it will undoubtedly be used against them when on strike.

Up to and preceding March 14, the fight was the conventional free speech fight; but on that date (Sunday) the police took the initiative and ceased booking their prisoners, though the original captives who are charged with criminal conspiracy and jail breaking are still reposing behind the bars. (The “jail breaking” consisted of supposed smashing of jail windows by prisoners who were denied food and water and were compelled to drink from the toilet.) At a meeting held in front of the city jail, outside of the proscribed district, the fire department was called upon and three fire engines played powerful streams of water upon the speakers, knocking down Mrs. Emerson, Miss McKamey, Mrs. Wightman, a religious speaker, but a courageous and high-minded woman, Miss Ruth Wightman, 44 years of age, and overturning a baby carriage, the baby being swept into the gutter by the heavy stream of water.

Mrs. Ray Holden, an innocent bystander, was clubbed over the abdomen by a guardian of the “peace,” being unconscious for two hours following. When her husband called at the police station to investigate, he was locked up and a

charge of sending in false fire-alarms was preferred against him.

Egged on by the violent and incendiary press, the local real estate dealers and other capitalists and members of the M. and M. formed themselves into vigilance committees and mob law was instituted. With the connivance and open aid of the police, bands of semi-disguised ruffians, appeared nightly at the police station, from whence, at the dead of night automobile loads of prisoners, industrial unionists, trades unionists in good standing, Socialists, and some with no affiliation, were carried from twenty to thirty miles into the hills and there beaten, clubbed, kicked while helpless on the ground and left with bloody heads and bruised bodies and with threats of death should they return. But return they did, to make affidavits of their persecutions.

March 28 died Michael Hoey, the first martyr of the San Diego battle. An old man, was Michael, but in perfect health, having walked 140 miles to the seat of war from Imperial Valley in the space



"Sulpher Smoke," veteran of industrial wars, "grabbing a rattler" for San Diego.

of 5½ days. Kicked in the stomach and groin by a policeman, Hoey complained continually of pain in the swelling on his side but was laughed at by the official physician, Dr. Magee, until Hoey was removed from the jail and taken to Agnew Hospital by the Free Speech League, remaining there until his death. He was cared for by Dr. Leon De Ville, a Socialist, and a devoted soldier of the revolution.

The following Saturday, March 29, sorrowing fellow-battlers of Michael Hoey's gathered on a vacant lot where, under the pitying smile of sunny California's blue sky, they paid their last respects to the fallen hero of labor's struggle. Waving sadly over his bier was the red flag, the emblem of brotherhood for which Michael Hoey had offered up his life. Not an insignia of violence and hatred, as conceived in the maggot-eaten brains of hired murderers and prostituted "journalists," but a token of peace and love. And then—ah, well is this article entitled "The Shame of San Diego"—then Harvey Sheppard, a minion of armed and brutal violence, invaded the sanctity of their victim's funeral and wrested the banner of brotherhood from the hands of the unresisting workingman who bore it, and placed the bearer under arrest! As I write all this I am seized with a feeling



"Sulpher Smoke" ready for the start.

that the readers will deem that my story is an exaggeration. But the official organ of the trades-unionists, the Labor Leader, and the Weekly Herald, an independent, profit-making sheet, will fully verify my tale.

Vincent St. John, secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W., has published a reward of five thousand dollars for the conviction of those who were the cause of Hoey's death.

While writing this article in Fred Moore's office, at 10:30 p. m., came a voice over the telephone:

"For God's sake come to 1222 A street! Come at once!"

We recognized the voice of Bert Laflin, erstwhile lieutenant under General Mosby of the Mexican insurrecto army, and at present employed by the San Diego Herald.

Attorney Moore, Wood Hubbard, who happened to be in the office, and the writer started down the seven flights of

stairs and on the run for the address. As we approached the house, we were halted by a policeman who held us up, searched us, and escorted us to the police station, where we learned that the vigilantes had kidnapped A. R. Sauer, editor of the *Herald*, and had carried him from his home out into the night, a pistol shot being fired as he was forced into the automobile. The *Herald*, though in no sense a revolutionary organ, being an admirer of Roosevelt and Madero, has yet stood staunchly against the fiendish brutality of the police and has lauded the struggles of the free speech army. Sauer is a fine type of courageous manhood, who, though he lost nearly every line of his advertising, stood forth clear and clean for Man against the M. and M. He is sixty-five years old, and his loyal and loving wife and daughters are weeping in their home for the horrible fate that may be the portion of their husband and father. There is positive identifica-

## MOTION BY COMRADE HAYWOOD

The following motion has been submitted by William D. Haywood to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, of which he is a member. The Committee is voting on it as the May Review goes to press: "For several months the workers of San Diego, Cal., have been carrying on a fight to re-establish the right of free speech which has been denied by the authorities of that city. The situation has become so desperate, it is time that all people who love liberty should take part in helping the workers of San Diego who are fighting and suffering for our cause. In this struggle the members of the Socialist Party, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the American Federation of Labor, are involved. Several hundred people, both men and women, have been arrested, and at the present time four county jails are filled to overflowing with those who have been willing to sacrifice all to maintain our inalienable rights. Hundreds have been deported, some have been cruelly clubbed, and even murders have been committed by the so-called authorities and prominent citizens of San Diego. The story is graphically told in a letter that I append, written by one who was there.

"In view of the conditions existing at San Diego, I submit the following motion: That the Socialist Party of America render all possible aid, morally and financially, and that such necessary steps be taken as will bring about a Congressional investigation of the usurpation of the constitutional rights of the working people of San Diego."



tion, however, of the automobile and its owner and driver, and Sheriff Jennings, who is decidedly favorable to our side, is out in the night with a posse, determined to bring to punishment the perpetrators of this dastardly deed.

The Building Trades Council and Federated Trades and Labor Council (A. F. of L.) of San Diego, Los Angeles and Oakland, and the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, have officially put themselves on record as endorsing the battle being fought at San Diego. Today, speaking to a special correspondent of the San Francisco *Bulletin*, sent here to report the struggle, a prominent official of the A. F. of L. said:

"It looks as though a general strike is the only remedy."

Olaf A. Tveitmoe denounced the outrages perpetrated upon union men, and proposed a resolution demanding that Governor Johnson take steps toward preventing the vigilantes from further sacrificing human life, which was adopted by

the meeting. For months, Tveitmoe has planned to parade a monster army of fifty thousand Frisco unemployed for the sake of eastern publicity, and to prove that jobs are NOT plentiful in California. This army is now being recruited and will be marched to San Diego, unless martial law is instituted, in which case the fight is won.

Meanwhile the workers are shaking the sleep of San Diego, while, in all probability, aided and encouraged by the National officers of the I. W. W. and the trades unions of the coast, at least 25,000 men are now wending their way to southern California and to San Diego. From an apparently insignificant attempt of a small city of 50,000 inhabitants to strangle free speech the struggle is becoming wider in its scope. Tramping thousands are on their way to San Diego and to a victory that shall give a new lesson to the coast of the undying loyalty and the ever-growing solidarity of labor.

## A Few Don'ts BY GUY McCLUNG

**D**ON'T jump into the Socialist movement merely because you have read somewhere that "the ethics of Christianity and Socialism are identical." Socialism has nothing to do with either Christianity or ethics. It is an economic movement and rests on a material basis.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you have a dream of the "Brotherhood of Man." Advocates of Socialism often quarrel as to how they are going to get it. They unite into an organization because they must stick together in order to win anything, not because they love each other.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you have seen suffering and misery about you and you want to help relieve it. Socialism is not humanitarianism. Instead of weeping over a poor workingman you sometimes get better results by telling him he's a bonehead.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you are appalled by the ignorance and sordidness of the world. Socialism is not an "uplift" affair

and to teach a man how to love flowers doesn't fill his belly.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you are disgusted with craft and corruption. Socialism is not a political reform. The sweetest-smelling government in the world would never raise wages nor reduce hours a particle.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you are tired of everything and want novelty. Socialism is not a side-show.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you want to help lead the working class into the promised land. What we need is less leadership and more service.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you've got some theories to air. We've got enough already.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement at all unless you mean business and are willing to fight. Socialism is for those who have nothing to lose but their chains. If you've got something to lose and are kind of doubtful about the proposition, here is our advice: STAY OUT.

# The Red Sweater

BY

EDMOND McKENNA

JOE MALONE keeps a barber shop in a basement in Hellen street, near the East River. Joe has an ample and fluent nature, a club foot, the grace of God, a fattish wife and five children, and a fine pitch of bravura abandon. He is a good barber, possessing the right touch, technique, expression, accent, interpretation and temperament. For the enlightenment of those who walk in darkness and who are apt to deem barbering a menial occupation like writing for the papers, perhaps it would be well to explain the terms.

By touch is meant the art of eliciting tone from the face. It is popularly supposed to be inborn, but this is true only of emotional touch. A fine touch, like any other artistic essential, is gained only by years of application. Joe's wonderful touch came through blood and tears.

Technique implies a faultless mastery of the mechanical difficulties of the razor, strop and brush with the least perceptible difficulty, and of the intimate relation between them and the jaw-bone of the shavee, so as to display a sympathetic revelation of the shaver's soul. It enables one to apply the appropriate degree of strength and gradations of strength.

Accent is a special emphasis placed on a particular face. It is the backbone of the shaving art and might be defined as the ability to cut the right face to the right depth at the right time with the right touch.

Expression is literally the expression of the emotional feelings. With the right power, ravishing effects are produced by it. Its possibilities are only beginning to be understood.

Interpretation is the unspoken revelation of the shaver's thought. It is subjective or objective, depending upon whether the barber's emotions or intelligence is the stronger. When emotion holds sway, the interpretation is subjective. Joe was emotional and in great moments, he could treat a face as if he

himself had just made it and could easily make another if he happened to spoil it.

Temperament is that subtle, evanescent something that emanates from a barber. Joe was possessed by it.

Reginald O'Carroll O'Roarke was one of Joe's once-a-week customers for shaving only. Reginald's hair was scenery. It had black mountain peaks in it and gloomy forests and rippled down his shoulders in jetty cascades. On Saturday his face was a little black lawn. He was over six feet tall, had a scholastic droop, bombastic eyes and a monastic mouth. He was educated to carry his three-story name. His principal studies were the poets and the lower classes, between which bodies of humanity, guided by his erudition, he was able to discern a subtle distinction.

Besides these qualities and accomplishments, there was inlaid in the culture of Reginald, rather than in his nature, a fine mosaic of kindness like that acquired by ancient epitaph writers whose profession did not permit them the use of a harsh word.

Shortly after Joe's place opened for business Saturday morning, Reginald let himself down the five steps that led to the basement, and crumpling himself at the knees and waist that he might reach the knob easily, opened the door and stooped through it.

The barber, who was his own janitor, had already swept the shop, arranged the two chairs and fed the canary hanging in its wicker cage in a window near the ceiling. The stove, nicely polished, was warming up with its first fire of the day. The two brass spittoons in their circles of sawdust were as yet unprofaned. A red sweater was hanging conspicuously on a hook by the door. Pinned to the sweater was a card with the legend:

"Gents sweater to be raffled for the benefit of a Lady. 10 cents a chance. Take one and try your luck."

When Joe saw his customer enter the

shop, he laid aside the morning paper, frowned, for the wind had been blowing off the river for two days and temperament was upon him rampant, its paw upon his breast. He rubbed his round foot on the floor and arose from his seat. After a blithe and gruff good-morning were exchanged between the two, Joe hobbled over to his place beside the chair, and, shoving up his shirt-sleeves, prepared to practice the technique of his art. Reginald, taking off his collar with classic leisureliness, was meanwhile reading the sign on the red sweater.

"Notice the sweater?" said Joe, for Joe had conquered that uncouth connivance to hide shame that others of the metropolis have called indifference.

"I notice," said the other severely, "that I am invited to try my luck for the benefit of a lady. Benefit of a lady, eh?" and he laughed a big, confident, explosive laugh that he had learned from a man who gives away shoes at election time.

"Great piece of work, that," said Joe, limping over and taking the sweater down from the hook and holding it up admiringly between him and the light. "Great piece of work, that. The man as gets that article gets a bargain. Won't feel no cold this winter, he won't!"

Reginald declined to comment on the greatness of the work or its use as a protection against cold, but went and sat down in the chair and tilted back his head and closed his eyes as if the subject wearied him.

"When you know some of the history of that sweater," said Joe, a little temperamentally, as he poised a brush full of soap above Reginald's severe monastic mouth, "It'll be different with you—you'll be interested."

The man in the chair sighed and when the barber had worked around to his ear and he could open his mouth with safety, he quoted slowly: "These words are like razors to my wounded heart."

"What? Bless me soul, I haven't touched a razor yet."

"I am quoting from Shakespeare," said the scholar. "He must have encountered such a man as you for he forswore shaving in his early youth and his classic features are disfigured by a beard."

"Never been in here, sir, never! And, besides, I treats my customers all alike."

There was a period of silence in which the barber examined his razor edge as a virtuoso might examine the E string.

He flourished the blade grandiosely and laid it on the man's cheek, taking a swift stroke from the ear to the chin. When he assured himself that his touch and accent were unimpaired, he volunteered "Sweaters is great for the chest," but the assertion drew no observation from Reginald.

"Ever hear, sir, of a sweater as was knit by feel?" he persisted.

"No, I have never heard of such an achievement."

"Well, that sweater was knit by feel, and what I can't understand is how it was knit by feel and not a hole in it, and a good shape, too—it gets by me!"

"The lady who performed the work must have had an exquisite touch," ventured Reginald, thinking of Joe's wonderful acquirement and permitting himself to be interested by the opportunity to indulge in a little humor at the barber's expense.

"Sometimes such artistic requisites persist in families. Is the lady related to you?"

"No," said Joe, unaffected by the sally. "The wife took her in after the last child was born. Delicate little thing—it is lots of trouble—must have someone to mind it all the time. So the wife hears about the lady who had been a faithful worker for so long, and what ain't much good any more, except, maybe, for minding kids, and the like, and takes her in. Queer sort, she is, but no harm in her. Used to sit all day and talk to herself and the kid what couldn't know what she was a-sayin' about education an' the like. Then one day, as the cold is coming on, she tells the wife she's goin' to knit a sweater, and the wife, more to please her than anything, gets the things for her and falls to, and with the kid in her lap, knits away. But how she does it by feel an' not a hole in it gets by me. Wouldn't a' believed if I hadn't seen her with my own eyes."

"Rather an unusual case of industry," said Reginald, and added somewhat drowsily, for Joe was developing expression at every stroke, "Industry is the sal-

vation of the poor. Unusual person, I should aver. What did she have to say about education?"

"Never rightly could understand, sir—just talked about it to herself an' the kid. Couldn't have much of it herself, she being a cook in one family for goin on forty years. An' then she ups and knits a sweater by feel, mind you. How she did it and not a hole in it is more'n I can understand."

"For forty years," mused the other. "Most remarkable case of fidelity, and should not go unrewarded. Where is the family for whom she worked so long?"

"Don't know, sir. Youngsters grew up and married, an' moved away. The old house was built over into a tenement for lodgers. Pretty rough, I call it, after forty year's service. Pretty well broke down she is, and when she finishes the sweater, I sees a chance to get her a little money by raffing it off among my customers. Besides, I take a pride in it myself, it being the only sweater ever I heard of that was knit by feel."

"I deprecate the idea of lottery or gambling," said Reginald, rising from the chair when the barber had done shaving him. "It is an insidious and evil practice, especially when carried on among the poor, whose example from the more affluent should be that of thrift and industry. However, as this is such a remarkable and worthy case, I shall purchase two tickets."

"Thank you, sir," said Joe, putting the two dimes in a tin box through a hole in the end of it, "And I have no doubt but what the lady would like to thank you herself. Most remarkable woman, sir, although she's all broke down now. You would like to see her, sir? What—yes?"

"Ho, Mary," he called to his wife, up the stairs that led from the shop to the kitchen. "Mary, a gentleman has bought two tickets for the sweater. Send the old lady down—the gentleman would like to see her."

There was a commotion in the room overhead and a shuffling of feet along the floor that made Joe a little impatient.

"You may have to wait a minute, sir,"

he said apologetically, "You see, the old lady's lame—bad knee and a sore on the leg—all done up like an old horse—worked forty years in one family and then she ups and knits a sweater by feel. How she did it gets by me."

After the lapse of a few minutes, the old woman appeared on the stairway guided by a little white-faced boy of seven or eight. When she had reached the last step, Joe limped over and helped her to the floor. Making a trumpet of his hands, he yelled into the old woman's ear "Gentleman just bought two tickets—wants to see you!" Turning to Reginald, who was standing in the corner near the stove, he said, "Deaf as a post, sir—done up proper."

The woman shuffled into the middle of the shop and stood staring with vacant eyes at the column of sunshine that leaned from the small window near the ceiling to the floor.

Her face was wrinkled and leathery and her cheeks blistered by many fires. Her sightless eyeballs looked like cloudy pearls stuck on chamois with crimson adhesive that showed around the edges.

The barber, whose impatience was getting the better of his pride in the woman's achievement, plucked her by the withered hand and shouted, "Not there, woman, not in the light—look, the gentleman's standing over here in the corner!" "Oh, but she's blind."

Reginald, with terrified look, gazed at the woman to whom he had gone in his college days for his tuition and spending money. As he looked he seemed to hear her oft-repeated injunction at parting.

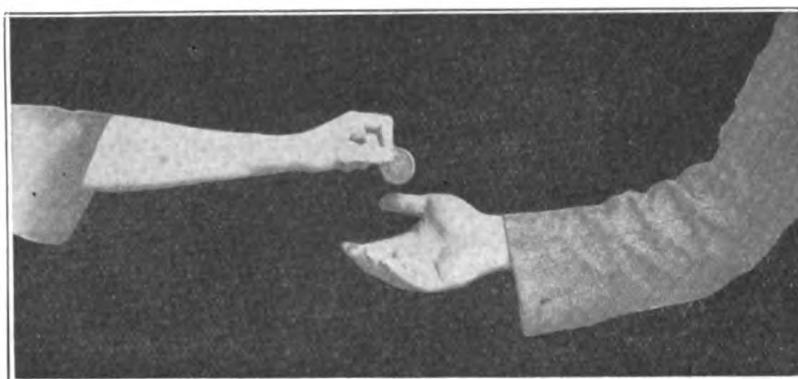
"Good-by, me darlin'—an' whatever ye do, get the iddication. Your poor Aunt never got none of it. These old hands have always had to work hard—Thank God, ye'll never have to do it. Good-by, and come again at the end of the month."

Casting about for a suitable classic expression, the big man roared out in the agony of one who feels the knife dart between his ribs.

"It's Aunt O'Roarke! Well, I'll be damned!"



# Women For Sale



BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

**A** SPEAKER was standing on a platform before a crowded house a few years ago. He was calling on all good citizens to come to the aid of their fair city which struggled in the clutches of a vicious and depraved gang of politicians. After working his audience up to a proper pitch, he suddenly held aloft a small brass check and cried:

"This is the price of a woman's virtue!"

This dramatic climax never failed to have the desired effect. Strong men sobbed and women became hysterical. Hoarse outcries, mingled with excited screams, drowned the orator's voice as he paced the platform and waved the brass check high in air.

The speaker was District Attorney Jerome of New York. He made his campaign against Tammany Hall in 1905 on the issue of that brass check and got into office on it. In vivid words he described scenes in the houses of prostitution belonging to Tammany districts and told how the inmates gave each customer a brass check which was duly paid for at the cashier's desk on the way out.

"Put me on the job," said Jerome, "and I will put a stop to such practices." And so he did. But he merely changed the method of bookkeeping, that was all. The business went on just the same. And then the system got Jerome and before he left office he was the joke of the metropolis.

But Jerome's exposure of the brass check business was most telling—for political purposes. It turned New York upside down. It wasn't the existence of prostitution, however, that shocked New York. It was the cold, businesslike basis on which it was conducted. That was what made the bourgeois mind recoil in horror. The bawdy house gang had done nothing worse than to conduct the business of prostitution according to modern, up-to-date business methods and put it on an organized, efficient and money-making basis, but New York's middle class wouldn't stand for the same methods in prostitution that in the grocery or restaurant business have their high approval. That was too orfully orful, so the respectable citizens elected Jerome as a sign to the red-light crew that they must keep tab some other way than by ringing up the price of a woman on a cash register.

But that same brass check system flourishes today in Chicago's red light district and nobody makes a croak. That signifies either that Chicago is not squeamish or that it is a businesslike town, as you prefer to look at it.

In Chicago you can buy a woman just as you do a horse, or in the same fashion that masters bought their slaves years ago.

Picture to yourself a squat building whose stained glass entrance is illumi-

nated by brilliant arc lights and from which comes the bang, tinkle and screech of an automatic music machine. A man enters and finds himself in a circle of women, young and old, and dressed in all the colors of the rainbow. All smile mechanically and stand up for his inspection.

When the customer has made his selection he is led to a staircase, at the foot of which sits an enormous negro woman, so fat she can move only with difficulty. She receives "the price" from the man and hands the woman a brass check. Each woman's accumulation of checks is later counted and a "settlement" made.

In the "better class" houses the proprietor allows each inmate to keep half her earnings. In the cheaper places the women are paid a "straight salary" of, say, \$12 a week. The proprietor keeps all their earnings. In addition, the women are forced to buy all their clothing and other necessities from certain dealers at exorbitant prices, reminding us of the "company store" kept by big corporations.

In short, the business of prostitution has become thoroughly capitalized. The victims are exploited down to the last penny that can be wrung from them. But the bawdy house proprietor merely does what any respectable employer of labor does. He appropriates all the "earnings" of his women slaves and hands them back just enough to live on and maintain a good appearance, just as the respectable capitalist appropriates all the value produced by his men slaves and hands them back the fraction called wages which they must have in order to live and to keep in good health in order to heap up more profit.

Prostitution is not a creation of capitalism. It is much older than the capitalist system. The prostitute existed two thousand years ago and more. But the prostitute of those days had a great advantage over her modern sister. She at least could keep all she made from the sale of her body. She was like the old-time craftsman who owned his own tools and therefore could not be exploited.

But it has remained for modern capitalism to assemble women into large herds

where they may be exploited in the mass and a profit skimmed off their combined labor of shame. Our modern capitalists have made a commodity out of a woman's virtue just as they have made a commodity out of a man's talent, his power to labor, and everything else that can possibly be bought and sold. The capitalist of the bawdy house is no more vicious or hateful than the capitalist of the glue factory, of the flour mill, or the machine shop. Both belong to the same class, and the preacher, the teacher, the editor, the lawyer, who upholds and supports the business of the modern employer of labor also necessarily upholds the business of the keeper of the house of ill fame.

Modern prostitution has lagged behind other industries because of the bourgeois hypocrisy that obtains in all matters pertaining to sex.

But there are signs that the business is soon to be "developed" according to approved capitalist methods. Recent exposures of the white slave traffic show that there is a tendency to put it on an organized and international basis. Ere long a J. P. Morgan or a John D. Rockefeller of the underworld will spring up. A history of his life will show that he began life as a humble pimp or cadet and began his business career with only one woman to exploit. Then he got another, added a third, and so on, until he got a dozen with whom he founded a regular house. A picture of this small place will be printed in his autobiography, looking dingy and piffling in comparison with the great palaces he owns today.

His first brothel, conducted with close economy and attention to business, brought him a profit with which he was able to obtain another herd of women and start a second house. A third house followed, a fourth, a fifth, and soon he had quite a chain. He soon outgrew his competitors and bought them out. If they refused to sell he opened a house next to them and cut rates, or brought political pressure to bear that soon forced the other houses to the wall. Rivals that copied his methods then became dangerous. Ruinous competition followed. He saw the folly of that and went out to kill off his weaker competitors. Those who

couldn't be killed off were invited to a conference and there a merger was formed, embracing three hundred different bawdy houses in a score of different cities.

He now had a well-organized monopoly of prostitution in the United States. He employed an army of cadets to bring in fresh girl recruits. No woman who once got into a house of his ever got out. Conditions became so bad that the inmates finally tried to form a union. But the King smashed this attempt by force in some places; and in others by paying some of his women higher wages and by treating them better he induced them to spy on their fellow workers and thus kept them divided by quarrels.

Having become all-powerful in America, he next reached out to other countries, but there came in conflict with strong foreign interests. After fighting a while, they all came together and formed a World-wide Trust in Prostitution, with its stocks and bonds listed on the stock exchanges and bourses, and all the other capitalist trimmings.

This may sound like a pipe-dream, but Business is Business.

And finally, let us not be horrified at the cadet or the prostitute-herder. He has perhaps a dozen women "keeping" him. The "highly-respected" department store proprietor has a thousand.

## The Price of Labor

BY

SAMUEL W. BALL

FOR more than an hour a group of men had been forming. They were gesticulating and talking loudly, but an expectant hush came over them as a man, walking rapidly, came from among the buildings that lined either side of the drive-way. He had a hard and unsympathetic face and he glanced searchingly over the group of three hundred applicants for a job. The eye of the seeker was practiced and determined and it was evident that he would not be influenced through sentiment to select any but the particular type of man he wanted.

Any morning at the gate of the Hammond Packing Company, Chicago, one may observe the above proceedings. One having authority, and exhibiting a consciousness of it, comes from the main building, walks rapidly to the time-keepers' shanty, picks out a man from among five or six hundred, has the time-keeper give him a number and hurriedly leads the man away.

All sorts and conditions of men congregate at the packing house gate every week-day morning looking for that elusive job. They come from all parts of Europe and they speak a varied language. Among

them are Russians, Poles, Bohemians, English, French, Germans, Italians and Greeks; large men, small men, fat men, lean men and all ages from sixteen to sixty. At some time during a month every trade, craft or profession is represented by some one who has come here during a term of hard luck seeking a dollar at menial labor.

Here only the large and strong and healthy are ever selected. The weak, the small, the deformed and the aenemic are rejected. There is no bickering about wages. The applicant asks no questions; when pay-day comes he accepts the wage that is given him. He may consider it small, but if he has worked here before he says nothing.

Perhaps he senses, while not fully understanding, that his labor is a commodity; that the power of his arm and the skill of his hand are bought and sold on the market like pig-iron, chewing gum or edibles. A publisher of bibles, when making a price on his product, considers the cost of paper, printing, binding and distribution. The cost of mining and smelting determines the price of pig-iron and the chewing gum manufacturer estimates

the cost of the raw material in determining the price of a penny stick of chewing gum.

With labor the process is the same. The raw material out of which labor-power is produced is food, clothing and shelter. In order for the workingman to renew his energy from day to day he must have these three things. Dead men do no work and therefore do not produce profits; so it follows that one who employs the worker must supply him with wages sufficient to buy food, clothing and shelter.

Labor, being a commodity, sells on the market for about what it costs to produce it. What a horse or a mule gets in the way of food is not determined by the amount of work he does, but by the necessity of keeping him alive.

In Oriental countries a workingman can live on a bowl of rice, eat with a stick and sleep in a knot-hole. His wages average perhaps twelve cents a day.

In England the average wage is about six dollars a week and we find that it costs approximately six dollars a week for a workingman to live in England.

If bread, meat and potatoes were to drop in price, wages would go down in consequence. Were clothing cheaper, wages would be lower. When house rent is reduced to ten cents a month, the wages of the workers will fall to a point where they will still not be able to save anything.

Where the cost of living is low, wages are low because wages are determined by what it costs to live. If a workingman happens to be getting two dollars a day when it only costs \$1.75 to live it will not be long until some fellow in greater need or with a lower standard of living will offer to do the same work for \$1.75 and will get the job.

In the western portion of the United States the cost of living is about twenty-five per cent higher than in the east and it is also true that in the west wages are about twenty-five per cent higher.

If for any reason the price of bread should soar to a dollar a loaf or house rent be increased to a thousand dollars a minute, wages would have to be raised to cover the increased cost of living, to keep the workers alive. With workers dead or

incapacitated, the owners would have no source of profit so they increase wages when compelled by necessity.

We see, therefore, that whether wages are high or low has nothing to do with which political party is in power or whether we have high tariffs or free trade. So long as there are men out of work, labor will be bought and sold on the market in the same way as tea-kettles, candy, or carpets. When a man buys any commodity he pays no more for it than he is compelled; whether he is buying labor at the Hammond Packing Company or buying the Hammond Packing Company's ham and leaf lard.

The principle is not altered because of the fact that skilled labor receives higher wages than unskilled. Skilled labor requires training and education and these form a part of the cost of living. In the case of the skilled laborer the employer must pay for as much education as is required for efficiency. Where the cost of living is two dollars a day, these laborers receive from three to ten dollars a day in accordance with the cost of their training or apprenticeship.

Under the wages system the worker is not regarded as a man. He is a commodity and his emotions, aspiration or feelings are not considered. The thing of prime importance is how much does it cost to live. If the day should ever come when the working people would learn to live on grass, their wages will be reduced accordingly, by the competition of workers for jobs.

The man that employs the worker is not concerned about your nationality, religion or politics. He cares nothing about your need, your aspirations, your hopes or your ideals. He wants his work done so that it will bring a profit to him. If a mule or a monkey or a machine would do it as well and as cheaply he would as readily employ them. Whether you are a human being or not is of small consequence. The buyer of labor at the gate of the Hammond Packing Company wants to know only one thing and that is, "Does the man appear large and strong enough to do a prodigious amount of work without growing tired?" If the man that happens to be fortunate enough to be selected, raises



any objection or complaints about the wages he is to receive the boss wastes no time in argument. He looks over the crowd of applicants again and selects one who is willing to work and ask no questions.

As long as the wages system maintains, just that long will men be bought and sold; just that long will man be a com-

modity; a chattel; a thing; subject to the fluctuations of the labor market. As long as the wages system continues, that long will the worker be without any chance of taking his place as an equal member of the human family.

The only hope for the working-class lies in the abolition of the wages system. This is the aim of Socialism.

## Working Class Morality

BY

JESSE FALES

“THE history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.”—*Communist Manifesto*.

The proletarian is confronted from time to time with startling evidences of the immoral lawlessness of his class. Agents of the bourgeoisie eternally on the lookout for isolated instances of the violation of religious, civil, educational, or sentimental customs, on the part of the proletariat, such as: Disregard for the rights of property; disrespect for national emblems; lack of racial discrimination; hostile attitude toward the churches' influence over affairs nuptial; irreligion; anti-militarism; and a general disinclination for a host of other bourgeoisie ideas. These perversities are repeatedly denounced by the press and pulpit of the bourgeoisie who vituperate against them as indications of the elements in the proletariat, that are working for the destruction of the social fabric.

To the really class-conscious proletarian these bitter attacks appear in their true light; as modest efforts of the bourgeoisie to maintain its tyrannical position by instilling its tyrannical ideas. Proletarians of this type are in the struggle; have most likely absorbed Marxian ideas to some extent, and have as a result, possess a larger comprehension of existing social institutions. But to a great mass of workingmen, attacks of this kind coming from both press and pulpit are received with

credulity, and the instances upon which they are founded acknowledged with a blush of shame.

Such instances of “immoral lawlessness” will be found, however, in most cases to be nothing more than the initial efforts of the rising proletariat to cast off the class rule of the bourgeoisie, and along with it the class ideas by means of which it perpetuates its rule. This is nothing more than the class-struggle. A little over 50 years ago the bourgeoisie accomplished the same thing in its struggle with feudalism. With a violence that shocked the entire world, the modern ruling class broke the control of the feudal lords, and rose like a bellowing giant from out of the universal chaos. But did this new ruling class still retain the idea of the nobility? Did it continue to conform with the ideas of the old ruling class; the feudal notions of marriage, religion, and jurisprudence? Certainly not! It at once became “immorally lawless”—as far as the nobility was concerned. It established new standards of ethics, enforced new laws of conjugation, and permitted a broader toleration of religious beliefs.

Withal, however, and notwithstanding their unquestioned superiority over the feudal ideas which preceded them, the new ideas arriving with the bourgeoisie were without the slightest advantage to the proletariat which remained in a state of slavery. These ideas were purely bourgeois and useful only in maintaining bourgeois rule.

But the day is now at hand when the

proletariat will rise out of its slavery. It will overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie just as the bourgeoisie overthrew the rule of the nobility; and what is even more important, it will cast aside the prevailing customs and ideas established by the bourgeoisie just as the bourgeoisie cast aside the custom and idea of the age preceding it.

The alarm of the worker at the instances of "immoral lawlessness" is therefore entirely unwarranted, and is born chiefly from a lack of intelligence concerning the class-struggle. All that is necessary to explain the origin of these isolated instances, and neutralize their effect is to make clear to the worker the basic principles of the omni-present class-struggle—the rotation of class rule—and the final ascension of the slave class, the proletariat, whose administration will erase all class distinctions, and put an end to all class-struggles.

Now this is by no means a call for class hatred, although in that terrible struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie which is now going on, the very weapons of the latter, and the cruelty of its measure, is more than likely to engender class hatred to some extent in the breast of the former. The bourgeoisie held little love for the nobility, as the gruesome incidents of the Paris commune seem to evince. But it is a call for class contempt. The proletariat must cast aside the idea of the bourgeoisie. It must hold in contempt all those precious "By grace of God" ideas of the ruling class, and mould in their stead new ideas more to the advantage of the approaching rule of its own class. It must learn to analyze and dissect—to separate the chaff from the wheat in all civic, religious, sentimental, and educational ideas of the bourgeoisie for it is as much by the changing of these ideas that it will thrive or perish, as it is by their constant influence that the present ruling class is enabled to maintain its power.

With these few points cleared up, all those instances of "immoral lawlessness" on the part of the proletarian lose their lawless character. The workers' contempt for the "Sacred rights of private property" becomes an element in the class war. Private property is the bulwark of the

bourgeoisie. Its structure is founded on private ownership. By making capital private property, the bourgeoisie is enabled to exploit and enslave the proletariat. The principal victory, therefore, of the proletariat, at that time when it shall emancipate itself, will be the destruction of all rights to private property, howsoever irrational this may at present appear. But it must first condemn the idea before it can destroy the fact.

While private property is the central idea of the bourgeois class rule, it is not conclusive in itself. There happens to be a great many other ideas no less vicious than that of private property, which lend support to it without being a part thereof, and it is the inculcating of these ideas that maintains class rule without constant and open violence which would undoubtedly be necessary did they not exist. It therefore becomes the duty of the proletarian to single them out; hold them in contempt, and finally mark them for destruction.

One of the most important things in the casting aside of these ideas is to prevent our children from absorbing them. Ideas are but the natural substance of ideals. Most ideals are educational in effect. That is to say: They are not forced upon us, but placed in such favorable positions during those studious periods of our lives that their absorption is both natural and convenient.

The constant impressing on the minds of our young men and women of any one point leads them to accept that point as self-evident. Yet careful analysis of it may reveal a most pernicious fallacy contained within. But careful analysis of universally accepted doctrine is a species of "lawlessness" in itself—the ruling class.

When respect for the army and navy is impressed on our youth—and the army and navy are but support for the idea of private property;—when the glories of savage battle and bloodshed are held aloof for the innocent gaze of our children, it is quite natural for them to respond with enthusiasm for these things and with respect for the filthy business for which they are retained. Yet neither the army nor the navy is a proletarian ideal. They

are truly the great institutions that have defiled the proletariat. Heroes of wars recalled from ancient memory to the present day, towering over the years with their blood-shot eyes and fingers reeking with gore—chiefly from the butchered bodies of the proletariat—are not working class heroes! Hired by the ruling class, they belong to it body and soul.

But the working class, the proletariat, has heroes enough. There is absolutely no reason for it worshipping bourgeois heroes. From Karl Marx and Robert Owen to Francisco Ferrer, there is a long list of truly working class heroes; deserving of working class respect, and worthy of loving commemoration from the sons and daughters of the proletariat.

The working class can have no use for patriotism of any national sort. What it needs, and must eventually find is not patriotism, but loyalty and adhesion to the world-wide proletarian movement, in view of the fact that it has but one enemy—the bourgeoisie.

Coming under this category for purposes of criticism, are ideas touching almost every phase of the life of the proletarian under bourgeoisie class rule. The sex problem is one of them. The marriage question is another.

The position of woman under bourgeoisie rule is intolerable, yet it has been established through the institution of bourgeoisie ideas.

During the early part of the bourgeoisie

rule, the marriage function was separated from the church and taken over by the state to which it was vital. But the church still retains a certain grip upon the institution; an authority over the ceremony, that gives it the privilege of saying which unions shall be valid, and which shall not be valid. It is this grip that the proletariat must break. The church and state must be separated definitely.

The fact then, of a few scheduled, and altogether too much insulated cases of proletarian irregularity should not be amazing to any workingman. They are but the first visible signs of the awakening of his class social consciousness, and social significance. Were they not so, he may rest assured the bourgeoisie would spare no time vituperating against them. Since these ideas will be taught to his children in the future, it becomes almost a prerequisite that he understand them first, and in order to understand them he must give considerable attention to the class-struggle from which they are sprung.

He is not, however, to judge them by comparison with the decadent ideas of the bourgeoisie, but only by their importance to the working class of which he is a member. And this he should remember above all things: that in the new morality of the working class the greatest virtue of all virtues is class-consciousness and loyalty to the interests of the working-class.

Pity for poverty, enthusiasm for equality and freedom, recognition of social injustice and a desire to remove it, is not Socialism. Condemnation of wealth and respect for poverty, such as we find in Christianity and other religions, is not Socialism . . . Modern Socialism is the child of capitalist society and its class antagonisms. Without these it could not be. **SO-CIALISM AND ETHICS ARE TWO SEPARATE THINGS.** This fact must be kept in mind.—Wilhelm Liebknecht in "No Compromise."

# The Grabbing of California Lands

## A Statement of Facts for the Tenant Farmers In California

BY GUSTAVUS MYERS

*Author of the "History of the Supreme Court of the United States," "History of the Great American Fortunes," etc.*

**T**HIS article is especially addressed to you tenant farmers of California, although the information it contains is of value to the whole of the working class of which you are a part. You, like the industrial workers of the towns and cities, have been dispossessed from the land, which is to say you have to pay heavy tribute for the privilege of occupying it. True, you till the soil and make it yield the harvests, but the bulk of your labor and produce goes to the proprietors. This, however, is not a strange condition, for under the existing capitalist system those who do the work of the world get nothing but a precarious existence, while they who hold the paper titles to railroads, industries, utilities and land reap the extravagant rewards and profits. The one class becomes paupers, the other millionaires and billionaires.

Have no illusions as to what the ownership of the capitalists is based upon. It is not founded upon labor or service. You ought to know that fact. It is not based upon any principle of equity or justice. It is based purely and wholly upon certain paper titles which the Law, the great institution of Law, recognizes as valid. How these paper titles were obtained—whether by perjury, forgery, fraud, force or theft—is of no concern in the majestic eye of Law. The sufficient thing is that they are *legal titles*. Over and over again, the Supreme Court of the United States has declared this in plain language. In a noted decision, the late Justice Brewer declared that it was immaterial how an owner got his property. "He may have made his fortune by dealing in slaves, as a lobbyist, or in any other way obnoxious to public condemnation, but if he has acquired the legal title to his property, he is protected in its possession, and cannot be

disturbed until the receipt of the actual cash value."

The frankness of this declaration was refreshing. There was no pretence that any ethical considerations were a mission of Law, or a part of Law. The laws were arranged to protect fraud and force—when committed in the name of property. Naturally. All capitalist property is the product of fraud and force, and obviously the courts, which represent capitalist institutions, must weave their decisions and precedents to justify those thefts.

So it is that paper titles to property are your shackles. Back of the courts are police, sheriff's deputies, militia and army all in readiness to use clubs, bayonets and machine guns to execute the court's decrees. It is this array of massed force that gives the paper titles the power that they have; otherwise they would be no more than waste paper. Holding these paper titles in the form of stocks, bonds and deeds, even suckling infantile heirs of capitalists can and do own vast possessions, and have armies of profit producers working for them. This is no jest but a stern reality. In gilded nurseries today there squat multimillionaire infants for whose benefit tens of thousands of men, women and children are drudging and killing themselves in factories and mines and on farms and railroads.

How did those who own the land you cultivate get *their* paper titles? You will learn some of the original and hitherto unrelated facts in this article. All of the facts related here are taken from the official and court records, and in the author's forthcoming "History of the Supreme Court of the United States," are described in great detail, with abundant references to documentary records.

When California was about to pass from Mexican rule to the authority of the United States, the business of forg-

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ing land-grant deeds was carried on more briskly than ever before. Literally, it was a business. As United States Attorney-General Black reported to Congress in 1860: "The archives thus collected furnished irresistible proof that there has been an organized system of fabricating land titles carried on for a long time by Mexican officials; that forgery and perjury had been reduced to a regular occupation, that the making of false grants, with the subornation of false witnesses to prove them had become a trade and a business." The grants in most of these fraudulent cases, Attorney-General Black reported further, "were very skillfully got up, and were supported by the positive oaths, not merely of obscure men whose characters were presumed to be fair, but also by the testimony of distinguished men who had occupied high social and political places under the former governors."

Mexican authority in California was overthrown on July 7, 1846. But, as Justices Davis, Clifford and Swayne, of the Supreme Court of the United States, said in a dissenting opinion in 1869, "the history of the times made it clear to every intelligent man for a considerable period before this date that the country would pass to the jurisdiction of the United States." It was during this time that a large number of great grants of land were made by the acting Mexican Governor, Pio Pico, and other alleged grants were forged and antedated as having been given by previous Mexican governors.

By the year 1850 there was a fine assemblage of alleged land grants submitted to the United States Board of Land Commissioners. They were impressively drawn up, carried official signatures and seals and looked proper enough. One thing only they lacked, and that was final confirmation by the United States authorities. They were not modest grants. Altogether, they purported to give away millions of acres of the finest lands on the coast. Some of the pushers of these grants did not care about agriculture and had no such end in view. Gold had been discovered in California, and the great aim was to get as much land as possible upon the supposition that gold was everywhere. Other

claimants wanted big areas for grazing purposes.

Familiar with the fraudulent origin of most of these alleged grants, the United States Boards of Land Commissioners and the United States District Courts in California refused to confirm many of them. Indeed, it looked as though nearly all of them would be thrown out as spurious. But the real holders of many of the bogus grants were some of the most powerful politicians in the country. General John C. Fremont turned up with a claim for a "floating grant" for ten square leagues (44,386.33 acres). Fremont claimed that the Mexican Governor Micheltorena had made this grant in 1844 to Juan B. Alvarado, from whom he (Fremont) claimed to have bought it. By "floating grant" was meant one with boundaries not described, but with power to locate anywhere.

The Government contested Fremont's claim, asserting it to be invalid. But the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1854, confirmed it, accepting Fremont's fraudulent excuse that "Indian hostilities" had prevented the settlement called for by Mexican laws. When Fremont bought this claim he was—in 1850-51—a United States Senator from California. Two years after winning the case he became, in 1856, the candidate of the Republican party for the presidency.

This grant, as we have seen, was alleged to have been given by Governor Micheltorena. In the hearings in 1858, on the great fraudulent Limantour claims six of the eight of which professed to cover 924 square miles, and which claims Judge Hoffman at San Francisco threw out of court on the ground of proved forgery, certain remarkable facts were brought out. It was shown that a great number of blank grants with the names of Governors Micheltorena and Bocanegra attached, or purporting to be attached, on genuine Mexican government stamped paper of the years 1842 and 1843 had been extensively in circulation in California for years. These blanks had been used for the purpose of fabricating grants to land.

Doubtless Fremont's claim was filled out on one of these blanks. But it had been validated by the Supreme Court of

the United States in 1854, and that case served as the leading precedent which the land commissioners and courts in California were compelled to follow. Under the "principles" established by the Supreme Court of the Fremont case, the courts in California were forced immediately to validate a number of other great land grant claims.

Among these confirmed grants were Charles D. Semple's to eleven leagues of land on the Sacramento River; George C. Yount's to ten square leagues in Colusa County; Hiram Grimes' claim to eight leagues of land in San Joaquin County; Juan Pachecho's claim to eleven leagues in Mariposa County; Andreas Pico's claim (one of a number of his claims) to eleven leagues in Calaveras County; Thomas O. Larkin's claim to eleven square leagues on the west bank of the Sacramento River; the Chambolla claim to eight leagues in San Joaquin County, and Antonio Maria Pico's claim to eight leagues in the same county; James Noe's claim to five leagues in Yolo County, and many other claims of the same character.

In all, these particular claims comprised more than 550,000 acres of the richest and most accessible lands in California. In confirming them Judge Hoffman made severe comments upon their origin, and more than hinted that if he did not have to follow the ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Fremont case, he would have rejected most of them as fraudulent. Indeed, after Judge Hoffman had confirmed Andreas Pico's claim, United States Attorney-General Stanton later presented evidence to the Supreme Court of the United States showing that Governor Pio Pico had never made any such grant to his brother, Andreas Pico. "It is a forgery," Stanton declared in Court. "The proof of this is powerful and overwhelming." In the face of this proof the Supreme Court could not avoid invalidating this particular claim. But most of the other claims were never voided.

A few notorious claims were kicked out of court, but not until their promoters had exhausted every possible resource and had persistently fought the Government from court to court. The secretary of the Acting Mexican Governor Pio Pico

had been one Moreno. "Gomez, Abrego and Moreno," reported the House (Congressional) Committee on Claims, in 1869, "are equally notorious for the forgeries and perjuries in which they have been concerned. Gomez and Abrego were the chief instruments in the false swearing in the great Limantour swindle.

Abrego had been a witness to support thirty-two, and Gomez, twelve, claims, most of which were ascertained to be frauds or forgeries."

The Luco claim to 270,000 acres was thrown out of court. So was Cambuston's claim to eleven square leagues on the upper waters of the Sacramento River. Likewise was Boulton's claim to 10,000 acres of land in the vicinity of San Francisco. These claims were proved to be forgeries. So, too, was Rafael Garcia's claim to nine leagues of land; Garcia swore that the grant emanated from Governor Micheltorena, but it was a forgery. The heirs of Augustin DeYturbide claimed four hundred square leagues. This claim was rejected by the Supreme Court of the United States, but only upon the technical ground that the claimants had not filed their appeal in the prescribed time.

These were some examples of rejected claims. In many cases they were contested not so much because of their obvious fraudulent character, but because they conflicted with the aims of powerful politicians, individual capitalists or corporations. The reason that the Limantour claims were fought so hard and finally exposed and voided was because they conflicted with claims and property of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and other large land holders.

Now and then, in the case of some too glaring fraud, the Supreme Court of the United States dared not sanction the claim. In 1853, Vincent Gomez applied for a confirmation of an alleged claim of four leagues of land. Who was his attorney? None other than Pacificus Ord, the United States District Attorney at San Francisco. In 1859, Attorney-General Black proved to the Supreme Court of the United States that Gomez had conveyed one-half of the tract to Ord, when the latter was district attorney. The claim was then thrown out.

In fact, there were few Government officials, including judges, who were not interested, like Ord, in the great looting in process. The records show this. The scandal became so great that Congress subsequently passed a special act forbidding judges to sit in land cases in which they were interested. It may be said that Judge Hoffman was one of the very few honest judges.

Year after year the Supreme Court of the United States went on confirming private land claims alleged to have been granted by Mexican governors. Juan Jose Gonzales claimed a tract of one league in length, and three-quarters of a league in breadth; he had only *one witness* to prove the genuineness of his claim, but his title was confirmed. Pearson B. Reading came forward with a claim for six square leagues on the Sacramento River. This claim was alleged to have been signed by Micheltorena. Reading professed to have been a Mexican citizen, yet he had served in the war against Mexico. The principal pusher of the Reading claim was Lewis Cass. This was the same Cass, who as Governor of Michigan Territory, had been bribed by John Jacob Astor, in 1817, and who was in the United States Senate in 1845-1848. He was the Democratic candidate for president in 1848. The majority of the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1855, confirmed the Reading claim.

At the same time the same court validated other similar claims. The Arguelto claim to twelve square leagues bordering on the Bay of San Francisco, and extending back to the mountains, was validated, despite the fact that the Mexican laws had expressly prohibited the granting of sea-coast territory. The Vaca and Pena claim to a large tract on the Sacramento river, and the Larkin-Misroon claim to a tract eleven leagues long and a league wide on the same river, were validated by the Supreme Court.

Then came the validation of the large and rich Peralta claim of five leagues, running south from the Bay of San Francisco over the town of Oakland, and east to the mountains. This was an alleged Micheltorena grant. The Pedrorena claim to eleven leagues in San Diego County was also confirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States; this

claim was based upon an alleged grant made by Pio Pico, in 1845. The Castillero claim was next validated. It covered a large tract near Santa Clara, and included the rich New Alamaden quick-silver mine then producing a total of \$1,000,000 a year.

Nearly nine million acres of the very best and richest lands in California were appropriated by a few looters who got them wholly on grants alleged to have been made by Mexican governors. The methods are described in full in the "History of the Supreme Court of the United States," but a few more examples will be to the point here.

During and after the Civil War the Supreme Court kept on validating California land claims. The Supreme Court allowed John A. Sutter to get away with eleven square leagues in Sacramento County and Marysville, although all that Sutter could produce in support of his claim was an order alleged to have been made by the Mexican Governor Alvarado, in 1841, extended by Governor Micheltorena, in 1845. The great Throckmorton claim came before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1878. The original pusher of this claim had been W. A. Richardson who had been officially exposed as a notorious perjurer. This claim purported to be a grant from Micheltorena; the Government charged that the papers were forged. But the Supreme Court validated the claim.

So 8,850,143.56 acres of California lands went. It is possible that a few of the private land claims purported to have been given by Mexican governors were genuine, but it is certain that the great majority of them were forgeries. A total of 588 claims were confirmed. We shall here recall Justice Brewer's declaration given in the opening part of this article. The significance of that declaration will be more fully seen when it is explained that Brewer was the nephew of Justice Field who had been pushed for the Supreme Court Bench by Leland Stanford of the Central and the Southern Pacific railroads. Field was known as the "protector of the land interests."

In addition to the nearly 9,000,000 acres described above, the railroads obtained a total of about 13,218,895 acres in California. The methods by which they

secured this enormous area, and their successive briberies of Congress and the California Legislature, are related in detail in the author's "History of the Great American Fortunes."

More millions of acres of the very choicest lands were corruptly obtained by capitalists on the representation that they were "swamp lands." The "Swamp Land Investigating Committee" of the California Legislature reported in detail, in 1873, how by means of fraudulent surveying and other official connivance, vast areas of the very best lands were practically given away under the pretence that they were "swamp lands." Often, the committee reported, "they would postpone all investigations until the height of the floods, during the rainy season, when surveyors, in interest with themselves, would be sent to make out reports as to the 'swamp' character of the

land. . . . The simple presence of the water is all that is necessary to show to the speculators that the land is 'swamp' and it therefore presents an inviting opportunity for this grasping cupidity."

These are merely a few of a great mass of facts of how the land in California was stolen. It is a strong word—is stolen—but considering the facts, it is the exact word. The land robbers got the land, and you have to pay their successors for the mere privilege of cultivating or living on a small part of it. This is the way the capitalist system works. Those who steal in petty ways outside the law go to prison, but pirates who take care to annex the law become the respectable of society, and command the labor and produce of tens of millions like you. How much longer will you uphold this system? Is it not time that it was smashed—it and all of its institutions?



—From Milwaukee Leader.  
THE BLACK FLAG OF CAPITALISM.





A CHARGE OF ZAPATISTAS.

## What Mexico's Struggle Means

BY

WM. C. OWEN, Editor English Section, "Regeneracion," Official Organ of the Mexican Liberal Party

“**W**HAT the Zapatista knows is that there are privileged beings in society who have too much while he goes hungry.”

Or, again: “The whole burden of their song is this: ‘For four hundred years we have borne contumely, hunger and deprivation of our rights. Every time that revolutionists needed us to overthrow some bad government they called on us and then forgot their promises. We now want back the lands that have been taken from us, and we intend to have them, by fair means or foul.’” These two quotations—the first from the “*Revista de Revistas*,” of Mexico City, and the second from “*Collier's*”—gives us, as it seems to me, the heart of the Mexican Revolution from the standpoint of the proletariat. It is

trying to get back by force what has been taken from it by force, or fraud backed by force.

For the capitalists it may be said that there are probably nearly \$2,000,000,000 of foreign money invested in Mexico, which has been looking for large returns and expecting additional opportunities for lucrative investment. For the present all that has gone by the board, and naturally capital will fight with every weapon in its armory to retrieve the situation. Moreover, and this I judge to be even more important, it cannot safely allow so gigantic an act of confiscation to pass unchallenged. The easiest and safest way to retrieve the situation is obviously to hoodwink the masses and, by seductive promises, induce them to abandon action. The



REBELS WAITING IN AMBUSH.

most expensive and dangerous way is intervention by force of arms.

Recently one of my friends interviewed some eighteen Mexican prisoners confined in a county jail, most of them on vagrancy charges. He reported that they appeared to be ignorant on the social question as a whole, but that every one of them said the Mexicans wanted back their lands. My own experience is that if you attempt to discuss politics with the Mexican proletarian he shows no interest, but that the

moment you mention the word "land" he becomes alert. From the land, owned communally, his ancestors wrung, for ages, a living that suited well their tastes and habits. Without the land he himself is an outcast, slaving for masters he detests. Why should he not want the land?

Apparently the Mexican proletariat knows exactly what it wants and means, if possible, to get it; and apparently it has convinced its former masters of that important fact. The signing by Madero of



READY TO RUSH INTO MEXICO,

the San Luis Potosi plan; the manifestoes issued by Zapata, by Gomez and by all aspirants for office; the long discussions on the agrarian question with which leading Mexican publications abound; the talk of delegations that visit Mexico City; the commissions appointed by the central and state governments; and, above all, the answers given to officials sent to pacify the people, tell one and all, the same story. Many of the leading citizens engaged in such activities undoubtedly would dodge the land question if they could, but it bobs up always and everywhere, for it is the backbone of the revolution.

It is obvious, furthermore, that however much the Mexican masses may want the land they cannot get it if legal titles are to be respected, for a small handful of monopolists has cornered the land supply of Mexico, largely by grants acquired under the long regime of Diaz. On the good ship in which the Mexican nation sails its way across the sea of life all accommodations have been pre-empted, and the masses can either stand around on sufferance or jump overboard. In the past many took the latter course and swam to the United States. The expedient has not proved satisfactory and the growing disposition is to stand their ground and fight.

What else is there to do? To run Diaz out and put Madero in seemed one way of getting at the trouble, but the economic problem remains unsolved and it is evident that Madero has neither the wish nor the capacity to solve it. Even in his last pronunciamiento, dated March 3, 1912, wherein he urges the masses to support his government and join his army, he repeats his previous sermon on industry and frugality as the sovereign cure. Nevertheless he acknowledges in that same document that "unfortunately Gen. Diaz' government alienated in an immoderate manner nearly all the national lands"; whereupon, having admitted the great central fact, he grapples with it thus:

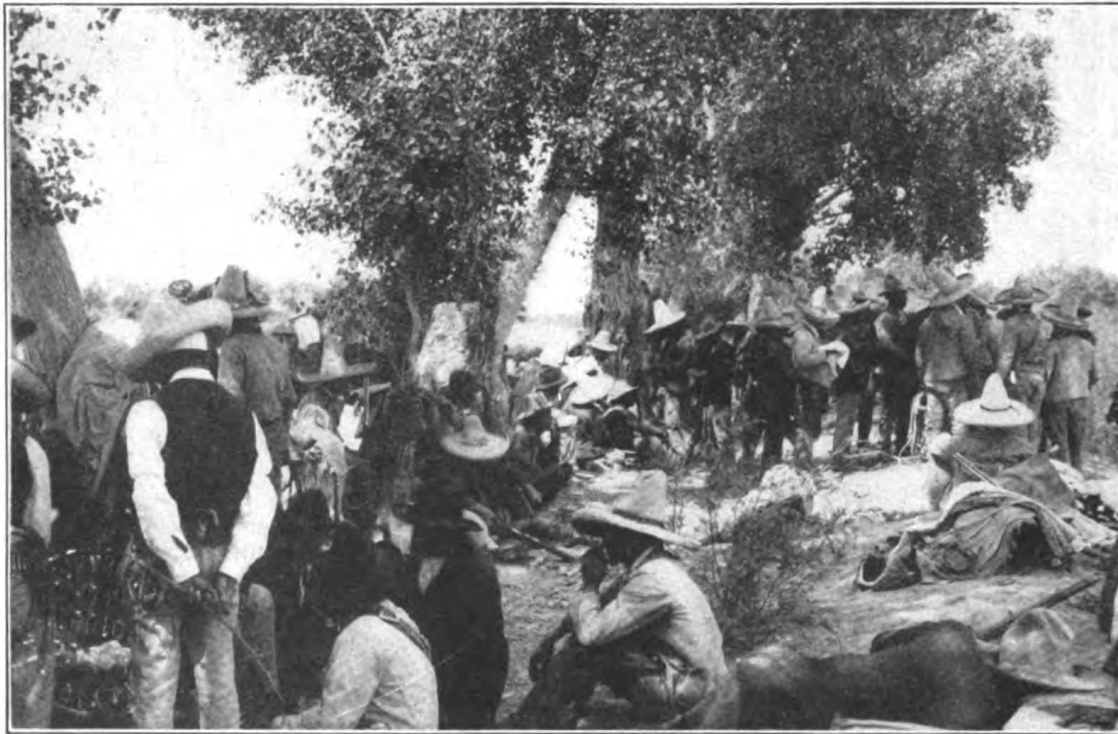
"For this reason the government has considered the reorganization of the loan bank; an institution that, in accordance with the methods practiced in certain European countries, will acquire great properties and divide them among small proprietors, giving them facilities for pay-

ment. Only by these two methods is it possible to solve the agrarian question within the limits of the constitution."

Madero's panacea, therefore, is the scheme so dear to our own real estate boomers, who corner land that they may unload it on the public, giving long time and making enormous profits. It will be noticed also that, even in this hour of peril, he cannot see beyond "the limits of the constitution," and Vasquez Gomez and the other "constitutional" gentlemen are all in the same boat. They also want the many to have the land, but they insist that the legal titles of the few must be respected. The peasant's answer is to burn the public records, seize the lands and fight. He has to fight because when he takes and tries to cultivate the land the authorities send their troops to oust him.

Here I have no space for details and can only assure readers that the reports, culled from papers of all descriptions and covering all Mexico, show the Mexican masses as in the full tide of revolution, taking the law into their own individual hands. They are doing what the French peasantry did more than a century ago, and what the Russian peasantry started to do ten years ago. Surely we should not be surprised. The age-long traditions of the people—continued in practice until quite recent times—are those of the self-governing commune, which owned its own lands, gave its members free access thereto and ran its affairs on the co-operative plan. It may have been a simple life; it may have lacked refinements and artificial pleasures on which we set great store, but it was care-free and secure. Certainly it was a long way ahead of working for strangers, especially under such conditions as those described, for example, in "Barbarous Mexico." Certainly it was a long way ahead of having to expatriate oneself, without a cent, and scramble in the unskilled-labor market of the United States.

The Chinese and Japanese have proved themselves anything but the helpless people we imagined, and I submit that we misjudged the Mexican, seeing him only as a stranger in a strange country, with all the odds against him. He has magnificent traditions which embody the great principles of mutual aid and the labor



A NOON-DAY REST.

solidarity, and these have become instinctive with him owing to his communal past. As for his fighting capacity, there is now a good deal of evidence before the public, and it should be considered that he inherits from his Indian ancestors those qualities of tenacity, patience and forti-

tude which, when weapons are at all equal, decide all wars. His agitators have made a splendidly heroic record and it seems to me to have foreshadowed accurately the subsequent action of the masses.

Revolutions cannot possibly move by



ZAPATISTA SHARPSHOOTERS.

set rules, for they are essentially periods of abnormally active development, and always the leader of today fails to meet tomorrow's larger needs. Madero will fall because he has not kept pace with the development, and, in my view, Gomez and Orozco are equally behind the times. The revolution will use them while it can; when they become obstructive it will toss them aside. For, this is an upheaval of the masses, who know that they go hungry while others are surfeited. They know it, not by books or discussion but by experience, and such knowledge translates itself into action and endures.

The Mexican Revolution never presented itself to my mind as a subject on which the various camps of the international revolutionary movement should take sides, and never have I myself felt called on to indorse the particular economic creed of the Magons or other Mexican agitators. From the first I have regarded it as a struggle by many millions of the disinherited to win back their heritage; as a battle for the right to live. In the hope of assisting that battle, if only to an infinitesimal extent, I have written this article.

## The Lake Seamen

BY

W. F. CATTELL, Member of Lake Seamen's Union

**A**FTER three years of hard fighting the Lake Seamen, Firemen, and Cooks have gone down to disastrous defeat, having voted to go back to work. The strike started in May, 1909, previous to which, for twelve months they have been locked out by the Lake Carriers' Association, a gigantic employment agency. They own no ships but control the shipping of practically all the men on the lakes and the Steel Trust controls the Lake Carriers' Association.

The strike was caused by the association making every man have a record discharge book which was really a passport with which they intended to blacklist all union men. This is the same sort of thing which the English seamen had to fight till they went on strike last year and abolished it. When the trouble started in April, 1908, every boat on the lakes was unionized and there were about twelve thousand men in the three unions, and over two hundred thousand dollars in their treasuries. Now there is not one thousand men left, and the Treasurers of the Firemen and Cooks are gone and they are being supported by the International Seamen's Union. The sailors still have a little money, but will no doubt be broke in the near future, as the men will refuse to pay high dues for the privilege of getting buried, as far better

results can be gotten from a Fraternal organization.

The strikers were led to a crushing defeat by V. A. Olander, secretary of the Lake Seamen's Union. He is what is called an honest labor leader of the Gompers type, or as has been stated in the capitalist press, "a leader of the heroic type, hearty, frank, and with a ready smile." But he is a man far more dangerous to the working class than all the crooks in Christendom, for a crook is soon found out and dumped, but an honest craft union leader is the greatest asset of the capitalist class, for if the lake strikers had been led by a Pinkerton, they could not have been worse off than they are today.

A great deal of violence has occurred in which the strikers came off second best, about a dozen being killed by thugs of the shipowners, and hundreds imprisoned, and there are many yet in the jail serving long sentences. A craft strike cannot be won without violence, and anybody that was ever involved in one knows it. Of course, the labor-faker will deny it. Of course, he does none of the slugging. He lets the poor devils on the picket line do that. He takes no chances. The longshoremen and tugmen offered to assist the seamen, but "no," say our wise leader, "we can win this alone, and



if we have too much fire under the pot it will boil over," but as it turned out there was no fire and the pot did not boil at all.

Of course, the firemen and cooks both had leaders, but they did not cut much figure, and when the unions were broke and had no more money they quit, and so will the seamen's leaders quit, like all wise men, when the treasury is gone. The strikers also had the advice of one of the greatest fakers in the world, Andrew Furseth, president of the International Seamen's Union of America, a right-hand man of that Cockney Jew, Sammy Gompers.

You can easily imagine yourself back in the days of the vikings when he talks. He has been hanging around Washington kowtowing to Congress for the last twenty years to try and get some legislation passed so as he could control the seamen better, as according to the law a seaman is still a slave. The same law applies in England, but a little direct action last year fixed that and they dare not enforce the law any more. But this old viking don't like strikes, as the union's treasury is liable to go broke and he would have to go to work, so he hangs around the marble halls waiting for a Moses to appear. He has been called and proven a liar and strikebreaker on the floor of the A. F. of L., and he cannot deny it, for whenever the lumber handlers on the Pacific coast go on strike, he sends sailors to take their places, and tells them that is maritime law. In consequence of this he has built up a strong craft union of sailors on the Pacific coast at the expense of other organizations.

On the lakes, Olander is trying to do the same thing, but failed, but has practically destroyed the grain shovellers union in Chicago. Many union boats now make their crews shovel and trim the grain and if the men refuse to scab on the grain shovellers, they are fired and the captain goes up to the union hall and ships more union men who are willing to scab.

This is what some of the seamen's leaders said last December in reporting on the strike at the annual convention: "The struggle had to be laid on lines of endurance to have any chance against the steel

trust. The condition of the seamen made this the wisest plan." Now can you find anything to beat that? Here is a bunch of so-called labor leaders, supposedly in their right minds, who should go down in history as the only freaks Barnum never corralled, telling the sailors the only way to beat the steel trust is by endurance, and the condition of the seamen makes this the wisest plan. Now the seamen who stayed with the union are nearly all on the bum, and according to these labor skates the more on the bum the better chance we have. Here is another gem by the main squeeze, V. A. Olander: "In my judgment had business conditions on the lakes been normal, which would have required the services of the entire fleet, we would in all probability have been compelled to call off the strike on account of the rush of men to the lakes." In other words, we have this labor leader telling us that if there had been no business for the ships and they had all been tied up for want of freight, the seamen would have won their fight. This has got anything I ever heard beat a block. Now you can understand what the seamen were up against. Is it any wonder that they were beaten? They are still full of revolt and all they need is men to show them in what direction to fight. Lots of the men recognized at the start that we were going into a losing fight if the other marine organizations stayed at work. In spite of that we could have won if we had fought right. All a craft union leader wants to do and all they know, is to call the men out on strike and keep them on strike, beat up all scabs and cause lots of trouble, and then they think maybe the boss will repent and maybe he won't. About three-quarters of a million dollars has been the cost to the unions, and they have had the moral assistance of the A. F. of L., whatever that is. So long, however, as we are mentioned in the official records of the A. F. of L. for four conventions, it must be all right.

So the sailors stood on the dock at \$4.50 per week and watched the scabs taking the boats out. Now I believe that when you cannot prevent a scab from taking your job, it is time to get back again yourself. If the union men had gone

aboard those boats and called a strike when the boat got in the Soo Locks and the union would have sent them back to lower lake ports to repeat this and several other tricks, we could have licked the shipowners to a standstill, for they would never have known what was going to happen. But "Oh, no," said the leaders, "that would be against the law and we are law-abiding citizens and we do not want to serve the shipowners a dirty trick."

At the past two conventions of the A. F. of L., resolutions have been introduced by the International Longshoremen calling on the A. F. of L. to form a transportation department, but Furseth has fought this move right along, as he knows he will not be the guiding star in it. The sailors on the Atlantic endorse it and have already formed the American transport workers' federation, similar to the European federations, but that old viking is trying to disrupt them, for when his man Friday, the secretary of the Atlantic Union, got defeated for reelection by over 500 majority, he with the assistance of Olander, kept him in office, and when the

men on the coast and some on the lakes demanded that this secretary be ousted, they were threatened with expulsion. He has now absconded with nearly all of the international and most of the Atlantic Coast Union's funds. Now, of course, they are trying to square themselves, and at a recent election of officers of the Lake Union, certain officials put up the fight of their lives for re-election, but it will be the last for them, as one of their group, a would-be politician in Cleveland, is about to quit and the remainder will do the same as soon as the funds run out.

If the seamen had used their brains in this strike instead of their muscles they would not now be carrying a scab book in one pocket and a union book in the other, and the sooner they realize that industrial unionism is based on the class struggle and not the fake departments of the A. F. of L., that an injury to one is an injury to all, and that an honest and ignorant labor leader is a far greater enemy to them than the steel trust, the sooner will the "hellfare" plan be wiped off the map.

# SOCIALISM AND THE INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

## A Lesson from the French Revolution

BY

ROLAND D. SAWYER

**S**OCIALISM was born amid the throes of the French Revolution; that great social upheaval shows us the birth-pains of modern working-class Socialism.

Before it, we had an intellectual renaissance, a religious reformation and various political revolutions, most notably, Holland, 1565-1569; England, 1642-1660; America, 1775-1783. But the French Revolution was of a different color, it was a movement to REORGANIZE SOCIETY, it was a social, not a merely poli-

tical, revolution. That great movement thrusts in dramatic form upon the world, that great body of ideas, which under the great mind of Marx are framed into a system, and issued in 1848 as the program for international working-class action. The careful student of the Revolution will find there many things to help his thinking in these days. And I want here to bring out the lesson it has for us in our present-day issue of the attitude of political socialism toward industrial unionism. From May, 1789, to the Fete of

Reason (November, 1793), the Revolution is one steadily ascending force; then it breaks, the reaction conquers, and the revolution is partly defeated; now why?

This was the reason (at least as I see it.) As the slowly gathering power of the people asserted itself, we find it forming into two groups of action; the Commune of Paris, composed of the rabble, if you choose, and urged on largely by unknown agitators, was one group; the "Mountain," the convention parliamentary leaders of the people, make the other group. Just so long as these two groups co-operated, supplemented, each other, the Revolution grows; when they fall apart, the Revolution is lost. The followers of the Commune, the men and women who had no special philosophy worked out, but who believed in their own power, that is *Class Direct Action* they were the people who time and again rallied at the call of Marat and his unknown lieutenants, and who forced the convention to legislate, or abandon legislation, and who eventually elevated the "Mountain" to power. The "Mountain" (parliamentary group) were powerless without the aid of this MASS-ACTION group; on the other hand, this MASS-ACTION group would get nowhere without the direction and assistance of the parliamentarians.

Working together they were an invincible team. Unfortunately, there was no organized movement large enough and strong enough to say to the two groups, you *must* work together. Their union depended upon the over-powering personality of a single man, Marat. Marat had the tremendous genius and intellectual power to compel the parliamentarians to listen to him, and his sacrifices and years in the cellars, made him the idol of the mobs. When Marat was assassinated, this tremendous power was removed; the parliamentarians played politics to satisfy personal ambition, they lost the confidence of the mobs (masses in the streets), divided they fell. The political group de-

stroyed itself, and the people were beaten down in their own blood.

Today we face a much similar condition in the world-wide revolutionary working-class movement. We have our Industrialists and our Parliamentarians. If the Socialist organization shall be large enough to rise and say, you **MUST** work together, you **MUST** supplement each other, then rapid advance is ahead of us. Now I have no fears of eventual defeat of working-class emancipation, whatever shall be the attitude of the Socialist organization; economic, industrial and political conditions will frame our tactics. Berger may have sympathies for the A. F. L., but as a representative of the class-struggle political party, he strikes hands with Haywood and works with sleeves up when the conflict comes. Haywood may make light of the ballot, but he strikes hands with Berger in the days of conflict. As Austin Lewis so well says: "The Socialist Party by its position on the class-struggle will become the champion and refuge of the Industrial Unionist; and the Industrial Unionists will force political Socialism to revolutionary action; without industrial action political socialism will deteriorate, without political action, economic freedom will be set back."

So then our theories can not shape what tactics we will adopt, industrial conditions will force us to work together. But our theories may retard or advance the emancipation, and most of us who are in the fight want to hasten things as fast as we can. Should the Socialist organization be small enough to allow its membership to follow off into two factions, it means a loss of twenty or thirty years, and much suffering, perhaps many lives. If the organization shall say as Marat said to the "Streets" and the "Mountains," "you fellows must work together," it means escape from that loss of time and labor. Which shall it be?

# Some Definitions

By

FRANK BOHN

THE degree of looseness indulged in by Socialist speakers and writers as regards the use, or misuse, of very common words and phrases has never been so painfully apparent as during the discussion lately conducted in the party. Words the meaning of which should have been long ago known to the most casual reader of Socialist literature have been so misused that the discussion finally became fruitless. We shall here make an effort to bring some degree of order out of the chaos.

**Socialist.**—A Socialist is one who favors the common ownership or social ownership and the democratic administration of the socially used means of production. The means of production include land and all natural resources—factories, railroads and the plants for the storage and distribution of the products. A determining characteristic of the Socialist is that he recognizes the necessity of an administration of general affairs, which administration, he holds, should be democratic in character. Anyone who favors the common ownership and organized democratic control of the industries is a Socialist and not by any means an anarchist, even though he may not sanction political action by the workers. The goal and not the means is the determining feature. Syndicalists or members of the I. W. W. who oppose political action are not anarchists but Socialists, and this in practice if not in theory. A real anarchist would never submit to the discipline of a union which aims to control and administer the affair of industrial society.

**Anarchist.**—An anarchist may be either an individualist or a communist. In either case he opposes any essential governing social organization.

He opposes all government. Both individualist and communist anarchists

shrink from any large or complex social organization, or the control of individuals or of smaller groups by larger groups in their relation to industry. In a word, while the Socialist believes in government, the anarchist does not.

**Political Action.**—By political action is meant any effort of whatever kind to gain control of the powers of the political state through the machinery provided by that political state. For instance, a campaign to win the suffrage for people who are now denied that right is not political action. Political action involves use of the election machinery and the holding of political offices. In general Socialists advocate the use of political action while all anarchists oppose it. But this is not at all a distinguishing feature. The fundamental distinction is, to repeat, not a matter of the means but of the goal in view.

**Direct Action.**—Of all the terms made use of in our discussions during the past six months this has been the most abused. By direct action is meant any action taken by the workers directly at the point of production with a view to bettering their conditions. The organization of any labor union whatever is direct action. A strike is direct action. Sending the shop committee to demand of the boss a change of shop rules is direct action. To oppose direct action is to oppose labor unionism as a whole with all its activities. In this sense the term has been used by those who made use of it down to the time of the late controversy. It was the misuse of this expression by those comrades who oppose class-labor unionism which has caused so much uneasiness in the Socialist party. When we come to the question as to what direct action shall be taken and when and how—that is for the organization on the job to determine. For the Socialist party to try to lay down

rules for the conduct of the unions or one union in this matter would be as ridiculous as for the Socialist party to seek to determine what the workers shall eat for breakfast. It is the business of the Socialist party to organize and conduct political education and activity. This does not imply, however, that in a lecture dealing with unionism conducted by the Socialist party these matters shall not be discussed. On the contrary it is of the highest importance that the Socialist party shall keep its membership informed through its press and its lecture courses of the latest developments in the field of organized labor.

**Sabotage.**—Sabotage means “strike and stay in the shop.” The striking workers thus are enabled to draw pay and keep out scabs while fighting the capitalists. Sabotage does not necessarily mean the destruction of machinery or other property although that method has always been indulged in and always will continue to be used so long as there is a class struggle. More often it is used to advantage in a much quieter way. Excessive limitation of output is sabotage. So is any obstruction of the regular conduct of the industry. The ancient Hebrews in Egypt practiced sabotage when they spoiled the bricks. The slaves in the South practiced it regularly by putting stones and dirt in their bags of cotton to make them weigh heavier. An old cotton mill weaver in Massachusetts once told me that when base ball was first played the boys in his mill stuck a bobbin in the running gear of the water wheel and so tied up the shop on Saturday afternoon that they could go and see the ball game. No workers ever heard that practices of this nature were “naughty” or “bad” until some “Socialists” told them so within the past few months. Above all, let it be remembered that what the Socialist party thinks or does not think in this matter has absolutely no significance. When the workers face a specific situation they will very likely continue to do as their interests and intelligence dictate.

**Revolutionists, Opportunists and Impossibilists.**—As the term is at present used, a social revolutionist is one who believes that the change to Socialism, when it comes, will take place during a relative

short period of time. The revolutionary period, whether it continue during days, months or years it matters not, will occur when the working class takes possession of the means of power and make themselves masters of the socialized industries. An opportunist, on the other hand, thinks that the change to Socialism will come about or is coming about during a long period of time in which the force of social control will pass gradually from the capitalist class to the working class. The Socialist opportunist is therefore, in practice, a social reformer. To him Socialism is but the sum of reforms proposed by all shades and varieties of reformers. The outright advocate of opportunism or of Socialism through reforms is almost always a member of the middle class or professional class and hence tends to ignore the mass action of labor. He therefore over-emphasizes the value of political action. To him the big vote is the criterion of Socialist success. This leads or misleads the opportunist into the characteristic feature of opportunism—political trading or compromise with capitalist parties. Accompanying this is office seeking and office holding as a profession. Political wire pulling and professional politics is the natural fruit of this “playing the game.” The history of the movement in every country, however, indicates that opportunism is not as dangerous as a novice in the Socialist movement might think. The gigantic appetites of the office hungry always defeat their public policies as well as their private purposes. The danger, then, is that the tactics of the movement may swing to the other extreme.

**Impossibilism** is a term of reproach hurled by the office seekers upon the heads of those who claim that Socialist education is the most important feature of the movement. However, the word impossibilist has a legitimate use. Too often in the Socialist movement we find those who do nothing but attack politicianism and sometimes this degenerates into making a trade of criticism and bitter invective. A real impossibilist is, therefore, one who does nothing but criticise the words and works of others, one whose activities are entirely negative in character.



**Industrial Unionism — Revolutionary Unionism — Syndicalism.**—An industrial union is a union of those who work in the same industry. It binds together everyone engaged in making the same product. For instance, an industrial union of clothing workers includes everyone from the cutters to the pressers. Some of the workers in this industry use tools and others machines, but an industrial union unites them all into the same organization. A craft union, on the other hand, is a union of those who use the same tool or machine, thus all stationary engineers are supposed to belong to the same craft union of engineers. Industrial unionism would place those working in breweries in the brewery workers' union and those who work in mines in the miners' union, etc. Generally, craft unionism represents the stage of tool production, while industrialism follows the more recent growth of machine industry.

A **Revolutionary Unionist** is one who aims to use the union, or the class union and the Socialist political organization to overthrow the existing order of society and to establish an industrial democracy. A philosophical anarchist cannot consistently advocate revolutionary unionism, because revolutionary unionism implies government, order, discipline—in a word, administration, and this is just what the anarchist most stren-

uously opposes. To be a political Socialist and a unionist does not imply that one is a revolutionary unionist. A revolutionary unionist holds that the union is, or should become, the fundamental revolutionary or Socialist organization. It appears to him to be the growing form of industrial democracy. If the revolutionary unionist advocates political action, as most of them do, it is chiefly for the purpose of preventing the destruction of the union by the capitalist political power.

**Syndicalism** was originally merely the French word for unionism. It is now everywhere taken to imply revolutionary unionism.

A **Parliamentarian** is one who over-emphasizes the value of political legislation, and particularly of parliamentary discussion.

A **Pure and Simple Labor Unionist** opposes Socialism, opposes all political action by the working class and usually opposes class action entirely. On the contrary, he favors peace and harmony with the capitalists.

A **Pure and Simple Political Socialist** looks upon all unionism as ineffectual. To this type a pure and simple political Socialist party alone is required to advance the interests of the workers and establish Socialism.





GEORGE SPEED ADDRESSING STRIKERS.

# The War of Gray's Harbor

BY

BRUCE ROGERS

**A**LITTLE while ago the boosters of Aberdeen held indignant meetings protesting against the employment of cheap foreign labor in the great lumber mills on Gray's Harbor in Western Washington, saying "We want Americans with families who will build homes among us that our city may be built up and prosper." But the mill owners held sway and answered them saying, "We are the chief industries here. Is it not enough that we prosper? The American citizen is no good as a worker. He tends to form his fellows into troublesome unions and wants high wages. He kicks against the bunk-houses which we have provided. These Greeks and Slavonians and Finns and Croatians are all right. We can pay them as we choose and work them twelve hours. In their pride of na-

tive race we can speed them against each other."

And it was so. Came the foreign worker from the three hundred and sixty marks on the compass dial. By night they drank and fought in the saloons of the evil smells, each bellowing his patriot folk song. By day as the barons so wished they worked to excel, in the fool pride of race.

But came a pay day when Ole asked Pierre and Zwobrowski and Garibaldi to have a drink with him down at "The Greek's." The night brawls ceased. Arms upon shoulders in a new emotion and that their rough voices might better chord they tried singing the Marseillaise together and found the hymn of revolt sounded even better. Home going theater parties heard a new song on the night air, the next morning showed fewer

twisted names on the big blotter at the police station, and in the mills, on the big carriages hurtling giant logs toward steel fanged saws the like of which is not elsewhere known, every human unit of dirty grease and grime, and rank and smell of sweat and toil "wuz pals, ain't it, Pedro?"

Over the Chehalis came one big union! It spoke in harsh un pitying tones in every tongue, in Aberdeen. It massed, it solidified and the international was born. Began the strike which is more than a strike and it can't be settled. It is a mutiny in industry. One may not look at it and think of less than rebellion. The mill barons now turned to the innocent calf-eyed citizenry and said, "Behold, our foreign slaves have revolted against the good American conditions. Let us have the American workingman with his family. He will scab the undesirable foreigner out of "our fair city." The good citizen feebly replied: "Deal with your workers alone, but we are with you for law and order!" Likewise spake the craft unions and the barons again held sway.

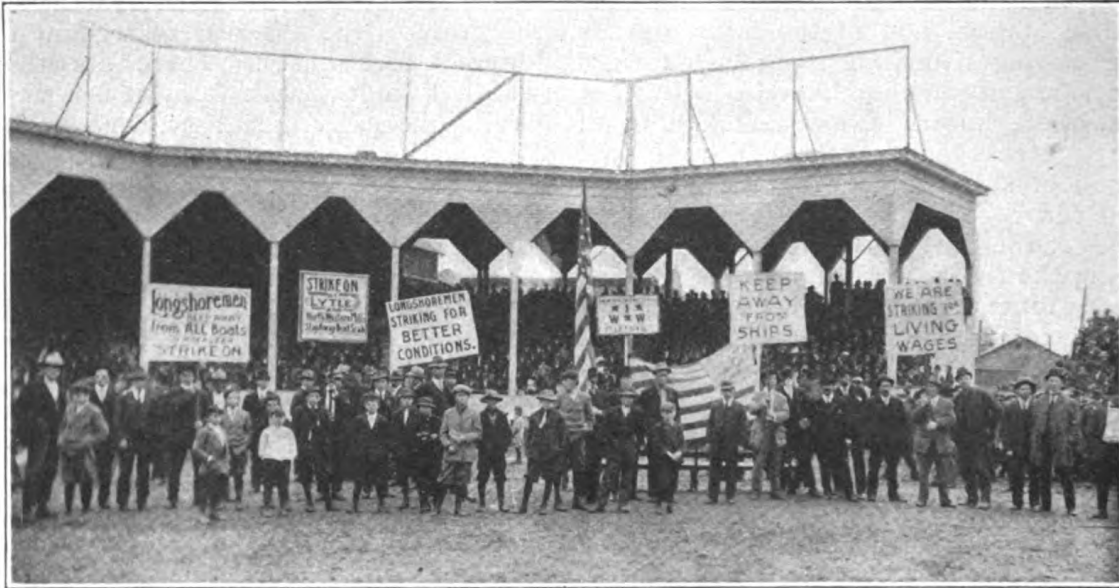
It would surfeit the reader as it sickens the heart of the observer to recount the innumerable abuses. There are those who will know, when I say it is Cripple Creek over again, and growing worse. Veterans of scores of industrial conflicts like George Speed, say there are new features to tyranny here.

All guaranteed rights under the constitution are suspended and all the conditions of martial law obtain, but applied by thugs and gun-men without responsibility to the state, such as the militia would be under, thus permitting the free rule of the brute, the gun and the billie. The city government is a mockery. The machinery of justice is a farce beneath contempt. Even the trained police regulars are out of the real handling.

April 1 the program was to jail all "leaders." George Speed, Joseph Biscay, W. A. Thorne and fifty-six others were taken and held incommunicado for thirty-five hours. At the same time the mayor issued a remarkable proclamation, suspending everything, forbidding assemblage, processions and public speakings, closing all halls by nailing them up with



MOVING THEIR HOUSES OFF COMPANY LAND.



BANNERS CARRIED IN BIG PARADE.

strong timbers. Notwithstanding the "leaders" were in jail and their offices closed, the strikers got out their best issue of the Strike Bulletin and the I. W. W. within two hours had out a proclamation, patterned after the mayor's, calling upon the citizens to aid them in "ridding the city of gun-men, and the dangerous and criminal element, imported by the mill-owners."

It was beyond their ken that things went on with the leaders inside, and it was seen that jailing wouldn't work.

April 2 was election day and quiet. The Socialists elected two aldermen and it was supposed that this display of political strength would end the reign of terror, but not so. April 3 was the blackest of all outrageous days in Aberdeen. The game was not to arrest, but to beat and



HOMES DESERTED BY WORKERS.



kick and abuse, and if resistance was offered, to kill.

The Socialists are entirely with the strikers, and the display of unity does good to the heart of a revolutionist. They are not now allowed to hold meetings, but at their last meeting the Empire Theater was crowded to the utmost. They were addressed by Joe Jervis, a state organizer of the Socialist party and an unquestioned "red." He aroused them to action in one of the most remarkable speeches ever delivered in the world. The meeting unanimously endorsed the strike and authorized by resolution a universal appeal for financial aid.

The Longshoremen, the Shingle Weavers, and the Industrial Workers of the World, composing all the other laborers of whatever kind are out. Only the strikers know how it will end. When it will end is in wisdom unrevealed. Just one thing about that can be said, and that is this: Arms, ammunition, and "deputies" are costing the taxpayers of a little town one thousand dollars a day.



"MOTHER" CARRIE WALKER.  
Jailed because she stood up for "the boys."

## A Union Man?

BY

ANTON RUDOWSKY

**I**N 1910 Jacob Ross was a barkeeper in a saloon on the corner of Archer avenue and Halsted street, Chicago, Ill. Jack is the son of a mine worker. When 17 years of age he started in the mines to help support the family. He joined the Mine Workers' Union of Illinois, paying \$5 initiation fee. That was in 1905. Since that time he has paid 50 cents dues into that organization every month, because he knows that if he can find no other work he can always go back to the coal mines again.

Work was slack in 1906, so Jack went to Chicago to hunt a job. He got work as an excavator and tunnel digger, but they required union men. Jack showed his miners' union card. "No good here," said the walking delegate. So Jack paid \$25 initiation fee to get into the Tunnel

Miners' Union. The job was completed in six weeks and there was no more tunnel digging in Chicago. But Jack had learned to be an all-round man. He was promised a job on a skyscraper construction job if he could show a card from the Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union. By this time Jack had two paid-up union cards in his pocket, but when he went to the officers of the Hodcarriers' Union No. 1 of Chicago he was questioned. He showed his cards under the noses of the business agents.

"No go here," was the blunt decision. So Jack had to dig up another \$25 as initiation fees to the hodcarriers' union. This time he had to pay for his card on the installment plan, besides 50 cents a month dues. It took two months to pay up for his card, and two weeks later work on the building was completed.



But the contractor liked Jack, so he gave him a job as cement mixer and helper. On the second day Jack was again approached by a walking delegate representing the Cement Finishers and Helpers' Union. He showed his three cards. Again he was required to pay \$25 initiation fee to join the union. But as he could not afford to pay dues in four unions he took out a withdrawal card from the hodcarriers' union, paying \$2 for it, to be renewed every year.

The cement mixing job was soon ended and Jack being sturdy and industrious and only 19 years of age, secured a job as tile layer's helper, but he had to go into his pockets for \$25 initiation fee again.

"God!" said Jack. "They are making it a crime to be a union man. Purchasing redemption is more expensive than buying forgiveness for our sins from the church."

Cold weather ended the tile laying work, and as Jack had kept up his dues in the United Mine Workers' Union of Danville, Ill., he returned to the mines. This time he could go to work without molestation. He didn't even have to bother about paying his dues, as the benevolent coal operators check off the union dues there on each and every pay day. On pay day the manager of the mine deducted Jack's dues and paid them over to the union official. His first check was marked "Fine, 50 cents," and Jack kicked. The next time it was marked "Docked \$3" for allowing slate to get into the car he was loading with coal.

Jack complained at the union meeting, but was assured that one-half the sums collected in fines and for docking went into the treasury of the United Mine Workers to build up a big war chest in times of need. The other half went to the mine operator.

Later Jack tried his hand at wood turning in a new factory that was just opened up. When the men employed with him discovered he was a union man they asked Jack to help organize a union of wood turners. Jack's blood boiled when he discovered that the foreign workers were not getting as much pay for the same work as he was getting, and his name was first on the list of new union

members. He was the first to demand better pay for the others. And he was also the first man fired. He was elated to see that his companions stuck by him and he claims that the \$2 paid for the charter of the wood turners' union was his only investment in real unionism. The strike was lost because the men were not sufficiently well organized to tie up the whole shop, but Jack still keeps that union card. He says it is a trophy from his only fight with his employers where militant workers stood together.

Now, Jack was a good "mixer" and was generous with his money, although he did not waste it in debauchery, so he was offered a job as barkeeper in Danville, Ill. He took it, but the barkeepers were all members of the International Bartenders' League and Waiters' Alliance. The officers of the union said it was too bad that such a good fellow as Jack had to pay out \$15 more as an initiation fee to get into the union. Of course, as usual, he produced his gallery of union cards, but nothing went there but the cash.

By this time Jack began wondering how many American Federations of Labor there were collecting initiation fees. Each one seemed to want to make him pay dearly for staying inside the union band wagon. In the spring Jack returned to Chicago and got a job, paying \$5 to the hodcarriers' union to have his card reinstated.

In the winter he went back to the mines. Work was plentiful. The men were rushing out coal, piling it up at the pits, in the railroad yards and shipping extra loads to industrial centers. In April, 1911, the union contract with the coal companies expired. Jack had been docked twice and every second week an extra dollar was deducted from his pay envelope, which bore the slip: "Union Dues (War Fund)." There were thousands of dollars in the union treasury and Jack wondered why the mine-owning officials were willing to deduct money from the men's pay to turn over to the union for a war fund. We don't blame him. Most anybody with any intelligence would have been guessing too. Jack could not believe the mine owners were afraid of having

any trouble. He expected there would be no difficulty in making a new adjustment in wages.

In April, 1910, the daily papers reported that there were 5,000,000 tons of coal stored up. The officials of the mines ordered a suspension of work. There was no strike, you understand—only a peaceful suspension of work. But the officials of the United Mine Workers would not permit the miners' war fund to be touched. A lot of unruly fellows knocked pretty hard about this time. Somebody said they were Socialists. Anyway, they used their hammers all the time. They said the mine operators welcomed the suspension of work because it would enable them to sell the 5,000,000 tons of coal at an advance of \$1 a ton.

Jack still had a little faith in the union leaders, who called the anvil chorus a "cheap bunch of anarchists," etc., etc. The papers maligned them. The clergy pointed to them in scorn and the whole world of respectability tried to ignore them when they pointed to the Cherry mine disaster and called it willful murder. They had even been known to go so far as to say the union officials were almost as culpable as the mine owners, because they had not seen to the enforcement of the laws regarding mining safety devices.

The union officials advised the miners that there would be no strike benefits and no picketing, as the bosses had promised them that they would not bring in any scabs. The officials advised the miners to go away and get jobs somewhere else. Jack realized that they did not want the men there asking them for bread. They did not want to pay back any of the money they had deducted from the men's pay for the big war fund. What in the world did they want it for?

So Jack went back to Chicago and went to barkeeping again. His card from the

Danville union helped him a little—he only had to pay \$10 initiation fee this time. Here is where we met Jack.

This last gouge was about the last dose of anti-unionism Jack will ever endure. He has been a good "union" man all his life. He has hated scabbing and always stood by his fellows.

In June, Jack received word that two of the mines at Danville had signed up with the men. This was his old home and he went back because he thought the work would be permanent.

When he went he was told that he was expected to SCAB ON HIS STRUGGLING BROTHERS who were still out on strike. Jack grew furious. He pulled the seven different union cards that had cost him so dearly out of his pocket and threatened to strangle anybody who doubted that he was a true-blue militant union man.

But when Jack finally saw that by going back to work and supplying the market with coal while his comrades were out was breaking their strike and giving strength into the hands of the bosses, Jack swore and tore. But he didn't go back to Danville.

He realized that he could not change things alone, but that it is necessary to point out the evils and weaknesses of trade unionism to every workingman. He realized that the organization that would really help the working class would say: "Once a union man always a union man, no matter in what industry you may be working."

Think this over. Talk it over in your union. You will find that on an average thirty-five men out of every 100 in a union are carrying cards in more than one organization. The next thing is to get them to read up on industrial unionism. "One union of all workers in an industry; all industries in one union."



# Carrying the Banner

BY

DAVID FULTON KARSNER

CARRYING the banner is the curse of those who are jobless. It is not a pretty banner. But it is a conspicuous one. Its army includes young men and old; girls and aged women; tattered garments and soleless shoes; lined faces and despairing faces; wild eyes and eyes still left with a glimmer of hope. All these make up the whole of the banner-carrying brigade.

In Chicago there are 500,000 men, women and children out of work. Yet in this space it is not given to me to state why there are so many carrying the banner. It is merely given me to state a few concrete instances of men who answer "Help Wanted" advertisements in the daily newspapers, and who, in the course of their search for the job or jobs designated in the newspapers, find that the coveted place has been filled "just a minute before." The *Chicago Daily News* boasts of printing more "Help Wanted" ads than any other newspaper in Chicago. Most of these ads are what is known as "blind." That is, instead of the employer stating in the ad his place of business he refers the job seeker to "D 72, News Office." This saves a lot of time and worry on the part of the employer, and at the same time creates a waste of time, energy and money on the part of the unemployed. A man may answer 400 ads and still remain jobless.

The *Daily News*, in particular, and all papers in general that make a specialty of the "want ad" business, find a ready market for the paper in the ranks of the jobless. Lured by the hope of getting work

through the columns of the papers, the jobless daily invest their last pennies in the purchase of these sheets. It is amazing how often people can be fooled.

In order to secure these last pennies from the jobless the *Chicago Daily News* has carried for some time on the front page this grim remark: WORK FOR EVERYBODY. And as a result every afternoon from 500 to 1,000 men flock to the *News* office to purchase the papers as they come off the press. It is sad to see them swiftly turn the pages to the classified section and scan the "Help Wanted" column. Perhaps the advertiser has stated where the job seeker may call. If this is true, as often it is, from fifty to 100 men and boys will dash for that place.

The other day the great house of Marshall Field advertised in the columns of the *News* for a "competent shoe salesman." Perhaps the writer has much to regret that he was not born a shoe salesman instead of an habitual botherer of men. Or perhaps he has much to regret that he was not born an employer of men instead of one of the employed or unemployed. But whatever his regrets may be, he applied, with thirty-two men, for the position at Field's.

By the way, this is the same Field who dedicated to Chicago the Field Museum; the same Field who left his two little grandchildren, who are now being educated in England, millions of dollars each; the same Field whose wayward son was the principal party in a revolver episode which resulted in young Fields' de-

mise; the same Field whose clerk heard me ask for a job.

"What line are you experienced in?" the clerk asked me.

"I can sell silks, shoes, or mop floors, clean brass knobs and drive a wagon."

"We will have nothing in your line for two months."

"What is my line?" I ventured.

"You are in the unskilled class. You should know something definite."

I replied that I had been fired so often from former places that I had no time to learn anything definite.

"May I file an application for unskilled work in this house?" I asked.

"It is quite useless, young man; our files are filled with such applications as you wish to make."

"But I must have work," I persisted.

"Boy! Boy! Show this man to the elevator!" he commanded.

As I turned to go I was followed by a dozen men who had heard the conversation. They, too, were unskilled. They, too, had much to regret. Each of us pulled a paper from our pockets and scanned the "Help Wanted" columns again. Simultaneously we turned our steps to the house of Thompson, 186 North State street, who had advertised for a porter. This is the Thompson who was once treasurer of Cook County, and who has made a fortune by his chain of restaurants in Chicago. As I was about to enter the door of the establishment I was met by a crowd of about forty men and boys who had been turned away. They all wanted to be porters. A policeman on the corner, thinking that someone was trying to get away with the top floor of the Masonic Temple, promptly appeared on the scene to chase the job seekers. I assured the blue-coated disturber that I was a customer.

"I want that job as a porter," I told the red-faced employer. He looked at my shoes. I wondered why. I looked at

my shoes. They looked like any other pair of shoes to me. He looked again. I looked again.

"How long have you been out of work?"

"Do my shoes indicate anything to you?"

"No; guess you ain't been looking for a job very long."

I had learned a point. The more worn a man's shoes are, the safer the bet that he has been carrying the banner a long time. His chances for a job are remote indeed. No godly employer wants a man high shoeless.

"This job is taken; I just hired that man," he said, pointing to an emaciated creature.

"How much pay in it?"

"That's none of your business, but I pay him \$10 a week. I wanted a porter to make himself generally useful; to run errands, to wait on the store occasionally, and to drive the wagon when we are short-handed. He must be willing to work seven nights a



GRABBING THE PAPERS.

weeks."

"That's a good job. Have you another like it?" I asked.

My fellow job seekers had disappeared when they heard the job was filled. I watched after them and saw each one refer again to the "Want" column. The banner was weighing heavily upon my shoulders now, but I had courage to call upon the Mission Art Company in answer to their ad for "an energetic young man, Catholic preferred."

"Have you ever sold anything?" I was asked. I was about to reply that I once sold my overcoat in Pittsburg for the price of a bean soup, but I reflected that such a reply would be frivolous on my part.

"I sold Marion Harland's books on 'Table Etiquette, Toasts and After-Dinner Talks' to working people in Balti-

more. I also sold patent fly catchers," I said boastfully.

"Are you a Catholic?"

I answered that I would be anything for a job.

He turned out the light, picked up a crucifix and held it in the darkest corner of his desk. This demonstration proved to me that the article could be plainly seen in any dark room; that the purchaser would be able to see Christ on the cross without turning on the light. He told me that every Christian would like to have a likeness of Jesus. My profit would be 50 cents on each crucifix. I asked if I might take a few out on trial.

"Young man, these will cost you 75 cents apiece."

My fellow job seeker broke in that he had been out of a job for four months, and added that he could not get 75 cents even if automobiles were selling for that price. The employer told us it was pleasant work—this business of peddling crucifixes. On my way down the stairs I met eight men ascending. They all wanted to sell something. Five of these admitted to me that they had no money to buy when I stated the proposition to them.

I next turned my steps to South Market street to a place that had advertised in the *Daily News* for laborers. There were no frills attached to the ad; no promises of big profits—they just wanted laborers. When I reached the place I found 116 men. A policeman stationed in front of the door saw to it that there should be no disturbance caused by jealousy when the fortunate men were chosen. Undaunted, I brushed my way into the office and stood before a frail railing. A burly brute stood on the other side.

"I want the job as a laborer," I shouted, despite my diminutive stature.

"Who in the hell are you? Get in line and wait your turn," he replied. "I got," but in a moment I heard him shout to the crowd of eager men outside that all the jobs had been filled. They all turned their coat collars up around their necks and disappeared mysteriously. The fact of the matter was that only two men were required and these had consented to leave their families in Chicago while they went

to Minnesota to work for \$1.50 per day.

Once more I referred to the "want ad" column. It is such a solace. It reminds me of the days when I used to stand in front of restaurants and stare at the food being served to clerks and shop girls when I had not the price of a chip of butter. I made my way to the Kaiserhof Hotel to see a Mr. Ryan who had advertised for "an honest young man to take charge of a gents' furnishing goods store."

For this job only one man was needed. But between the hours of 1 and 2 o'clock in the afternoon ninety-five men had applied. I awaited my round. When finally it was my turn to be interviewed I was told by Mr. Ryan that the job called for a man to go to Brent, Montana. He had no intention of engaging the applicant then, but would look over the candidates and decide in a month. We candidates realized that we had about as much chance of landing that job as we had of finding a pop bottle in the Pacific Ocean.

Winter or summer, spring or autumn, it is always the same. For every job there are 150 applicants. I have stood in line with men looking for jobs and marveling at their patience. I have looked into the faces of the fussy, fuming, magnificent army of unemployed men and have seen in their eyes patient determination. And I have asked myself: "How long—how long will we endure such a condition?"

Think of a man who is willing to pay from \$5 to \$10 a month for one year to anyone who will assist him in securing a job. Such a man is trying to beat the employment sharks at their own game. How about the registered druggist who has gone through college and can produce a state certificate, advertising for a job at anything? Such ads were inserted in the columns of the *Daily News* under the heading of "Situations Wanted—Male."

Occasionally a man or a woman or a child is willing to get out of the army by jumping into the nearest river, or by making use of a revolver, or by inhaling gas, or by drinking some deadly draught. But the army goes on and grows on, steadily gaining new but unwilling re-



cruits. Whenever a man lays aside the banner for the suicide's grave there are five others to take it up.

Edward A. Turner, 78 years old, a homeless veteran of the draft riots of 1864, attempted to end his life in New York by slashing his throat. He had been to see his former employer in an effort to get work, but was rebuffed. The *New York Herald* of January 6, 1912, printed the following statement from the old man:

"If we could only live on air this would be a beautiful world. But I often think, when I see mothers wheeling their babies along in carriages, if they do not wonder

whether their children may some time have to walk the sidewalks for lack of a home to sleep in and without food for days."

I wonder, too. I wonder how long the millions of workers are going to stand idly by and watch the masters snatch bread from their mouths. I wonder how long they are going to tolerate an industrial system which permits one group of workers to scab on the other group while the latter strikes for bread and for a bed.

And I wonder how long it will be before you and I shall carry the banner—the red banner symbolic of the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

## The Disunited Mine Workers

BY

JOHN K. HILDEBRAND

THE enforced suspension of work on the part of the United Mine Workers on April 1 doesn't look good. It wasn't a strike and it wasn't a lockout. It was just a "suspension," so the hundreds of thousands of men thrown out of work drew no strike pay. Meantime the salaries of the officials went on the same.

The suspension benefited nobody except the operators, as has been the case in nearly every strike and suspension in which the United Mine Workers have been involved. As a Wall street market letter, issued at the end of the first week of the suspension put it: "The railroads have great surplus stocks of coal which they are now disposing of rapidly and at the same time saving operating expenses by the idleness of the mines."

Everybody knew the suspension was going to take place, the companies beginning to heap up their stocks and fill railroad yards with high-piled cars as far back as six months ago. And very obligingly the miners worked industriously till the last hour on March 31 heaping up mountains of coal so as to scab on themselves while they were out of work!

Truly, craft unions and craft union methods are a fearful and wonderful thing. Not only do members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor cheerfully scab on each other in time of strike, but local unions of the same organization help to break each others' strikes; and not content with that, the members scab on themselves. Organized scabbery can go no further. It has been reduced to a science.

A compromise wage agreement fixed up by the union officials and the bituminous operators was approved about the middle of the month, but at that date no one knew what would be done in the anthracite fields. The compromise provided for an increase of 5 cents a ton for screened coal, 3 cents a ton for unscreened coal, and 5.26 cents for day work.

This does not mean that the miners won an absolute increase or that they were substantially benefited. It merely means that they have won back the reduction that John Mitchell, their honored president, accepted for them some years ago.

The United Mine Workers haven't gained anything worth talking about in ten years. The cost of living has increased

about 60 per cent in that period. Therefore the majority of the members of the U. M. W. of A. are considerably worse off than they were when they joined the union.

The one demand that meant something was sidetracked and forgotten. A seven-hour workday and five hours on Saturday would have been a distinct gain and would have benefited the organization immeasurably. It would have provided jobs for the thousands of mine workers who have done nothing for the past two years. But the operators were opposed to it, so the miners' officials did not insist on it. They didn't want to be offensive.

So the men will go back to work with their hands tied for another two years, having gained nothing; but the salaries of the officials will go on just the same.

The United Mine Workers of America is frequently lauded, especially since the recent convention at Indianapolis tacitly endorsed the Socialist party, as a revolutionary organization.

Is it?

Let us see.

The United Mine Workers gain their strength as a union from two institutions—the check-off system and the contract. Without these the union would fall to pieces that is, as it is constituted today.

The check-off is a system whereby the mine owners deduct from the pay of the men the amount of dues, assessments and fines imposed by the union, thus making the operators a collecting agency for the union officials. It can be readily seen that in case of trouble the owners can use this system as a club on the union officials, and they do so constantly use it.

How does this check-off system work out? It is forcibly stated by a writer in *Pittsburg Justice*, as follows:

“Did it never strike you as a singular proceeding that the mine owner would consent to withhold from your pay envelopes money to maintain an organization, if that organization was meant to fight him, if he had anything to fear from it? Are you so simple as to believe that these employers who have ground your lives out beneath the hoofs of the mounted Cossacks; who have laid you dead in swaths before the volleys of the militia; who have stopped at no villainy in their efforts to crush you, could you possibly believe that they would

do anything likely to enable you to more successfully resist them?”

That is the matter in a nutshell. It would be well for every miner to read that paragraph over and over again and ponder it carefully.

The other sacred god of the miners' union is the contract or agreement. The operators violate it whenever they see fit; they break it constantly and continuously. But nothing stirs a union official to such immediate action as an actual or threatened violation of a contract. He will drop his business like a hot potato, rush frantically for the nearest train and travel hundreds of miles to bully the guilty member or local back to submission and work. The punishment he deals out is merciless. Nothing fills him with such horror as any action against the employer's interest.

But when a mere miner or an obscure local union has a grievance and is urgently calling for redress—Lordy, what a difference! The officials are simply so busy, so great is the pressure on them and the demands on their time, that they just can't attend to it now, but will get around to it just as soon as the opportunity presents. Meantime, mind you, the aggrieved men must stay at work or incur a heavy penalty. Take note of this significant paragraph in the thirteenth section of the agreement between the Illinois Coal Operators and District No. 12 of the United Mine Workers: “In all cases of dispute the miners and mine laborers and all parties involved *shall continue at work* pending a trial and adjustment, until a final decision is reached under the provisions herein set forth.” And any local union, committee or member that dares to take any action not approved by their high officials in such case “shall be liable to expulsion or fine, subject to the discretion of the District Executive Board.” Moreover, if any men strike because of an unrectified grievance, their brothers may be called in to scab on them as per clause C.

And now while dealing with the Illinois agreement, let us look at other sections of it. Here is the third: “Any operator paying the scale rate of mining and day labor under this agreement shall at all times be at liberty to load any railroad cars whatever, regardless of their ownership, with coal, and sell and deliver such coal in any

market and to any person, firm or corporation that he may desire."

This is the notorious "scab clause" that has already made so much trouble for the officials who agreed to it. It allows of such wretched business as went on during the strike of the Northern Colorado coal miners which has been recently reported at an end. This strike lasted two years, and all this time this territory was supplied by scab coal mined by brother union men in other districts of the U. M. W. of A.!

Let's go on. Here is the start of the eighth clause: "The price for powder per keg shall be \$1.75, the same to be delivered at the face when so requested. The miners shall purchase their powder FROM THE OPERATORS." Can you beat it? The poor devils are obliged to buy the very materials with which they work from their employers, affording the bosses fat and juicy profits.

The kicker gets small show among the mine workers. No matter how just his grievance, if he makes trouble he will be fired, He may get back by appealing to the union, but if this case is not "adjusted" in five days he gets no back pay, and not more than ten days' compensation at most, even if it is proved that the operator has been to blame. The simplest procedure, then, is to lay the dissatisfied miner off and delay settlement for months, the operator being serene in the knowledge that he won't have to give the aggrieved man more than ten days' back pay at most.

These quotations are enough to show what the Illinois agreement is. Now, who signed this agreement, that allows the owner so easily to take advantage of the miner? Here are the names: J. H. Walker, Groce Lawrence and Duncan McDonald, all members of the Socialist party and candidates either now or in the past for office on Socialist tickets. A number of other men high in the councils of the union are members of the Socialist party, but their Socialism is not of the brand that will hurt anybody. It seems to be kept in a bottle for the purpose of uncorking it with a loud noise on the platforms of convention halls.

Nobody can make a more resounding, a fierier Socialist speech than Frank J. Hayes, vice-president of the United Mine Workers, and yet in the Columbus convention when a vote came as to whether John Mitchell should be allowed to remain in the union

or in the Civic Federation, Hayes voted with the Mitchell gang.

By the way, it should be kept in mind that the vote calling on Mitchell to quit either the Civic Gang or the miners' union in no way represented the sentiment of the miners as a whole or of the delegates. There was a big factional fight on between Tom Lewis' and Mitchell's adherents and when the Socialists sprang their resolution the Lewis crowd voted for it because they wanted to hit Mitchell, not because they gave a hoot about the Civic Federation. The talk about that affair being "a manifestation of class consciousness" is all bunk, as everybody acquainted with coal-mine politics knows.

It cannot be justly charged that any of the miners' officials are crooked or corrupt. They are merely craft union officials and have jobs to hold, that's all. They can see things only from a craft union outlook and are incapable of taking a class viewpoint. They are thoroughly reactionary in method, whatever they are in speech.

On the political field, as Socialists many of the miners' officials are prepared to accept the principles of "No Compromise, No Political Trading." They demand the overthrow of capitalism and stand by the state and national platforms of the Socialist Party; but on the political field they take a position diametrically opposed to the revolutionary position and actually enter into contracts with the capitalist class for periods of one, two or three years. Hence, a continuation and constant renewal of these contracts MEANS A PERPETUATION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. Thus is shown the inconsistency of a man trying to be a Socialist on the political field and a trade unionist on the industrial field. Such men compromise at the mouth of the coal pit where Socialism begins and they are revolutionary at the door of the state house where Socialism neither begins nor ends.

What a pity that the American miners do not say with the revolutionary miners of South Wales: "The ballot you need to use most is the ballot that comes the closest home to you. To have a vote in determining who shall be your foreman, manager, inspector, etc., is to have a vote in determining the conditions which shall rule your working life."

# The Black Man's Burden

BY

HUBERT H. HARRISON

## EDUCATIONAL.

**E**DUCATION is the name we give to that process of equipment and training which, in our day, society gives the individual to prepare him for fighting the battle of life. We do not confer it as a privilege, but it is given on behalf of society for society's own protection from the perils of ignorance and incompetence. It is a privilege to which every member of society is entitled. For without some equipment of this sort the individual is but half a man, handicapped in the endeavor to make a living. Here in America we subscribe to the dangerous doctrine that ten million of the people should receive the minimum of education. And in order to reconcile ourselves to this doctrine, we deck it in the garments of wisdom. Because of the serf idea in American life, we say that the negro shall have a serf's equipment and no more. It is the same idea that the aristocracy of Europe evolved when the workers demanded that their children should be trained better than they themselves had been. "Why," said the masters, "if we give your children schooling they will be educated out of their station in life. What should the son of a carpenter need to know of Euclid or Virgil? He should learn his father's vocation that he may be well equipped to serve in that station of life into which it has pleased God to call him. We need more plowmen than frocks, more servants than savants."

In our own land when negroes demand education, we say, "Why, surely, give them industrial education. Your race has a great opportunity—to make itself useful. It needs trained craftsmen and workers and, perhaps, a few parsons. Teach your sons and daughters to work. That is enough." And we dexterously select leaders for them who will administer the soothing syrup of this old idea with deftness and dispatch. The general

education board which disburses millions of dollars annually in the South for education has, so far, given to forty-one negro schools the sum of \$464,015. Only in two instances has any money been given to a real college. Practically all of it went to the labor-caste schools. Why? Because the dark degradation of the negro must be lightened by no ray of learning. That would never do. We need them as "hewers of wood and drawers of water." And in the meanwhile, this is what the richest country on earth offers to ruthlessly exploited people as a training for life.

Before the Twelfth Annual Conference for Education in the South (1910) Mr. Charles L. Cook, superintendent of schools in North Carolina, read a paper on negro education in the South. His investigation extended over eleven states: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee. In these states the negroes make up 40.1 per cent of the population, but receive only 14.8 per cent of the school fund. He showed that even if the school fund as disbursed were apportioned to each race according to taxes paid the colored people of Virginia should receive \$507,305 instead of the \$482,228 which they now receive; in North Carolina they should get \$429,127 instead of \$402,658, and in Georgia \$647,852 instead of \$506,170. So that these three states expend for negro education \$93,278 less than that the negroes themselves pay for and that sum is contributed by negroes to the white children of the state.

But, as a matter of fact in no modern country is education made to depend upon the tax-paying power of the parents. If that were so, the children of 80,000,000 American proletarians would live and die without schooling. So that the case is really much worse than it seems.

South Carolina spent in 1910 \$10.34 for

the education of each white child and \$1.70 for the education of each colored child. In Lawrence county the state gave to each colored child 97 cents worth of education that year; in Lexington county, 90 cents; in Bamberg, 89 cents; in Saluda, 68 cents, and in Calhoun, 58 cents worth. The smallest sum spent on a white child for education that year was \$4.03. In Georgia it was quite as bad. One county of this state owned 19 of the 27 school houses for negroes. The valuation of the entire 19 was \$2,500; that is, \$131.58 for each school house for negroes! The annual cost of the education of a negro child in six counties of this civilized state was 39 cents. Meanwhile the whites of Baltimore were protesting against the building of a new negro school! In Louisiana the report of the Department of Education shows that the average monthly salary of white male teachers is \$75.29, while that of colored male teachers is \$34.25. The average monthly salary of white female teachers is \$50.80 and that of colored female teachers is \$28.67. The average length of the annual school term for white children is eight months and a quarter; for colored children, four months and a half.

In Wilcox County, Alabama, where there are 2,000 white children and 10,758 colored children, \$32,660.48 is devoted to education. Of this amount the 10,758 colored children receive one-fifth—\$6,532.09, or sixty cents each per annum—while the 2,000 white children receive the remaining four-fifths—\$26,128.13, or about \$13 each per annum. Mr. Booker Washington, who lives in this state sends his own children to the best colleges and to Europe while advising the rest of his people to “make your condition known to the white people of the state.” Now, if education—of any sort—is a training for life, is it not evident here that black children are being robbed of their chance in life? Why? Is it to be supposed that their fathers are so stupid as to allow this if they could vote for their own needs? But Mr. Washington decries the agitation for the ballot as unwise and never loses an opportunity of sneering at those who see something of value in it. But to continue. The number of white children of school age in Alabama is 364,266; the number of

colored children of school age is 311,552. But the teachers of the white children receive in salaries \$2,404,062.54, while the teachers of the colored children receive \$202,251.13. The value of all school-houses, sites and furniture for white children is \$6,503,019.57; for colored children, \$273,147.50.

In South Carolina there are 316,007 negro children of school age and 201,868 white children; but the state spends on its negro children \$368,802, and on its white children \$1,684,976. Thus does America keep knowledge from its negroes. She is afraid of the educated black man. Of such are the people who taunt negroes with ignorance.

#### SOCIAL.

When a group has been reduced to serfdom, political and economic, its social status becomes fixed by that fact. And so we find that in “the home of the free and the land of the brave” negroes must not ride on the same cars in a train as white people. On street-cars, certain sections are set apart for them. They may not eat in public places where white people eat nor drink at the same bar. They may not go to the same church (although they are foolish enough to worship the same god) as white people; they may not die in the same hospital nor be buried in the same grave-yard.

So far as we know, the segregation ends here. But why is segregation necessary? Because white Americans are afraid that their inherent superiority may not, after all, be so very evident either to the negro or to other people. They, therefore, find it necessary to enact it into law. So we had the first Ghetto legislation in an American nation last year, in Baltimore. Hard on the heels of this followed legislation proposals along the same line in Richmond, Va., Kansas City, Mo., St. Louis, Mo., and Birmingham, Ala. In Memphis, Tenn., negroes pay taxes for public parks in which they are not allowed to enter. A year ago they petitioned for a negro park and were about to get it when 500 white citizens protested against it. That settled it with the park. But discrimination goes even farther and declares that negroes shall not possess even their lives if any white persons should want them. And so we have the institu-



tion called the lynching-bee. The professional southerner seems to love a lie dearly and continues to assert that negroes are lynched for rape committed upon white women. Why not? It is perfectly American. If you want to kill a dog call it mad; if you want to silence a man call him an Anarchist, and if you want to kill a black man call him a rapist. But let us see what the facts actually are.

In the two decades from 1884 to 1904 there were 2,875 lynchings in the United States. Of these 87 per cent, or 2,499 occurred in the South. The national total was grouped as follows:

1. For <b>alleged</b> and attempted criminal assault, i. e., rape.....	564
2. For assault and murder and for complicity .....	138
3. For murder .....	1,277
4. For theft, burglary and robbery....	326
5. For arson .....	106
6. For race-prejudice (?).....	94
7. For unknown reasons.....	134
8. For simple assault.....	18
9. For insulting whites.....	18
10. For making threats.....	16

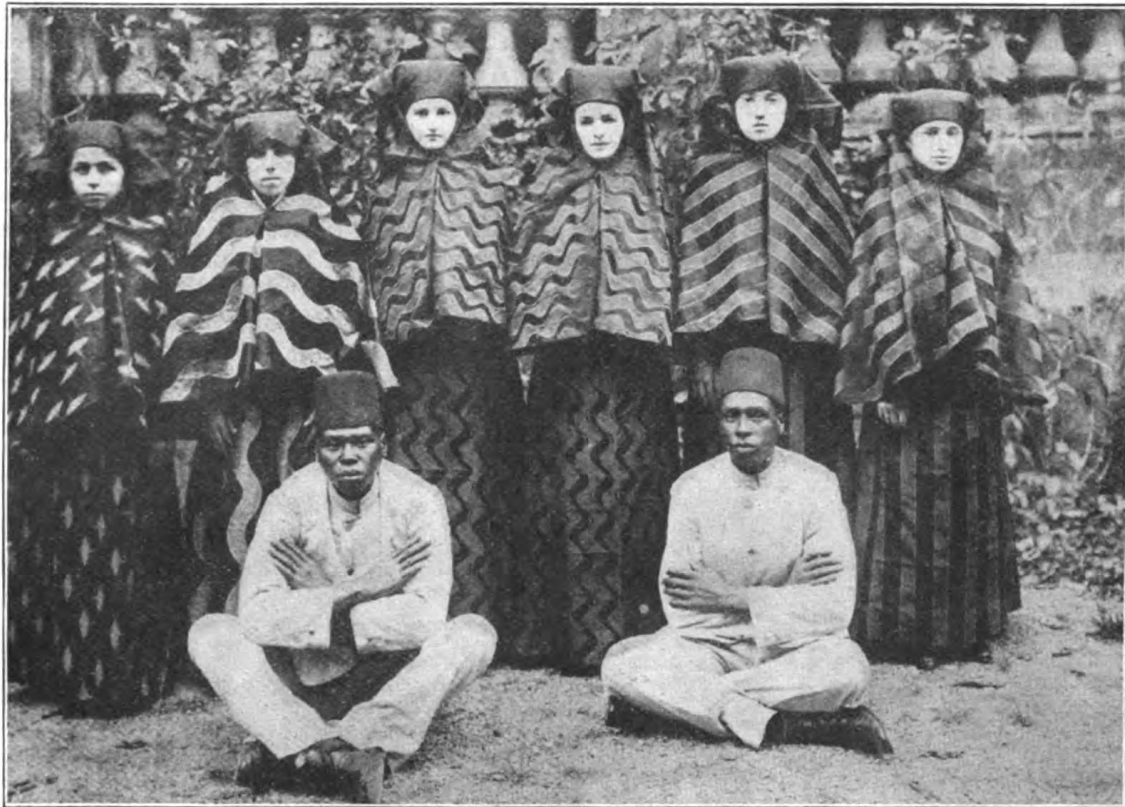
The causes for the remainder were: slander, miscegenation, informing, drunkenness, fraud, voodooism, violation of contract, resisting arrest, elopement, train-wrecking, poisoning stock, refusing to give evidence, testifying against whites, political animosity, disobedience of quarantine regulations, passing counterfeit money, introducing smallpox, concealing criminals, cutting levees, kidnapping, gambling, riots, seduction, incest, and forcing a child to steal. Yes, there are courts in the South; but not for black people—not when the mob chooses to relieve civilization of the onus of law and order. At Honeapath, S. C., a negro was lynched in November last, charged, of course, with "the usual crime." The charge had not been proven, or even investigated; but the man was lynched. The howling mob which did him to death was composed of "prominent citizens" who had made up automobile parties to ride to the affair. Among those present was the *dis-honorable* Joshua Ashley, a member of the state legislature. He and his friends cut off the man's fingers as souvenirs and were proud of their work. Why shouldn't they? You see, it helps to keep "niggers" in their place. And then, besides, isn't this a white man's country? Gov. Blease of

South Carolina, was also proud of the event and said that instead of stopping the horrible work of the mob he would have resigned his office to lead it. In Okemeah, Oklahoma, last June, a band of white beasts raped a negro woman and then lynched her and her fourteen-year-old son. Nothing has been done to them. And it is not that the facts are unknown. At Durant, Okla., and elsewhere, the savages have posed around their victim to have their pictures taken. One man, from Alabama, sent to the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, of Brooklyn, N. Y., a post-card (*by mail*) bearing a photograph of such a group. "This is the way we treat them down here," he writes, and, after promising to put Mr. Holmes' name on his mailing list, declares that they will have one, at least, each month.

In Washington, Ga., Charles S. Holinshead, a wealthy white planter, raped the wife of T. B. Walker, a decent, respectable negro. As his wife returned to him dishevelled and bleeding from the outrage perpetrated on her, Walker went to Holinshead's store and shot him dead. For this he was tried and condemned and, while the judge was yet pronouncing sentence, Holinshead's brother shot Walker in the court-room. They held his head up while the judge finished the sentence. Then he was taken out and lynched—not executed. Nothing was done to the other Holinshead.

The New York *Evening Post*, on October 23rd, said in an editorial that "there has hardly been a single authenticated case in a decade of the negroes rising against the whites, despite the growing feeling among them that there should be some relation since no tribunal will punish lynchers or enforce the law." I am glad that the *Post* noticed this. I had begun to notice it myself. When President Roosevelt discussed lynching some years ago, he severely reprobated *the colored people* for their tendency to shield their "criminals" and ordered them to go out and help hunt them down. So was insult added to injury.

But, putting my own opinion aside, here are the facts as I have seen them. In the face of these facts, the phrase, "the white man's burden," sounds to me like a horrid mockery.



SIX WIVES WHO BELONGED TO EX-SULTAN ABDUL HAMID.

## Passing of the Turkish Harem

BY

MARY E. MARCY

ON looking up the historical development of any social institution, Socialists are wont to claim that we are nearly always able to find its basis lodged in some economic need of the people or a certain class of the people. In other words, the food, clothing and shelter problems give rise to nearly every social institution. With this fact in mind, it is with more than usual interest we find that Vahan Cardashian in her booklet "Actual Life in the Turkish Harem" published by The Glover Press, New York City, has pointed out the economic origin of polygamy in Turkey as well as the economic reason for its decline during the present century.

In the 7th century, she writes, Arabia had no compact political system. There was no recognized system of home life, or

marriage. Perhaps one-half the people of Arabia were of unknown parentage. Upon the death of a man, his widow descended to his sons, by the same woman or another, and one of them would or could marry her.

"At that time, Arabia was the battle ground of scores of migratory and predatory tribes wandering aimlessly to and fro, continually preying upon one another."

The proportion of women to men became so great that men often buried their female children alive. There was no limit upon the number of wives a man might possess but his ability to support them for the time being, and he could dismiss one or all at pleasure without any regard as to their future comfort. Men did not know their mothers; brothers could not recog-

nize their sisters. Incestuous marriages were unavoidable and common.

These evils Monammed undertook to improve. He restricted men to four wives at a time, supplementing the limitation by the additional provision that they could have female slaves who were also to enjoy certain rights.

Thus he made certain of building up the male population depleted by continual wars and, as the number of women vastly exceeded the men, these thousands of unmarried women were housed and sup-

very recently there were no unmarried men nor bachelor maids among the Turks.

"A Turk may marry four wives at a time, in addition thereto, have female slaves." Chapter IV of the Koran says: "If ye fear that ye shall not act with equity toward orphans of the female sex, take in marriage of such other women as ye please, two, or three, or four at a time." They said, "O, Prophet, does this revelation apply also to you?" He said, "Yes, it does." A few days thereafter, God, in his Infinite Wisdom, hurried, through



HAREM WOMEN FLEEING FROM REVOLUTION.

ported honorably instead of being forced to become prostitutes to earn a living.

Vahan Cardashian believes that Mohammed's chief desire in advocating the Harem System was to insure the masses of the people against a return to their habits of unbridled promiscuity which had begun to produce a most deteriorating effect upon the health of the country.

Furthermore Mohammed evidently knew that only economic security would prevent superfluous females from preying upon the rest of the community. Until

Archangel Gabriel, so said Mohammed, a modifying revelation, which runs as follows: Chapter XXXIII. "O Prophet, we have allowed thee thy wives unto whom thou has given their dower, and also slaves which thy right hand possesseth, of the booty which God had granted thee, and the daughters of thy uncles, and the daughters of thy aunts, both on thy father's side and on thy mother's side, and any other believing woman, if she give herself unto the Prophet, in case the Prophet desireth to

take her for wife. This is a peculiar privilege granted unto thee above the rest of the true believers. Thou mayest postpone the turn of such of thy wives as thou shall please, and her whom thou shall desire of those whom thou shall have before rejected, and it shall be no crime in thee. This will be more easy, that they may be entirely content, and they may not be grieved, but may be well pleased with what thou shalt give every one of them. God knoweth whatever is in your heart. O True Believers, enter not the house of the Prophet, unless it be permitted ye to eat meat with him, without waiting his convenient time; but when ye are invited then enter, and when ye shall have eaten then disperse yourselves; and stay not to enter into familiar discourse, for it incommodeth the Prophet. He is ashamed to bid you depart, but God is not ashamed of the truth. And when you ask the Prophet's wives what you may have occasion for, ask it of them from behind a curtain. This will be more pure for your hearts. Neither is it for you to marry the wives of the Apostle of God, after him forever; for this would be a grievous thing in the sight of God."

Upon this revelation is based the Harem system of the Sultan, who is the

successor of the Prophet, by reason of his possession of the old garb, sword, standard and two hairs of the beard of the Prophet. The deposed Sultan had 370 women in his Harem. Many of his predecessors maintained large Harem establishments, which entailed an expenditure of several millions of dollars a year. Be that as it may, Harems of the extravagant size and vicious nature and influences, as the one supported by Abd-Ul-Hamid, are things of the past, and will perhaps never again obtain in Turkey. Yet, the fact that hardly 20 per cent of the Mohammedans are polygamous is not due to the influence of any moral conviction or scruple, but to the difficulty which the middle-class Mohammedan experiences in supporting more than one wife, and the equal inability of the high classes to meet the requirements of modern fashion and luxury, which dominate those Harems. Moreover the most forceful reason for the abolition of this primitive institution is not its inconsistency with the spirit of modern civilization—sufficient though that is—but the decay of its original cause, namely: the over-abundance of women, and as Caidashian says: the high cost of living.

## The Workers' Holiday

BY

ED. MOORE

**M**AY DAY brings to the ears of our memory that soul-stirring appeal of the foremost champions of the working class in its struggle for economic freedom: "Workingmen of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

In response to that rallying call and battle cry, working people from all lands in every capitalist nation, of every creed and no creed, are resenting a united front in resisting the aggressions of the master class and forcing onward the mass of the toilers whose labor gladdens the earth while their backs bend under the weight of the burden of producing surplus wealth for schemers to enjoy.

In France, wage workers in the government's service, postal workers and railroaders, rebelled against long hours and low pay. Military force and patriotism were invoked to terrify the workers into submission. Briand, elevated to the head of the French cabinet in payment for his treason to the working class, was forced to resign to appease the workers who paralyzed a nation by simply folding their arms and doing nothing.

Great Britain, whose boast is that she rules the waves, was taught by dock laborers and seagoing transport workers that it is not a constitutional monarch and a parliament of aristocrats and commoners that have made and keep her state; that it is the despised navy coal

passers and firemen whose brain and brawn are the real greatness of the nation upon whose dominions the sun never sets.

Beginning with a murmur of discontent against the misery of their narrow lives, the coal diggers of Britain united, and with a voice that shook the fabric of the nation, demanded a "minimum living wage." A king, a prime minister, in short, all the political machinery of the ruling class bowed its head and listened to a demand that was irresistible because those who dig the fuel that furnishes light, heat and power folded their arms.

Kingly prerogatives cannot make electric lights glow. The authority vested in a parliament cannot fill the coal bunkers of trans-Atlantic liners, and high-powered rifles in the hands of obedient trained murderers will not produce the heat to cook or the food necessary to keep alive the loyal defenders of the privileged few who rob and rule the toilers. So top-hatted gentlemen bowed to coal-begrimed mine workers and formally declared the legality of a minimum living wage for them.

Columbia, the land of the free, is also thrilling to the voice of the militant workers. In the textile districts of Massachusetts the aristocrats of our industrial masters gathered from all parts of the earth, workers who were bred to be submissive and to kiss the hands that smote them, brought for the purpose of transforming their labor into the clinking gold that buys admission to the inner circles of the effete rulers of European countries. But the industrial masters forgot:

"And the slave, where'er he cowers,  
feels the soul within him climb

To the awful verge of manhood"  
When the whimpering cries of his children call out to him for bread. In Lawrence they took five loaves from the weekly rations of their wage slaves, and the world is still reverberating with the echoes of the exultant shouts of victory of the workers united under the red flag of the working class nation, using direct action in one big union.

On the industrial field the folded arms of the strikers dried up the current of surplus value—unpaid labor—that flows into the coffers of the magnates of industry and finance. A demand by the

Socialist party of the United States that President Taft fulfill the obligations of his oath of office to protect the constitutional rights of workingmen citizens induced him to call off the brutal police and murderous militia from interfering with parents who were sending their children to be cared for by warm-hearted comrades while the strike lasted. Using its economic power and its political privileges, the working class in the United States has shown the capitalist class that in the war for economic freedom Labor is invincible.

The workers of the world are a nation by themselves. It is fitting that this nation should have a holiday. That national holiday should be emblematic of the gladness of a world emerging from a season of bleakness and barrenness into one where Nature empties her cornucopia of wealth into the laps of the toilers. So our working class nation has selected May Day for its national holiday.

Never before had the militant workers so much cause to rejoice and be glad on its national holiday. It has been able to show its class that the day is not far distant when

"The war drums shall throb no longer  
And the battle flags shall be furled."  
And, taking form in one big union, we see what our great economist, Marx, predicted that:

"The working class will substitute, in the course of its development, for the old order of civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonisms, and there will no longer be political power, properly speaking, since political power is simply the official form of the antagonisms in civil society."

And our class's victories all over the world appear to be condensed in these lines:

"We have fed you all for a thousand  
years,

For that was our doom, you know,  
Since the days that you chained us in  
your fields

To the strike of a week ago.  
You have eaten our lives, our babies and  
wives,

And you said it was your legal share.  
But if blood be the price of your lawful  
wealth,

Good God! we ha' fought it fair!"





# “THAT DAMN STEAM SHOVEL”

BY

PETER KINNEAR

I STOOD on the cellar bank with several hundred others watching with interest the excavating going on. Below some twenty feet, one of the marvels of the machine age, a monster steam shovel, operated by four men and four helpers, was doing the work which under former circumstances took the combined labor of 200 men to perform.

“Thirty loads an hour was her capacity,” proudly the shovel operator stated, “an’ she can be depended on to work twenty-four hours. No more trouble with walk-outs an’ strikes, an’ she paid for herself in three months by her saving in wages what would have been paid these men standing on the bank.”

At this remark I gazed about me, scrutinizing with more interest my associates on the bank watching this monster shovel that had displaced them and taken their jobs.

It was an average assembly of workmen drawn in the search for work. There were the same drawn faces, the same restless look, with its nervous twitch, the same despair written over their features, that are seen daily in the industrial centers, betokening workmen out of work.

And I wondered to myself as to what were their thoughts as they stolidly gazed at the cause—the steam shovel.

Suddenly I was brought out of my reverie by an exclamation close to me—“That damn steam shovel!” I heard.

Curiously gazing about, edged closer to the speaker and noted him to be a man fairly well clothed against the winter’s cold. In his coat lapel he wore a machinist’s union button and underneath a Knights of St. John pin. Deliberately I opened up a conversation with him regarding the marvel of the steam shovel incessantly devouring up the earth underneath.

“Yes,” he replied to my enthusiastic description of its saving in labor and toil, “it is wonderful, but that steam shovel has taken my job.”

“Why, how so?” I asked, gazing at his union button. “I note that you are a union machinist?”

At this his face slightly flushed, showing in greater contract the furrows of worry imbedded in his brow.

“Yes, that’s true,” he replied, as he added, with a sigh, “and I used to build steam shovels when working at my trade.”

"Then," I curiously asked, "how do you figure that this steam shovel has taken your job?"

For a moment he gazed stolidly into my face as if endeavoring to fathom the stupidity of my question. Gradually his eyes moistened with tears, and with a distant look as if longing for home and rest, he replied: "I will tell you why, mister.

"I am a machinist, but work at our trade has been very slack through the winter. In the last six months I have been able to get in only about four weeks at my trade. The rest of the time I have spent searching for work. I have a wife and three children. We all must eat to live. The few dollars that I had saved up when work was good we practically used up some months ago. My rent is now two months overdue and the landlord has given me notice to pay up or he will have me placed on the streets. My grocery and butcher bill are now thirty days overdue and they have the thirty-day limit to credit customers. Both have notified me that I must pay up or get a steady job, otherwise they will cut off my credit. We must live.

"My wife, through incessant worry over our indebtedness, is sick in bed. We never before owed anyone, as I always made good wages. Conditions have reached a climax in my home. This morning I could stand it no longer, so I said to my wife: 'Mary, I am not too proud to work at anything to make an honest living. They are putting up a large skyscraper down town. The cellar is being dug now. I intend to go down and get a job, even if it is pick and shovel work.'

"Imagine my surprise on arriving here early this morning, I found these same men standing on the bank that you see now. I thought I was late, but as I gazed into this pit I quickly saw the reason. The steam shovel that I helped build deprived me and the hundreds of others here of the common laborers' job, pick and shovel work."

Here was fate with a vengeance. The steam shovel maker that helped build thousands of steam shovels (at good wages) that displaced hundreds of thousands of common laborers at poor wages

was meeting ultimately the same fate—displaced by his own creation—the steam shovel. He continued:

"Never before was the machine problem so forcibly brought to my view. Never before did I realize the community of interest of the working class and how helpless we are within the situation we have helped create. Always had I felt secure in the thought that if worst came to worst I could get a job at common labor, pick and shovel work, to live. But here my cherished thoughts received a violent setback. The steam shovel closed even this avenue to me."

Kindly I turned to the machinist. Both of us had received a new view of things as they are.

"My friend," I asked, "have you ever thought of a solution to this problem, this steam shovel problem that is displacing hundreds of thousands of common laborers and throwing them into an already overcrowded labor market, with no provision made to take care of them?"

"Why, no," he replied, astonished. "Is there a solution?"

"Yes," I stated with conviction, "there is. The solution lies with you and the idle men standing on this bank. You alone can solve this problem. First, you must organize yourself into a compact body against the owner of this steam shovel, both industrially and politically. Then with this compact organization you must demand the social ownership (by all you men) of this steam shovel."

"You mean to take the steam shovel away from the man that owns it?" he inquired dubiously.

"Certainly," I replied, "in the interest of the two hundred idle men standing on the bank. The man that owns the steam shovel today runs it for profit. The labor cost it has saved him on the two hundred men that it has displaced paid for the steam shovel in three months. The steam shovel, run in the interest of you two hundred men now idle, producing for use and not for profit, would mean, if work were proportionately divided among you workers, about one hour's toil per day at a wage of \$4."

"Why," he remarked, "under such a

distribution of work, work would become a pleasure!" And he added enthusiastically, "It looks practical, too."

"Very true," I added, "under such a system work would become play. Every worker would receive the full product of his toil. Then, in the place of men cursing the steam shovel, they would bless it, because it would lighten the labor of the workers."

"My friend," he replied, as he shook hands with me preparing to leave, "I am glad I met you. I can see a ray of hope for myself and all these workers standing here idle. And this solution to this machine problem; what do you call it?"

"Socialism," I replied.

At this he quickly dropped my hand and gazed at me half frightened. "Why," he exclaimed, "my church is opposed to Socialism for the reason that it is immoral and would destroy the home."

"Yes," I replied, "the steam shovel owner sees to it that anything and everything that would be of material benefit to you is maligned and slandered so you, in your superstitious faith, will refuse to accept it.

"Socialism has nothing to do with your religion. It has everything to do, though, with the steam shovel. When the workers once own the steam shovel collectively the present owner will be deprived of several hundred dollars per day in profit

with which he now lives in idle luxury while you are seeking pick and shovel work and can't get it. Your home, as far as I can see, does not need any more destroying. With the landlord's notice to pay or move, with the dealers giving you notice to pay or have your credit cut off, with you unable to get a job—your home is virtually destroyed *now*."

"That's almost true," he bitterly replied.

"Very true," I replied, "and what you and the hundreds standing idly on this bank, watching the steam shovel, need now is a system of human society, that will guarantee to you and your families a home that shall never stand in fear, of the creditor's call, a home that I have shown you can be sustained on one hour's toil at common labor on your part. Such a system will be social ownership and democratic management of all the tools of production and distribution. We will produce for your use and my use, and not for a few large profit mongers."

And the jobless worker left me battling between his superstitious faith and his material interest. But he belongs to the social revolution. He cursed the system that is making him feel want—the steam shovel individually owned, and it is only a question of time till he and millions of more men, like him, will join us in the great class struggle.

## The Working Man's Friend

BY

S. G. GREENWOOD

**U**NDER our present industrial system the first step on the part of our eminent citizens after the worker has created wealth is to take it away from him. Of course, he is left, in some form, just enough to keep him from starving to death and at the same time allow his to propagate children. Another worker must be had to take his place, as he will soon become worn out.

The next step is a fight between the business men, landlords, manufacturers

and bankers as to who shall own the worker's product.

The laborer in this second step has as much vital interest as a dead toad has in the stone that killed him. It is true that by keeping his eye on the fights going on between his capitalistic enemies he can sometimes step in and secure an advantage for his class. This advantage to the working class is always lost unless the workers are sufficiently class conscious to maintain their position.

In the fight that takes place between the various sections of the capitalist class over a division of the spoils the political machine (including all legislatures, executives and courts) is one of the tools used. This is not the main tool used. It is an important, but minor one.

The entire political machine is the side-show and the lawyers and judges playing the game for the capitalist class are the chorus girls in the sideshow. As long as they remain lawyers and judges they are never elevated to the higher and more remunerative positions of clowns.

The clowns are the small bankers and business men.

Some of these ten-minute acts have a lesson in them for the working class.

One of these acts, known as the case of the People of Illinois vs. Keithley, is reported in Volume 225, Ill. Supreme Court Reporter. Keithley, a Peoria attorney, was the villain and is called the defendant.

Keithley, an attorney, after filing a bill "to remove cloud from title," accepted a retainer from the party whom he was suing. In this way he became the representative of both the plaintiff and the defendant in a lawsuit.

A lawsuit is a contest between two or more parties in which the parties themselves disagree regarding their rights. Were there no disagreement there would be no lawsuit. The judges are the umpires and are supposed to see that they all play the game according to the law rules.

In the Supreme Court's opinion in this case regarding Keithley's contention that he represented BOTH SIDES FAIRLY. Judge Vickers says: "It is not material here to determine which of the two accounts is the true one, since by both of them respondent puts himself on both sides of the lawsuit, and by so doing his position is wholly inconsistent, and no explanation has been offered which in reason, law or morals tends to palliate or excuse such a grave breach of professional propriety."

There is no dissenting opinion. The Supreme Court forever disbarred Mr. Keithley from the practice of law in the State of Illinois.

Woodrow Wilson, Robert La Follette,

Harmon, Taft, Bryan and "King Ka Zook" have all, time and again, assured the voters that they were the only true representatives of *all* the people. They have each written it in their manifestoes and howled it from the rostrum.

An illustration will show them in no more logical or justifiable a position than was Keithley.

One small clique of men own the gas plant in Chicago. The small clique owning the plant buys coal, labor and other commodities as cheap as possible. They produce gas as cheap as possible.

It is put under pressure and sent through the mains to the consumer. They charge the consumer for the gas, all he will stand for; every cent they dare and can pry out of him.

The consumer, on the other hand, would gladly accept gas at 19 cents a thousand, at which price it has been sold many times in the oil and gas fields; or he would use it as he does the air, free of charge if he could.

Are the interests of the owners of the gas plant and the consumers the same? Do you think a lawyer representing both the consumer and the owner in a lawsuit over the price of gas would receive any pay from the gas corporation?

The working man elects and pays men in the important matter of making laws (the rules of the game). They say they can represent both these interests at the same time.

As a result, the worker finds the rules and the umpires such that all he gets is work and enough to eat so that he can work another day.

Over 80 per cent of the stock in all the banks, steel mills, coal mines and railroads is owned by a small handful of men, less than one-fourth of 1 per cent. They own these industries for the same reason as those owning the gas plant, namely, to get as much profit out of the workers as possible.

Can an intelligent worker vote for a man that says he will make laws for all the people and represent all the interests FAIRLY?

Perhaps these presidential candidates have never read the case of the People vs. Keithley, and so think it possible in

"reason, law or morals" to represent two conflicting interests.

Perhaps these presidential candidates know better than to imagine that it would be possible to represent a starved, gaunt and hungry wolf with a rabbit in a corner and the rabbit at the same time.

Capital in class society is a hungry wolf. It is never satisfied. It must devour the workers in ever-increasing numbers. It can grow in no other way.

Perhaps the workers cannot think clearly like Judge Vickers, so at election time they vote for men that have so little sense that they actually boast that they will represent opposing interests at the same time.

Judge Vickers said in the Keithley case it is not worth discussion as to whether Keithley represented BOTH SIDES FAIRLY. The very attempt to represent both sides is regarded by the court as so inconsistent that it is ground for taking away the lawyer's license to practice law.

The Socialist party makes no claim of representing both the exploiter and the exploited.

The Socialist party is composed of class-conscious workers who demand their own representatives.

The Socialist knows no man can represent the plaintiff and the defendant in a lawsuit. He also knows in an industrial system no man can represent the few who own the tools and at the same time represent the masses, who, in order to live, have to sell their labor power to the owners of the tools.

When a worker understands that he and his fellow workers have created the wealth of the world and that a few are in possession of that wealth, he is not of necessity "class conscious." Most professional reformers understand and make use of this fact.

When a worker not only knows that he and his fellow workers have created the wealth, but also knows that to possess the wealth created he and a majority of his fellow workers *will have to FIGHT together* to possess this wealth; and also understands that the man he can trust is the one whose interests are the same as his own and, so understanding, selects as a representative one of his comrades

to work for their *Common Cause*. *This man is class conscious.*

This is a long sentence and perhaps an illustration of its application in the political field will make it clear.

This fall before election a kindly looking lawyer by the name of Dole shakes hands with you and tells you that as a young man he worked on a farm and that he is a "friend of labor." Your papers tell you what a nice, clean man Mr. Theodore La Follette Dole is. He keeps a pew clean in Eagle Beak's brownstone church; he once saved the country by shooting Spaniards; he can sing in German, and that with honest Theodore La Follette Dole to watch your interests there would be no stealing or special privilege.

Did you vote for Dole? No. You, with your fellow workers, said: "Dole is a nice gentleman, I have no doubt, but he believes he can represent us all in a system where one class owns the tools and the other class, dependent on them for a living, has to work at the owners' terms.

"I know he would be kind to us and let us have 70-cent gas and smoke our pipes on the rear end of the street cars, but we would still be working for the men who own the factories, the mines and mills.

"We want the tools. We want the product. We want all of it. With our labor we have created it all. We are going to send our fellow worker, Germer, to Congress. He works with us—is of us. We have his resignation before he starts. He cannot throw us down because he wants what we want. He will fight our common cause in Congress while we fight here. He was with us top, middle and bottom when we forced an eight-hour day. He does not pretend to represent the owners of the mills and the banks and us at the same time."

You talk, work and vote for yourselves. That is why you want to elect your Socialist comrade. His interests are your interests. Now you are class conscious.

You don't forget that victory will perch on the shoulders of the working class when it sticks together industrially and politically.



# Welcome the New Review

BY

FRANK BOHN

THE bane of the American Socialist movement has been too many publications both of books and periodicals. The announcement of a new daily, weekly or monthly for general circulation ordinarily fills the experienced Socialist propagandist with dismay. However, it is now our privilege to welcome with unmixed joy a new weekly magazine, The New Review.

The New Review, to be published at New York City by a group of comrades whose names are a sufficient guarantee of the character and permanence of their undertaking, is to be devoted chiefly to things scientific and literary in the field of Socialist thought. We surmise that it will take the place in America which the New Age fills so admirably in Great Britain. But naturally an American publication must have many features which are not thought necessary or desirable in England. We are sure, for instance, that the quality of its matter will not suffer by making it more attractive in appearance to the peculiar American public.

Nothing is now more needed by the American movement than a first-class weekly devoted largely to a scientific discussion of the momentous problems now pressing for solution. Before the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW became a popular magazine for the workers it tried to perform this task. But the time was not ripe for such a publication and the then editorial policy of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW was such as to make it only pseudo-scientific. Conditions are now much altered. Many comrades are devoting themselves assiduously to a study of economics, history and government. Their best work deserves the medium of a publication devoted entirely to these studies. Our public discussions have been always haphazard and often puerile. In fact, the greatest matters

we have to consider are often not examined at all until some petty strife within the party stumbles upon the issue. If the New Review will labor without ceasing to set a new moral standard in this matter, its work will be of inestimable value.

The most crucial problems now demanding new knowledge and careful analysis are three: Our American system of government and law in its relation to the labor movement; the present organization of big business on the one hand and of the labor unions on the other; and the government of cities. Take, for instance, this last matter. While our party has been successful in carrying city after city, there has not appeared in print during five years five contributions worth reading in connection with the government of municipalities.

Municipal government in the United States is sunk in a veritable bog of the most venal, ignorant and reactionary legislation known to the civilized world. Here we are in the midst of the most trying responsibilities in this connection, and absolutely no intelligent efforts are being made by anybody to make sound knowledge available for either theoretical or practical purposes. When the suggestion was made that the N. E. C. undertake this work, the proposition was decried. Here is work for the New Review. The party has within it abundant talent. Let it be given organization and direction.

The field of the New Review is boundless and the demand for its work insistent. Abundant support ought to be forthcoming immediately. Half of the \$10,000 needed has been subscribed. The stock is divided into fifty shares of \$100 each and one thousand shares of \$10 each. Bertha M. Howe, secretary, Hall of Records, New York City, will furnish upon request all further information desired.

# EDITORIAL

**A Defeat That Is a Victory.** In April, 1910, Milwaukee elected a Socialist mayor. The Socialists were in a minority, but the opposition was split, hence the "victory" of which we made much, possibly too much. In view of recent developments, it is interesting to turn to the files of the Chicago *Daily Socialist* and read some of the comments made on the day after election.

Barring some absolutely unforeseen phenomena, MILWAUKEE WILL HENCEFORTH BE CONTROLLED BY THE WORKERS.

Evidently something was wrong with this forecast. Perhaps we may see where the writer went astray by reading further.

"The victory in Milwaukee was built upon two things—a long-continued educational campaign through literature and close co-operation with organized labor. In no city in the United States is there as large a proportion of the Socialist voters thoroughly grounded in the fundamentals of Socialism. More copies of the classic works of Socialism have been circulated there than in any city of equal size in the country. In consequence there are few 'phrase philosophers' and many actual students of the basis of Socialism."

All this would have been important if true, and if true would have afforded some ground for the rosy prophecy in the former paragraph. But unhappily the facts are otherwise. We in this office are in a position to estimate rather closely the sales of Socialist classics in various cities. And the sales in Milwaukee, instead of being exceptionally large, have been ridiculously small, indicating that the Milwaukee comrades have been too busy in the pursuit of offices to give even a passing thought to the education of their membership in the principles of Socialism. It may be true that there are few "phrase philosophers" in Milwaukee; probably it is. Since some of our readers do not know what a "phrase philosopher" is, we will explain. It is a term of reproach applied by would-be bosses and by persistent office-seekers to any one who knows enough about real Socialism to ridicule their pretensions and challenge their claim to leadership. We have heard of only one such man in Milwau-

kee lately, still we trust there are more. But if there are many actual students of the basis of Socialism there, they have kept the fruits of their studies locked within their own bosoms. The "literature" which the Milwaukee organization has circulated has too often been an appeal to property-owners for their votes on the anti-graft issue, rather than an explanation of capitalist exploitation and the class struggle. And we could were it worth while cite many instances of misdirected energy in the service of Milwaukee property-owners. Yet, with all their omissions, the Milwaukee comrades have at least kept flying the red flag of the revolution. And the menace of revolution, distant though it be, has driven the capitalists, reputable and disreputable, alike, into one camp. It was a little thing to stop petty grafters from levying toll on the bigger grafters of Milwaukee. It was no very great thing to conduct a fairly efficient and unquestionably honest reform administration. Such things have been done by many reformers in many cities before, and the results have never been lasting, because the efforts have been superficial. But in their day of defeat our Milwaukee comrades have won a tremendous and far-reaching victory. They have driven the capitalists to unite, and the union of the capitalists foreshadows the great and triumphant union of the wage-workers.

**The Socialist Party at Washington.** A notable convention has lately been held, that of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington. Socialism has made wonderful progress there during the last two years. The secretary's report shows a membership of over 6,000, or one paid-up member for every 200 of the total population of Washington. This is 50 per cent better than California, and more than 100 per cent better than any other state. But this increase in numbers is not the notable thing about the convention. Better still is the clear-cut revolutionary expression of the wishes and the aims of the wage-workers, embodied in the following platform, immediate de-

mand and resolutions adopted by the Socialist Party of Washington:

PLATFORM.

The Socialist party of Washington in convention assembled reaffirms its unflinching loyalty to the principles of international socialism and to the Socialist party of the United States, and presents the following as its platform:

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national, but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world through the intelligence, class-conscious use of the ballot, the general strike and the boycott.

Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land to produce things necessary for human life. Whosoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

The working class owns nothing but its labor power, and sells this for wages to the capitalist class.

This labor power applied to modern means of production and distribution produces at least four times as much value as the working class receives in wages.

The capitalist class, unable to find a market either in this or foreign countries for the surplus product, are now closing the mines, mills and factories.

This, together with the constant invention of labor saving machinery, throws men, women and children of the working class out of employment, causing untold misery and distress.

The lack and uncertainty of employment produces extreme poverty, which in its turn produces crime, insanity, prostitution of body and brain, suicides, drunkenness, disease and degradation.

The insecurity of a livelihood and consequent degenerating results are therefore directly due to the private ownership and control by the capitalist class of mine, mill, factory and land.

The remedy lies in the social ownership of these means of production and distribution, thereby giving all an equal opportunity to live and enjoy the product of their labor.

Humanity lives amid constant change. Laws, institutions and customs, once useful and popular, become oppressive, abusive, intolerable and dangerous to further progress of the race. It is at such a time that the race must find a new method, inaugurate a new system more in harmony with its needs. If any nation or community can not change for the better it is because it is either too ignorant or too terrorized by the ruling class. Tyranny rules from the top down, social democracy from the bottom up.

The Socialist party is the only political party which stands for the overthrow of the present capitalist system of exploitation and the substitution of the social ownership of the source of food, clothing, shelter and other necessities.

IMMEDIATE DEMAND.

Our only demand is the social ownership and democratic management of the whole of the machinery of production and distribution.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That we, the Socialist party in convention assembled, do hereby recall to the minds of the working class all the arbitrary, cruel and inhuman methods used by the capitalist class in this class war, including the use of police power to suppress the freedom of speech, press and public assembly, as recently evidenced in several cities of this state, and as this abuse can only continue as long as we, the working class, remain divided, we here and now urge the members of our class to devote their efforts towards greater solidarity, clearer class-consciousness, and the necessity of united political action, and we hereby endorse the principle of revolutionary industrial unionism.

Resolved, That we, the Socialist party, hereby endorse all united action of the workers and pledge ourselves to assist them by supplying speakers, money and other necessary support wherever possible, to the end that we may win our economic freedom and overthrow the capitalist system.

To the small farmer we say, we are opposed to the private ownership of the land for the purpose of speculation and exploitation.

We are absolutely opposed to the Boy Scout movement, and the teaching of military drill with guns and other means of destruction of human life to our school children.

The work of this convention and the rapid growth of the party in Washington afford valuable suggestions for the National Convention of the Socialist Party which is to begin its work at Indianapolis May 12. New members and new voters are coming to us fast enough; it is time to shape our declarations in such a way as to attract ONLY those who WANT REVOLUTION, and who will be satisfied with nothing less.

**How to Get Reforms.** Let us assume for the sake of argument that reforms, meaning laws passed with the consent of our capitalist rulers, will be of some benefit to the wage-workers. What then is the quickest and surest way to get them passed? Is it to agree among ourselves exactly what reforms we want and agitate for them until election; then instructing our representatives in congress or legislature to draft bills and try to persuade the old party politicians to pass them? That is the opportunist method. The advantage of it is that incidentally it may help a few party members to eat off the political pie counter and see their pictures on the front pages of capitalist

newspapers. One disadvantage is that it dulls the enthusiasm of wage-workers who want revolution and makes them suspect the Socialist Party of being merely a machine of and by politicians like the other parties. Another disadvantage is that it doesn't even enact the reforms. If the old-party politicians are going to let the reforms go through, they want the credit for themselves. A bill introduced by a Socialist will almost surely be pigeon-holed indefinitely by the committee to which it is referred. If we really want reforms the quick and sure way to get them is to organize not only politically but industrially, and to agitate for the overthrow of the whole capitalist system. Let us concentrate on this agitation all the strength we have been wasting, and the capitalist politicians will fall over themselves to offer reforms in the hope of stemming the tide of revolution. Then if we have representatives in legislature or congress, it will be for them to expose the "jokers" in the first alleged reforms that are offered, and show the inadequacy of each proposed reform to accomplish its boasted aims. Stung by working-class criticism, and fearful that too obvious a sham in the way of legislation might prove a boomerang for them, it is quite possible that the servants of capitalism may put through certain palliatives quite as important as some of the "immediate demands" we used to put into our platforms. Then when economic laws reassert themselves and the wage-workers realize that such relief is only temporary, their blame will fall on the old parties, not on us. Meanwhile, we shall have been doing our own work, the education of revolutionists.

**Local Butte's Platform Amendment.** Local Butte, Montana, with 286 members in good standing, proposes the following amendment as a part of the platform and declaration of principles of the Socialist Party of America:

"Established Socialism, to be successful and enduring, or, in fact, to be at all worthy the name of Socialism, must be a condition of industrial democracy. It must be a direct, democratic management and control of industry, and of the distribution of the products of industry, by and for the workers engaged in industry. The Socialist party urges the working class to so shape its form of economic organization as to conform, as far as possible,

to the lines of modern industrial development, thereby preparing the working class, through industrial organization, for the taking over collectively, by the workers, of the machinery and forces of production and distribution, thus fitting the workers for harmonious, democratic working-class control and management of the future industrial democracy—Socialism.

"COMMENT: The most significant development of the International Socialist movement in recent years was the character of Gustave Herve's comment on the German elections.

"The militant French writer makes straightforward acknowledgement of the tremendous importance of united working class political action, and admits his conviction that such action can be made a powerful factor in the struggle of the working class toward economic independence.

"In no other part of the world, save possibly in his own country, should Herve's confession have greater or better effect from a working class standpoint than in the United States.

"It indicates an early clearing of the atmosphere as to the relations of the economic and political organizations of the working class, and a growing international understanding of their interdependence.

"It indicates an early freeing of the American labor movement from the influence of those narrow, carping critics, in both A. F. of L. and I. W. W. circles, who on all occasions sneer at and belittle the importance of working class political action.

"In view of the fine, tolerant spirit of Herve, and its probable effect upon the world of organized labor, is it too much to expect the Socialist party of the United States to reject the disgusting and futile compromises of previous platforms respecting organized labor, and to substitute therefor a clear and decisive declaration showing broadly the Socialist attitude regarding the organized labor movement?

"The adoption of the above declaration would remove any existing justification for the charge that the Socialist party favors any factionalism in the organized labor movement. It would simply outline a form of organization economically that is *absolutely essential* to the triumph of the working class through Socialism. In other words, the Socialist party—the political party of the working class—in seeking to abolish the wage system, points out to the working class in a purely constructive manner a development in unionism that *must precede* actual Socialism.

"We leave the manner of securing this desired organization entirely in the hands of the workers themselves, taking no stand either for or against those who "bore from within" or hammer from without.

"Moreover, such a declaration as the above would emphasize the working class character of the American Socialist movement, tend to discourage the apparent tendency within our party in some localities to compromise with small capitalist interests for immediate polit-

ical spoils, and form a solid groundwork for a permanent, substantial growth."

The REVIEW heartily endorses the action of Local Butte. The proposed amendment is one on which all Socialists who understand the class struggle should be able to unite. It should be adopted at

the May convention, and if by any chance it should be defeated there, then the minority supporting it should take advantage of their right under the party constitution to have it sent out to a referendum of the membership as an amendment to the platform adopted by the majority.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**THE Great English Coal Strike.** By a majority of 42,998 the English miners voted to remain out. But their Executive committee advised them to go back to work. Finally, on April 6, a conference of the Miners' Federation voted, 440 to 125, to accept the recommendation of the Executive committee. So the strike is off and it is time to take account of gains and losses.

The men struck for a minimum wage. For coal "hewers" they asked a minimum rate varying in different districts from six shillings to seven shillings six pence. For all men employed about the mines they asked at least five shillings a day; for all boys at least two shillings. On Feb. 27, two days before the strike began, Premier Asquith promised the men that if they would not "down tools" the government would pass as quickly as possible a minimum wage law to apply to the coal industry. The bill was to declare the acceptance of the principle of the minimum wage and to provide for the fixing of minimum rates by official boards to be appointed for this purpose in the various mining districts. Each board was to consist of representatives of miners and operators with a government employe to act as chairman. This representative of the government was to have the deciding voice in all cases in which the representative of capital and labor could not agree. The Executive committee of the miners flatly refused to call the strike off on the basis of this mere promise of Mr. Asquith. The strike was declared. On February 29 more than a million men went on strike. There was tremendous suffering. The industry of England was brought

near a standstill. Premier Asquith hurried his minimum wage bill through Parliament with surprising speed. The miners insisted that the minimum rates be written into the bill. All attempts at amendment, however, were sternly repressed. The bill became law as originally drawn. This was on March 29, exactly a month after the strike began. Then came a surprise. The Executive committee advised the men to go back. A vote of the rank and file was taken, with the result given above. On April 4, the Executive committee adopted the following resolutions: "Seeing that there is no provision in the rules and regulations of the Federation to guide this committee as to the majority required to continue the strike except the resolution passed at the conference of Dec. 21, 1911, that a two-thirds majority is required to declare a national strike and the same majority is required to continue a strike, and seeing that a two-thirds majority vote is not in favor of the continuance of the strike, and acting upon that vote, we advise a resumption of work, but a conference is to be called for Saturday to consider this recommendation." The conference supported the recommendation, and the strike was declared off.

This simple outline of events shows that the men did not get what they went out for. They struck for a definite minimum wage; what they got was the institution of a system of district boards authorized to fix minimum wage scales. What minimums these boards will propose no man can tell. And, it has no means of enforcing its recommendations. So instead of something very definite which they demanded the men have re-



ceived something very indefinite which they refused to consider when it was first offered them. On the face of things, then, this strike which has been so tremendously successful as an exhibition of working class power has been unsuccessful in achieving the object for which it was called.

The good of this strike lies, then, in the lessons it has taught. For more than a month a million miners remained out. Even their worst enemies could not claim at the end that more than 20,000 had gone back. More than 2,000,000 other workers were thrown out of employment in the course of the strike. On every hand the cry was raised that the "selfish miners" cared only for their own distress. But those miners stayed out. They were ready to stay out indefinitely. This exhibition of spirit brought all the powers of government to their knees. Cabinet ministers begged and argued. On the first day of the strike Premier Asquith made to the conference of miners an address which must ever remain historical. He said in part: "We have come to feel as a government that when all efforts at voluntary arrangement had failed, and we were face to face with the warfare between capital and labor in your industry, and the stoppage of the sources of our coal supply, and the consequent gradual paralysis of other industries of the country which depend upon yours, we should be false to our duty as stewards and trustees of the general interests of the nation, if we did not take, in defiance of convention and tradition and custom, whatever steps we could to bring about a reasonable arrangement.

"Therefore, departing, as I admit we have departed, from what has been usual and customary in the conduct of the government of this country, I and my colleagues have now spent the best part of more than a week in trying to acquire first-hand knowledge of what were the real conditions of the problem. We wanted to obtain the truth. The conclusion to which we came was the conclusion embodied in the first two of the propositions of the government; that a case had been made out for ensuring to the underground workers in the coal industry of this country, with adequate

safeguards, a reasonable minimum wage.

"Well, this is a considerable advance if you compare the state of things today with what it was—I will not say a year, I will not say six months ago, but I will say even a fortnight ago."

To be sure the Premier was the soul of caution. At every point he emphasized the fact that the men should be content with a "reasonable" arrangement. And he acknowledged quite openly that members of the cabinet never worried themselves much about conditions in the mining industry before a "stoppage of the sources of our coal supply" was threatened. But in the main he was right. His action did indicate an advance. The government was looking at the coal industry as a matter of national concern, a public matter, one not to be left to selfishness of a group of private capitalists. The whole country, in fact, expected the government to take their view. Even the opposition recognized that it was the only possible view and refused to make a party issue of the minimum wage bill.

All this, of course, shows the power of labor. Even though the miners have not won what they demanded, the lesson cannot be lost. If the million who went out on Feb. 29 do not eventually get from the district boards a really "reasonable" minimum wage, they will know what to do and how to do it.

Though the English government has done what it could to smooth over the strike situation, in one respect it has acted in a manner to which long use has accustomed us in this country. Tom Mann and a number of others have been arrested and imprisoned for writing, printing, or distributing articles calling on the soldiers not to shoot in case they were called on to do strike duty. If the English authorities broke with tradition in order to conciliate the workers, they also broke with tradition in their efforts to keep the army untouched by sympathy for the workers' cause. In England they have had free speech. It may be that the government is ready to sacrifice this along with some other things long cherished by Englishmen.

The attitude of the Labor party leaders has not been as bad as it was during the

transport workers' strike, but judged from the workers' point of view it still leaves much to be desired. On March 8, when the struggle was at its height, Philip Snowden published an article in the *Daily News* advising the men to submit to public opinion and accept the government's proposal. He said: "If the miners continue to refuse to accept the government's proposals other steps will have to be taken to bring the dispute to an end. If the government have to legislate there is little probability that their measure will go beyond the suggestions already made." This aroused joy among the capitalists and discontent among the miners. Ramsay MacDonald, it should be said, spoke out manfully for the men on more than one occasion. When it came to the final vote on the government's bill there was a struggle within the ranks of the Labor group. Some of the Labor M. P.'s wished to escape from an unpleasant position by refraining from voting. The miners' own representatives, however, were opposed to the bill and insisted on truly representing the wishes of their constituents. They carried the day and so the entire group for once enrolled itself with the opposition. Of course, the large number of Conservatives voting with the government placed the majority for the bill beyond all question. The whole story of the contest leaves one with the impression that the official representatives of the workers played rather an unimportant part. In Parliament they hardly dared raise their voices, and outside of Parliament they were divided.

The British Socialist party, speaking through Clarion and Justice, has given the men fine support. It becomes more evident every day that this new party is not an old organization in disguise. An appeal sent out by its Organization committee in connection with the strike clearly recognizes "the efficacy of joint industrial and political action for securing the rightful claims of those employed in the industries which are fast gaining recognition as being of national and no longer merely private importance." Many signs give basis for the hope that the working-class of England will soon have a political party worthy of the magnifi-

cent spirit which it has exhibited on the economic field.

**The German Coal Strike.** If any set of workers ever had just cause for a strike the German coal miners had it. Since 1907 their wages have been decreased from 16 to 18 per cent. This means that they now receive from 200 to 300 marks a year less than they did five years ago. During the three years from 1907 to 1910 the cost of living is said to have increased more than 14 per cent. At the present time wages range in most districts between four and five marks a day. But this is not the only thing the German coal miners have to complain of. Their unions are not recognized by the employers, and the men are subjected to one of the worst black-listing systems ever invented. A record is kept of each employe's doings from the moment he applies for work and he is punished with suspension or discharge for infraction of any one of an elaborate set of rules. And discharge from one mine means no more work in any mine controlled by the operators' association.

The miners have long been discontented. Finally, on March 10th, a strike was called in the Ruhr district. The demand was for 15 per cent increase in wages, recognition of the union and abolition of the blacklisting system. About 250,000 men came out. This was a good beginning, and it looked for a while as though they would win. But within ten days nearly half of the strikers had gone back and the strike was called off. It was a defeat.

The employers fought their men with two weapons: the Christian unions and the soldiers. The latter were rushed into all the affected districts by the trainload. They shot down peaceful strikers with customary German obedience and effectiveness. They prevented the holding of meetings and destroyed literature which had been prepared for distribution. They made it practically impossible to carry on the strike organization in a peaceful manner.

But the Christian unions did even better service. Though many of their individual members went out, the Christian organizations as a whole went systematic-

ally and officially about the business of strike-breaking. On the first day of the strike they issued a leaflet in a hundred thousand copies proclaiming that the strike was unnecessary and that if the men would only have patience the operators would grant reasonable demands.

While the strikers' leaflets were being destroyed by the soldiers this announcement of the "Christians" was vigorously circulated. Meantime the "Christians" were at work under protection of the soldiers. This did more than anything else to break the strike.

## The Labor Struggle

**Ain't It Orful, Geraldine?** It is to be feared things are not going right in the National Civic Federation. That lovely get-together spirit in which, as all right-minded persons know, Capital and Labor ought to meet, seems to have been sprained in the right ankle. Here goes General Manager Frank Hedley of the Interborough Railway of New York, calling Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, "a damned liar, a cur, a skunk." Now the sad part is that Stone and Hedley's boss, August Belmont, are both members of the Civic Conglomeration. Stone has been uttering hideous threats of organizing the wretched slaves of the Interborough, and Hedley doesn't want any such organization—there's the rub. The spectacle of Stone and Belmont splitting their coat-tails and sitting down at hotel banqueting tables has been an enjoyable scene at Civic Fed. meetings of the past. And this is the thanks that Stone gets for lending his graceful presence to Belmont feasts! Belmont is the Wall street head of the Interborough company and smashed the revolt of his employees a few years ago by landing shiploads of scabs where the reception committees of the strikers couldn't get at 'em. But why worry? Come on, let's bust another bottle of champagne!

**No Other Alternative.** And now comes the Molders a-talking about Industrial Unionism. We quote from a letter to the *Molders' Journal*:

"I will take one industry as an example—the Steel Trust. When this trust was formed—eleven years ago—the steel

workers were among the best paid wage-earners in the United States, many of them earning from \$5 to \$15 a day, and they were thoroughly organized in craft unions. There being the Union of Tinsplate Workers, the Puddlers, the Wire Workers, and many others, all independent of each other. Now witness the result: Eleven years ago there were 121,000 organized steel workers—today there is a bare 4,000 (tinplate workers) of all that great army of union workers. And what has done this?—the concentration of the steel business under one head and the division of the workers in separate individual unions. Now I wish to state my opinion after careful thought—it is this: That we shall have to organize on new lines, industrially, whether we wish it or not; we shall be driven to it, there is no other alternative."

Positively it looks as if our Socialist politicians will have to hurl themselves into the breach and combine further with reactionary trade union leaders, as has been done in California, if the march of Industrial Unionism is to be stayed.

**Slaughter Under Direct Inaction.** Ten thousand three hundred and ninety-six persons slain on the railroads of this country in 1911, of which number only 356 were passengers. And yet Direct Action is opposed on the ground that it would cause the slaughter of so many workers. Even if that objection were well-founded—though it is based on a total misapprehension of what Direct Action means—any kind of action would be better than the present inaction which allows this wholesale murder.

**How Not to Praise a Man.** In a eulogistic article Karl Legien, head of the German trade unions and Socialist member of the Reichstag, is welcomed to this country as an "eminent and powerful working class leader." Legien is doubtless a useful worker in behalf of his class but we can imagine nothing more harmful to his proposed lecture tour than an introduction of this character. Most of us have had enough of "eminent leaders." The working class would be in better shape if it had fewer "leaders" and more self-reliance. There is no place in the Socialist and labor movement for snobbish adulation of "the great man" and Legien himself, if he is of the right stuff, would probably be the first to say so.

**Worse Than Chattel Slavery.** At Lawrence the capitalist guardians of law and order prevented the children of strikers from being sent to workers in other cities. In Hoquiam, Wash., 150 lumber mill strikers were captured and shipped out of town by "vigilantes." Same thing in the free speech battle at San Diego. Mark what this means. It means that the working men and women in this country are in a far worse condition than the black slaves of the South before the Civil war. One thing was gained by the abolition of chattel slavery and that was personal freedom. The slave was no longer tied to the plantation but at last was at liberty to go where he pleased, even though it meant little but a change from one slave job to another. In other respects the

chattel slave was much better fixed than the wage slave of today, because his master had to take some care of him, to keep him well fed and clothed and housed, and attended when sick, in order that he might be kept in prime working condition. The modern capitalist master not only ignores the physical condition of his wage slave but has now abolished his freedom to move about. The modern worker no longer owns his own body and person. He must dispose of himself as his capitalist master wills. We are living in the darkest age in the history of the world.

**Near-Industrial Unionism.** At this writing it is not known what will be the result of the meeting this month in Kansas City of the Federated Railroad Crafts which have been discussing the need for a formation of "a federation of federations." But the meeting is significant in that it is a confession of the failure of the A. F. of L. plan of keeping the workers divided into crafts and of the breakdown of the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison system of craft organization. It is significant, furthermore, as an attempt to approach the industrial form of organization as nearly as is possible under A. F. of L. rules. The machinists, the boiler-makers, the carmen, and the other shopmen and clerks who are included, have realized how impotent and weak each is when fighting singly and have finally come to the conclusion that they must hang together or hang separately.

When at last the state becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule and the individual struggle for existence, based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a state, is no longer necessary.—Fredrick Engels in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."

# LITERATURE

*Readers of the Review will please observe that Charles H. Kerr & Company sell only their own publications, and can not undertake to supply books of other publishers nor to answer questions about them.*

**Rebellion.** By Joseph Medill Patterson, Chicago. The Reilly & Britton Company. Price, \$1.25 net.

Unquestionably *Rebellion*, by Joseph Medill Patterson is the book of the year. It is the great American novel come at last, a vivid, realistic story of the lives of thousands of working men and women in every large city in this country. The characters are people we know. Georgia Connors, the wife of a chronic inebriate, becomes a stenographer, to support her mother, her brother and her husband. When her yearning for decent living overcomes the teachings of the Catholic Church of which she is a member, she separates from Connors, and at last she learns what the love of a real man may be to a woman. Then begins the age-long struggle between the standards of life acquired in The Loop and the Catholic Church. During a period of illness the priest persuades her to take back Jim Connors, who has given up drinking. A baby is born to them, but it lives only a few weeks owing to the heritage of disease bequeathed by its father who has again succumbed to his craving for whisky. At the grave of their child, Georgia Connors separates from her husband for the second time. A year later Mason Stevens, the man for whom she has long cared, returns and the priest meets the modern materialist with the century old precepts of the Catholic Church. Georgia declares she will secure an absolute divorce and marry Stevens.

The characters are drawn with an artistic touch that is a revelation. We all know young boys like Al, Georgia's brother, who is ready to fight for his sister's honor, pathetic sodden minds like the puttering, ineffective mother's, who accept blindly the words of the Church. Do not miss this book. It is realistic, common, stimulating and full of the problems of the working man and woman. Its art lies in its very simplicity, and every character stands out as true to life as life itself. We have not yet done wondering

that such a work could come from the pen of a Little Brother of the Rich.

**American Socialism of the Present Day.** By Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph. D. New York; John Lane Company. Price, \$1.25.

A work of this nature is needed both by the American Socialist movement and the American public. Comrade Hughan has performed her task with painstaking care. The fact that it was written as a doctor's thesis while Miss Hughan was a member of the Columbia University Graduate School of Political Science explains the amount of detail which the author has mastered in order to come to her conclusions. To write a book of this kind is the hardest possible task. It is much easier to accurately generalize about the political theories of epochs past than to present a true picture of a great social movement in the process of making. Everybody now knows what Aristotle and Abe Lincoln thought, but what an enthusiastic optimist, certain of both his power of analysis and generalization, one must be in order to set out on a quest the purpose of which is to discover what Hillquit, Slobodin, Victor Berger and Robert La Monte are really thinking. Miss Hughan brought down and bagged her quarry. With equal precision, care and honesty of purpose the writer describes the position of Debs, Haywood and lesser known Socialists. Quotations from all the chief Socialist publications and from national, state and municipal platforms are made in order to indicate points of unity and difference within the whole range of the American movement. To active members of the Socialist party the book cannot but be of intense interest.

Miss Hughan begins her work by tracing the history of Socialism in the United States. A chapter each is devoted to the fundamental intellectual bases of the movement, the economic foundation of history, the class struggle and the theory of surplus value. A chapter on the theory of crises serves to indicate the unclearness of the American Socialist mind on this



subject. From these chapters on history and scientific theories we proceed to a pictorial review of the contending forces above mentioned. It is in Chapter 12, which deals with the immediate program of American Socialism, that the book becomes absorbing. We can see Boudin shaking his fist at Hillquit. William English Walling is up in arms against the Labor party, and Debs and Berger are in strenuous debate over matters of tactics and organization. One feels that the author is now about to make a very great error, but she doesn't. The error into which nine persons out of every ten would have fallen would have been to describe these differences as really resulting from and producing factionalism. They do not. These differences merely show tendencies. The party listens to the debates, carefully chooses its course and is throughout, in all that pertains to general Socialist principles and policies, riveted together like a new jack-knife. "The Socialist party is divided," says the author in a chapter devoted to divisions in the party, "neither in two opposing camps nor into a number of warring factions. . . . There is rather, a gradual shading from the revolutionist on the left to the constructivist on the right, through groups whose characteristics are not always exact and always changing, but whose members indulge in frequent and mutual criticisms."

The book is so eminently fair in its description of these various groups and tendencies that it is not until the very last page that we are enabled to surmise the fact that the author has opinions of her own. Here is a sentence or two we are led to believe that she rather favors the "constructivist" program. One's first feeling is to resent this glistening of a personal viewpoint through the thick veil of the method and form of a doctor's thesis. But upon second thought, why not? Even the Columbia Political Science School could not completely transform the heart and mind of a Socialist into a camera.

Finally, the work possesses one virtue for which the author deserves the thanks of the American Socialist movement. Statements of facts are supported by

abundant references to the authorities, which are always cited in the footnotes. We must respectfully and in the kindest spirit refer the scores of American Socialist authors to Miss Hughan's refreshing example in this regard. The work is therefore of permanent historical value as well as great immediate interest.

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**The Socialist Movement.** By Ramsey MacDonald. New York: John Lane Company.

Just the opposite in every respect from Miss Hughan's work is that of the leader of the English Laborites. It does not tell what the Socialist movement is but rather what Mr. MacDonald thinks it ought to be. The gang-plank is no sooner drawn in and the propeller started than Mr. MacDonald proceeds to throw overboard, one after another, all the essentials of Socialism. The first thing to be left behind is the class struggle, which the author says does not exist. And so on and so on. Tear out the title page and the reader would be absolutely sure that the book was written by a charity patient in the hospital of an old ladies' home. We judge from the first half of the book, as no one would think of reading it through.

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**Confessions of an Industrial Insurance Agent.**

By Wilby Heard. New York: Broadway Publishing Company. Price, 50 cents.

The author describes himself as a specialist in the business of muck-raking. His field is large and the fruit over-ripe. Industrial "insurance" is probably the meanest, the most contemptible form of graft practiced in this country. This book leads one to believe that nine-tenths of it is pure daylight sneak thievery. It is practiced upon the most innocent and helpless. State insurance is advocated as the only possible remedy.

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**The Machinists Bulletin.**—*The Machinists*

*Bulletin*, published by the Brotherhood of Machinists at 34 Park Row, New York, N. Y., with Robert M. Lackey as editor, is one of the best small journals in America. It is chock full of meaty articles that every wage worker will find full of the ideas and aims he needs. The Brotherhood of Machinists is an industrial union that is gradually breaking the ground for the new unionism all over the United States. All the wage workers need is to be shown, and the Brotherhood of Machinists are showing them.

# NEWS AND VIEWS

**Haywood Demands Proof from Mr. Simons.**—Much has been written in regard to the victory of the textile workers at Lawrence, Mass. Such national characters as Samuel Gompers, John Golden, Daniel DeLeon, and A. M. Simons have given their different versions of how the strikers came to win. But it remains for Mr. Simons to distort his personal views into the most contemptible attack ever directed against an individual. It is a well known fact that everyone connected with the strike, either in an official or an individual capacity, as well as the strikers themselves, have accorded full credit to the Socialist party for the splendid support given to the strikers. The strike committee recognized this in a resolution submitted for their adoption.

It was likewise known to the strikers that their children were taken by Socialists and provided for during this industrial war.

In reciting these facts, Mr. Simons is merely holding up a shield behind which to make an infamous and libellous attack. Personally I have never sought credit for anything I may have done to assist the striking textile workers of Lawrence, believing that their success was due entirely to the splendid spirit of solidarity and class consciousness they manifested. I am satisfied, and Mr. Simons should also be, to allow the mantle of victory to fall upon the shoulders of those to whom it belongs—the strikers themselves. The work of all others is appreciated but recognized as incidental.

But it was not the purpose of Mr. Simons' article, which was printed in the Chicago Daily Socialist of April 20, and which will probably appear also in other party papers, to give or take credit in connection with the Lawrence strike, but to influence the delegates who are soon to assemble in national convention at Indianapolis. Mr. Simons as a politician regards this as a privilege and takes the opportunity to make a malicious attack.

There is no part of Mr. Simons' article in which I am interested save the single paragraph reading as follows:

"But we remember that when the Socialist party was straining every nerve to save the life of Bill Haywood that he was working in the Boise jail to elect Democratic politicians. These things do not sound nice, but it is sometimes well that even unpleasant truths should be told."

And this Mr. Simons must prove.

I say that this statement is untrue; that Mr. Simons knows it to be untrue, and when he wrote it he knew he was indicting a wilful, contemptible and malicious lie.

I challenge Mr. Simons to make good on this statement or stand again branded as a slimy slanderer.

To my comrades, members of the Socialist party, I want to recall to your memory that when I was confined in the Boise prison and you were exerting every effort to save my life, I was honored by being made the standard bearer of the Socialist party in the state of

Colorado and that the largest vote for a Socialist ticket in the history of that state was polled in that election.

I would recall to the memory of Appeal to Reason readers the slogan of that campaign that came from jail: NO COMPROMISE AND NOTHING TO ARBITRATE. That was our slogan then and it is my slogan now.  
WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

**Haywood at Gloversville, N. Y.**—"We have had our Haywood lecture and am pleased to say that as far as Haywood was concerned the lecture was a great success, as the enclosed copy of resolution will show."

Whereas it is generally known amongst the Socialists in the U. S. A. that a division of opinion is arising amongst the members of the Socialist party as to tactics of greatest value to be used by the laboring class in their efforts to obtain their emancipation. Be it resolved that we, the Gloversville Socialist Party Local, forward the following to the state and national secretaries, so far as Comrade Haywood is concerned we are convinced that after hearing him speak and getting his word of honor as to his idea of tactics, he is thoroughly in favor of political action.

Carried by a unanimous vote.

ALF. J. LITTLE, Secretary.

**From Indianapolis.**—Under the heading HAYWOOD MEETING BIG SUCCESS, the Indianapolis Register has a two-column account. "More than two thousand people heard William D. Haywood last Tuesday night in Tomlinson Hall speak on the Coming Victory of Labor and cheered his sledge-hammer blows against the existing capitalistic system."

**From Muncie, Indiana.**—Over nine hundred people turned out to hear William D. Haywood and it is almost unnecessary to state that the comrades are enthusiastic over the splendid success of their meeting.

**Schenectady, N. Y.**—Comrade Wiesinger has promised us an account of the splendid Haywood meeting which was recently pulled off and we will run same in the June Review.

**From Elyria, Ohio.**—The Elyria Reds have sent in a fine picture of the comrades taken after their recent Haywood meeting. It will be reproduced in the June Review and our readers will have an opportunity of seeing a bunch of comrades who are "Red" all through—Local Elyria lost its "yellow streak" years ago, in fact the Review is inclined to doubt its ever having had one.

**Optimistic Reports From Montana.**—Montana is watching, not her mountain heights, but her broad plains and her industrial centers, for in these is centered the political warfare that is being carried on from every Socialist "prospect hole" and mine, cabin and engine room. The onward sweep is gaining in momentum every month, and with the rapidly awakening class-consciousness of the

farmers, of the railroad men who have formerly felt themselves the aristocracy of the labor movement, of the clerks, and even of the lawyers and teachers, we see a great hope ahead for the ultimate victory of the Socialist principles and ideals.

The labor movement is strong in Montana, and even our workers not identified with any union are becoming convinced that the aim of industrial unionism and of Socialism are identical, and that while separate and distinct organizations, each is vital, the two unquestionably are inter-dependent and must mutually assist and support each other.

In January, 1911, the number of dues paying members reported to the state office was 744; in January, 1912, 2,013, a gain of 171 per cent. This gain will continue throughout 1912, and may even surpass that of 1911.

We are continually in receipt of letters asking how to proceed to organize a local, these requests coming from people who have been reading our literature and are anxious to have a part in the fight against injustice and greed. The awakening is mighty, and if we mistake not, the force of this WORKERS' FORWARD movement will sweep away the foundations of the capitalist monuments to barbarity and avarice like fallen leaves on a mountain stream.—Alma M. Kriger, State Sec'y.

**To Vote on Trade Union Fusion.**—The following resolution has been initiated by the German Branch of Local, Los Angeles:

Whereas, There is a wide and growing suspicion that the California Socialist movement is in danger of being subjected to a species of bossism locally known as "Harrimanism," and

Whereas, "Harrimanism" means the subordination of the political activities of the Socialist party to the American Federation of Labor, by the creation of "craft" branches of the Socialist party, (as for example, the Typographical Branch," the "Carpenters' Branch," the "Machinists' Branch," and so on), thereby creating and establishing a new species of Socialism, viz.: "Craft Socialism," and

Whereas, The inauguration of the era of "Harrimanism," of "Craft Socialism," and of "the trades union functioning through the Socialist party," has already been launched by the organization and chartering of the "Typographical Branch" of Local Los Angeles county by the county administration, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Socialist party of California specifically repudiates and condemns such tactics as being in direct violation of the traditional and constitutional policy of "no compromise, no political trading," and hereby instructs its delegates to the national convention to oppose with all its power of voice and vote any and all attempts to graft on to the Socialist movement of America any such un-socialistic, inconsistent and suicidal policy.

**A Defense of Comrade Charles Edward Russell.**—In the April "Masses" an attack is made upon the competency of Comrade Ed-

ward Russell to represent the Socialist party as its presidential candidate. I do not come to Comrade Russell's defense because he needs any aid from me, for in my visits about among the locals I find that if Comrade Debs is to be released from the burden of making the campaign, only one other name is ever mentioned or thought of and that name is Russell's. I simply rise in the interest of truth, and it seems to me that Comrade Russell's article in the March International Review was sadly distorted by the writer of the "Masses" article. I read the Russell article and it appeared to me to be a splendid bit of work, showing us a wise program. The article is not before me, but its import was to set before use the example of the abolitionists of America rather than the populists. The abolitionists with their policy of "no compromise, no political trading" forced by the very power of their ideas, the other parties to do their work even though they never won an office or carried a city. On the other hand, the Populists, with their splendid program, failed because it went into the game of getting offices and votes. Russell's plea, as I understand it, is for the Abolitionist policy rather than the Populist, and so far as I know that has been the policy of Socialism everywhere, unless for the unhappy situation in England, now fast being repudiated; this certainly has been the policy in America, as it stands for "no fusion, no trading" testifies. If anyone is forgetting his Socialism it appears to me to be the writer of the "Masses" article rather than Comrade Russell. And may I also suggest that the reference to the situation in Germany ought not to have overlooked that Germany has two kinds of labor-unions, the "Christian labor-unions" and the "Socialist labor-unions." While the Germans hold rigidly to the separation of the industrial and political organizations, they had to repudiate the "Christian" unions, and it may be that Socialism will have to repudiate such unionism as Golden's textile unions and Tobin's "Boot and Shoe Workers."

ROLAND D. SAWYER.

**Workingmen as Party Candidates.**—I wish to call attention of the readers of the Review to a recent motion calling for a national referendum, passed by Branch El Cajon, of Local San Diego County, California. The motion, now ready for seconds, if passed will require the national secretary to print the actual occupations of all candidates for party or political offices on all ballots sent out.

It seems to me that, should this motion carry, it would be of great aid to the individual members of the party in casting an INTELLIGENT vote for their candidates. Most Socialists, if they should see the following on their ballot, would surely vote for a workingman: John Hopkins, preacher; James Rockbury, painter. At least, if we are consistent, we would vote for a workingman to represent a WORKING CLASS PARTY. Ignorantly in the past, I have voted for disgruntled

preachers and pettifogging lawyers until I am sick, and now I want to cast my future ballots for my own class.

At the present time our National Executive Committee is composed of the following: John Spargo, high-priced lecturer; Job Harriman, ex-preacher and lawyer; Alexander Irvine, editor and ex-preacher; Morris Hilquit, lawyer; Victor Berger, editor and publisher; William D. Haywood, ex-miner, and Kate Richards O'Hare, a faithful pioneer worker and organizer for the Socialist party. Our national secretary is an ex-preacher; a union stenographer would do as well.

Out of the eight national officers we find only two who could be classed as real representatives of the working class. The other six have for years belonged to a class that has been taught to reverence capitalist law and the past. No matter what their sentimental inclinations, these are not, and cannot be as a result of their past environment, true champions of the great social revolution. In fact, their acceptance of nominations for party offices in a working-class party proves them inconsistent. Why did not Job Harriman, who so loudly howls about the amalgamation of the Socialist party with the A. F. of L. from every platform he can get foot on, because the A. F. of L. is composed of workmen, decline the nomination for mayor of Los Angeles in favor of some REAL WORKING-MAN? Had he been consistent he would have done so. Instead of doing any noble deed like that, he has accepted every office and nomination he could get and is now making a great play for the presidential nomination. At the present time he is a national executive committeeman, a national committeeman, a member of the California state executive board and general dictator of the California movement, yet he howls about the necessity of the party admitting real workmen into its ranks.

I would not bar INTELLECTUALS from the party, but it would look better to the prospective Socialist if we could point out real workmen as our officials rather than disgruntled preachers and lawyers. Let the Harrimans follow the example of J. A. Wayland or Comrade Kerr and work for LOVE OF THE CAUSE and we will have more faith in their politics.

LINSDAY LEWIS,

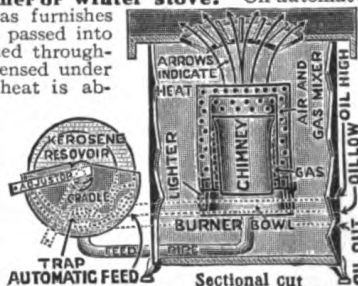
El Cajon, Calif.

**New Revolutionary Paper.** "The Industrial Socialist" is the name of a new revolutionary weekly published by fighting comrades at 1136 Main street, Bridgeport, Conn. It is an advocate of One Big Union and of political action that will sustain and support the workers on the industrial field. The very first issue got a rise out of a prominent corset manufacturer of Bridgeport who exploits more than 2,500 people, mostly women and children. He sent an agent around to buy 500 copies. It is neatly printed and full of live stuff and though small as yet, will increase in size as the circulation grows. The subscription price is 50 cents a year.

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The World Mfg. Co. 1494 World Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio

**Socialist Moving Pictures.** Comrade Samuel W. Ball, of Chicago, is the able lecturer for a series of moving pictures which have been put out by the National Sociograph Bureau of 173 North Green street, Chicago. The scenes illustrated are right from the workshop, showing how the army of toilers is incessantly at work heaping up profits for their masters. They are of vivid interest and will strike home to every one interested in the cause of the

working class. No Socialist could fail to be absorbed by this remarkable series, which was greeted enthusiastically on a recent trial tour in Indiana.

**Walter Thomas Mills in Australia.**—The following resolutions adopted by the National Executive of the Socialist Federation of Australia and officially endorsed by the branches of the federation, are sent out for publication by the International Socialist Bureau:

"1. That the Socialist Federation of Australasia protest to the American Socialist party against the action of Walter Thomas Mills in organizing for and speaking under the auspices of the Australian Labor party (an anti-Socialist organization).

"2. That the Socialist Federation of Australasia protest to the French Socialist party and Jean Jaures against Jaures accepting an invitation to speak in Australia for the so-called Labor party.

"3. That the Socialist Federation of Australia protest to the world's Socialist parties, through the International Socialist Bureau, against any member of the Socialist movement coming to Australia to speak for the so-called Labor party.

"In its politics the Labor party is not fundamentally different from the British Liberal party, and is ever essentially a party of capitalist interests, making the perpetuation of radical hatreds a vital part of its program, advocating forced militarism and jailing working-class boys who refuse to be conscripts, protesting its loyalty to throne and empire, and also protesting its desire to legislative to protect the exploiting interests of the employer as well as the interests of the employes. The Labor party has made laws to jail trade unionists who go on strike, and even at this minute the New South Wales Labor party holds four unionists in jail for striking; and it hurries armed police to every center where a strike takes place.

"A full statement of the Labor party position and record will be duly forwarded."

(That Mills should have entered the service of the Australian Labor party in opposition to the Socialist Federation is no surprise to any resolutionists who know his record. But why does Local Milwaukee continue to recognize him as a party member?—Editor.)

**Best in the World.**—Glad to hear the 50,000 edition of the REVIEW was sold out. It is the best piece of Socialist literature in the world and I get books and papers from all over, so I ought to know.—Comrade Cattell, Lake Seaman's Union, Detroit.

**Going Fine.**—Enclosed find money order for 25 more of April number to come quick. They are going fine.—Comrade Smith, Cleveland, Ohio.

**Tickled the Boys.**—I received the 100 April Reviews Saturday noon and sold 32 copies that afternoon and Sunday. The boys were wild with delight over the articles and pictures. Go to it, comrades.—Comrade Dickert, Indianapolis.

**Partisan Use of Party Machinery.** National Committeeman T. A. Hickey, of Texas, has made a motion protesting against the use of the machinery of the National Office in sending out to the party press a series of articles by Robert Hunter which Hickey declares "support one wing of the labor unions against the other in spite of the fact that every National Convention of the Socialist party has gone on record favoring labor organizations in general, but no form of organization in particular." It is suggested that "inasmuch as Mr. Hunter is a fortuitously rich man, he ought to go into his own pocket and pay for the publication of his partisan views instead of using the party machinery."

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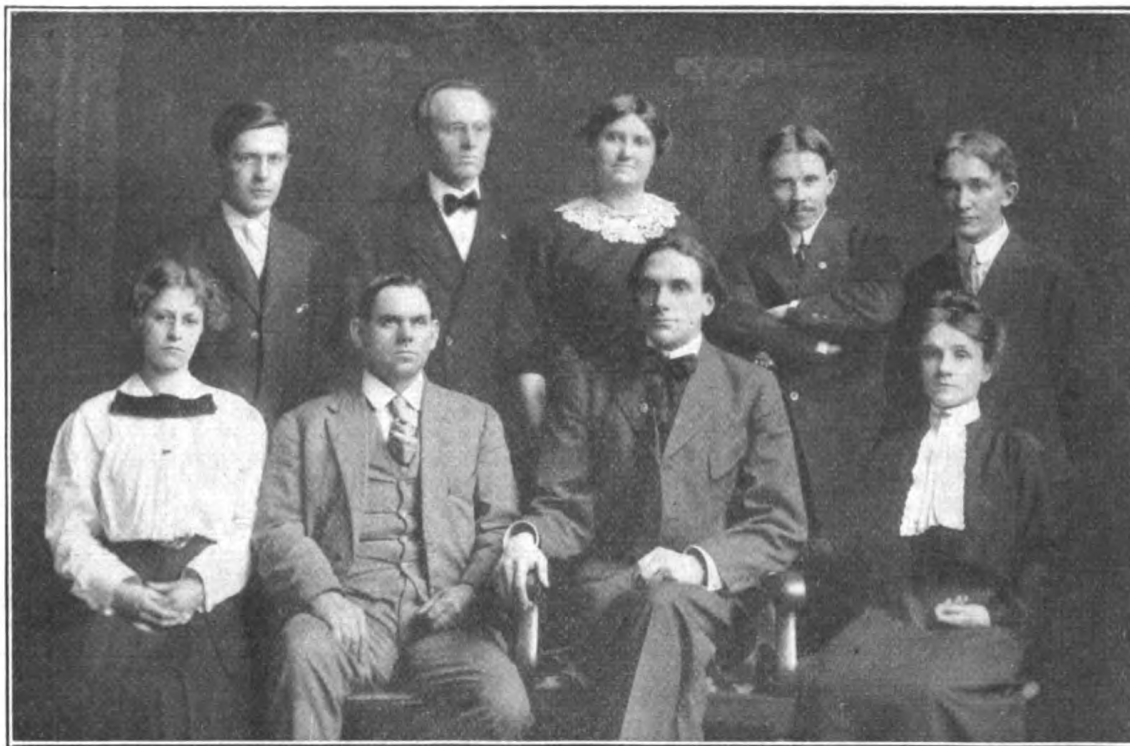
TYPEWRITER SALES CO., 172 N. Dearborn St., CHICAGO. Gentlemen: I accept your special offer of a No. 4 Model UNDERWOOD VISIBLE TYPEWRITER for \$58.50, f. o. b. Chicago. It is understood that I may try the machine for five days. If entirely satisfactory, I agree to remit \$5 within five days of receipt and pay the balance in eleven monthly installments. If the typewriter does not come up to my expectations in every way, I reserve the right to return it immediately without incurring any obligation on my part. Title to the machine to remain in your name until machine is fully paid for.

Name..... Address.....

Town..... State.....

References Required





DAYTON, OHIO, REDS.

Horace P. King      G. W. Riche      Camille      Midney      R. C. Jackson      E. R. Esler  
 Clara M. King      L. M. Folk      Frank      Midney      Ella Esler

**A Correction.**—In the April number of the REVIEW the statement was made that Locals Springfield and Dayton, Ohio, had donated \$21.00 for the benefit of the Lawrence strikers. This was an error. We find the meeting was held by the group of Reds in the above photograph, all of Dayton and all revolutionists who joined the Springfield comrades in an effort to aid their struggling brothers in Lawrence when they were in a great fight. Comrade L. M. Folk, one of the Dayton Reds, is blind, but he is one of the best revolutionists in the bunch. This is one case of a blind man who sees the Class Struggle and how to emancipate the wage slaves.

**Growth in Arizona.**—Organized in 1903, the Socialist party of Arizona has now reached its highest point of strength and numbers. The growth has been steady and a direct result of constant agitation and participation in frequent campaigns.

One of the greatest obstacles to party growth has been the undisguised opposition of the masters of bread in the chief industry of the state, that of metaliferous mining. In a number of the larger camps to be known as an active Socialist is equivalent to prompt dismissal. This has its compensatory advantage; it leaves the workers in no doubt as to the fact and nature of the class struggle in which they are engaged. The resulting class-consciousness is at once the security and the chief glory of the Arizona movement.

After the formation of the short-lived Labor

party of 1910, the Socialist party nearly went out of existence in the territory; and not until the fall of 1911, after an organizing tour of Comrade Branstetter and just before the opening of the campaign for the election of the first set of state officials, did the party begin to recuperate from the blow of the previous year and take on new life.

During the past eight months, from a membership of little more than a hundred in three or four locals, the party has grown steadily from month to month to over eight hundred in thirty locals. This has been accomplished without a regular organizer in the field.

Ten locals in the state are co-operating in the National Lecture Course, and from the 3,000 or more subscribers thereto we look for material increase in the party membership, with resultant resources sufficient to keep organizers and speakers constantly in the field.

The Democrats, overwhelmingly in control of the state legislature, are engaged in writing the first laws of the new state. Having, as a result of the agitation for those measures by our party for a number of years, and in the hope of postponing Socialist success, seized upon the expediency of writing into the State Constitution the political measures of the initiative, referendum and recall, the Democratic party is now face to face with the problem of applying those principles in the solution of the industrial problems.

A measure for the recall of judges will be promptly enacted. Our party is already tak-

ing advantage of the initiatory provision of the new Constitution by circulating a woman suffrage petition. The Socialists propose to take full advantage of this political club in forcing to a vote of the people measures in the interest of the working class that may be "overlooked" by the Democratic legislature.

Efficient party organization and resources sufficient to put up a strong campaign can land Arizona in the Socialist ranks in any coming election.

W. S. BRADFORD,  
State Secretary.

**Making Socialists.**—Am sending for some extra copies of the Review. Am making Socialists with every number. Subscribers think there is nothing like it.—Comrade Sullivan, Watervliet, N. Y.

**All Gone.**—Enclosed find \$1, for which send me 20 more Reviews. The 20 I received yesterday are all gone.—Comrade Lang, Muscatine, Ia.

**Quick Action.**—Received the 50 copies of the April Review O. K. and sold them in two days. Enclosed find money order for \$2.50, for which send 50 more copies of the same number.—Comrade Kennedy, Shelbyville, Ind.

**Pleased.**—Received the March number and will say I am more pleased every new number I receive. Please find enclosed \$1.10, for which send me more Reviews for April.—M. F. Myers, Fin. Sec., L. U. 2369, United Mine Workers, Utah.

**Like Hot Cakes.**—I got your bundle of 30. All went like "hot cakes." Please send 50 more copies.—Comrade Rosen, Illinois.

**Makes Sound Socialists.**—Enclosed find express order of \$2 for 40 April Reviews. The local at the last meeting passed a motion that we get 40 copies each month till we require an increase. The opinion of this local is that it is just the thing needed to make sound Socialists. We intend to have all the working members push the sale from now on. Later: Received 40 copies of Review for April. We sold over half first day. Local agrees it is a dandy. Enclosed is order for \$1 for 20 copies of same edition. Keep the Review going along the same lines and you will soon reach the 100,000 mark.—Comrade Mearns, Sec. Local Norwalk, Ohio.

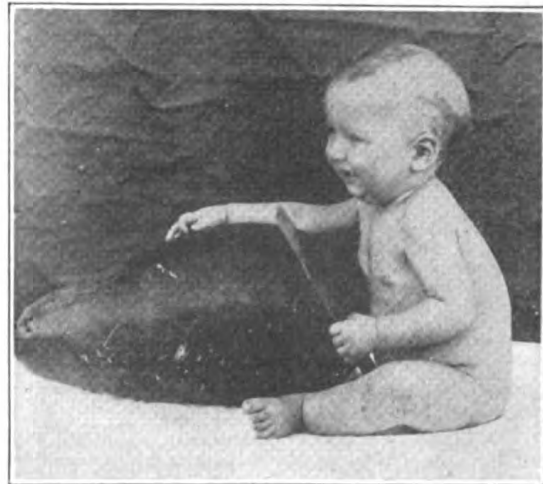
**Estimate of a Railroad Man.**—Your magazine is worth \$1 a word.—Henry Parr, New Orleans.

**From One of Our Boy Hustlers.**—I asked a man the other day if he wanted to buy a Socialist Review and he said not on your tin type. He must of been a republican. Oh, how I like to ask a republican to buy a Socialist paper. I like to ask a man if he wants to buy a Review. He looks at it a few minutes and reaches in his pocket and pulls out ten cents and takes one. Then I hussel on to the next man and try and sell another one. I am anxious to win that book, that Happy Hunting Grounds. I know it is a good book.—Comrade John Hartman, Pennsylvania.

**Best Ever.**—I lent my neighbor my last copy of the Review. He and his wife have been Republicans all their lives, nearly 50

years. I have been furnishing them other literature, too. Now he says, "I have voted for the old parties the last time." Not being able to subscribe he hands me a dime to have the April Review sent to him, saying it is the best magazine he ever read.—Comrade Taylor, Oklahoma.

**Our Youngest Review Hustler.**—We beg leave to present herewith to the International Socialist movement and to the comrades in general a picture of the youngest Socialist hustler extant. Through his secretary he writes: "I am 15 months old, a red-headed Socialist who believes in and practices Direct Action. Only resort to political methods when I want the moon. My uncle 'Red' goes with me when I deliver the papers, but I hand them out and collect the money. Am certain that I will have success. Am enclosing a photo of myself and watermelon."—James Warren Hoffpauir, Abbeville, La.



BABY BEALS-HOFFPAUIR.

**A Dangerous Precedent.** Local Staunton, Ill., protests against the naming of John H. Walker as candidate for Congress on the Socialist party ticket in the 18th Illinois Congressional District on the ground that he has not been back in the party a year, as required by the party constitution. Walker has signified his willingness to abide by the action of the locals in his district in regard to the matter, but under the Illinois primary law there is no way of taking such a candidate's name off the ticket once it has been placed there, and Walker's name must now remain. Attention is called to the fact that in a speech at the annual convention of sub-district 6 of district 12 of the Illinois Mine Workers held in East St. Louis April 7-11, 1910, Walker said:

"I don't know whether there are many Socialists who agree with my statement that I am a Socialist, but regardless of their opinion I know that I am one. I have always been one and always expect as long as I live to be one. I know that in the Socialist party itself by the methods they have adopted and

have pursued in the past that instead of making progress for themselves or their party, they have stood as a block in the way of progress. Men have been turned out of the party who advocated propositions that meant real progress. In your political organizations you can do that; you have a right under your laws to do that; and I, when I could not reconcile myself to their methods of dealing with existing conditions, withdrew from the party. I would not be governed by laws that would prevent me from doing things that would really mean progress for the organization. I believe in the principles in the ultimate as strongly as I ever did and will continue to believe in them as long as I live; but politically I have a right to my own opinion." Walker is president of the United Mine Workers of America in Illinois. It will be remembered that he withdrew from the party in 1908 at the time he made the public statement that he would work for and support John Mitchell as a candidate for governor of Illinois on the Democratic ticket. Also his action in the Peoria convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in 1910, in bringing before that body the question of forming a new political party to be known as the Labor Party, and which was voted down in a referendum vote, should not be forgotten.

Local Staunton considers this a serious matter in that it will enable persons to join, resign from and rejoin the Socialist party at will for the purpose of getting on the Socialist ticket whenever there is a favorable chance for election. It holds that it will be harmful to the party to elect men to office who hold the laws and policies of the party in contempt, as evidenced by Walker's statement above, and that the habit of naming candidates merely because of their vote-catching abilities is baneful to the welfare of the cause.

**Organizing the Wireless Men.** The International Wireless Telegraphy, Operator's Union wishes to hear from all persons interested in its welfare. Organized November 1, 1911, for the uniting of all wireless telegraphers and elevating their social, moral and intellectual standing; and for the protection of their interests and promotion of their general welfare. Les Leonard Bentley, Manager Pacific Division, Box 13, East San Pedro, Cal.

**A Protest.** Whereas, The National Socialist Party is supported by the working class of the United States, who find it difficult to obtain even the few dollars necessary to pay dues and consequently feel the necessity of economizing, and

Whereas, Several members of this local have received numerous communications from the National office, containing application blanks and other printed matter enclosed in large envelopes with two-cent stamps thereon, and

Whereas, These communications were sent out indiscriminately in large numbers, thus entailing heavy expense without possibility of adequate returns, as those letters merely urged

the already hustling members to greater activity, which spur is not necessary, and

Whereas, One letter stated that no less than 20,000 of one kind were sent out, at what we judge a fair estimate of three cents each, or \$600, which in our estimation is an absolute waste and could be used far more judiciously for other purposes, such as sending out speakers to places where strikes are on, distributing literature among strikers, etc., therefore,

Be it resolved, that we, the members of Twin Falls Local of the Socialist Party, in regular meeting assembled, do hereby condemn such ill-advised expenditure, and be it further resolved, that we instruct the State Secretary to take this matter up with different locals in the state with the view of arousing a general protest to the National office against such extravagant methods of carrying on propaganda work, and be it further resolved that one copy of these resolutions be sent to the National Secretary, John M. Work, one copy to the Secretary of the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau, L. E. Katterfeld, one copy to the State Secretary, I. F. Stewart; one copy to the Inland Echo for publication, one copy to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for publication and that one copy will be inserted in the minutes for record.

Committee: W. M. Donne, F. Olson, E. R. Nussgen, Secretary and Treasurer; W. H. Schultz, Chairman.

**A Reply.** The Twin Falls criticism has some merit. I realized last summer that to write hustlers under first-class postage is expensive. I asked the National Executive Committee for permission to publish a leaflet under second-class rates in order that the Party's Lyceum Bureau might have as good opportunity to encourage party builders to their best efforts as different private institutions now have to enthrone their "Army" of "Hustlers." This year's experience teaches that such a periodical is essential to the greatest success of the Lyceum or any other party work, and I therefore renew the recommendation.

That two-cent postage pays better than one-cent I learned from the Appeal, which has spent many thousands of dollars circularizing the Appeal Army.

Some comrades received duplicate letters since their names appeared on several lists that we circularized, but the labor to separate them would have cost more than the postage.

In some localities the letters were probably superfluous, but in many they were urgently needed and of great help to the Lyceum Committees, according to the letters of appreciation we received. Some even ordered additional letters.

In Twin Falls these letters seemed particularly appropriate, since we received reports that some members not only opposed taking up the proposition, but knocked it after the local had accepted it.

Looking over the year's work, I now see much waste that we can eliminate in the future. This applies to the Party as a whole at least as much as to the Lyceum Department. For every dollar that was spent unwisely from this office, ten dollars' worth of



energy was wasted in the field because of the lack of support or actual antagonism of some who should have given their heartiest co-operation.

The Lyceum is essentially an effort to eliminate waste from our propaganda. Mistakes are inevitable, but gradually the Comrades everywhere are **LEARNING HOW**.

L. E. KATTERFELD,

Manager National Socialist Lyceum Bureau.

**Idaho Encampments.**—I take great pleasure in giving you all the information possible regarding the movement in Idaho. The past year has been a good one in our state. The number of locals has been doubled since September, giving us 120 in all, with 33 members at large. Total number of dues-paying members is approximately 1,800. We expect to make a wonderful showing this fall and will keep our organizer in the field until the votes are counted. We have not elected many officials in the cities so far, but with the crystallization of sentiment and the rapid growth of our organization we are confident of capturing many municipal strongholds, invade the legislature, and possibly send a man to Congress this fall. Conditions are ripe for Socialism in Idaho. Every one is disgusted with the old order. We calculate to take advantage of the situation by holding a series of encampments all over the state during the summer months. A proposition is now before the state membership to buy a large tent, secure six or eight of the best speakers in the movement and arrange our meetings so that practically every person in the state will have an opportunity to attend. In this way we can create sentiment in our favor so that when our conditions go before the people, they will listen to the message.

The farmer is beginning to wake up out here. Socialism, pictured by the capitalist press as a grizzly Gorgon devouring farms, no longer affrights the tiller of the soil. While looking at the horrid picture he has discovered that Capitalism is really getting his land. High taxes, high cost of living, excessive freight rates and poor markets is a frame within which a new picture is being painted. It has developed far enough now to convince him that the finished portrait will be a poor-house.—I. F. Stewart, State Sec'y.

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**Organizing Canadian Construction Workers.**  
—In answer to telegram from St. John for an account of the strike on the Canadian Northern construction work, will do my best with the limited time at my disposal.

The strike is the outcome of intolerable conditions endured perforce all during the winter months; in the first place, many men bought jobs in Vancouver and other places to go to work at day wages, but when they got here were told if they went to work here they would have to take station work, the men were then up against it, and many of them took the bait and now, after months of hard work they are in debt. Yet all they have received for their labor was an unsanitary place to sleep, bum grub, the rottenest of sausages, that would often make them vomit, such clothes as they needed of the coarsest kind, overalls, hobnail boots, and for luxuries snuff and tobacco. Right here come to mind the second verse of "The Roll Call" in our little Red Song Book.

"Shall we labor for the grafters from the dawn to setting sun?

Shall we all his graft and hard work meekly bear?

When we've worked a week we owe the boss for all the work we've done.

When the driver yells, 'Roll out, boys,' are you there?"

Just at present we are not there. To go on with the story: Many workers that came here for jobs are wise to the fact that piece work, by whatever name it is called, is against the real interest of the workers, and refused to take the bait, but quietly jungled up on the banks of the Frazier river till the contractors, seeing there were not suckers enough to build the road for snuff and overalls and bum grub, put men to work at day wages. Most of these men have listened to the I. W. W. agitator on the streets of Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, Vancouver, Spokane and numerous other places in the Northwest, and while eating their jungle breakfast they discussed matters of organization, and one Carl Olsen asked who was in favor of it and it proved they all were, and so, though not working, they went from camp to camp, putting the question to the men, and it was soon found the men were heartily in favor of the One Big Union, and after about 600 had been approached and proved willing, word was sent to Vancouver for an organizer. To make a long story short, the seeds sown by the I. W. W. agitators had taken root and appeared about the surface in the shape of Local Union No. 327, and its growth went steadily on till it was a rare thing to find a workman not a member of the I. W. W.

During the winter the men perfected their plan, engaging organizers to go to the camps regularly, and while the army of unemployed menaced them they patiently put up with the vile camp condition but with a growing bitterness that could have no other outlet but in revolt. On March 27 the men in Benson & Nelson Camp No. 4 gave the boss till noon to grant them a nine-hour day and \$3 minimum. Being refused they went to Camp No. 3, then

No. 2, and all came to Lytton, held a meeting in their hall, elected scouts to take the news up and down the line, and in next to no time the line was tied up from Hope to Kamloops, over 160 miles.

Strike committees as well as police and commissary committees were elected at all the important points along the line—Hope, Yale, Spuzzum, North Bend, Lytton, Spence's Bridge, Ashcroft, Savona and Kamloops.

The capitalist papers have had to confess the wonderful control the men, used to strong drink to drown their misery, have shown. We care nothing about their praise; what we want is to win; results are all that count with us. The Vancouver papers say it is the first time in the history of the world that railroad laborers have tied up a road completely, and we hope to show them, if they do not grant our demands, we know how to make this road the most costly railroad in the world.

There are about 7,000 men out, and while we have a minimum wage scale for different kinds of work, our main demand is a nine-hour day and \$3.00 minimum, knowing that the highest standards rest on raising and safeguarding the lowest. The time is past to ask workingmen to stay away from places where vile conditions exist. It is our duty to stay and Organize to change things. Running away won't do it, nor praying. When this road is built it will be built by I. W. W. men, be it this year or twenty years from now.

THOS. WHITEHEAD.

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**A Successful Socialist Sunday School.**—"To the young belongs the future." Judging by the zeal and enthusiasm displayed by the young "hopefuls" of our Philadelphia Sunday School one readily believes that the present also belongs to them. Their happy faces, sparkling eyes, strong bodies and joyous spirits have been a source of inspiration to their teachers whom they meet each Sunday morning. The school owes its beginning to Mrs. Morris Goldberg. Last fall she was able to organize a staff of teachers and got the Workingmen's Circle to give their aid. They furnished a whole building—heated, provided with an assembly room, seating 150, and separate class rooms. They installed a piano which cost them over a hundred dollars—because they believed in the children.

The Workingmen's Circle (an organization formed chiefly of Socialists) sent their children on Sunday mornings. The youngsters were soon interested and brought others whose parents were not Socialists. A trained singing teacher (a Socialist), Miss Kamenoffsky, was engaged as well as a pianist who gives his services free.

The pupils, numbering 150, from 6 to 15 years of age, all meet in the assembly hall every Sunday morning. A song is sung, then recitations are given by one or two pupils; then more songs and the classes go to their respective rooms. There are four grades at present in charge of Mrs. Goldberg; the principal, Miss Goldberg, Miss Vittelas and myself. The class of youngest pupils is given interesting talks and readings, chiefly on nature, animals, etc. The class of oldest pupils are given material which bears more directly on our present social life. The Socratic method of asking questions is used in order to arouse self-activity on the part of the pupils. The aim in general in all the classes is to avoid dogma, to dispel superstitions, to get a better understanding of social relations, to perform that work which no other institution is doing—training the children to be social beings. To cultivate their imagination, to enable them to picture a better state of society and to desire that state, to love the beautiful, this is part of our work. The meaning of the war spirit, race-prejudice, class-subjection and other capitalistic ideals are clearly shown in their real purpose—to keep the working mass divided.

My purpose in writing this is to inspire the formation of other schools like ours. The child is worth bothering with. He must have the material adapted especially for him. Dividing society into sheep and goats is not sufficient to give the child a social view-point or knowledge of social relations or its relations to the world of nature.

The school has more applicants than it has room for. It has already 150 pupils. We have another school just as large uptown, equally successful. They are a source of constant inspiration to all concerned and more will probably be opened next year, for "nothing succeeds like success." We have a systematic course of study, though it is not fixed nor

ironclad and a regular course outlined. I shall be pleased to send our plans to any one who contemplates getting up one of these schools—who sends the necessary stamped envelope to the principal, Mrs. M. Goldberg, 1408 S. 5th St., Philadelphia. Let the good work proceed! Onward, to the revolution!

HENRY FLURY.

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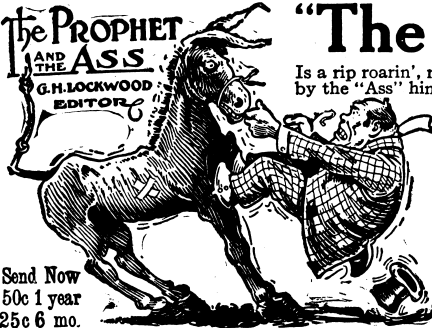
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