

JUNE 1912

*The*

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# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

THE FIGHTING MAGAZINE  
OF THE WORKING CLASS



DEBS AND SEIDEL

# What Debs Says

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A splendid pamphlet is **INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM**, written jointly by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn, and which I heartily commend to the working class and to all who are interested in Socialism and in the group of vital questions which have sprung from our modern industrial development. Every page of this pamphlet is clear, cogent, and convincing. The true revolutionary attitude of the working class movement is here maintained. It states the industrial and political position of the workers in plain, straightforward terms, in their own language, and is well calculated to open the eyes of the workers to the weakness of craft unionism and political socialism, and impress upon them the necessity of proletarian solidarity, both economic and political, and supplementary to each other, as the true basis of the revolutionary movement. The pamphlet is especially adapted to the educational propaganda of the working class and ought to be spread broadcast among the workers.

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**EUGENE V. DEBS**

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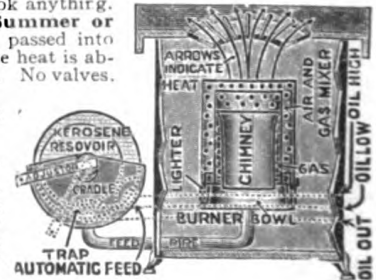
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## Haywood and Hardie

Two of the world's leading Socialists and Labor Organizers, are represented in the Metropolitan Magazine for June.

Both are identified respectively with two of the most momentous battles in the history of the International Labor Movement.

**William D. Haywood** directed the recent successful textile workers' strike at Lawrence, Mass.

**J. Keir Hardie, M. P.**, fought in and out of Parliament for the British miners in their recent general strike.

Both are forceful and impressive personalities. Both hold to the same ideal but differ radically as to methods and tactics. Both must be reckoned with.

The American is dealt with in the Metropolitan in

## Haywood and Haywoodism

The article, written by **Carl Hovey**, author of "The Life-Story of J. Pierpont Morgan," analyzes Haywood, seeks to reveal the secret of his power, and discusses dispassionately, candidly and vigorously the methods of the Industrial Workers of the World and its relation to other labor organizations. Mr. Hovey has written an able study of a phase of the American labor movement commanding ever increasing attention.

**Hardie** has himself written for the Metropolitan

## Labor's Great Victory in England

The Minimum Wage Bill, rushed through Parliament in order to end the great general strike of miners, is explained at length by Mr. Hardie. He considers the bill a great victory for Labor. But he also discusses "Syndicalism," criticising it severely and defending the policy of political action as expressed through the Labor Party, which he helped to found. An authoritative statement of an historic event.

# In the June Metropolitan

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## "Socialism Up-to-Date" by Morris Hillquit

This is the title of a new series of six articles written exclusively for the Metropolitan Magazine by **Morris Hillquit**, to appear monthly, beginning with the July issue. "The most interesting and most comprehensive treatment of Socialism ever undertaken in this country." Watch for full particulars later. In the July issue also will be inaugurated a new department, "The Progress of the World," edited by William Maily.

# Victor L. Berger Says:

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### THE SOCIALIST VICTORIES

and gains in so many cities were won because the comrades there have been studying all sides of economics and government—or to put it in plain words—Socialism. Then when the election fights were on they were able to show the rest of the people just what Socialism is and the reason for it. Men will vote right, you know, when they know what right is. They have not been satisfied with the government of greed, privilege and plunder—they have been merely kept in the dark, but now when the comrades open their eyes, they VOTE RIGHT.

### ARE YOU PREPARED TO DO YOUR PART?

The old capitalist papers and politicians are beginning to take notice—they are getting scared. The hardest licks must be struck NOW. Are you prepared to help? Berger, Spargo, Warren, Simons, London, Wayland, Gaylord, Unterman, Irvine, Lewis—ALL leaders say the best preparation you can make is to read the **Library of Original Sources**—“greatest work extant for socialists.”

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn,  
Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn, William D. Haywood, Phillips Russell

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

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International Notes : The Labor Struggle : News and Views : Publishers' Department.

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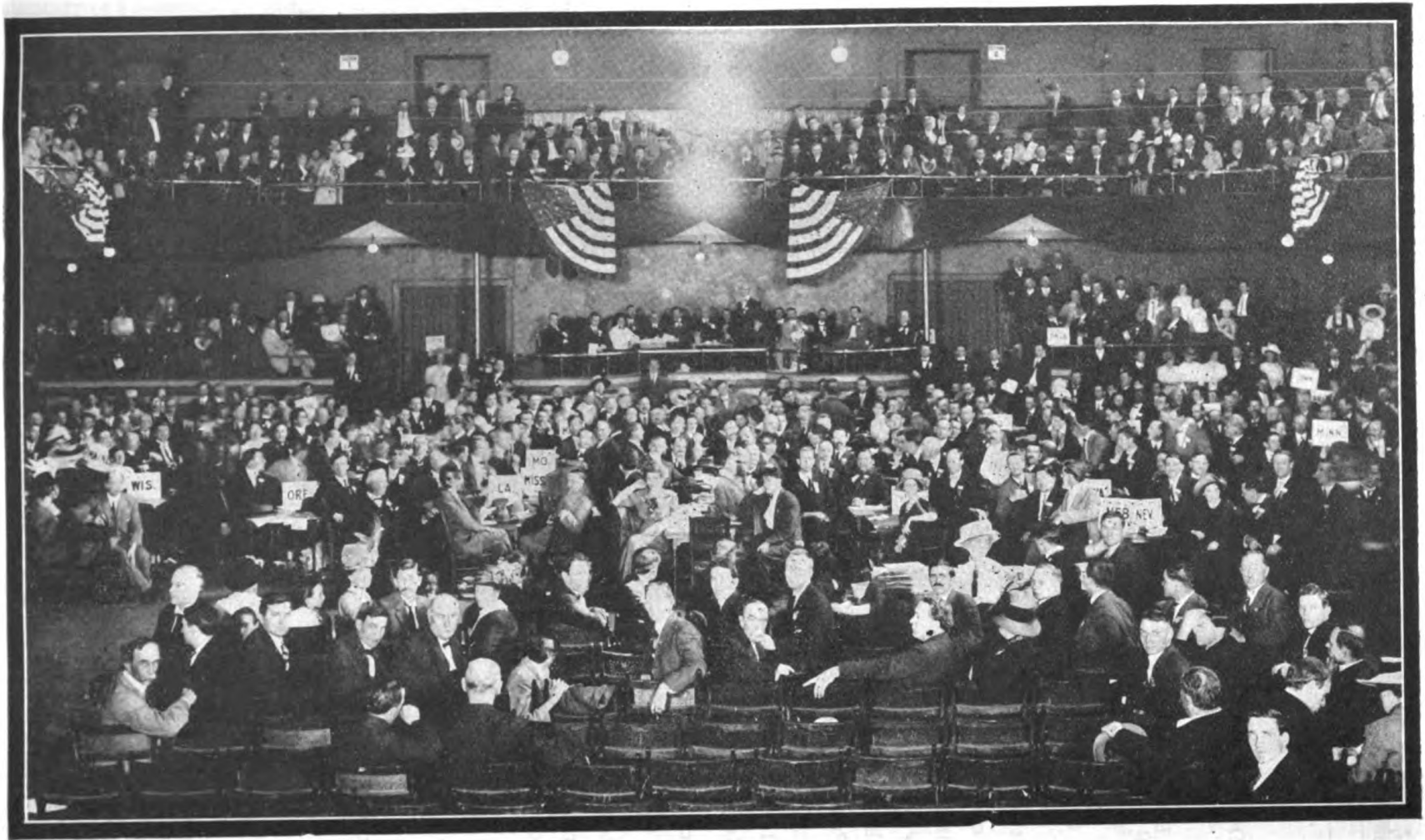
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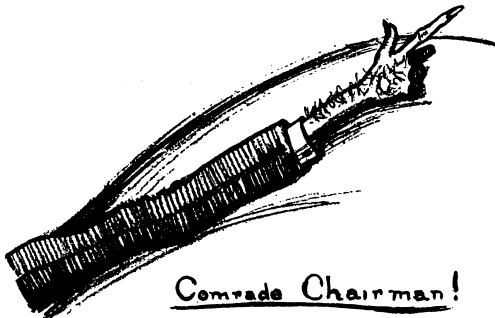
No. 12

THE  
NATIONAL  
SOCIALIST  
CONVENTION  
OF  
1912

(Cartoons by Marion Reynolds.)



MAYOR DUNCAN AS CHAIRMAN.



PERHAPS the best way to describe the national convention of the Socialist party of the United States, which met in Indianapolis on May 12, is to begin before the beginning.

The excitement attendant upon the convention really began on the Friday before the formal opening when the National Executive Committee met to con-

sider the matter of sending financial relief to the Chicago *Daily Socialist* and to the free speech fighters of San Diego. The sum of \$1,000 was voted to help the Daily and \$250 went to the San Diego comrades, with a recommendation that a general appeal be issued for funds. Considerable debate was aroused over the San Diego situation, which was brought up by Haywood. The most interesting features were the declarations by Berger that the American Federation of Labor is "a thing of the past," as far as any real usefulness to the working class is concerned, and the denunciation by John Spargo of the San Diego free speech fighters, many of whom, he declared, belonged to "a vicious element with criminal faces."

Spargo's feelings were again outraged when at a meeting of the Marion County Socialists on Friday night it was revealed that the Indianapolis comrades had appointed one of their number to make an address of welcome to the delegates clad in a pair of overalls. Spargo declared that the proposal was undignified, savored of a masquerade performance, and, besides, would give the capitalist press a chance to poke fun. Berger expressed similar fears.

The local Socialists expressed their resentment at this attitude, their contention being that the overalls were intended to be simply a symbol of the fact that the Socialist party represented the workingman.

So important seemed this matter of a pair of overalls that it was brought up at the meeting of the N. E. C. the next day, and Spargo proposed that if the Indianapolis comrades persisted in their insult the members of the N. E. C. should show their displeasure by arising and leaving the hall. For a time it looked as if the N. E. C. would be rent in twain over the question of a 59-cent pair of overalls, but when a vote was taken the overalls won, it being required that welcoming addresses should not be over five minutes long. Berger wished it known that in the pinch he voted for overalls.

The incident was the subject of much laughter in the streets and hotel lobbies, and dismal prophecies were made that a split in the Socialist party was inevitable,

but when the welcoming speaker, Carl Ott, appeared the next day on the convention floor, he wore plain, ordinary bourgeois pants. When some one demanded to know where those overalls were, Ott passed the matter over by saying that they had been brought into the hall that morning, but he didn't know where they were now. It was hinted in the corridors that a conspiracy had been formed and the offending overalls had been removed from the convention's jurisdiction by interested parties.

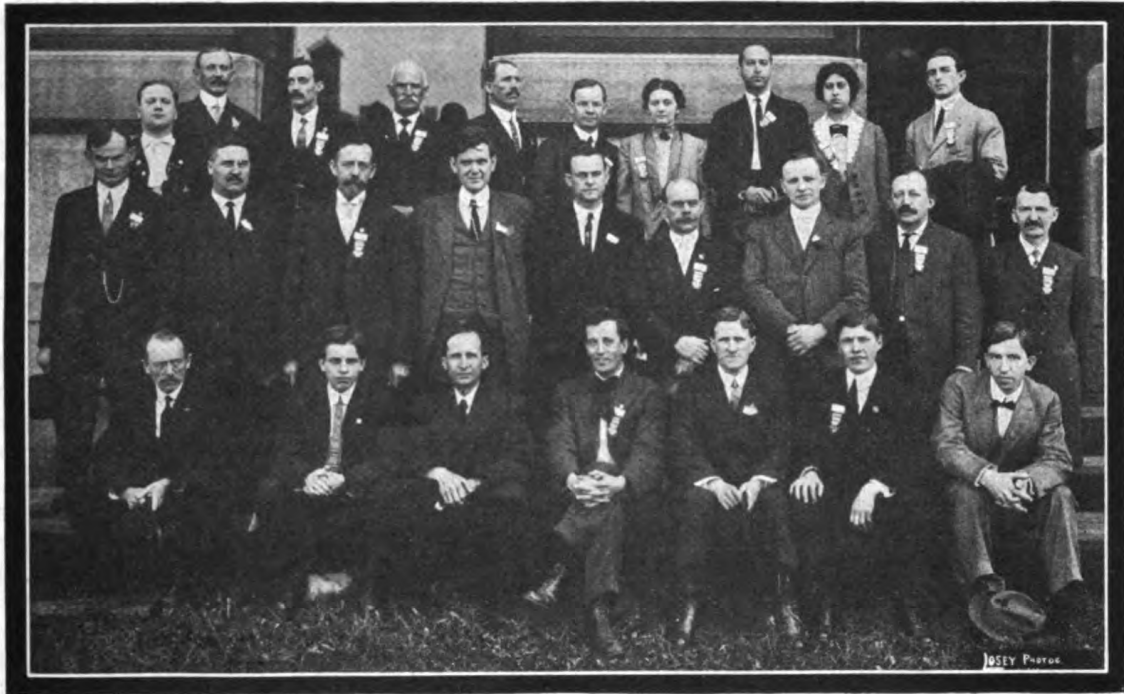
Another tense situation developed when it was announced that the local superintendent of police had placed a ban on the red flag and had forbidden it to be carried in the parade scheduled for Sunday night. Again the N. E. C. was thrown into a state of agitation which was intensified when it was learned that the N. E. C. was to be placed at the head of the parade and might have to bear the brunt of the attack. A delegation was sent to the police superintendent, who said there was nothing to it and that there was no more law against a red flag than there was against a yellow one. The Catholic Church is known to have had a hand in trying to stir up the police.

National Secretary John M. Work called the convention to disorder at 10:25 o'clock the next morning, delegates seated not ten feet away arising and fiercely demanding that he speak louder. Gustave Strobel, of New York, was then levied upon to call the roll and enthralled the convention with his clear, bugle-like tones, which were replied to by voices that varied in pitch from the hoarse bellow of Dan Hogan, of Arkansas, to the flute-like tenor of Guy Lockwood, of Michigan. Jim Reilly of New Jersey was elected secretary, to his great satisfaction, with John E. Russell and Elizabeth Goldstein as assistants.

The official roster showed 293 delegates present, coming from every state in the union and from seven foreign-speaking organizations.

Pennsylvania furnished the largest group, composed of 28 delegates. New York came next with 23. Ohio followed with 21, California coming next with 18, and Illinois just behind with 16. These





THE PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATION.

five delegations alone represented 106 votes and necessarily played a conspicuous part in the convention.

The rumor factory started operations the very first day, not to mention the axe-grinding mill, whose low, steady hum

could be heard even in times of clash and tumult.

The California delegation excited the most curiosity, as it was supposed to furnish the most trouble. It did supply a considerable part of it. Job Harriman



OHIO DELEGATES—NINETEEN REDS, TWO YELLOWS.

impinged upon the eye clad in a suit of vanilla ice cream color. He later exchanged this for clothes of more somber hue. Close upon his heels followed a pamphlet attacking his record, written by A. R. Holston, and said to be circulated by A. W. Harrack. Harriman denied with a circular denying Holston's charges and quoting a friendly letter from F. B. Meriam, state secretary of California. This was refuted in turn by a circular signed by E. A. Cantrell, California's organizer, so it was evident that Harriman was far from being "in control" of his delegation.

It was discovered that almost every known occupation was known among the delegates. Delegate Fritz, of Mississippi, for instance, confessed to being an optometrist, while Oscar Ameringer, of Oklahoma, blows a horn. Among the other representatives of the proletariat were 21 lawyers, 18 preachers, and assorted real estate agents, teachers, doctors and trade unionists.

The delegates as a whole looked pretty well to the eye, but it was later learned that appearances were deceitful. For example, a perfectly harmless looking delegate might afterwards prove to have been a convicted sheep-stealer, while a depraved looking individual with a baleful look in his eye, when introduced, would turn out to be a minister. The doctor delegate would be wearing a soft shirt, while the carpenter delegate would be choking himself to death in a high celluloid collar. Costumes varied all the way from the natty Norfolk coat of Delegate

Dobbs, of Kentucky, to the red flannel shirt of Delegate Cumbie, of Oklahoma. The latter wore this so constantly that it was rumored he slept in it, which charge when carried to him he indignantly denied. Morris Hillquit, of New York, was elected chairman and Floyd Ramp, of Oregon, vice-chairman, for the first day, which was occupied almost entirely in making rules and laying down the order of business.

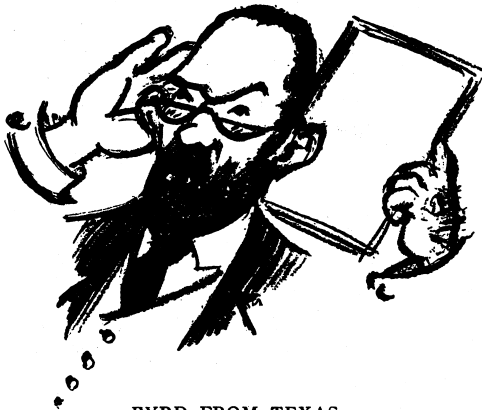
When Sunday night came it was decided to call off the parade because of the cold weather and the failure of the two bands to appear. Instead a mass meeting was held in Tomlinson Hall, where Frank J. Hayes, Alexander Irvine, Anna Maley, Job Harriman, Lena Morrow Lewis and Victor Berger made addresses.

Monday's business was begun with the election of J. Mahlon Barnes, of Pennsylvania, as chairman, and Geo. Clifton Edwards, of Texas, as vice-chairman. Most of the day was spent in attempts to get committees organized and in deferring reports.

Haywood got the floor to read a telegram just received from San Diego telling of new atrocities there. On motion it was referred to the N. E. C. for immediate action.

Spargo declared for the N. E. C. that payment for delegates' expenses would include sleeping car fare. He found it necessary to make an impassioned speech on the subject, pointing out that self-sacrificing delegates could not be expected to ride on the rods under trains, but must come to conventions "in the best condition to fight capitalism." This recommendation met with enthusiastic cheers.

Several resolutions were introduced and referred to the Resolutions Committee, including one from U. Solomon, of the New York delegation, calling for action in the case of Ettor and Giovanitti, now in jail at Lawrence, Mass., and pointing out that the capitalist class intended to make another Haymarket tragedy out of it. Another was from Wheeler, of Pennsylvania, pledging support to all workers in their struggles and recommending to them the principle of industrial unionism. A third was from the Montana delegation declaring that the



BYRD FROM TEXAS.

future society must be a condition of industrial democracy.

The first unpleasant incident occurred on this day. This came up when Mahlon Barnes, as chairman, announced that a telegram had been received from a Denver branch protesting against the presence on the floor of the convention of a man against whom charges were pending. When demands came from the floor that further information be given, Barnes hinted that the person involved was a member of the N. E. C., but maintained a mysterious silence as to what the contents were. By this time everybody realized that William D. Haywood, who was absent, was the person involved, but Spargo hastily moved that the telegram be laid on the table, which was done. It was supposed that this settled the matter, but to the astonishment of many delegates the gist of the telegram appeared in the local capitalist press the next morning, giving no details but hinting that the charges against Haywood, who was named, were grave. Inquiry developed the fact that Barnes had given permission for the capitalist reporters to see this telegram and copy its contents, notwithstanding the fact that it had not been read on the floor of the convention.

Much feeling developed against Barnes for his conduct in this affair, and the next day when Haywood asked the floor on a matter of personal privilege, it looked as if a storm were brewing. Haywood said that he had learned of the telegram and demanded that it be read to the convention in full, and that he considered such matters ought to be read into the minutes before going to the capitalist press.

The telegram was then read, and proved to be from the Tenth Ward Branch of Local Denver, declaring that a trial committee there was considering charges against Haywood on the ground of "treason to the party and conduct unbecoming a Socialist." It turned out that these charges had been secretly forwarded to Denver by Local Bridgeport, Conn., which is one of the strongholds of Robert Hunter, who, by the way, was not present at the convention, but was said to have taken a boat for Europe.

Haywood then took the floor and explained the nature of the charges, pointing



REYNOLDS OF INDIANA.

out that Local Bridgeport had sent its only contribution to the Lawrence strike to John Golden, member of the A. F. of L. and Militia of Christ, who scabbed on the Lawrence strikers continuously.

Jasper McLevy and Ernest Berger, chief lieutenants of Hunter in Bridgeport, both leaped to their feet along with countless others, but the threatened explosion was averted. "The interests" didn't want the matter aired at this time and the chairman recognizing Spargo, the latter moved that the entire matter be tabled, which was done by an overwhelming vote, and it was further voted that all telegrams thereafter should be read to the convention before being given to the press.

On the third day L. Guiteres de Lara, fraternal delegate from Mexico, was given the floor and urged the convention to protest against intervention by the United States government in Mexican affairs. He explained that the present revolt was caused by the broken promises of Madero and other politicians, and that the Mexican people would not be satisfied till they got back the land which had been stolen from them.

Haywood then followed with a motion that the convention approve the action of the Copenhagen congress calling for a general strike in the event of war, but his voice was lost in the confusion and





the chairman ruled his motion out of order.

Geo. Pettigrew, fraternal delegate from Canada, was also given the floor and made an excellent address, in which he declared that Canadian Socialists were for revolutionary political action and industrial unionism.

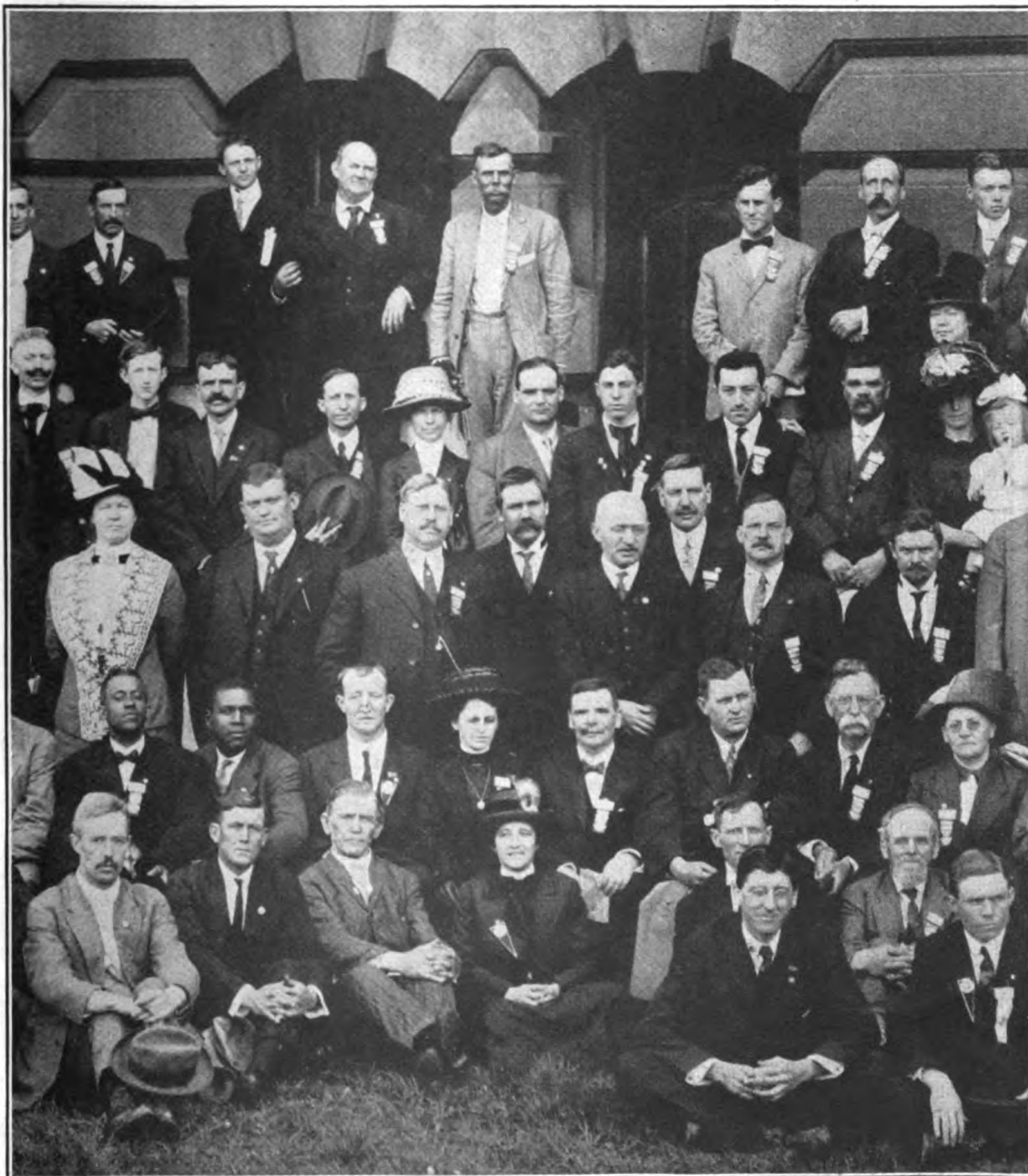
Rev. Carl D. Thompson, of Milwaukee, reported for the Committee on Commission Government. No action was taken except that the committee was continued

to report again to the next convention.

It was announced that committees had been elected as follows:

**Platform**—Charles Edward Russell, New York; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; James F. Carey, Massachusetts; Charles Dobbs, Kentucky; Lewis J. Duncan, Montana; W. J. Ghent, District of Columbia; Dan Hogan, Arkansas; A. W. Ricker, Kansas; J. Stitt Wilson, California.

**Constitution**—Morris Hillquit, New York; Barney Berlyn, Illinois; Otto F. Bransetter, Oklahoma; George D. Brewer, Kansas; George H. Goebel, New Jersey; A. H. Floaten,



Colorado; James Oneal, Indiana; N. A. Richardson, California; Dan W. Hoan, Wisconsin.

**Labor Organizations and Their Relation to the Socialist Party**—Oscar Ameringer, Oklahoma; T. Clifford, Ohio; Job Harriman, California; T. A. Hickey, Texas; Algernon Lee, New York; T. J. Lewis, Oregon; James H. Maurer, Pennsylvania; William Rodriguez, Illinois; Dan White, Massachusetts.

**Auditing**—M. E. Fritz, Mississippi; Stephen C. Garrison, Indiana; W. A. Ward, Missouri; O. H. Blase, Kansas; Fred Bennets, New York.

**Ways and Means**—O. S. Watkins, Minnesota; George W. Bacon, Pennsylvania; Max

Boehm, Ohio; Margaret D. Brown, Iowa; L. B. Irvin, Oklahoma; Milo C. Jones, New Jersey; Arthur LeSeur, North Dakota; E. L. Reguin, California; Isaac Franklin Stewart, Idaho.

**Reports of National Officers**—George Allan, England, Maine; William E. Duffy, New York; John H. Grant, Minnesota; Anna Cohen, Pennsylvania; C. W. Sherman, Oregon; Anna K. Storck, Ohio; Harold W. Houston, West Virginia.

**Party Press**—J. L. Bachmann, Ohio; Sam E. Beardsley, Connecticut; W. A. Jacobs, Wisconsin; Meyer London, New York; R. A. Maynard, California; George E. Owen, Okla-



homa; Mary O'Reilly, Illinois; William Morris Wesley, Utah; Fred Krafft, New Jersey.

**Foreign Speaking Organizations**—Frank Aaltonen, Michigan; Alex Coleman, Massachusetts; A. O. Devolt, Minnesota; Louis Goaziou, Pennsylvania; Caroline Lowe, Illinois; Dan M. McCartan, Ohio; William Burkle, New York.

**Resolutions**—Joseph E. Cohen, Pennsylvania; W. P. Collins, Colorado; E. R. Meitzen, Texas; George E. Roewer, Jr., Massachusetts; H. L. Slobodin, New York; John Spargo, Vermont; E. H. Thomas, Wisconsin; H. M. Wells, Washington; John G. Wills, Oklahoma; Ben Wilson, Kansas.

**Co-operative Movement**—Emma D. Cory, Washington; J. T. Cumble, Oklahoma; W. R. Gaylord, Wisconsin; Lee W. Lang, Iowa; Edward I. Lindgren, New York; Caleb Lipscomb, Missouri; Edgar Eugene Powell, Ohio.

**State and Municipal Programs**—Ernest Berger, Connecticut; Roscoe Emin Dooley, Oklahoma; George W. Downing, California; W. W. Farmer, Indiana; John C. Kennedy, Illinois; Anna A. Maley, Washington; Margaret L. Prevey, Ohio; Carl D. Thompson, Wisconsin; Thomas M. Todd, Colorado.

**International Relations**—J. Mahlon Barnes, Pennsylvania; Louis Haemer, Illinois; May





Wood Simons, Kansas; U. Solomon, New York; John Ohsol, Massachusetts.

Immediately after the election of Lee, of New York, as chairman and Le Seuer, of North Dakota, as vice-chairman; business was suspended and the floor given to Karl Legien, Socialist member of the German Reichstag and president of the German Federation of Trade Unions. Legien's speech, which was afterwards read in translation by his secretary, Baumeister, was quite evidently "inspired." In

fact, he acknowledged that he had been informed by "prominent members of the party" on the leading questions that were to come up. And nearly everybody knows who the "prominent members of the party" are who speak German fluently. It was quite evident that his references to "dual unions" and "destructive tendencies" were aimed at Haywood and the I. W. W., and some saw in his statement that the German Social Democratic Party "has never claimed that the unions



should assume a political character or that they should become part and parcel of the party itself," a slap at the Harriman "Los Angeles plan" of having the unions "function" in the Socialist party.

Job Harriman then asked for the reading of new telegrams from San Diego, which was done. The San Diego situation kept cropping up almost continually during the convention and it was somewhat comic to see how the old-line leaders sought to avoid dealing with it. They

were there for politics—the class struggle for the time being was a secondary consideration. All sorts of excuses were made for side-tracking the subject—that it wasn't a Socialist fight, that the I. W. W. merely provoked it for the purpose of making trouble for the Socialist party, that it was an anarchist affair anyhow, that the capitalist authorities in San Diego were in the right and the fighters wrong, etc., etc.

When Stitt Wilson arose and moved



that the telegrams be referred to the N. E. C. for immediate consideration and action, the stir on the floor betokened that another fight was about due.

Bessemer, of Ohio, then moved that a telegram be sent at once to the governor of California demanding protection for the rights of the free speech fighters, also a similar telegram to President Taft. Heated arguments immediately arose. Berger, Spargo, and Harriman fought the motion, London, of New York, chiming

in with the declaration that "because this is a Socialist convention is no reason for it acting like a lot of fools." Kate Sadler, of Washington, and Marguerite Prevey, of Ohio, spoke vigorously for the motion.

It was put to a vote and lost by 137 to 102. This was the first clear indication of the probable numerical line-up of the two contending elements in the convention, and was very encouraging to the "reds" in that it showed they had more delegates with them than they thought.





In the afternoon Harriman reported for the N. E. C. that in addition to the \$250 already voted, it was decided that telegrams should be sent to the governor of California urging that he protect citizens in their rights, to the secretaries of the State Federation of Labor and the State Building Trades Council and to the State Executive Committee of the Socialist party urging co-operation with the San Diego free speech league.

Zitt, of Ohio, moved to amend by sub-

stituting the word "demand" for "urge."

Kate Sadler moved to amend further by including the Industrial Workers of the World in San Diego in the telegrams to be sent. When a protest arose over this, Bessemer, of Ohio, asked Harriman if his report did not recognize the American Federation of Labor and ignore the other organizations involved. Harriman answered that it was to be an appeal to "all the working class." Bessemer declared that the I. W. W. was involved in



the San Diego fight and should be included in all communications. A protest by Spargo was followed by another from Solomon, of New York, who contended that the I. W. W. had no state organization in California.

After further heated debate the Sadler amendment was carried, and loud applause and shouts arose. The Zitt amendment then carried, and the "reds" cheered some more as they realized that they had scored their first victory. Irvine, of Cali-

fornia, moved that a collection be taken up for the San Diego comrades, but this was shut off by a motion of Mahoney, of Massachusetts, to proceed with business.

Meantime the Committee on Resolutions had made a report favoring the immediate appropriation of \$500 and a call on all Socialist organizations to form defense committees in behalf of Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovanitti, whom the capitalist class intends to send to the electric chair because of their activities in the



strike at Lawrence. This report was adopted unanimously with the exception of Coldwell, of Massachusetts, who shouted a loud "No!"

The report of the Committee on Farmers' Program was then taken up as read by A. M. Simons. The other members of the committee were Algernon Lee, Oscar Ameringer, Rev. Carl D. Thompson, James H. Maurer, and Clyde J. Wright, not one of whom is an actual farmer. On motion by Wills, of Oklahoma, a committee of real farmers was elected to confer with the standing committee. Those elected were: Wills, Sherman of Oregon; Theinert, of Rhode Island; Nash, of Minnesota; Beloit, of Idaho; Caldwell, of Pennsylvania; Coonrod of Idaho, and Brandt, of North Dakota.

The proposed program as submitted was as follows:

1. The Socialist party demands that the means of transportation and storage and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery shall be socially owned and democratically managed.
2. To prevent the holding of land out of use and to eliminate tenantry, we demand that all farm land not cultivated by owners shall be taxed at its full rental value, and that actual use and occupancy shall be the only title to land.
3. We demand the retention by the national, state or local governing bodies of all land owned by them, and the continuous acquirement of other land by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation or otherwise; such land to be organized as rapidly as possible into socially operated farms for the conduct of collective agricultural enterprises.
4. Such farms should constitute educational and experimental centers for crop culture, the use of fertilizers and farm machinery and distributing points for improved seeds and better breeds of animals.
5. The formation of co-operative associations for agricultural purposes should be encouraged.
6. Insurance against diseases of animals and plants, insect pests and natural calamities should be provided by national, state or local governments.
7. We call attention to the fact that the elimination of farm tenantry and the development of socially owned and operated agriculture will open new opportunities to the agricultural wage-worker and free him from the tyranny of the private employer.

Edwards, of Texas, moved to amend paragraph 1 by inserting in the second line after the word "machinery" the words "when such means are used for exploitation." This was carried.

Ohsol, of Massachusetts, moved to amend the same paragraph by inserting the words "the land" after the word "that." Quite a debate followed but the insertion of "land" was voted down, so the convention went on record as opposed to the social ownership of the land.

When paragraph 2 was taken up, Slobodin, of New York, declared that it left room for a fight between farmers and their laborers and inquired of Simons if this was not true. Simons answered that in a fight he "would be for the laborers every time."

"Then they will expel you from the party," declared Slobodin.

The paragraph was then adopted as read.

In the third paragraph Ohsol moved an amendment to strike out "continuous" and substitute "gradual" in the second line, and the Rev. Frederick Guy Strickland, of Ohio, moved to substitute the words "Socially productive" before the word land.

Fear that farmers who happen to be also employers of labor might be offended was pretty evident in the debate that ensued and it was quite plain that Populism was still strong among some of the delegates from the farming sections. With these amendments the program was finally adopted and the little farmer who has never been out of debt in his life will be assured that the wicked Socialists don't intend to take his farm away from him and the employing farmer is likewise kept from harm.

Wednesday night a big meeting was held in Tomlinson Hall at which Charles Edward Russell and William D. Haywood spoke. The feature of the meeting was the spectacle that Alexander Irvine almost succeeded in making of himself. After Russell had made his excellent address stereopticon views by S. Liberty were thrown on the screen, but there was so much delay that the crowd became impatient and began to yell for Haywood. Repeated calls for him so irked Irvine that he finally walked out and angrily declared that there must be "order" or the meeting would not be allowed to proceed. The crowd was in no humor to be told how they must behave, even by a member of the National Executive Com-

mittee, and things were beginning to look nasty when somebody evidently put a few words in Irvine's ear. At any rate he subsided. After much delay Haywood finally got the platform and, assisted by the pictures of the Lawrence strike, spoke so well that the audience enthusiastically contributed more than \$100 for the defense of Ettore and Giovanitti.

By Thursday the convention had been organized well enough to do business, after four days of maneuvering and disputing. It was rumored the night before that "the other fellows" had picked James F. Carey, of Massachusetts, for chairman. Such proved to be the case and Jim started out like a locomotive with forty minutes lost time to make up. He recognized only whom and what he saw fit to recognize, and it soon became evident that a steam roller, well oiled and running under the high gear, had been especially prepared for this occasion. The Reds were quick to see that unless they made a fight now they would stand no chance for the rest of the day. Carey was ably coached by allies front and rear, but the Reds were determined and practically served notice that they would refuse to allow the convention to proceed unless brakes were applied to the Carey steam roller.

The fight lasted practically all the morning and if Carey's original intention of riding rough-shod over prostrate delegates was formed to save time, he failed signally, as more time was lost in the protests and disputes that followed than if he had allowed the convention to proceed at its accustomed gait. Carey was finally forced to take the stand to defend himself and evaded the issue by declaring that he "had rather be a steam roller than a gas pipe." However, he slowed down to a noticeable degree after this and for the rest of the day made about as fair a chairman as could be expected.

When things had been quieted down, George Sirola, former member of the Finnish parliament, was heard in an exposition of conditions in Finland and of the realization of the Finns that their only hope lay in Socialism. As expatriated Finns have done so much for the advancement of Socialism in this country,

Sirola was listened to with close attention and was heartily applauded.

The Committee on International Relations then came in with a reply to de Lara's able speech in the shape of a resolution calling on the United States government to keep its hands off Mexico, which was adopted unanimously.

The committee further recommended that fraternal delegates from other countries should as far as possible be routed on speaking tours by the Socialist party; that the following subjects be made a part of the agenda of the next international congress: "High Cost of Living," "International Labor Legislation," and "Trusts"; that international arbitration and disarmament be insisted upon and that "in case of war being imminent, the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries concerned shall be bound, with the assistance of the International Socialist Bureau, to do all they can to prevent the breaking out of the war, using for that purpose the means which appear to them the most efficacious."

All day there had hung about the convention a feeling of tenseness, for it was known that the Committee on Relations of Labor Organizations to the Socialist Party was ready to report, and over this the first big explosion was expected to take place.

Various rumors of what the committee had been considering were afloat. It was said that several different majority reports had been discussed, one of which would endorse the A. F. of L. plan of organization, but that the minority report was holding out for the endorsement of "the principle of industrial unionism as the highest expression of Socialism on the economic field."

The personnel of the committee was actively discussed. The chairman was Oscar Ameringer, who has made a decided flop since the day when he wrote "Union Scabs and Others." The other five on his side were Job Harriman, Dan White, Algernon Lee, James H. Maurer, and William Rodriguez, all firm friends of craft union stand-pattism. Against these were "the three Toms," Tom Clifford of Ohio, Tom Hickey of Texas, and Tom Lewis of Oregon.

Finally, late Thursday afternoon, Harriman came in and announced that the committee had its report at hand and amid an eager silence White then read it as follows:

The undersigned members, constituting the committee, recommend the adoption of the following declaration:

Political organization and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation, working class movement—the Socialist party and the labor unions.

The labor movement of the United States has of recent years made marvelous progress in all directions. It has steadily increased in numbers and has reached trades and industries which were before unorganized. It has in many instances concentrated its power and increased its efficiency by the amalgamation of related trades into federations and industrial unions. Many unions have opened their meetings and journals to the discussion of vital social and political problems of the working class, and have repudiated the demoralizing policies represented by the National Civic Federation. The organized workers are rapidly developing an enlightened and militant class consciousness.

The reality of this progress is attested by the increasing virulence with which the organized capitalists wage their war against the union. This improved economic organization is not a matter of abstract theory, but grows out of the experience of the wage workers in the daily class struggle. Only those actually engaged in the struggle in the various trades and industries can solve the problems of form of organization.

The Socialist party therefore reaffirms the position it has always taken with regard to the movement of organized labor:

1. That the party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement over questions of form of organization or technical methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions.

2. That the Socialists call the attention of their brothers in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, who stand in greatest need of organized protection and who will constitute a great menace to the progress and welfare of organized labor if they remain neglected. The Socialist party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor unions in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations, who have not already done so, to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions. In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union the workers of this country

can win their battles only by a strong class consciousness and closely united organizations on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.

3. That it is the duty of the party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage workers and the betterment of their material and social condition.

4. That it is the duty of the members of the Socialist party who are eligible to membership in the unions to join and be active in their respective labor organizations.

Silence still prevailed as the names of the first six men signed to the report were read and then when the names of Hickey, Clifford and Lewis followed in rapid succession and it was realized that the report of the committee was unanimous, there was a plainly audible gasp. Astonishment showed on every face and then followed a tumultuous yell as the convention woke up to the fact that a bitter fight had been averted.

Before those on the floor had finished jubilating Harriman arose on the platform, evidently with his system full of speech. But the delegates didn't want any speech-making at that time. There were loud demands for "vote" and "question" and Harriman could not make himself heard, although Chairman Carey was plugging for him valiantly. Protests arose that Harriman had no privilege to speak, because he was not chairman of the committee. Harriman then tried to pretend that he was acting as a substitute for the chairman, but this didn't go either, and the convention still refused to listen to him. A demand then arose that Ameringer take his rightful place as chairman.

Harriman then turned hopefully to Ameringer and inquired meaningly: "Do I speak as chairman?"

Ameringer looked doubtful for a moment but when a chorus of "noes" arose, Oscar declared that Harriman could not be allowed to speak as chairman. Harriman looked somewhat sheepish at this, but was rescued by Chairman Carey, who called on the convention to hear him.

So Harriman got the floor though evidently he shortened his speech considerably in consequence of the demonstration

made against him. He pointed out what difficulties the committee had encountered in coming to a conclusion, congratulated the convention on the solution it had arrived at, and said it was plain the party and the unions must no longer fight separately but must come together, since power could not be developed by division.

Thomas A. Hickey, the fighting Irishman and editor of the exceedingly rebellious Texas "Rebel," then got the floor and declared that the impossible had happened, he and Job Harriman having shaken hands after fighting for twenty years, and that this unanimous report showed that solidarity still prevailed in the Socialist movement.

Tom Clifford was next heard and pointed out the fact that this report showed that the industrialists in the convention were as firm for a united party as those who tried to make it appear that the radicals were merely disrupters.

Loud cries then arose for Haywood, who had sat quietly up to this time at a small table at the left of the chairman. It did not take much urging to induce Bill to arise to his feet on this occasion, and he mounted the platform with his face aglow, while gallery and floor united in a prolonged roar of applause.

"This is the greatest step ever taken by the Socialist party of this country," he declared, a sentiment which was echoed by another outburst from the floor. "I feel that this report should be unanimously adopted and believe it will be. I can then go out and talk Socialism from a Socialist party platform to the entire working class. To the eight million women and children who have no votes, to the four million black workers in this country, to the blanket stiffs of the West and the timber wolves of the South who are disfranchised by the nature of their jobs. I have urged that the Socialist party should encourage the organizing of workmen and women in the shop so they will be ready to carry on production when capitalism is overthrown. I have likewise urged that every workman use the ballot at every opportunity. In Lawrence, where there are comparatively few who have the franchise, the S. P. local has, since the strike, taken in 100 new members at a single meeting."

Haywood was followed by Ameringer, who made one of his characteristic speeches, and then a vote being called for, the report was adopted unanimously amid a new outburst of applause, songs and cheers.

Little further business was transacted for the remainder of the day. There was too much to talk about.

It was recognized that though it was the majority report which had been adopted, it was the "red element" in the convention which had scored. Though they had not obtained a specific endorsement of industrial unionism, they had gotten everything they really wanted and the readiness with which they accepted the report completely took the wind out of the sails of the opposition.

Examination of the labor organization report showed that its position was negative rather than positive, in that it confessed to the failure of the craft union plan of organizing merely the skilled trades, with their jurisdictional fights, high fees, closed books, long apprenticeships, and indifference to the needs of the unskilled. It was recognized that the adoption of the report gives plenty of room for industrialists to work in, since they can now talk Socialism on both the political and economic fields and can no longer be called disrupters merely because they advocate a class organization of the workers in the shop as well as at the ballot box. For this reason the Reds went to dinner with cheerful faces while the other side looked corresponding disturbed and uneasy.

A night session was held Thursday evening to take up the report of the platform committee, of which Charles Edward Russell was chairman. This was found to be even more progressive, on the whole, than the Reds hoped for and though they did not favor the immediate demands, they made little objection to the report. The minority, composed of Lewis J. Duncan, A. W. Ricker, Dan Hogan and Charles Edward Russell, at first intended to submit a report as follows:

The minority of the platform committee reports as follows:

We join in the recommendations of the majority in every respect with this exception, to-wit, that immediately preceding the last

paragraph of the platform we recommend that the following additional paragraph be inserted:

Already, irresistible forces are compelling the workers to change their economic organizations so as to conform with changed industrial conditions, and to enable them to wage more effective warfare against the capitalist system. The workers are thus preparing themselves, by political and economic organization and activity, to take over collectively the means of production, and fit themselves for direct democratic ownership and control of the means of industry and of the distribution of the products of industry by and for the workers.

However, it was later decided to withdraw this and to make the report unanimous.

The principal fights that were made were against the plank calling for the abolition of all federal district courts and the United States Circuit court of appeals and Berger's insertion on the tariff. Slobodin and Hillquit, of New York, made a strenuous fight against the adoption of the former but were beaten by a big vote.

Berger made a stiff fight for his tariff plank, which read as follows: "The gradual reduction of all tariff duties, particularly those on the necessities of life. The government to guarantee the re-employment of wage earners who may be disemployed by reason of changes in tariff schedules."

Though he fought hard, Our Lone Congressman was treated with scant courtesy in this case, the sentiment of the delegates being that the Socialist party was not concerned with the tariff either one way or the other, and the tariff plank was thrown out by an overwhelming vote.

The joyful noise now being made by the Reds stirred "the interests" to action. It was realized that something must be done to buck the growing power of the more youthful insurgent element and all the members of the Old Guard were called into consultation. Berger, Hillquit, Harriman and Spargo summoned their cohorts to action and it was agreed that all their forces should be concentrated on pushing an anti-sabotage clause through in the new constitution. It was decided that the Rev. Winfield R. Gaylord, of Milwaukee, should start the trouble the next day and the Rev. Carl D. Thompson, also of Milwaukee, was picked for chairman.

The Friday session opened with a strug-

gle for the chairmanship, the vote showing 84 for Duncan of Montana, 75, for Thompson of Milwaukee, and 41 for Rodriguez of Illinois. Evidently there was a slip-up in the arrangements somewhere.

The Rev. F. G. Strickland of Ohio, was then elected vice-chairman over Killingbeck of New Jersey, Edwards of Texas, and Lattimer of Minnesota.

Seven delegates from Washington asked that they be recorded as opposed to immediate demands in the platform, with Anna Maley dissenting. Boehm of Ohio also asked to be recorded as voting against immediate demands.

Dan White of the Committee on Labor Organizations reported an omission as follows: "Political organizations and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation, the most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two great forces of the working class movement." The correction was ordered made.

About this time rumors began to circulate that an attempt had been, or would be, made to hold an "executive session" of the N. E. C. in which important matters that could not be safely discussed before the general public were to be taken up. An executive session, be it known, is something held mostly by the United States Senate and the doors are barred to all but members. Wherever the secret session talk sprang from, it died out under threats from Haywood that the whole affair would be exposed.

Finally Hillquit came to the front to report for the Constitution Committee. An examination of the names on this committee showed that it had been well "packed," the only member who might be deemed an insurgent being Brewer of Kansas.

An amendment was offered by Anna Maley to insert after the words "political action" in Section 1, Article 2, of the proposed new constitution the words, "and unrestricted political rights for both sexes." This was opposed by Rodriguez of Illinois, who declared that he didn't believe it necessary for a man to believe in equal suffrage to be a Socialist.

Comrade Maley then arose with her feathers all ruffled and landed on the gentleman with one of those thuds which are



frequently described as dull and sickening. Metaphorically speaking, she laid the comrade across her lap and gave him a spanking that made the convention howl with delight. She took the hide right off all those whom she referred to as "half-baked Socialists and politicians." Rodriguez then replied, but the amendment carried by 135 to 86.

Bostrom of Washington then moved to amend as follows:

"No person occupying a position honorary or remunerative by gift of any party other than the Socialist party (civil service positions excepted), and no person whose principal source of income is derived from rent, interest, or profit, shall be eligible to membership in the Socialist party. No party member shall be a candidate for public office without the consent of the city, county, or state organizations, according to the nature of the office."

A move to lay this on the table without discussion was carried.

No further trouble occurred until Section 6 was reached. This read as follows:

"Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crime against the person or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist party platform."

Garver of Missouri moved to amend by striking out the words, "against the person," and insert the word, "sabotage." A substitute was offered by Merrick of Pennsylvania to strike out all of Section 6, and the war was on.

Rev. Gaylord of Milwaukee opened the battle by the declaration that the situation of yesterday was "too smooth." He said the Socialist party must take a stand against crime and the destruction of property and that workingmen don't stand for crime even in the name of the labor unions. By the time Gaylord concluded it was evident there was going to be an ugly scrap.

Goebel of New Jersey spoke for the amendment, saying he was "opposed to jackass methods of fighting capitalism."

Max Hayes of Ohio warned the Socialist

party not to butt in on questions that belong strictly to the labor organizations, that it had no business to dictate what methods of action the unions should select.

Berlyn of Illinois declared that "the economic movement exists for the purpose of carrying on a guerilla warfare" and that "we as Socialists have found a better way." It was not "yellow," he said, to speak plain English. There was an element using the party platform to preach anarchy.

Cassidy of New York pointed out "the tremendous danger from an element that smells of anarchy and violence." Cassidy then went on to describe the May Day celebration in Union Square, New York, which he said was broken up by anarchists who hated the United States flag and the Socialist party both. What this affair had to do with "sabotage" was not clear and even Hillquit, coaching him behind, repeatedly warned him to "get on the subject."

Marguerite Prevey of Ohio declared that the class struggle is daily becoming more intense and that the workers are simply changing their tactics as the capitalists do. She urged the Socialist party not to assist the capitalist class by protecting its property. Attorney Dobbs of Kentucky in reply said that Socialists must take a stand for "order" as against "chaos."

Bentall of Illinois then arose and declared that it was useless to conceal the issue—that this discussion showed two contending elements in the party, one progressive and the other reactionary. He condemned the latter as hypocritical and told of an incident in Chicago when two union men beat up a girl. *The Chicago Daily Socialist* took no stand against violence then, he said, but instead, the board of directors of the paper tried to ignore it. Among those directors he mentioned Barney Berlyn, Geo. Koop and Mary O'Reilly, who were present.

Bentall thus took his stand with the Reds, but it was freely predicted that trouble will be made for him in the future as State Secretary of Illinois, as he will have against him the powerful trade union machine that has been built up around *The Chicago Daily Socialist*.

Mary O'Reilly in reply accused Bentall of not taking a stand against crooked

leaders of the Chicago garment workers' strike, but "went out begging for votes in a cheap, clap-trap way."

Chairman Duncan protested that this was no time "for washing dirty linen," but Dan White moved that Koop be given the floor, which was done. Koop sprang up evidently loaded for a wrathful reply, but on being warned from the Illinois delegation to "merely deny the story," he contented himself with that.

Brewer said he was in favor of the section as originally read. He was sorry no industrial union resolution had been adopted and yet he was neither a direct actionist nor an anarchist. He said it was the people who tried to inject "sabotage" into the controversy that "have raised all this hell."

Berger then got the floor and made his regular biennial threat of quitting the party and forming a new organization. "You will have a split yet," he shouted, "and by God, I am ready to split right now! I am going back to Milwaukee and tell them to cut out the cancer of anarchy from their body. There is a difference between revolution and organized murder. We, in Milwaukee, believe in revolutionary political action (laughter) but we are opposed to the bomb and the dagger. You know where sabotage leads to. It led to the Haymarket riots and to the recent brigandage in London and Paris. Those who sing 'I'm a Bum,' should get out and form a bum party of their own. I can see anarchism under the cloak of the I. W. W. and it is trying to fasten itself on the Socialist party."

Dan Hogan declared that "the reporting of this clause in the constitution was an egregious mistake. There never was a suspicion that we stood for violence, so why should we declare against it? Why not also declare specifically against free love? It is none of our business to dictate to organized labor what they shall or shall not do."

Slayton of Pennsylvania quoted from an I. W. W. pamphlet, by Vincent St. John, in which sabotage was defined as "any interference with the machinery of production," and declared he would be in favor of sabotage in Russia but not in free America.

Bessemer of Ohio was in favor of "in-

serting a denial of everything that the capitalist class accuses us of."

James Oneal followed with a roast for anarchists. Then Tom Clifford of Ohio arose and inquired "since when has the Socialist party become an organization for the suppression of violence and crime? Someone has injected this matter for a purpose." He then quoted Berger's editorial from the *Milwaukee Social Democratic Herald* of July 31, 1909, in which he said "each of the 500,000 Socialist voters, and of the two million workingmen who instinctively incline our way should besides doing much reading and still more thinking also have a good rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition in his home and be prepared to back up his ballots with his bullets if necessary." He wanted to know who was urging the working class to violence there.

Berger replied that "the Milwaukee movement is revolutionary (cheers) but does not stand for murder." He would stand by what he said in that editorial, he said, but it was unfair to quote only part of it. However, it was plain that Clifford's quotation had hit Berger amidships as he substituted a somewhat sheepish grin for his previous angry face.

Harriman said there was evidently a difference here which couldn't be smoothed over by resolutions and that we can't tell what the workers will do in their struggles but we can't support sabotage.

Tom Hickey said there was plainly a gap in the bridge again but it had been opened by the other side and this quarrel had been stirred up by "peanut politics."

Hillquit then came to the front with the solemn announcement that the committee had accepted the sabotage amendment. Those close to him noticed that Hillquit had lost his usual bland smile and that his eyes were red and angry. "An attempt has been made," he said, "to have it appear that this amendment would apply only to the party platform. Let me say that it is intended to apply under any and all circumstances and everywhere. It is time we line up."

Voice from Ohio: "We will."

A roll call was demanded by the "yellows" which was heartily assented to by the "reds." The following delegates

voted FOR the insertion of the word sabotage:

Cox of Alabama; Hyatt and Johnston of Arizona; Briggs, Cantrell, Downing, Garbutt, Mizner, Maynard, Harris, Reguin, Richardson, Tuck, Wells, Wheeler, Whitehead, Williams, Wilson, Wolfe, and Wright, composing the solid delegation from California; Meng and Finks of Arkansas; Collins, Floaten, Geffs, Todd, Todd and Troxell (solid) of Colorado; Beardsley, Berger, Clarke, Peach and McLevy (solid) of Connecticut; Houck of Delaware; Ghent of District of Columbia; Alexander and Allen of Florida; Coonrod, Motley and Stewart of Idaho; Berlyn, Haemer, Kennedy, Kirkpatrick, Koop, Larsen, Lowe, O'Reilly, Rodriguez, Stedman, Taylor and Underwood of Illinois; Condo, Farmer, Fenimore, Garrison, Henry, Oneal, Reynolds, Sheffler and Wattles (solid) of Indiana; Jacobsen, Lang and McCrillis of Iowa; Simons and Wilson of Kansas; Dobbs and Lanfersieck of Kentucky; England of Maine; Harty and Rosett of Maryland; Carey, Coleman, C. Fenner, Coldwell, Lawrance, Mahoney, R. Fenner, Roewer, White and Ohsol of Massachusetts. Aaltonen, Lockwood and Menton of Michigan; Grant, Hillman, Ingalls, Jacobson, Latimer, Morgan, Nash and Watkins of Minnesota; Fritz of Mississippi; Behrens, Garner, Lipscomb, O'Dam, Vierling and Ward (solid) of Missouri; Wright, Oyler and Warren of Nebraska; Miller of Nevada; Burke and McFall of New Hampshire; Jones, Goebel, Kopp, Krafft, and Reilley of New Jersey; Lane of New Mexico; Ball, Bennetts, Malkiel, Burckle, Mansett, Cassidy, Duffy, Endres, Furman, Hillquit, Lee, London, Merrill, Pierce, Rothmund, Russell, Simons, Solomon, Strelbel and Wanhope of New York; Bowen, Grant, Kelso and Le Sueur of North Dakota; Hayes and Strickland of Ohio; Branstetter, Fields, Cumbie, Dooley, Irvin, Nagle, Owen, Ameringer, Barker, and Shilling of Oklahoma; Bacon, Barnes, Bixler, Caldwell, A. Cohen, J. Cohen, Davis, Goiseau, Grainger, Hogan, Prosser, C. Maurer, J. Maurer, Ringler, Slayton, Williams and Wilson of Pennsylvania; (Reid and Theinert of Rhode Island did not vote) Eberhard of South Carolina; Alexander, Edwards, Byrd, Rhodes, Smith and Thompson of Texas; Burt, Smith and

Wesley of Utah; Spargo of Vermont; Norris of Virginia; Brown, Waynicka, Cory, Cupples, Maley and Hensefer of Washington; Boswell of West Virginia; Berger, Hoan, Gaylord, Jacobs, Minkley, Sedel, Thomas and Thompson of Milwaukee; Carlson of Wyoming.

The following voted AGAINST the insertion of the word sabotage:

Stanley of Florida; Castleberry of Georgia; Beloit of Idaho; Bentall, Burge, Sjodin and Maxwell of Illinois; Baxter and Brown of Iowa; Brewer, Blase, Ricker and Stallard of Kansas; Jones of Louisiana; Staub of Maryland; Hoogerhyde. MacMaster, Etta Menton and McFarland of Michigan, Founier, Kaplan, Maatata and Devold of Minnesota; Duncan, Smith, Kruse, Scott and Christian of Montana; Cosgrove, Killingbeck and Theimer of New Jersey; Slobodin, Lindgren and Pauly of New York; Tiller of North Carolina; Bachman, Bessemer, Boehm, Clifford, Davis, Farrell, Jones, MacCartan, Patterson, Howell, M. Prevey, F. Prevey, Ruthenberg, Storck and Zitt of Ohio; Wills of Oklahoma; Dorfman, Hayden, Lewis, Ramp and Sherman of Oregon; Bruce, Hunt, Ervin, Merrick, Moore, Parker, Ward, Wheeler and Young of Pennsylvania; Dempsey of South Dakota; Harrell of Tennessee; Green, Hickey, Meitzen, Noble and Rhodes of Texas; Aller, Barth, Bostrom, K. Sadler, S. Sadler and Wells of Washington; Houston and Kintzer of West Virginia; Paulson and Suaja of Wyoming.

The total vote was 191 for the insertion of the word sabotage in the constitution and 90 against. This indicated the lineup very clearly, showing that the "red element" in the convention who would "come through" numbered somewhat less than one-third of the total number of delegates.

The next business was the nomination for president on the Socialist ticket and a roll call being ordered, Dan Hogan got a chance to yell for Debs. After that "there was nothing to it." It was clearly evident that both sides were ready to get together on Debs. The total showed 165 for Debs, 56 for Seidel, and 54 for Russell.

California casts its solid vote for Seidel, except for Cantrell and Tuck who voted

for Debs, and Garbutt who voted for Russell. Connecticut went solid for Russell, as did the New York delegation with two exceptions. The well-trained Missouri delegation also was solid for Seidel.

Seidel thus got a good start for the vice-presidential nomination which he won with ease, though Dan Hogan made a good showing.

Russell would probably have been given the vice-presidential nomination but he refused to stand. Leaders of the New York delegation exerted every effort to keep him from taking the nomination because they wanted to save him for their gubernatorial campaign.

Friday night the big parade was held after all and the red flag was right there, despite the fears of some timid souls that it might be "unwise" to make it conspicuous. Russell and Seidel spoke in Tomlinson hall.

This practically closed the important business of the convention, though there

were a number of changes made in the constitution the next day which will bear study. It remains to be seen how they will work out.

It was rumored more than a month ago that J. Mahlon Barnes had been slated by "the machine" for manager of the 1912 presidential campaign, and such indeed proved to be the case. Hillquit explained that the Socialist party "owed" this position to Barnes. It was also decided that the members of the campaign committee are to live within 500 miles of Chicago.

One of the last acts of the convention was to pass a measure that will force Wisconsin Socialists to use party dues stamps on their membership cards instead of the stamps of their state-incorporated Social Democratic party which they have used heretofore.

As a finale a cablegram was ordered sent to Tom Mann of England, saying: "We cheer your stand against fratricide."

## CONVENTION



## NOTES

State Secretary Green was the tallest man at the Convention, being six feet five and one-half inches in his stockings. Within the last 60 days Comrade Green has sent to the National office over 181 charters for new locals in Texas. This is a reflex of the Industrial Renters' Union. Congratulations Green. This is the work that counts! A lot of good men come from Texas.

Pettigrew of Canada addressed the Convention and everybody is talking about it yet.

Delegate Lindgren opposed co-operatives in the party because he said they drew activity better employed along revolutionary lines. Furman of Brooklyn told how his local had fallen to pieces because all the members spent so much time nursing the co-operative. Frank Prevey called co-operatives an attempt at a little heaven in the midst of capitalist hell.

Delegate Amringer of Oklahoma believes that we may reduce the cost of living from \$3 to \$1 a day without experiencing a fall in wages. I wish he'd tell the rest of us where he gets his economics. Delegate Kate Sadler said she had always found that she

got a bare living whether in a co-operative or a trust-ridden land. Do you get the point?

Tom Hickey offered to shake hands with Job Harriman for the first time in twenty years, saying that the report on Labor Organizations, etc., was a splendid illustration of the growing solidarity of the Socialist party. He said the resolution passed was the broadest, and farthest-reaching ever made by the Socialist party.

Tom Clifford, Ohio, says we may count on 200,000 revolutionary votes in his state this fall, also that the REVIEW is the greatest revolutionary organ in the world. Some class to Tom!

Margaret Prevey, one of the liveliest and brainiest women at the Convention, said, in opposing the insertion of the word "sabotage" in Section 6 of the Constitution, "If a workman is wrongfully accused of injuring the property of the boss, or of hindering production in the mill or factory, or if he is even convicted of being accessory before the fact, though he be 500 miles from the scene of the trouble, if Section 6 is adopted, including the word 'sabotage,' the party will be compelled

under this clause to expel the member so accused. The capitalists will interpret the law. They have been known to indict and convict innocent men as accessories before the fact. Shall the Socialist party accept the capitalist verdict against one of its members and aid in sending such members to jail? We should take no part in punishing workers who are accused of injuring the property of our masters. The only way we have of judging the guilt of workers in such cases is what our enemies—the capitalists, themselves, say through their courts.

Comrade Bentall, secretary, is now the boast of the comrades throughout Illinois. He made the bravest speech given before the Convention. He said the determination on the part of the politicians to insert the word sabotage was not because they feared its use, but because they wished to misinterpret it and to fasten it onto the backs of the progressive element in the party, who stand for everything evolutionary in the industrial and political field. It was because they feared this new revolutionary tendency that the reactionaries have chosen this way to cover the Reds with opprobrium.

Delegate Aller of Washington dropped into the REVIEW office on his way back home, to pledge us more support because he feels the REVIEW is the only real, big revolutionary publication in the United States. Comrade Aller said that he had never bought stock before in this company, but after seeing and realizing the good work we are doing, he is proud to become a stockholder.

The two Sadlers, Barth, Bostrom and Wells, did splendid work. Barth and Aller never were able to catch the Chairman's eye even when they were the only delegates on the floor. Evidently the Chairman thought of the Greatest Socialist Party platform that has ever been written, that sprung from Washington, and got the blind staggers. These chairmen were Delegates Lee and Hillquit.

When they asked Gaylord of Milwaukee what he meant by sabotage he was afraid to go down on record. Above all things speak in whispers when the Senator is around or he'll order you put out of the party. We don't really know what he's fighting, so we don't know what to avoid. We hope every Red in the country and every Socialist who really stands for fair play will demand a definition of sabotage. Berger, Spargo and Gaylord and Harriman say we have no right to dictate to the trade unions or any labor organization, so sabotage must be something of a political nature.

Con Foley, Pennsylvania, and O. K. all the time, said: "If the workers don't take hold and make the Socialist party their party, they are going to have it handed to the little cockroaches. This Convention means a great step. The Reds forced everything and it kept the Daffodils busy trying to keep up."

There are too many professional people trying



TOM LEWIS, PORTLAND, ORE.

to lead the working class instead of workers fighting their own battles. The workers should run their own Conventions. They should dictate to others who may wish to serve and within a few years, they will double the strength they showed at the last Convention and run the party in the interests of their own class, was the verdict of Ed Moore.

If you want to know something about the Oregon delegation read the following Oregon resolution: "The attitude of the intellectuals toward the party should be one of service to the working class and not one of personal ambition."

According to the REVIEW definition sabotage means striking on the job; that is, staying on the job, drawing your pay and checking production. Some of the convention delegates who stopped at the Hotel English complained because of the poor service in the dining room. You got your napkin along about time for dessert and your knife and fork after your meat grew cold. It seems that the waiters were dissatisfied with working conditions in the hotel and struck on the job. They pulled back instead of helping things along. They didn't know it was sabotage but they did it just the same.

Question: Will the delegates who tipped waiters who were balking (or striking on the job), practicing sabotage, be expelled from the party if Section 6 of the Constitution goes through? Isn't tipping a practical form of endorsement?



What was the matter with the Ohio delegation? Nothing! All Reds but two. Watch the line-up and you'll know who the two are. Margaret Prevey can put it over any Yellow that ever assumed the platform to befuddle the delegates. Mrs. Storck was on the job just as she has been in holding Study Clubs the last five years. There are more copies of "Value, Price and Profit" sold in Ohio than any other state. Nothing doing in the co-operative line in the Buckeye state. Tom Clifford handed out Berger's "Call to Arm" (the famous ballot and bullet editorial), and counselled the party to avoid antiquated methods. He proved by Berger's own words that he was one of the chief advocates of violence. Pete Kinnear was on hand to assure the fighter that the Red delegation next time would be able to switch the party over into the hands of the working class.

Delegate Patterson wondered if the chairmen needed the services of an oculist. Mayor Duncan was the only one who could see the Red side.

An Indianapolis paper defined the Yellows as those who go backward, and the Reds as those who go forward. Evidently he is wiser than some Socialists.

Steve Reynolds said the only thing that hurt him was that he couldn't take all the delegates home with him.

Jennie Potter and Max Boehm were on hand doing good work. It was queer how lonesome the politicians looked. It was noticeable that they never turned their backs to each other. This is one of the ills of politics. No man's back is safe against the stabs of his associates.

Luella Twining said the rank and file had taken hold of Convention matters in great shape and she believed they would get into the saddle next time. She rejoiced in the wonderful sentiment for industrial unionism. She says Europe is ablaze with it.

A good bunch came from Texas. State Secretary Green has turned in to the National office over 181 local charters during the past two months.

Haywood says he can now speak from the Socialist platform bearing the message of Socialism to the disfranchised black men and women, and to the disfranchised white men and women, for industrialism includes all these comrades.

Charles Edward Russell gave a talk at Tomlinson Hall Wednesday night that brought down the house. He advised the Socialists to cut out dabbling with palliatives and seek to abolish capitalism.

Delegate Hickey declared the Convention was a straight line up between the professionals and the proletarians. That the Reds had enough information on hand to disqualify the Wisconsin delegation on Saturday, but decided that under no condition would they cause a split in the Convention. We showed those who are hurling "Disrupters" at us that

the Feather Bed Socialists were themselves seeking a split in the party. The Reds proved to be the conservators of party unity. This spirit was again splendidly demonstrated on Thursday, when, after a battle that lasted into the morning, Tuesday, and was repeated on Wednesday, the Trinity of Toms unanimously accepted the resolution that had been finally drafted by the other side. It was my opinion that the opportunists believed we would accept no resolution prepared by them. Our acceptance made them the most amazed men in the Convention.

Fred Merrick and Bob Wheeler were two delegates that did splendid work, yielding personal interests for those of benefit to the working class. Justice, of which Comrade Merrick is editor, is growing by leaps and bounds. Further, Fred is not a politician and he is keeping step with the progress of industrial evolution. Five years from now the Daffodils will tell us how they led Fred Merrick and Bob Wheeler into the Industrial Fold. Watch 'em.

Delegate Wheeler has been appointed special investigator for the new party committee on Industrial Education. He is to prepare a statistical study of the introduction of automatic machinery in the basic industries and its effect on the workers. Comrade Wheeler will confine his investigations principally to the glass, steel, coal, cement, railroad industries and agriculture. The particular purpose of this investigation is to gather data to establish a sound basis for conclusions as to the ultimate utility of industrial education. Few educators have a conception of the rapidity with which industrial processes change and inventions progress. Many think in terms of the past. The conception of a society when the great work of production is done by automatic machinery, staggers the mind. Emil Seidel, vice-presidential candidate, has been elected on the new committee. Seidel brings to the work of the committee the practical experience of the working class. It is highly important that the committee should have the point of view of the man who sees the changes taking place in industry. Comrade Seidel and Robert Wheeler add very much to the strength of the committee.

Delegate Luki, editor of *Tyomies*, reported that he had attended three Socialist Conventions. The second convention, he said, was in complete control of the conservatives, and the last one was mostly in control of the revolutionists. We need (he said) more delegations like Washington, Ohio, Oregon, and part of Pennsylvania, and especially Ohio. You can always count on the Finnish comrades.

Delegate Hendrichson of Massachusetts claims the Indianapolis Convention promises more for working class control of the party than any previous convention.

Hoogerhyde of Michigan is a good man to nail the dues-stamp grafters.

Somebody says the Reds put one over on Milwaukee and that hereafter Wisconsin will have to buy dues stamps from the National office just like any common state. Personally, some of us think it looks bad for a state to be holding out on the party at the same time it is flooding the country with letters begging for "help."

Some say they don't like Carey doing the Steam Roller. Well, he didn't stick to the role for long.

Lots of good comrades to be counted in Pennsylvania, and Illinois shows that she is waking up.

Delegate Patterson wonders if the Chairmen (except Duncan of Montana) need the services of an oculist. They could rarely see a Red but were always able to glimpse the N. E. C. members right off the reel. On several occasions when the Chair decided in favor of the Feather Bed Socialists, a vote brought out a decision in favor of the Reds by an overwhelming majority. Justice did not attend the Convention except when Duncan had the Chair.

If Montana and her delegates had a chance to teach some of the Eastern states a few points in economics, there would be a different line-up next time.

The Reds showed great self-control and in spite of the violent tactics of Bully Gaylord and the slurs of other professional mud slingers, they never lost their heads.

Patterson said the Reds averaged 33 per cent of the delegates and were the fighting force of the Convention. They calmed the Bolters and worked all the time for party unity. But when it came to votes the politicians and delegates dominated by middle-class instincts made a loud noise.

Delegate Ida Callery of Arkansas is one of the women who does big things. Under her state secretaryship the party membership has grown to be ten times what it was six months ago.

### SOME OPINIONS

The dying and dispossessed little business element and the professional cult needing a political agency through which to express their material interests, have begun to get control of the machinery of the Socialist party. In this they are aided by trade union conservatives, who, winking at violence in their own ranks, were ready to declaim against an assumed violence on the part of modern working class organizations. The Socialist party, built up so painfully upon the promise of its being a working class organization is in the greatest danger of being dominated by class groups whose aim—whether conscious or not—is a revolution, by force if necessary, which will overthrow the oligarchy of wealth but which will substitute a political state with a cult still riding the backs of the working class. They fear a revolutionary movement from below, and seek to thwart it, even threatening, as they did in open convention, to dis-

rupt the party in order to accomplish their ends. The encouraging factor, however, was the vigor, virility and remarkable strength displayed by the large number of "reds" present at the convention. The future of the working class movement depends upon the growth of this hopeful element.—Gustavus Myers.

The "sensational" or "psychological" moments of the Indianapolis Convention were:

The unanimous report of the Committee on Labor Unions.

The unanimous report of the Committee on Platform.

The vote to insert the "I. W. W." in the telegram to San Diego.

The roll call on Section 6 of the constitution.

The adoption of the Farmers' Program.

The unanimity of the committees was due entirely to the self-restraint of the minority. The majority, secure in its numbers, would have much preferred to have a fight and thus assert itself. It is correct in its view that too much harmony may be fatal to the dominion of this particular majority. Results manifested themselves immediately. The indirect recognition of the I. W. W. was a bitter pill for our leaders, and when the vote on the immediate demands showed that the insurgents captured, for a moment, the steam roller and were running it in the wrong direction, it was time for the leaders to do something.

Section 6 was a shrewd move to reform the scattered forces and put the "fear of God" into the hearts of the minority. For once, the minority committed a big tactical error in opposing it. It should have let it go without a word. On the contrary, it should have demanded the inserting of the decalogue and the penal code in Section 6. The section is preposterous. On the roll call I had to vote with the minority. I had no opportunity to urge my views on the minority, in or out of the convention hall. But I say now we should pay no further attention to Section 6. I signed the demand for the submission of a substitute section, but felt all along that the thing was mismanaged.

In the Farmer's Program, our hearts bled profusely for the small farmer, but we forgot about the farm laborer.

Taken as a whole, the Indianapolis Convention was as good a Socialist convention as was ever held anywhere. It represented a true Socialist movement and the most intelligent part of the working class. True, it was unduly dominated by ex-ministers, lawyers and other professionals. Intelligent workingmen's leadership would have been better. But we have got to take what we have. The honesty and devotion of these professionals cannot be impugned. Take it as coming from a professional.

Let us now go to work. We have a good party. We have got a good ticket. Let us defer all disputes till after election. Let us go to work.—Henry L. Slobodin.

## A REVOLUTIONARY MAYOR

**D**OWN at St. Marys, Ohio, they have a revolutionary mayor. His name is Scott Wilkins and he does not believe that his work as a Socialist ends when he calls upon the workers to unite at the ballot box. He believes in Socialism on the job as well as in the city hall. When he is confronted with a situation that demands action, he does not ask for a report by the city attorney as to just how far capitalist laws will let him go; he doesn't wonder how the middle class or small business men will regard him; he doesn't look in the scriptures for guidance. He simply decides what course of action is up to him to take as a representative of the working class and then gets busy, preferring to lose control of the administration in behalf of his cause rather than hold on to political jobs by trimming his sails.

How he does things is perhaps best told by the capitalist paper of his home town, *The Evening Leader*, which is continually outraged at the way he behaves:

Following the adoption of revolutionary resolutions at the Socialist State convention, at Columbus, last week, Mayor Scott Wilkins, of this city, who was a delegate to that con-

vention, returned with an apparent desire to get action without delay. Accordingly he visited the chain works during the noon hour, Monday, and asked the workmen to meet with him in the council chamber, that evening, for the purpose of organizing. The only pretense for an excuse for this desire on the part of the Mayor to organize the chain workers, aside from the resolutions referred to, was the umbrage taken because the manager of the chain works saw fit to give a few of his men a lay-off for one week because they refused or failed to work last Saturday afternoon according to orders. Quite a number of the chain workers and men from other shops attended the meeting Monday evening. During the course of the evening Mayor Wilkins urged the men to organize, and stand together in a strike to force the granting of demands they might make. He assured the men that they would receive protection from the city administration, as it is a working man's administration; that in case of a strike he would see that protection was given them, and in case of trouble he stated that he would swear in the strikers as deputies. He informed the men that only two things could defeat a strike at the chain works—the militia and the shutting down of the plant. As to the first mentioned barrier the mayor informed his audience that there is no danger of the militia being sent out as Governor Harmon is too busy with his campaign, and in case the shop shut down he gave utterance to the following comforting remark: "Let 'em take their junk pile and get out of town."

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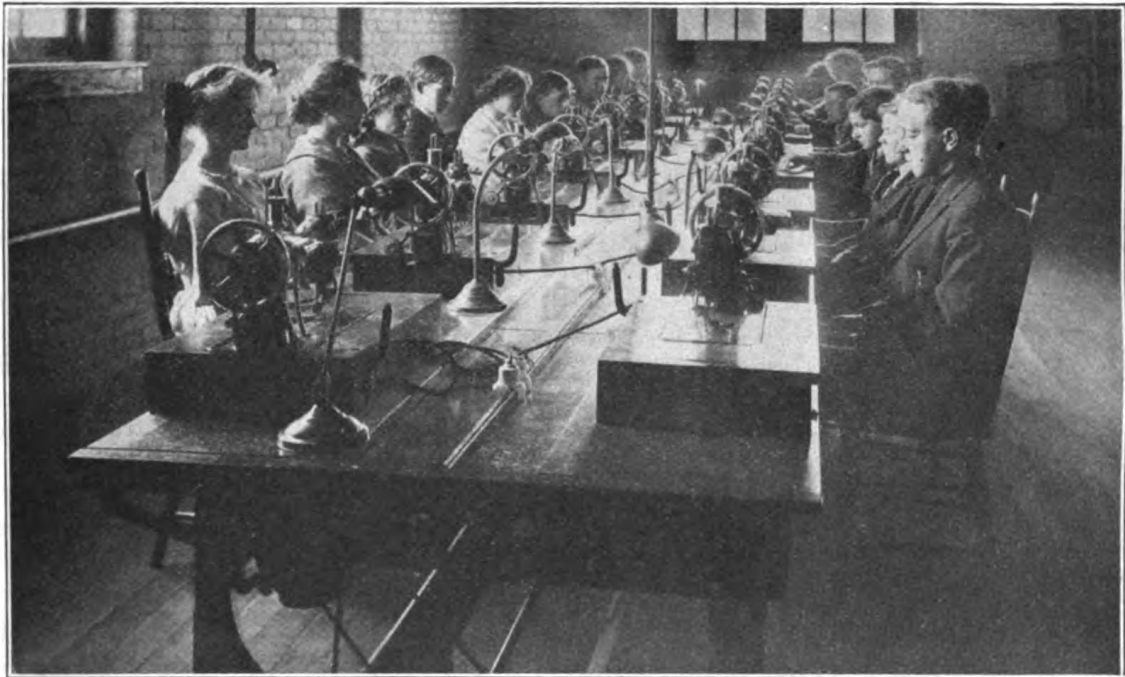
### THE OHIO YELL

Jigger up, rigger up,  
 Rah! Rah! Rah!  
 Wake 'em up, shake 'em up,  
 Hah! Hah! Hah!  
 D E B S—Debs!  
 Rah! Rah! Ohio!

Ripsaw, ripsaw, ripsaw, bang!  
 We belong to the Gene Deb's gang,  
 Are we Socialists? I should smile!  
 We're Revolutionists all the while.

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"Haywood and Haywoodism" is the significant title of an article by Carl Hovey appearing in the *Metropolitan Magazine* for June. In this article Mr. Hovey, who is the author of the recently published book, "The Life-story of J. Pierpont Morgan," which has attracted widespread attention and provoked considerable comment both here and abroad, has written a close, intimate sketch of a man whom he deems a "born leader of men." Haywood's leadership in the famous Lawrence strike is analyzed and a searchlight is thrown upon his personality and the methods by which the strike was conducted. Mr. Hovey has approached his subject with a sympathetic and appreciative eye, and the result is a first-hand study as brilliant as it is unusual.



GLOVE MACHINES INSTALLED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY THE GLOVE MANUFACTURERS AT GLOVERSVILLE, NEW YORK.

## A Pair of Glove Towns

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

There are hundreds of little factories in Gloversville and Johnstown, where several thousand people are engaged in the making of gloves, silk gloves, woolen gloves, kid, chamois and all kinds of leather gloves. There is no other industry—nothing but gloves.

When Mrs. Farthing came to the Old Stump Town, from England, she was the only glove-maker in the village and plied her craft in her own home, making a few pairs of gloves through her own labors. That was only fifty or sixty years ago. But as the town and the industry grew the spot came to be known as Gloversville,

because it was the home of so many pairs of leather gloves.

From that day to this the industry has prospered in Gloversville until now the output is millions of pairs of gloves a year.

Considering the commercial importance of glove producing, it is a remarkable fact that the industry has not yet been trustified. It is still one of the few fields that has not been grabbed up by the trust-makers. But great changes are taking place.

Foreign manufacturers with up-to-date ideas are locating here and they are es-

establishing large factories. At present the petty labor exploiters still hold sway, but their disappearance is only a matter of time. Tiny workshops are scattered everywhere over Gloversville and Johnstown, as well as in the business districts.

Tanneries have sprung up beside the mills that prepare the skins. Some finished leather is annually imported but the bulk of the skins are sent in raw and untanned from foreign countries. They come in bales or hogsheds. Large shipments come from Africa and South America, but the greater number of hides come from Australia.

Skins of various animals are employed—deer, calves, sheep and lambs, goats and kids, etc., but kids have nothing to do with the production of the “kid gloves” of commerce. One of the tricks of the trade enables the manufacturers to produce “kid gloves” out of sheep hide. But this is not more wonderful than the strange transformations and metamorphoses that occur in other lines of production unknown to the general public.

When Sir William Johnston brought over several families of glove-makers in 1760, and settled them on the spot that is now known by his name as one of the two great American glove towns, the diligent Scots were glove-makers in the truest sense of the word. The workers followed an outline marked upon the leather, cutting out the gloves with a pair of sharp shears. The same individual completed a pair of gloves, usually preparing the hides and even dyeing the leather.

But much is altered today in Johnstown and Gloversville. While almost the entire population is employed in the making of gloves, it cannot be truthfully said that they are any longer glovemakers. Every little detail has been specialized.

The skins are prepared, tanned and colored by processes requiring many hands, before they are ready for the cutters. Steel dies are almost universally employed not only for the bodies of the gloves but also for the thumbs and sides of the fingers. Owing to the elastic character of the material, the cutting is a very delicate operation. Cutters must exercise great care and skill. They are the best paid workers in all the shops.

From the cutting tables the gloves are

bundled up in lots of a dozen pairs and carted around from house to house. Nearly every home contains its one-eighth horse power glove sewing machine, with motor attachment. A housewife who does not work on gloves is called “lazy” by her neighbors in the glove towns. So nearly has this idea permeated the community that each abode may be described as a one-eighth horse power adjunct to the factory where toiling mothers bending over their task, lull their babies to sleep to the accompaniment of the whirr of the motor machine.

Some hand-work is still required in the making of gloves but rarely is more than one operation performed in a single home. The factory wagon comes; the driver gathers up the unfinished parts of the gloves and delivers them to the next house or to the house around the corner, where another wage-slave house-wife does her little part.

The limp, flapping pieces of sheepskin visit several families before they are returned—perhaps tearstained—to the factory doors. In one home the silk-stitching on the back of the wrist-end of the glove is done, at 20 cents a dozen. At the next house the ends of the silk-stitching threads are pulled, tied and cut off inside, at 3 cents a dozen. And so on and on. The system is piece-work perfected.

The gloves are chiefly “shaped” in the factory, the workers being almost exclusively women and girls. The state law limits the age of girls employed, but there never was any known limit set for the hiring of the old. Grandmothers may be seen working in the same factory with their daughters and granddaughters.

Each glove worker is expected to own a machine. These usually cost about \$60. I will never again pass the Singer (Sewing Machine) Building, in New York City, without recalling the girls who were exploited to build it.

The Manufacturers' Association controls the electric company that supplies the power to run the sewing machines, for which the girls are charged 40 cents a week. A similar charge is made for running the home motors which are owned individually, having been purchased at a cost of about \$40, generally paid for on





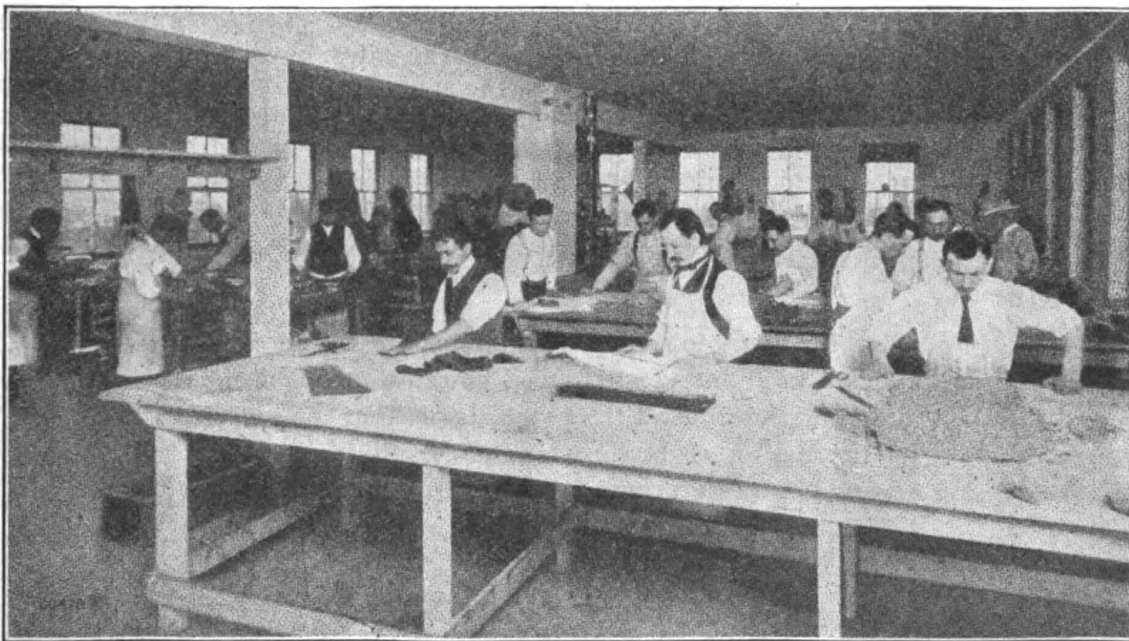
KNEE STAKERS WORK 10 HOURS A DAY FOR \$1.50.

the installment plan of \$5 down and \$5 a month.

The labor power problem here is a difficult one for the bosses to solve. The Chamber of Commerce has tried the paternal system of transplanting wage slaves, extending all sorts of inducements to workers across the water, but with

very little success. When they advertise for "help," "best working conditions in the city" is the bait. This means that machines and power are furnished free, or rather by the company, as the worker comes out in just about the same shape in the long run.

Standing advertisements are usually



GLOVE CUTTERS WORK 10 HOURS PER DAY, \$10.00 PER WEEK.

kept in outside newspapers telling of the high wages and good conditions in Johnstown and Gloversville. But there is no enchantment here. Many women have come and gone away because they have been unable to make a living. It requires time and patience to become a skillful glove operative. As in other piece-work crafts, there are some experts that make fairly good pay, but the general average is not above other factory workers' wages.

As in Troy and other communities where womanhood is exploited, normal conditions are reversed. A young woman contemplating marriage is confronted with the problem of supporting a husband. Hundreds of women are doing this and others are considering the step, believing that they can almost provide a living for two if the man can help a little.

But there is little work in the glove towns for men to do. Naturally they become shiftless and refuse even to perform the house work for the absent factory wife. And when the day's work at the factory is over, the married woman gathers her children off the streets, prepares a scanty meal and returns to her task. Often she must trim the bundle of gloves she has brought home from the factory before her day's work is done. Can Socialism destroy such a home?

The immediate condition of the working women could be materially improved through industrial organization. The bosses are very much afraid of unionism, Socialism or organization of any kind but a military one.

They systematically and methodically engender racial and religious prejudices

in order to prevent the workers from becoming class conscious. Many nationalities are represented here. Americans are in the minority, especially among the working class.

The vocational school, as it is conducted here, is a ruse of Capitalism that I have never before found. For cold-blooded, calculating, premeditated scheming to exploit children as soon as age and the state law will permit, the Manufacturers' Association here beats anything I have ever heard of. The Association has actually managed to convert the public school system into an APPRENTICE SHOP for glove-making. In the vocational or industrial classes, no manual training of any description is taught but MAKING GLOVES. Forty-five minutes every day is devoted to instruction in the making of gloves—forty-five minutes "devoted to the trade." A power table equipped with sixteen machines is installed in the basement of the high school for the benefit of the children ( ? ? ? ? )

Funds contributed by the factory owners paid for the power table and the machines. The public school fund is appropriated to furnish power and pay the teacher of students. A course in the basement school factory is credited as a period of the elementary course.

Benevolent system! Children are not allowed in the factories, so the exploiters evade the laws by establishing factories in the schools. School days! The happy, happy days of childhood! Here they are strangled by the gloved hand of Capitalism!

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, became all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor.—Communist Manifesto.



# 100 Years Ago

by  
Mary E. Marcy

IT WAS not until we knew Grandmother Hopkins, a beautiful old lady of eighty-eight, who had come to make her home with relatives in the city, that we realized what invention and the factory system have done to the old fashioned home.

She had grown a little childish but her pain and wonder over the ways of flat dwellers and "roomers" was always accompanied by a flow of words on the good old days and only to hear her was a liberal education on the pioneer days in the Central States.

The switch with which we turned on and off the electric lights, the marvels of the gas range and steam heat would always start her off on reminiscences of the great old fire places and of candle making.

The candle wicks, Grandmother told us, were made of loosely spun hemp, tow or cotton, sometimes even of milkweed. Six or eight long strands of the tow were usually tied to a stick and were dipped into great kettles filled with hot tallow. Later, when the settlers raised bees, wax was often used. Candle making was the work of the women of the household, and the task was an arduous one. The long wicks had to be alternately dipped into the hot tallow or wax and allowed to cool, the candles increasing in thickness with every operation. Feeding the fire alone was a job of no mean proportion. All through the year the women hoarded every ounce of deer suet, moose fat, bear

grease and tallow for the time of the annual candle making.

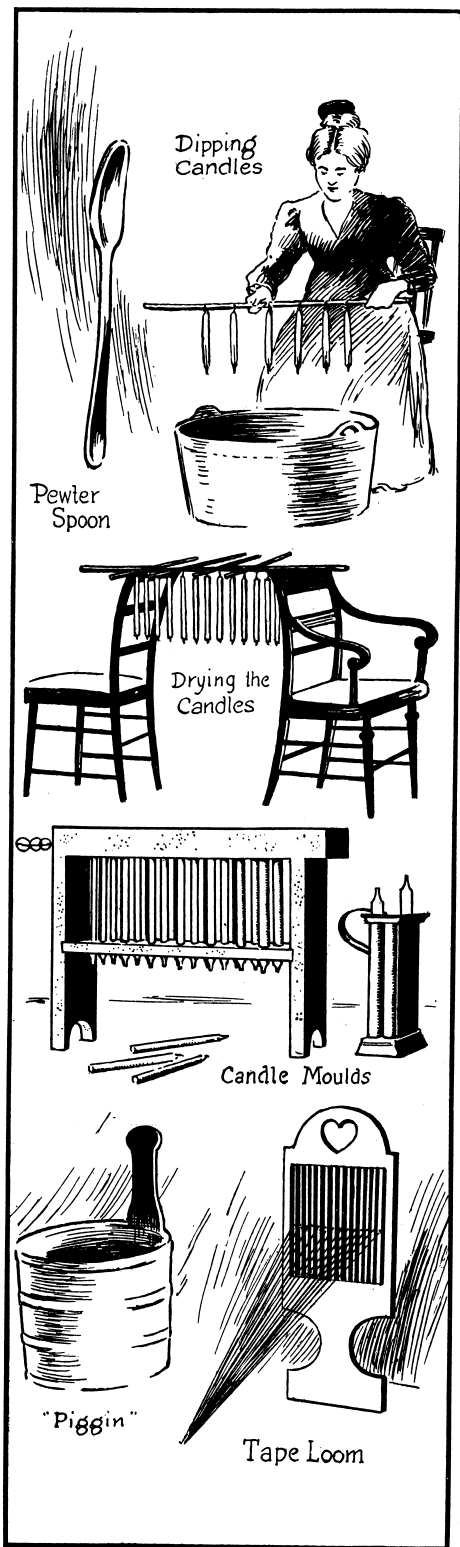
Home made pewter lamps were also used in Grandmother's day. These were mere bowls or cans containing a narrow spout from which hung wicks which, when lighted, gave forth an unpleasant smoke but a glow vastly superior to candle light. Fish and other home made oils were first burned. These were prepared by the women. This was before the day of lamp chimneys.

## Fire.

In the days of the early settlers it was a family catastrophe when the fire went out. But in Grandmother's time flint, steel and tinder were recognized household necessities. In 1827 a patent was granted the inventor of the first matches. These were made of strips of wood dipped in sulphur, and ignited readily. The inventor sold 84 matches for 25 cents, but it was many years before matches came into general use.

Candle making, fire building and light striking are no longer a part of "woman's work." They have been abolished from the home. Gas, steam and electricity are at hand ready to do our bidding. Even the making of matches has become one of the great industries, where thousands of girls and women operating modern machines produce millions of matches in a single day.

The hot and cold water taps were another point of wonder to Grandmother. In her girlhood days water had to be carried sometimes long distances from



springs and heated in great pots over the fireplace.

The Pennsylvania Dutch had the first stoves used in America. The first stove was built into the house, three sides being indoors, while the stove had to be fed from the outside. As the men worked out of doors a goodly portion of the time, the fire tending fell to the lot of the women. I doubt not but many of them could wield an ax with any of the men.

As cattle increased, the duties of the dairy grew. There came butter making; and cheese making was an unending care from the time the milk was set over the fire to warm and curdle, through the breaking of the curds into the cheese baskets, through shaping into cheeses and pressing in cheese presses, and placing them on the cheese ladders to be constantly turned and rubbed.

#### Soap Making.

Soap making time came in the fall, and meant more work for the housewife. Even the lye had to be manufactured from wood ashes at home. And there were geese to be picked three or four times a year, for everybody slept on feather beds in those days.

I remember one of grandmother's stories of an old time neighbor who burned down a deserted house merely for the sake of the few nails used in its construction. Nails were one of the most valuable of all the commodities in her grandmother's day.

November was the appointed killing time. Of refrigeration there was none and fresh meat lasted only a short time in warm weather. Choice pieces were sometimes preserved in cool springs for a little while but almost all meats had to be promptly pickled and salted away for preservation. Rolliches and head cheeses were made at killing time; lard was tried and tallow saved.

In the winter might be found in the homes of every good housewife, hogsheads of corned beef, barrels of salt pork, tubs of hams being salted in brine, tonnekins of salt fish, firkins of butter, kegs of pigs feet and tubs of souse. And there were head cheeses, strings of sausage, very highly spiced to preserve them, jars of fruit, bins of potatoes, apples, turnips, parsnips and beets.

The kitchen, or living room, was constantly hung with strings of drying apples, onions, rounds of pumpkins and peppers. Sugar was very scarce and its place was taken by pumpkins and very soon by honey, till maple syrup and maple sugar were discovered.

Today some women still preserve the fruit

and vegetables for their own families. This is no longer a difficult matter. A telephone message brings the required material from the nearby grocer, also jars to be hermetically sealed. The ingredients are ready to hand, prepared by the thousands of men and women working in huge factories all over the world. Fire is brought up to our very table. We have only to turn it on. But the woman who now does preserving at home is the exception. Little by little the factories have taken up this branch of "woman's work" and it is now much cheaper to buy factory canned goods than to do the work in the home. Perhaps our grandmothers who suffered through the hot summer days over blazing stoves are not sorry to see this branch of home life destroyed by the factory system.

**Spinning and Weaving.**

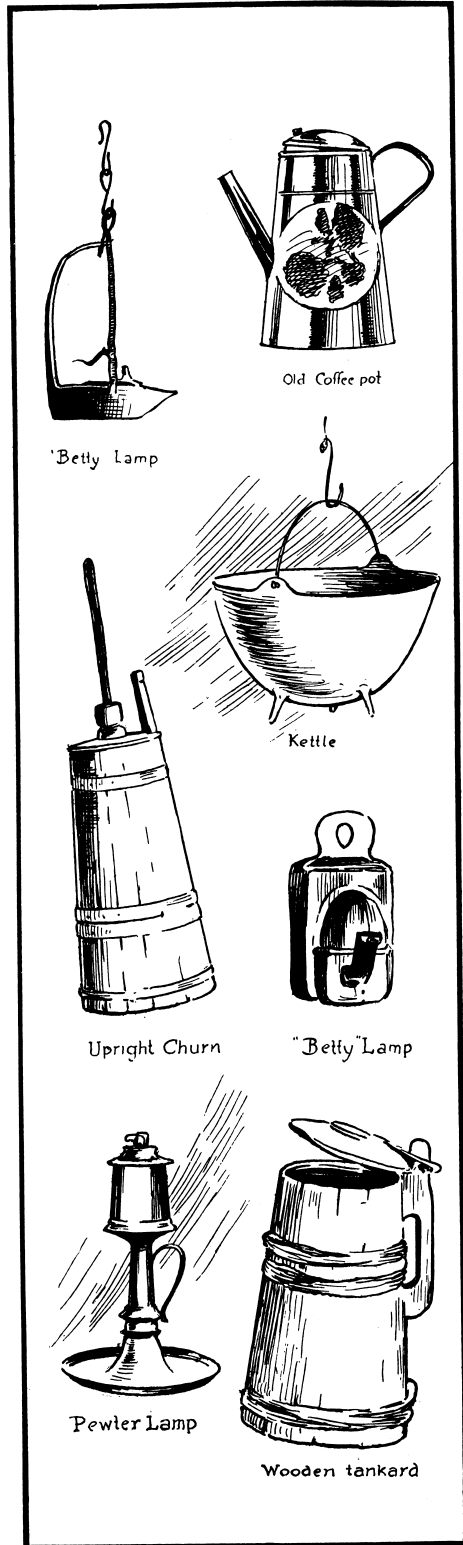
Almost within our fathers' time, every farmer and his sons raised wool and flax. His wife and daughters spun them into yarn and thread. When the flax plants were only three or four inches high they were weeded by the women and children who were compelled to work in their bare feet in order to avoid crushing the young stalks. Usually men prepared the flax and "broke it," while the girls, working their feet on the treadle, spun the fiber into an even thread. The thread was then wound off into reels or skeins.

These were bleached by being laid in water for four days, the water being constantly changed and the skeins wrung out. Finally they were "bucked," that is, bleached in ashes and hot water for a week or more, after which came a grand rinsing, washing, drying and winding on bobbins for the loom. All this labor in the bleaching process was not by any means the end of the operations.

Steadily wool production increased. The fleeces had to be gone over by the women with care, and all pitched and tarred locks, brands and beltings were cut out. But they were not lost. The cuttings were spun into coarse yarn.

**Dyeing.**

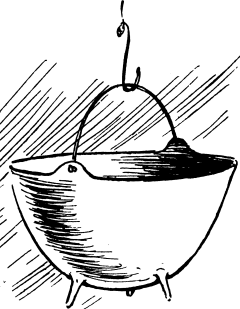
The white locks were carefully loosened and separated and tied into net bags to be dyed. Indigo was the favorite blue dye. Cochineal and logwood and madder made beautiful reds. Bark of the red oak or hickory made pretty browns and yellows. The flower of the golden rod when pressed of its juice, mixed with indigo and added to alum, made a bright green. Sassafras bark was used to secure a rich brown and orange.



'Betty Lamp



Old Coffee pot



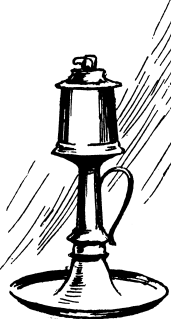
Kettle



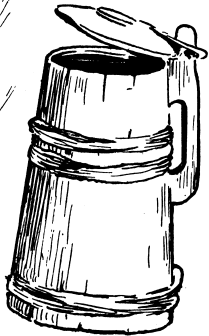
Upright Churn



'Betty' Lamp



Pewter Lamp



Wooden tankard



The next process was carding. The wool was first greased with oil, then combed and spun. Later families sent their wool to the mill to be carded by crude machines, while the spinning and weaving was still done at home. This is, we believe, still the prevailing method in Ireland.

The same primitive methods prevailed for a long time in the cotton industry. But the invention of the cotton gin in 1792 soon made necessary the use of machinery to take care of the increased supply of cotton produced by the gin. The spinning jenny and power looms soon appeared. More work, formerly performed in the home, was now done in mills and factories. This meant more "breaking up" of what all our grandmothers' called home. Cotton cloth was for a time still printed, colored or "stamped" by hand, in the home. Grandmother remembers wearing "beautiful cotton dresses" printed by her mother.

In her home life in colonial days, Alice Morse Earle quotes as follows from a letter written by an American farmer only a little over one hundred years ago:

"At this time my farm gave me and my whole family a good living on the produce of it and left me one year with \$150.00, for I never spent more than \$10.00 a year for salt, nails and the like. Nothing to eat, drink or wear was bought as my farm provided all."



HOME MADE SUGAR.

About the same time Abigail Foote set down her daily work in this wise (*Home Life in Colonial Days*):

"Fix'd gown for Prude. Mended mother's riding hood. Spun thread. Carded tow. Spun linen. Hatchel'd flax with Hannah. Worked on cheese basket. Spooled a piece. Milked cows. Spun linen. Did 50 knots. Made broom of Guinea wheat straw. Carded two pounds of wool. Spun harness twine."

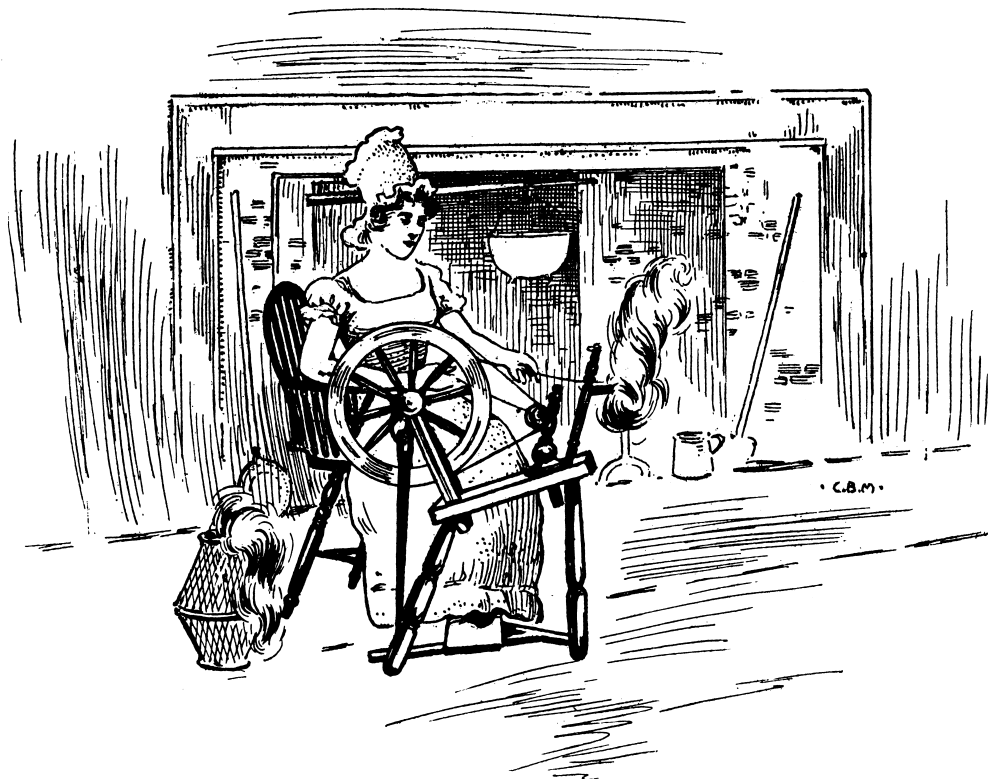
Beside the work of cooking and taking care of the home generally the women of grandmother's time were in charge of the dairying, raising of small stock, combing, carding, spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, pickling, preserving, salting, soap and candle making. All stockings and mittens were knit at home till 1850, when a patent was granted for wool weaving machines. It was a good many years later that machine weaving became general.

Women made every article of clothing worn by the entire family except sometimes, the shoes. She made bonnets for the girls and hats and caps for the men. She wove the shawls worn by everybody and invented the first straw hat. When there were carpets these too were the work of her hands.

In grandmother's day the home was the industrial unit. Every man, woman and child knew how to produce things for the needs of the family. Nothing was specialized beyond the family. The individual farm was almost sufficient unto itself.

Something has destroyed the home and home life that our grandmothers knew. It is enough that we conjure up a picture of the old ways and compare them to the lives of the flat dwellers, the boarders and roomers of today. More proof is not needed. The old fashioned home has been destroyed, is being further destroyed by the invention of new machinery and the progress of specialized factory production.

From the very first the machine carding of fleece was so cheap that farmers were constrained to send this work to be done in the mill. Then came machine spinning and weaving. At every step it became evident that home labor could be more remuneratively employed in other branches rather than by doing these tasks



performed at such low cost in the mills.

For a long time all the family clothing was still made in the home, where the sewing machine helped to reduce the drudgery of the housewife. And in our own time every article of wearing apparel can be purchased ready made at prices so low that home made clothes have become almost a thing of the past.

Cheapness has battered down the wall of the farmer's prejudice and gradually he has permitted almost every branch of industry to be taken from his home to be done in the mill and factory, while he has set the members of his family to specializing in lines where the pay is better. It was never possible for the seller of home made products to compete with the mill or factory machine commodities for long.

Farm machinery has steadily lessened the work of the men upon the farm. One man can today, by the use of modern machines, accomplish the work that ten men did formerly under the old methods.

But the young men and women have followed their old work into the cities,

into the woolen and cotton mills, into the match factories, and packing houses. Many of them no longer have even their meals in their own homes. Great armies of restaurants and cafes have sprung up everywhere, where people may dine for less than it would cost to cook at home.

Laundries there are too—"breaking up" another branch of the old time "home." With one dozen sheets washed and ironed by machine for 25 cents came the beginning of the end of the old back-breaking wash-tub days. Monday, or "wash day," has lost its old time significance. It is just like any other day.

Gone are the candle-making seasons, the wood splitting and fire feeding and water carrying times. Of home soap-makers we have none and few of us would even know how to make lye if we had to. Steam heat, electric lights, bakeries, laundries, restaurants, ready-to-wear clothing have destroyed, little by little, year by year, the classic institutions of the old time home. Tasks that it took our grandmothers many days in the doing

are now better done in fewer hours in the factories.

Every day sees new tasks taken from the home and performed in the mills and factories, and every day sees more and more women joining the great army of industrial workers. The home of today has become only the shell of the home of yesterday. Spring house cleaning and sweeping have fallen before the march of the vacuum cleaner. The housewife has been deprived of "woman's work." She is more and more being forced into the class of proletarians. Home owning for the vast majority of people has ceased to exist. Women must find jobs, must sell their labor power—their strength to work, in order to earn a living. The bread and butter problem has given them a new "sphere" in the factory.

They now work beside men in the mills and are forced to compete with them for jobs.

The great inventions that should have lessened woman's labors have benefited her not at all. Stripped of all property, she is in the way of being directly exploited, as her father and brothers are being exploited. In order to earn a living she grinds out profit for some capitalist.

The great factories, and modern machines that perform, with very little expenditure of human labor, the arduous tasks that formerly were hers, do not bring ease or comfort or plenty to her. For these tools, these great machines by which clothes and food and other commodities are produced, are owned by a few men and women who do not operate, or use them.

Because there are always thousands of unemployed men and women seeking for jobs, wages are always driven down to the bare cost of living. For the bosses, the factory and mill owners, always buy labor power or working strength where it is cheapest. All the clothing, the shoes, hats, food, etc., that the workers produce are kept by the factory and mill owners. They should be the property of those who do the work. This is the aim of Socialism. It proposes that the men and women who work shall own the factories, mills, mines, railroads and the land, and

that they shall themselves own the things they make.

The time has come when it is impossible for young men or women to save enough out of their wages to start into business for themselves. Every industry is now controlled by vast aggregations of capital that run up into millions of dollars. It takes great sums of money to buy the necessary machines, to put up modern plants that alone can successfully compete with the great trusts. The time of the poor boy or girl who may become a captain of industry is about past.

The professional fields for men and for women are badly overcrowded and the competition among professional people will bring the remuneration in these fields down to a bare living just as it does in the department stores and sweat shops. A young dentist recently informed us that thousands of boys in America are studying dentistry because there is a demand for them in some of the large foreign cities. Within ten years this field will be overcrowded and dentists will be competing for work till there will be only a scant living in this profession for any of them.

It is too late to go back to Grandmother's way even if we wanted to. There is no more free land. The capitalist system under which we live draws our sons to the cities to earn a living, our daughters into the factories, our husbands into the mines. It sends us into the mills to make cloth.

The capitalist system has broken up the old fashioned home and scattered it to the four corners of the earth for the sake of profits. Our only hope lies in Socialism.

There is no hope for the propertyless young man or woman becoming independent today. There is no one to assure you that you and your husband shall have steady work—that your children shall be able to earn three square meals a day. This is the task of Socialism.

Whether or not you are one of the fast decreasing number of housewives today, or whether you are a wage slave directly exploited in the factories, mills or department stores, your home broken up, or your hope of a home destroyed by the

capitalist society of today, Socialism is a message of hope for your husband, your father, your children as well as for yourself.

Socialism means that those who work shall eat; that the reaping shall be done by those who sow. It means that every man and women in the world shall have equal and ample opportunity to work without being robbed of most of his product by a rich boss.

It means that the workers shall collectively own the mines, mills, factories, railroads and land—all the instruments for producing the necessities of life. It means that these men and women shall own the things they produce.

The Socialist party is the one party in the world today that represents the working class. It offers to every woman equal political and economic rights to those accorded men.

If you are a working woman, or the wife of a working man, read the literature of Socialism and join the Socialist party.

Meanwhile, if you are at work in factory, mill or shop, organize in the shop. An industrial union will give every man, woman and child a vote today.

The emancipation of the workers depends on the workers themselves. Write for information on Socialism and the Industrial Union movement.

## SHALL WE UNITE?

BY

AN ALASKAN MINER

THE I. W. W. as at present organized, may or may not be working along the lines that will bring about the best results toward the improvement of economic conditions for the toiling masses; but that some form of Industrial Unionism that has a worldwide scope is absolutely necessary, I think every Socialist must admit, something that will bind closer together the various trades working in the same industry, if nothing more, would be a slight help. There are many calling themselves Socialists who get very much excited when anything is said that shows up the short-comings of craft unionism. They quote parrot-like the words of Marx and Engels, "Workingmen unite," etc., but they are bitterly opposed to any move that is proposed looking toward unity of the workers. They say in effect that Marx and Engels did not really mean that we should unite in order the better to oppose the capitalist class, but that we should instead of uniting, organize ourselves into opposing factions, some of the strongest of which to become

"aristocracies of labor" and ride to labor conventions in special trains, and when their fellow workers belonging to some other union were on strike, calmly take scabs in their places and go on with their work. They say in effect that any territory containing a number of tribes always at war with each other, is the home of a united nation.

We are told that craft unions may become so powerful that they can compel their employers to accede to any reasonable demand. Will any one claim that any advance in wages one of these powerful unions may get is taken directly from the Capitalists employing its members? Will any one claim that such an advance shows that labor as a class has been benefited or that the capitalist as a class has been damaged? It seems to me that any advance in wages one group of workers may get the capitalist will more than make up for by increasing the price of the commodities this particular group of workers have produced for him, shifting the burden on to those less able to bear it, the great body of those un-

skilled men and women who are unable to build up an aristocratic labor body.

We are well aware that only a small percentage of the toilers of America are organized. What are we trying to do for the others. It is obvious that they can't join these aristocratic unions. They are continually shifting from one occupation to another, anything they can find that will furnish a bare existence. Today they are working in the woods, tomorrow in a brickyard, on a section, in the harvest fields, mines, sewers or anywhere that offers work. Are these men to be ignored by Socialists, while some of the comrades are falling over one another to show that they are friends of the aristocratic unions?

We are warned against saying anything about craft unionism, because some fear if criticized too much they will form a labor party of their own. I don't think there is any danger of that if the Socialist Party shows itself to be a real work-

ing class party. If we show that we are really in sympathy with all the workers and not only with the aristocrats of labor. I don't like the term "aristocrat" at all. Aristocrats, whether of birth, wealth, privilege or labor, are invariably conservative, and it seems to me that if Socialists become too intimate with conservatives, they are apt to lose some of their revolutionary character.

The master minds in the movement have ever cried **unite!** and there are signs that some of the workers are giving heed to the cry and repeating it. Already their voices are reaching us, **Unite!** and still louder **UNITE!** and I hope in the near future to hear their cry floating over land and sea from every race, color, and creed, with a volume of sound equal to the combined voices of thunder and of the waves breaking on a rocky shore, in perfect unison with the grand chorus, **Unite! Unite!! UNITE!!!**



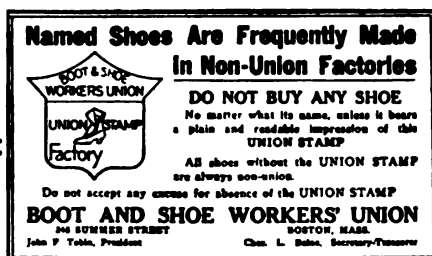
SOCIALIST MINERS—DEADWOOD, ALASKA.



# MORE ABOUT

## “THE TAINTED SHOE LABEL”

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL



A TYPICAL TOBIN ADVERTISEMENT.

**M**R. JOHN F. TOBIN, president of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, doesn't like what was said about him and his methods in the April REVIEW. He doesn't like it to the extent of about eight pages of closely written type. Blustiferously, not to say bluffously, he advances upon the scene and speaks as follows:

"Boston, Mass., May 2, 1912.

"Editor International Socialist Review, Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Sir: Under the title "THE TAINTED SHOE LABEL" there appeared in the April (1912) issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW an article said to be by Phillips Russell.

"Before beginning this reply to the article referred to, we desire to ask, who is Phillips Russell; what does he represent and what is his motive?"

The emphasis here is Mr. Tobin's own. Now, if I confessed that I was born in Timbuctoo and was bow-legged and wore pink whiskers, that would have a lot of bearing on the question as to whether Mr. Tobin and his aids did or did not do their best to break the strike of the Cincinnati shoe workers' by importing scabs and turning them over to the bosses, wouldn't it?

If I stated that I were John D. Rockefeller's private secretary, represented the Standard Oil Company, and disliked Mr. Tobin because he once poisoned my pet cat, that would have a lot to do with the fact as to whether or not the secretary of the Shoe Manufacturers' Association of Cincinnati kept these scabs in an expensive hotel and supplied them with union cards, wouldn't it?

I was in Cincinnati during the strike and got my knowledge of the facts at first hand.

But in order to satisfy Mr. Tobin upon his emphasized questions it might be well to answer them in detail as follows:

1. Who is Phillips Russell?

Associate editor of the *REVIEW* and member of the staff of the *New York Call* at the time it published the letter of Mr. William Mailly, former national secretary of the Socialist party, in which he denounced the union shoe stamp as "a swindle upon the labor movement."

2. What does he represent?

Opposition to all such frauds as the Tobin shoe stamp and to organized scabbery, whether conducted under union auspices or not.

3. What is his motive?

To show all persons that they are playing into the hands of the capitalists when they buy shoes disgraced by the Tobin stamp.

Now we will go on and let Mr. Tobin expose himself in his own words as follows:

This article is flagrantly unfair and untruthful; so much so that it is calculated to mislead only those who are least well informed upon trade union law and policy. We hope you will see fit to give space to this letter and circulate the *REVIEW* to the same extent as your April (1912) issue.

To begin with, the article seeks to make it appear that this organization is in league with shoe manufacturers and against the shoe workers and that the public who purchase union stamp shoes merely gets himself "played for a sucker" and that the organization is privately owned by one John F. Tobin, the general president of the union, who makes use of the union stamp merely as "a thing for barter and sale and a means of enslaving the workers and tying them tight to the bosses' machines."

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is a democratic organization governed between conventions by a general executive board, who meet three times each year between conventions, and the laws are made either in a convention or by the initiative and referendum of the membership. For 14 years the officers were elected by referendum vote, but because of corrupt practices in the elections and failure of a great majority of members to vote, the laws were changed to elect in convention every two years, so that now a substantial part of the members govern the union instead of a small minority, as under the referendum system.

Section 15 of the constitution provides that "The trade stamp or label of this union shall

be a shield design with the words 'Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Union Stamp,' and the factory number appearing on the stamp; that the union stamp shall be impressed upon the sole of boots and shoes that are made wholly by members of this union."

Section 16 of the constitution provides "The general executive board shall have discretionary power in making rules governing the use of the union stamp, but shall publish such rules regularly in the *Journal* and shall not issue the union stamp to any firm unless contract is approved by the local union in a town or city where only one local union exists, or by the council, in a town or city where more than one local union exists; that the sum of \$500 in cash shall be paid to any person or persons who will furnish evidence sufficient to prove fraudulent use or issue of the union stamp contrary to the laws and rules laid down by the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union."

This union, in common with all other well-regulated unions, deputizes the management of the union label to some person for greater convenience in legal matters connected with the label. The contract under which the union stamp is used by shoe manufacturers is made between the firm and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, with headquarters at 246 Summer street, Boston, Mass., and the agreement further provides that "the employer agrees that the union is the lawful owner of the union stamp;" hence it is not owned by Tobin.

We are proud of the fact that the rankest enemy of our union has never yet been able to furnish any tangible evidence of corruption or even loose or careless management of the union stamp; that our union stamp stands free from any stain as to its legitimate use. The tainted article goes on to say that for five months a devoted little band of 200 shoe workers have been on strike in the city of Cincinnati against a reduction in pay.

The facts are that a little band of about 20 Goodyear inseamers, under the leadership of a suspended member of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, with a somewhat unsavory trade union record, made an attack upon our union in Cincinnati, where we are well organized, where a fair standard of wages exists and where the dual and seceding union sought to injure our organization by declaring a strike alleged to be for the purpose of resisting a reduction in wages, and widely and falsely advertised by them as such, but in reality to secure an increase and to throw large numbers of our members out of employment by promises, threats and actual assaults upon shoe workers, members of our union, as well as those who were not members.

Possibly 200 were induced to leave the factories in sympathy with this alleged strike. One of our general organizers, C. J. McMorrow, is held up to criticism and photographs of documents tending to show that he furnished strikebreakers are produced, but these critics fail to give McMorrow credit for the fact that it was upon his advice that our local

unions in Cincinnati did not take the course which we believe they would have been justified in taking, of refusing to recognize the strike in any way except as a deliberate and unrighteous attack upon our union.

Adopting McMorrow's advice, our local unions in Cincinnati voted to recognize the strike in the Goodyear inseaming department, which was the only place where a demand was made for an increase in wages. Our Cincinnati local unions instructed their members to remain at work in all other departments, as is clearly shown by the following resolutions adopted by all our Cincinnati locals:

"Whereas, A strike started by the inseamers of several factories for one-fourth cent extra per pair under the jurisdiction of the United Shoe Workers of America, an independent union not affiliated with the American Federation of labor,

"Resolved, That Union 222 of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, in the strike of the inseamers, remain absolutely neutral. That its members be ordered to keep off of the inseaming machines in the factories involved, either to learn to run them or as experienced operators, and immediately leave their jobs if any of our members are running them; that it orders its members to remain at work in the factories involved in this strike unless ordered otherwise by Union 222.

"Further resolved, That its members have the right to take any job offered in these factories other than inseaming; that it denies the right or authority of the United Shoe Workers of America to declare any job unfair other than the job of inseaming in the factories at present on strike in that department."

The fact that the Cincinnati Trades and Labor Council, which was on the ground and familiar with all the details of this trouble, passed resolutions unanimously supporting our organization and condemning the dual body, we offer as the best evidence of the correctness of our position.

Our justification for appearing in this controversy at all lies in the fact that our fourteen hundred members in Cincinnati indicated that they did not desire to be placed in a position other than that of neutrality in a contest waged by a hostile union. The strike was in the Goodyear inseaming department, and notwithstanding the assaults and threats of the active ones upon our members and others working in other departments calculated to force them to act in sympathy, we have adhered strictly to the resolutions passed by our local unions in Cincinnati and our activities were confined exclusively to the jobs declared fair by our Cincinnati members.

Hundreds of our members were forced into idleness through this strike and benefits were paid to them by our organization, an expense which to a great extent might have been avoided had our organization engaged in furnishing strikebreakers for the Cincinnati manufacturers, as Mr. Russell charges in his article. It is a positive fact that not one cent of the funds of our union has been used to assist the

Cincinnati shoe manufacturers in securing help to break the strike.

The tainted article further states that the Tobin union has simply degenerated into a scab recruiting agency for the bosses, as has been proven in the Brooklyn shoe strike last year, but the article entirely disregards the fact that in Brooklyn the I. W. W., by false promises of an increase in wages, induced members of our union to go out on strike in violation of our arbitration contract and in violation of the workers' own price list, which they had made and which was signed by their own committee, as a shop's crew, when the price had still three months to run before its expiration. Because we protected our contract, regardless of expense to our union, and made good, we are charged with being strikebreakers.

The tainted article further states "the Tobin policy is to fix a price list by agreement with the bosses, then to force it upon the workers, whether they want it or not. If it involves a reduction in wages, as it frequently does, the members are told there is no help for it because a readjustment of wages has been made necessary." This is as rank and deliberate a falsehood as ever issued from the false pen of a malicious writer. We challenge proof of any instance where Tobin, or any person for him, made any wages without consent of the workers.

The general officers of our union, under our constitution, have no right, and never at any time have agreed to or fixed any wages without the consent of the local union having jurisdiction over the wages in the factory, as provided in Section 29 of our constitution, which reads as follows: "The local executive board shall adjust wages and conditions of employment subject to the control of the local union." Section 9 of our constitution also provides that the general price list committee shall assist local unions or councils in adjusting scales of wages within the jurisdiction of our union and further says "this section is not intended to abridge the rights of local executive boards, or councils, in establishing wages or conditions."

The reference to the Cass and Daley incident at Salem, Mass., we will comment upon by saying that it is built upon false premises and false conclusions. A dual organization declared a strike in the Cass & Baley factories while we were organizing them to issue the union stamp, in which factories substantial increases in wages have been secured in common with all factories wherein our union stamp is used.

Our organization has the commendable record, well established, of maintaining the highest wages prevailing in the shoe trade. Our organization has succeeded in numerical and financial strength despite the attempts of rival shoe unions to tear down and underbid our wage scale.

Reference is also made to an article from the pen of William Maily, former national secretary of the Socialist party, written in August, 1910, which denounced our union in the *New York Call*, in which he called attention to

the methods of our union in Brockton and Haverhill, Mass. It might be well to say that Mr. Maily's conclusions were entirely one-sided; they were drawn from a biased source and Mr. Maily made no attempt to get authentic information. Even Mr. Maily is not always consistent, as is shown by the following: (The original is in my hands and will be produced if desired):

"Eugene V. Debs, Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Comrade Debs: This note will introduce to you Comrade John Tobin, president of the Boot and Shoe Workers of America. You will find in him a staunch and faithful friend of the workers, and as he is a special friend of mine, you will greet him as I know you would greet myself were I to call upon you. You will find much in common between you, and his meeting with you will, I am sure, give you as much pleasure as it will give him. With very good wishes, I am, as ever,

"Yours truly and fraternally,  
"WILLIAM MAILLY."

Reference is also made to one C. P. Dean, who is described as a "militant unionist," who is alleged to be blacklisted by our union. C. P. Dean was expelled by our local cutters' union in St. Louis, Mo., for conduct unbecoming a union man and in conspiring against the local. He has always been a bitter enemy of our organization and under the circumstances naturally is not in good standing.

The purpose of the article and its source is clearly shown near its close when it says: "The United Shoe Workers have already waked up as to what is going on. They realize that only an industrial organization and a steady reduction in working hours can save them from becoming absolute slaves. They are seeking to draw all the workers in the shoe industry together into **ONE BIG UNION.**" This indicates to our mind very clearly that the intent is to injure this union and to discredit the American Federation of Labor, which is characterized as the "Gompers Crew."

We again say that the union stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union represents the highest standard of wages in the shoe trade. It represents the right of the workers to make a bargain for their wages between the employer and their local union without outside interference of any kind. The union stamp is honestly issued, honestly administered and free from anv stain.

Again we ask, **who is Phillips Russell, what does he represent and what is his motive?**

Yours truly,  
(Signed) JOHN F. TOBIN,  
General President.

No one, after reading this letter, can deny that Tobin is the foxy official he is reputed to be. In characteristic fashion he ignores the direct charges made in the April REVIEW and seeks to distract attention from them by raising issues quite foreign to the matter under discussion.

Is a strike "in reality to secure an increase" to be deemed an excuse for breaking it with union scabs?

He does not deny the authenticity of the photographed correspondence between his own general organizer, Chas. J. McMorrow, and William Tatem, agent of the Cincinnati shoe bosses, relative to the shipping of scabs from Boston.

He does not deny that this same Tatem was formerly business agent of the Tobin union in Cincinnati, but made himself so useful to the employers that they made him secretary of their association at a fat salary, in which capacity he issued union cards to scabs. Loudly Mr. Tobin asserts that "not one cent of the funds of our union has been used to assist the Cincinnati shoe manufacturers in securing help to break the strike." I never so charged. The union didn't need to supply the funds. The bosses attended to that.

He does not deny the authorship of the famous circular "To Shoe Manufacturers," in which he declares: "In view of the fact that you can use the Stamp without in any way surrendering control of your business or placing yourself to the least disadvantage, **EITHER AS TO WAGES OR OTHERWISE,** there appears to be no good reason why you should not secure the use of the Union Stamp immediately." The emphasized words, be it noted, are Mr. Tobin's own.

He does not deny that he supplied scabs to break the Brooklyn shoe strike, but boasts of the fact that "we protected our contract, regardless of expense to our union," even though a large section of the Brooklyn shoe workers repudiated the contract when they found they could not live under it.

He does not deny that the Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union investigated the Cass & Daley case and found that the Tobin stamp had been put in the firm's shops "for business reasons only," and that "questionable methods" had been used. He does not deny that the C. L. U. twice refused to rescind its findings until the Gompers inner circle of the American Federation of Labor threatened severe punishment and then the C. L. U. agreed to expunge its findings from the record only because the trouble had blown over.

He does not deny that Mr. William

Maily severely denounced Tobin practices in Massachusetts, but tries to offset this by quoting the letter of introduction to Debs. It is to be noticed, however, that Mr. Tobin refrains from giving the date of this letter. This is material, because at that time Mr. Tobin bore a good reputation in the labor movement.

Not everybody knows that Mr. Tobin was once a Socialist, but such is the case. At least he was a member of the Socialist Labor party before what is now the Socialist party split off from it and formed a dual organization. Tobin was once a radical of the radicals. No one was so bitter against the capitalist system. He simply cleaned up the masters whenever he spoke.

This is worth remembering, because a great many of the more guileless members of the Socialist party even today show a tendency to be carried away with a man simply because of his capacity for making fiery speeches. Mr. Tobin was one of those early Socialists who went out to "capture" the trade unions. Instead, as has happened to many another man of promise, the trade unions captured him. He became entangled in the meshes of the craft union system and now look at him. Even at meetings of strictly A. F. of L. men Tobin has been upon more than one occasion booed and jeered.

As to Mr. Tobin's demand for "proof" of reduction in wages forced on the membership of his union, will Mr. Tobin kindly recite for us the history of the suspension of Business Agent Studley by the Stitchers' Union of Brockton, Mass., after the state board of arbitration had ordered a reduction of wages in the Douglas factory?

Wasn't Studley the representative of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union before that board and didn't he make excuses for the reduction by claiming a "readjustment" was necessary?

What about the plight of the members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, who worked for Cushman & Hebert, after they found themselves working for lower wages in Lynn than they got for the same work before the removal of the shop from Haverhill?

If Mr. Tobin is afraid of One Big Union, why is he taking part now in a conference looking to the uniting of all shoe workers into one organization?

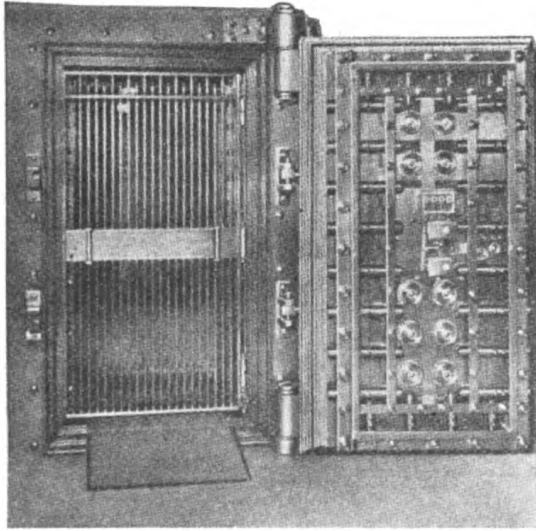
But too much space has been wasted on Mr. Tobin already. No good purpose is served in thus entering into an argument with him except to show that a lot of us who have been faithfully patronizing union stamps and labels are frequently bunkoed and that the official ring of the American Federation of Labor allows fakiration and corruption to exist in itself without protest and sometimes even upholds it.

Tobin is not much worse than many another head of a craft union. He has been caught with the goods on, that is all. He is the product of a system, a creature of the craft union policy which says "win all you can for yourself and to hell with the rest."

In conclusion, it should be stated for the benefit of several inquirers that there is no other "union" shoe stamp except that of the Tobin ring. Under the circumstances any person is justified in buying any shoe he pleases, except, of course, when it is the product of a manufacturer who is a known enemy of bona fide labor organizations.







STEAM PROTECTED STEEL VAULT.

# STEAM PROTECTION FOR PROPERTY

BY

DAVID FULTON KARSNER

**T**HERE'S no getting away from it: the master class is preparing for the revolution of the working class. If there is anyone who has any doubts as to this statement let him or her take a trip to the safety deposit vaults of Harris & Company, bankers, Chicago. Once there, the person would find that special provision, not found elsewhere in Chicago, has been made against any possible mob violence or riots. Completely surrounding the vaults is a high-pressure system of steam pipes with outlets through which, in case of extreme emergency, live steam can be forced, completely enveloping the vaults. This wall of steam would make it impossible for anyone to operate within the vault zone. In other words, the "mob" that charged upon the vaults would be scalded to death and would drop in their tracks like so many rats.

Aside from this protection against the hungry masses the vaults are equipped with an independent electric burglar system, which insures immediate notification to special police in case the vaults are tampered with. In addition to the special police who would be called in event of an alarm, there are several other sets of guard officers, each independent of the other, employed by the vault company.

So we see that some masters have prepared while others are preparing. It

stands to reason, therefore, that the "mob" would be accepting an invitation to die were it to suddenly be seized with an impulse to confiscate the great amount of wealth that is stored in the basement and sub-basements of this giant skyscraper. But right here is where the bankers will have another guess. We may as well tell them that they are entailing useless expense.

For in the days of the future (revolutionary) uprising I doubt whether the masses will even have to go to the trouble of charging at all. I am prone to believe that things will be handed to them. Not by the masters, of course, but by the members of the working class, who will be in a position to direct the valves, which, if turned, would cause a flood of steam directed against them. You see, this institution is depending upon a part of the working class to keep the other part out of the zone of wealth. But suppose that by the time we want to revolt, those men of the working class who are now paid to protect sacred property, are with us. What then? Well, the steam might be turned in another direction.

But that shows the thoughtlessness of the master class. They have such confidence in the working class whom they have subjected, seduced and tyrannized, that it is quite beyond their mental ability to comprehend that some day these men and women, upon whom they must

inevitably lean for protection, will be educated up to the principles of Socialism, and that these people will turn their guns and valves the other way.

But here we are again: when the masses of dejected and downtrodden workers of these states do revolt, they will not do so simply as a means to lay their hands upon the money in the banks. If they ever make a dash for anything it will be for food, clothes and ultimate and permanent shelter. The cold storage houses of this country are today filled with millions of tons of food—an adequate amount to feed the teeming millions of idle workers of these States with a good surplus left over.

Then, too, the dry goods stores and warehouses are bulging and creaking under the weight of carloads of clothing which can never be sold at profit to the shop owners because a bulk of it is either moth eaten, faded, or otherwise out of style. Yet, this clothing is kept stored up while four millions of men in these States today are clad in rags. Factory girls and little boys who make the garments often go to their work half naked. I believe if the poverty-ridden people today were told to choose between food and clothing on the one side and a reasonable supply of money on the other,

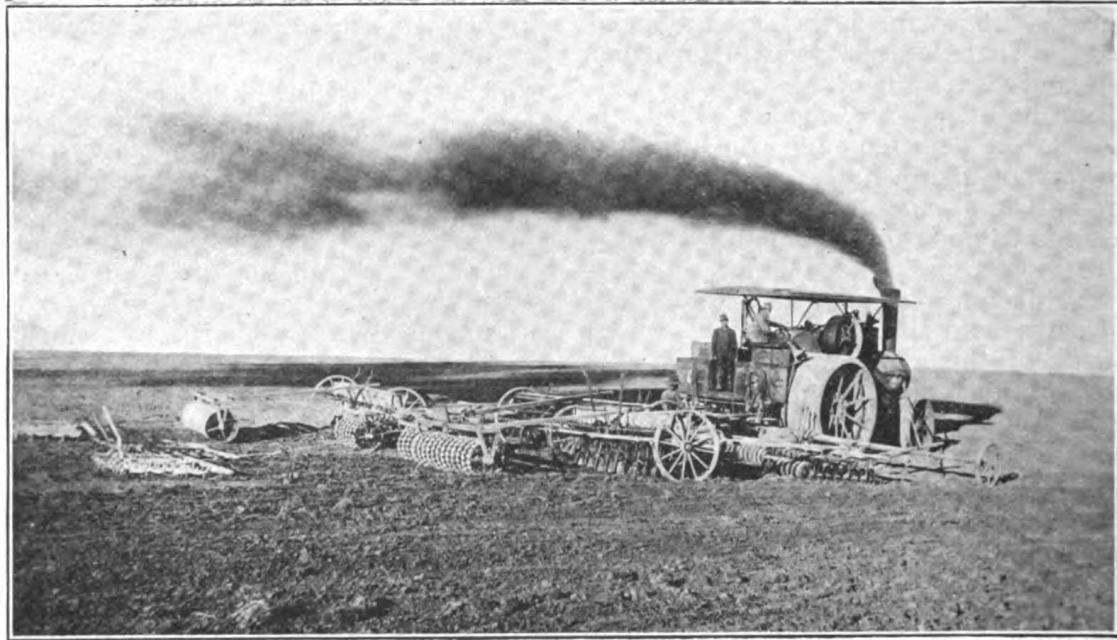
they would select the food and clothing.

Then, too, there are tens of thousands of vacant houses in these States, besides acres and acres of land upon which houses could be built, but these are kept from the masses, who cannot occupy them because of high rent. Yet, in New York City and Chicago, and every other city, the workers die in dark, dank tenement houses, into which they are crowded like swine in a pen.

No, they will not charge the banks in the days of the revolution. They will fight for something more substantial, if it becomes necessary to charge at all. But it is certainly up to all revolutionary Socialists to point out to those members of their class who are protecting property with the aid of live steam or machine guns, or the policeman's club, that they, too, "have nothing to lose but their chains, and a world to gain."

But Socialism does not mean robbing the happy possessors of tooth brushes, of their property. It is not concerned with the personal property used by individuals. It means taking control of the mines, mills, factories, land and railroads by the workers who run them. It means that these great tools of production shall be used for the benefit of the workers themselves.





THE COMING OF THE BIG MACHINE IS A MILESTONE IN THE MARCH TO SOCIAL PRODUCTION.

## INSURANCE AGAINST CROP FAILURE

BY

JOHN RANDOLPH

WE Socialists have been almost criminally negligent (from the class struggle point of view) in not long ago pointing out to farmers just how largely they would all benefit by social, instead of individual, production on the farm.

To begin with, one of the greatest disasters overhanging the heads of millions of hard working farmers the world over, is a failure of crops. One of nature's crying injustices is a late frost or a drought that destroys all the hard labor of a season, for however diligent man may be in sowing and tending his crop, he has always the fear of his work going for naught. But Socialism—social production and distribution—proposes a way whereby the individual farmer may toil with the full knowledge that he shall reap the fruit of his labors.

It is first of all our purpose that all men and women have full and free ac-

cess to the instruments of production—the mines, the mills, the shops and the land, these **great tools of production** on which the lives of men and women depend. It is our aim that the workers who till the land, who mine the coal, who work in the factories, shops and mills shall own these things collectively, so that no worker shall be compelled to divide his product or crop with the owner of the mine or the land in order to secure an opportunity to dig coal or sow wheat.

To the man or woman who lives by the profits made through the labor of others, we have nothing to offer, except a job besides the man who adds to the world's wealth by his labor.

### **The Fate of the Small Farmer.**

Of late we have been in communication with a number of the best known farm experts in America. One and all have given the opinion that big capitalists, already entering the farming territory, will

in a very few years drive the little farmer from the land.

Almost universal has come the report that larger and more marvelous machines were being made for farming—machines that it will be unprofitable to use on a small scale. More and more as farm machinery is perfected and used, will these machines come to represent large investments of capital—that only very wealthy farm owners can furnish. With the introduction of modern machinery, the small farmers, and farm tenants will find themselves unable to compete with their capitalist neighbors. The prices of farm products will fall so that there will not be enough to support the tenant and the landlord. And eventually the small landlord will be compelled to sell out to farm corporations with immense capital.

By the use of modern machines the men employed in large furniture factories make many chairs in a single day. The man who carves chairs by hand—although he may spend several days in producing a single chair—can get no more for his commodity that cost him many days of labor than the machine chair—made in an hour, will bring. Useless labor, hand labor can no longer compete in the machine process.

All through the history of machine production, the new—or modern—method has become the general—and in many instances—the only method.

From all quarters comes the report of the farm experts: "The small farmer will be driven from the farm through his inability to furnish capital to buy modern machinery and larger farms which alone can make the use of such machinery profitable."

Modern farm machinery will cheapen all farm products and only the capitalists using the cheap method will be able to stay in the game.

As the use of modern farm machinery becomes general, the world over, more and ever more capital will be required for farming. Farm lands are already rising in price and greater is the capital required to buy. The bankers will refuse to lend money on a mortgaged farm for the purchase of the expensive machinery required to work a farm profitably.

In a recent number of the *REVIEW*, Mr. Ellis described some of the large farms run on a modern factory basis, where the farm hands work all the time—day and night—in two shifts and the hard work is performed by steam or gasoline tractors.

The capitalist system of society is already forcing the small farmer off the farm, just as it has forced and will continue to force the business man of small capital to the wall. Competition is no longer a fact in the world today; it has given way to concentration, and monopoly.

### The Hope of Socialism.

Socialism is the inevitable outcome of monopoly and the capitalist system of society which finally divides the people into two great opposing groups with the owners of the means of production and distribution, the mines, land, mills, factories and railroads on one side and the propertyless wage workers, who have only their labor power to sell, on the other.

The interests of these two groups are diametrically opposed. It is perfectly obvious, if a farm laborer raises forty bushels of wheat to the acre that the more the idle farm capitalist takes, the less there will be left for the laborer; or the more wages the laborer receives the lower will be the profits of the farm capitalist.

Hence arises on the farm, as in every other industry, a continual conflict between the idle owners and the propertyless wage workers. Socialists call this conflict the Class Struggle.

Then comes Socialism representing the millions of suffering workers on one side and opposing the few idle capitalists on the other.

It is not the aim of Socialism to turn society backward and inaugurate again the era of wax candles in place of gas and electric lights. It does not propose to divide the great Standard Oil Company into a thousand little competing oil plants.

There are excellent features contained in the trusts. They have introduced everywhere labor saving machinery; they have put one vast industrial organization in the place of thousands of wasteful competing little plants. In other words they have learned how to produce oil

and shoes, and sugar with the least possible expenditure of human labor. They have brought system out of chaos. All this they have done for the sake of personal profits and at the expense of the working class. With some of these achievements of the trusts, Socialism has no quarrel. It proposes to continue shortening the hours of labor necessary to produce wheat and oil and other commodities. But Socialism is the instrument of the working class and proposes to take over the factories, mines, land, mills and railroads to be run by and for the workers themselves.

#### One of the Evils of Individual Production.

Today, the man who owns a small factory, a bakery shop or a restaurant does not expect any one to be foolish enough to insure him against failure.

The same is true of the small farmer. Nobody cares to insure him against crop failure or loss of the small farm.

It is only in a socially owned industry, socially supervised and managed that it would be possible for the organization (or government) to insure the farmer against crop failure.

To explain more fully, Socialists declare that the **necessary** labor contained in a commodity (for example, we will say a pair of shoes represents two hours of necessary labor) determines its value.

In a socially owned industry, where every worker had an equal voice in its management, the organization would see to it that the most modern machinery was used in the production of wheat or shoes. This is one of the aims of Socialism, that labor be lightened by the use of machinery wherever possible in all industries, and that scientific methods be employed everywhere, so that the greatest amount of food, clothing and

houses be produced with the least necessary expenditure of labor.

Under Socialism agricultural experts will advise the farmers about the best crops to plan in the soil he is to work. The best seeds will be supplied by the industrial administration and the individual farmer will be glad to accept expert advice in order to get bigger and better crops.

Under Socialism the value of shoes or wheat will be determined by the average amount of necessary labor required to make shoes with the use of the most improved methods. And the individual worker will be paid for the hours of necessary labor he has spent in shoe making or wheat growing when using the most improved tools or machinery.

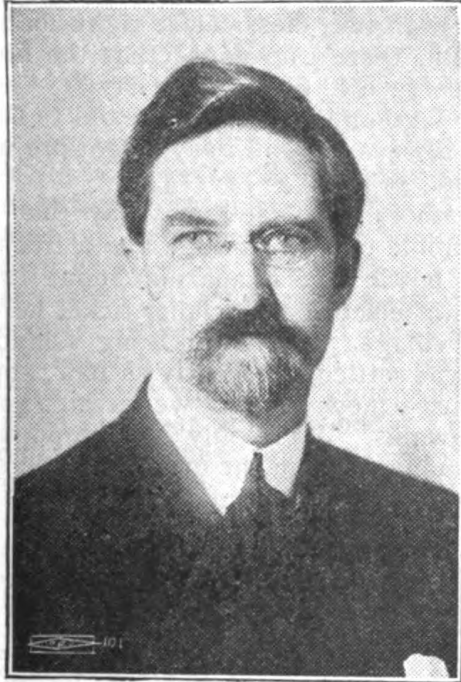
The agricultural department of the industrial administration will supply farmers with expert advice regarding crops, fertilizer, and will supply them with the best farming machinery. And the total farming output will be valued according to the total **necessary** number of hours of labor spent in producing it.

The farmer who has worked 600 hours during the year will receive twice as much as the man working only 300 hours.

If a late frost kills off part of the Michigan crops, neither the Michigan farmers, who have toiled in vain, nor other farmers will suffer. The total number of bushels of wheat will represent exactly the same number of hours of labor as the larger crop would have represented, if there had been no frost in Michigan. Think this over, you farmers. Socialism will give you a sure payment for all your labor. In an early number of the *REVIEW* we will publish articles showing what Socialism will do for the farmer and why every small landowner, every farm tenant and farm laborer ought to be a Socialist.







EUGENE WOOD.

# ASTRADDLE OF THE FENCE

BY

EUGENE WOOD

Author of "The Big Change"

A FRIEND once said to me: "You know how often you have to choose between two different courses of action, one of which has certain advantages which the other lacks, but also certain disadvantages which the other lacks, and you study and study over it and the more you study the more you don't know what to do."

"Yes," I said.

"Well, I'll give you a rule to follow in all such cases."

"Go ahead," I told him. "I want to hear it."

"Choose one, and stick to it."

And, you know, that's good sense. You lose more by hesitating than by choosing the worse of two courses of action.

What makes me certain it's good sense is that it's just what I can't do. A waverer am I, unable to declare that Proposition A is the embodiment of all practical wisdom while Proposition B is just nonsense and they who advocate it are fools

when they aren't fakes. Somehow I want to know why certain ones are just as set on having B as others are for having A, and the upshot is that I see the good points of both sides. It's a weakness of mine; I own up but that's just how it is with me.

Take, now, this matter of Political Action *versus* Direct Action. (I am so little able to take sides that I could hardly bring myself to write that word "versus." I don't see why there should be any "against" in the matter.) I am so feeble-minded that when I read what Political Action has accomplished in Germany, I grin, and nod my head and say, "Uh-huh!" And when I read what Direct Action has accomplished in Lawrence or in Great Britain I also grin and nod, and say "Uh-huh!" The only time I frown and shake my head and say "H'm!" is when those who believe that the working-class must rule the world get to spatting amongst themselves whether Proposition

A or Proposition B is the only true statement and those who advocate the other are fools and fakes.

Now, don't you go to thinking that I'm one of these fair-minded, dispassionate persons you read about. I'm not. I'm not even fair-to-middling-minded. And I'm as full of prejudices as a dog is full of fleas, prejudices on both sides.

Let me tell you my sad story. First off, when I began to see what sort of a world I had been kicked into without my consent I thought it could be fixed over into a half-way decent place to live in. We'd begin by abolishing the Robber Tariff; then we'd enact the Single Tax; then we'd take over the "natural monopolies," and then we'd get after the Money Power, and then—What are you grinning about? Oh, I see. You've been over that road too, eh?

I brought shame and confusion on my family by becoming a Democrat. The Democratic Party was going to cut the dog's tail off—inch by inch so's it wouldn't hurt the poor brute so much. And, if you too traveled that same road, you do not need to be told that it was the farthest thing from the Democratic Party's intention to so much as graze the tip end of the ultimate hair on the Money Power dog's tail.

Then I got mad, and, just for spite, I didn't vote for years and years. I don't suppose you noticed that I wasn't voting any, but I says to myself, I says: "I won't give 'em that much satisfaction. If I can't vote to stop the devilment I sha'n't vote to continue it."

So, you see, I have a prejudice against Political Action right from the word go. Not a reason, just a prejudice.

They say that a man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still. If ever there was a man in that fix with regard to Socialism, I am he. I didn't jump; I was pushed. Inexorable logic did the pushing, with the kind assistance of the friend I mentioned in the beginning of this article. Yes, the very same man.

So, now that I have climbed off the water-wagon of refusing to dally with this vote thing, I am prejudiced in favor of Political Action. It affords so fine an

opportunity of soaking it to some of these fellows, to beat down what they have to say, to get the everlasting laugh on them, until in the course of two or three years of steady propaganda I get them to where they say: "Yes, there's a good deal in what you argue. Yes, you're right about that. Oh, there's no doubt that the Socialist party is the coming party." And then they go and vote the same old ticket they've always voted. They've got prejudices too.

Just among friends, I may say that I don't bubble over with hope like a fresh-opened bottle of sarsaparilla about the chances of electing a Socialist ticket here in our village. I live on Long Island, which was settled so recently as 1637, and being just a new country we haven't yet got sidewalks. We're only 2,000 in population, many of them the original settlers, at least I judge so from the views they hold. Only property owners can vote on the question of public improvements, and they are unanimous, almost, in the opinion that concrete sidewalks are a wicked waste of money when coal ashes can be got for nothing. Our leading grocer won't answer the telephone when it rings; he won't give the dog-gone new-fangled thing that much satisfaction. Likewise about voting. "Why can't they leave things be the way they was"? he demands to know. "Always changing, changing, changing!"

Now don't you go to telling me it's that way every place. It just shows you do not know the first thing about Long Island natives. When they settled here they settled, they sedimentated, they sunk down and stratified. I keep on voting the Socialist ticket though, and when nice weather comes I get on the soap-box at the foot of Main street, and bark to what seems emptiness, but I know that in the shadow of the barbor-shop and the stable of the Commercial Hotel are human beings hiding and listening. And this agitation is bearing fruit. Up to six years ago we never had more than 5 votes in the village; at the last election we had 32. Going some, eh? Thirty-two votes out of 482.

You won't see any poverty here; we'd sooner die than let it get out that we are

hard up. Just the same, Jim Priest gets only \$2 a day and keeps a wife and three children on that. They're all the color of a piece of suet. Frank Shoemaker hasn't been able to do a tap of work for more than a year—he looks like death—and besides his wife and two children he has his paralytic father to keep. The girl has had to leave school and go to work for \$5 a week. That's the entire income of the family at present. Uncle Dave Tuttle is 73 years old and has to drive a coal-wagon or starve. The Sammises lived on potatoes all last winter with what clams they could dig. You'd be astonished to know how many families secretly "called on" to get shoes so their children can go to school. A good two-thirds of the village are undergoing starvation of either mind or body. There is some drunkenness among them but not much, and some foolishness. Whether poverty is the cause or the result of drunkenness and foolishness we'll not argue about. There are plenty of cases where the question is narrowed down to the undoubted fact that these people are poor because they don't draw as much wages as they earn.

The remaining third of the village have a good time. Pint for pint of whiskey I don't think they're any soberer, and their foolishness is just of a different sort. They don't earn anything but they get a lot of money. Somehow or other they have managed to get hold of a cinch, they have the compelling power to make the rest of us give up to them.

I don't depend on them for my job, thank Heaven! but those who do, and whose lives must be about as happy as if they had a cinder in their eye all the time keep on voting the Republican and Democratic tickets. (A hard rap at Political Action.) They also laugh like the devil to hear how Bob Jenkins, the walking delegate of the carpenters' union in the next village got kicked out of a building by the boss who thought he was egging them on to ask for more wages. Kicked? Sure he was kicked. Right in the pants. And he had the boss arrested and the magistrate threw the case out o' court; wouldn't even listen to Bob. Ha! Ha! Ha! Whoo-ee! He had a right to be

kicked out. Fellow't do like that. (A hard rap at Direct Action.) As near as I can learn this village is about like all the rest of the country only a little more so.

Now, just as a matter of efficiency, and forgetting that there are such things as justice and pity in the world at all, I don't think it's a good way to do to have a good two-thirds of the population stupid, and ailing and worried, trying to work, and a scant third smart, healthy, and easy in their minds trying not to work. That's evidently not the best way to get results. It ought not so to be. And what ought not to be won't be for very long. There'll have to be a change.

But how profound a change?

Here we have a structure built in 1787, a little old-fashioned then, no plumbing, no gas or electricity, little bits of window-panes, full of rats and —er—other things. The wooden steps are worn through, the plastering is coming off, the roof leaks. The way it is, it isn't fit to live in. What shall we do?

Proposition A: Tack tin over the rat-holes—use corrosive sublimate; put new treads on the stairs; patch the plastering; mend the roof; get in plumbing; wire the place for electricity, and so on, and gradually, don't you see? transform it into a twenty-story steel and concrete building with all modern improvements.

Proposition B: Tear the shack down and build the new building in its place.

Both propositions, as you observe, contemplate the erection of a twenty-story steel and concrete building, but they differ in regard to the immediate demands.

While we stop to gather our mental forces we may as well refresh our minds with the wisdom of the ancients. It was Aristotle, wasn't it? who said: "Profound changes are never sudden, and sudden changes are never profound." Great head, that lad had. A very quotable utterance. I wonder if it's true. Two months ago I passed by a vacant lot in New York City, all solid rock that probably had been just so ever since the Glacial Period. Last week I passed it by, and a cellar had been blasted out, and the steel framework for an apartment hotel was up to the fourth story. Pro-

found changes are never sudden, and sudden changes are never profound.

With hammer and chisel I suppose the cellar could be dug out, and the change, while profound, would not be very sudden. But the change was just as profound when the cellar was blasted out, and if there is anything suddener than blasting I haven't heard of it yet. It's the suddenest thing I know of.

Listen: Any desired change, whether profound or shallow, can be effected when you are strong enough, and the stronger you are the suddener the change. The slowness does not depend upon the profundity of the change but upon the power of those who want the change.

How shall we get the power?

The old-fashioned, I might even say, the Romanticist way was by fighting, barricade-fighting, preferably. If that were Proposition B, and the ballot-box were Proposition A, I should decide promptly and stick to A uncompromisingly. I don't know anything about barricade-fighting except what I have read in "Les Miserables," but it doesn't appeal to me. It possesses thrill, I admit, but that's because story-book people do the fighting. Me? I hardly think so. I might bring myself to shoot a soldier, and again I might not. I dislike extremely to kill people; I don't even like to see it done. I'm funny that way, I guess. I once reported a hanging, which is a neat and respectable form of murder, and it made me sick as a dog. I got my copy in first though.

And I don't like to be shot at. It makes me so nervous, you can't imagine. And being hit is ruinous to the clothing. It won't come out. That's if you don't die. If you do, being all over blood is the least of your troubles. But that's not my main objection. If you shoot soldiers you shoot poor devils of wage-workers, and if you blow up stereotypers, the same objection applies. You don't hit the right ones. The capitalists are somewhere else. And if all the capitalists in the world were in front of the barricade or over the dynamite bomb, and not a grease-spot were left of any of them, the agent would still come round for the rent the first of the month, the interest would be due June

1, just the same; the profits would be distributed in quarterly dividends just the same.

As compared with the barricade the ballot-box has all the best of it. It takes up so little of your time. You go into the stand-up confessional, make your X-mark under the Arm and Torch, give your ticket to the gentleman, and it's all over but the shouting. (We haven't begun that on Long Island—not the shouting.) And there you are. Biff! You smack Capitalism right in the face. Take that, you saucy devil!

A week or so later when the Socialist vote is exhumed from the debris of election—we don't get it for anyhow a week, not around these parts—it is really exhilarating. We have increased our vote from 5 to 32 in six years, and all we have to do is to gain 209 more and we'll carry the election. Let's see how long will that be? How do you figure it? Never mind. It'll be "quite some time yet," as they say here. And all during that "quite some time," Jim Priest will be trying to keep his family on \$2 a day. Two-thirds of the village will be starving mentally or physically. Still, a day will come, James Montgomery, when we'll capture the governmental powers of this village, the Trustees, President and all; the School Board, the Board of Health, the Village Clerk, the Tax Collector—Yes, even the dog-catcher. And then—

I had been making a grand talk to my doctor on Socialism, and had got that far, when he said: "And then—"

"Why, we should run the village in the interest of the people—"

"Yes, they all say that," he smiled. "Understand me, I do believe you Socialists would give us a better government than we have now because I think you're sincere and actuated by high motives. I'm not asking for argument but for information: How would you Socialists administer the village government so that our citizens wouldn't have to winter on potatoes and clams? How would you provide that a workingman would have more than \$2 a day to keep his family on? The village is not organized to produce the means of life but to levy, collect and expend taxes. That's all it can do

legally. It hasn't political machinery for more than that."

"Yes, but," I smiled at him, "while we were capturing the village we should also be capturing the state of New York. And the United States."

I could see he lost interest at once. It was like telling him that all the coal in the country would be burned up—one of these days. It seemed to affect him in the same way. Kind of remote, you understand.

"Yes," he said, "and when you get both houses of Congress, and the President, all of 'em solemnly sworn to protect, preserve and defend the Constitution (which they wouldn't want to have preserved, protected and defended) you would still have the Constitution because you couldn't possibly ever get a vote big enough even to amend it legally. Pack the Supreme Court if you will with Socialist lawyers. If they are good lawyers they will have to decide that any legislation which does not preserve the spirit and intent of what was prescribed one hundred and twenty-five years ago is unconstitutional just the same as if they were reactionary corporation lawyers. On top of that there are tons and tons of previous court decisions that really constitute law and—Well, I've got to be going. I have two confinement cases and five other calls to make. Take those tablets one every four hours. Is that your umbrella or mine? Well, good afternoon."

I've been thinking about what he said. It was not good my saying that I couldn't prophesy, that he had a vote to decide what would be done—all that kind of thing, you know. He just waved it away for the subterfuge he knew and I knew it was. Our diagnosis of the country's predicament is sound; our conception of what it ought to be cannot be excelled, but unless we can give a pretty accurate description of how we propose to treat the case it may be that we won't be called in.

If Proposition A be Political Action and Proposition B be Direct Action, it is evident that A has larger popularity from the start, more prejudices in its favor. A very great many people really

believe that this present government is one by majority. If the majority doesn't rule they think it is because we don't go to the primaries, and do not watch the politicians close enough; if you'd keep your eye on the cat all the time she'd never eat the canary. They don't seem to have read or to remember what Madison, the Father of the Constitution, said about its guarding "the minority who are placed above indigence from the agrarian attempts of the ever-increasing class—the great majority—who labor under all the hardships of life and secretly sigh for a more equal distribution of its blessings."

A very great many people also really believe that the present form of government is a positive thing, whereas it is essentially negative. It doesn't say: "You must do so and so," and make you do it. It says: "If you don't do so and so, I will punish you with fines or imprisonment." Suppose you don't. Then if the government should happen to catch you at it, and should happen to want to prosecute you, and did not forget to dot all the i's in the indictment, and its lawyers were on the level, and nobody tampered with the jury, and your lawyers weren't very smart, you would be found guilty and sentenced, and then you'd appeal the case for as long a time as your money lasted. That's supposing you're so scared of going to jail that you're all over goose-flesh about it. But supposing you aren't. The Constitution says that the right of free speech shall never be abridged. The city council says that I. W. W. and Socialist speakers shall not talk in the streets. If they do, they go to jail. As fast as a speaker gets upon the soap-box he's arrested, till, finally, the jail is chock-a-block, and still they come; till jail-room has to be hired, and the poor tax-payers feel the pin stick them right where they live. They have to let the speakers go, and permit them to speak whenever they like. What sort of a school is it where the bad boys burst out laughing while the teacher is whaling them as hard as she can lay it on? The Constitution is nothing; the city ordinance is nothing. They have no cinch, no compelling power.

Where shall the cinch be found?



A law was passed in the state of New York forbidding employers to work bakers longer than ten hours a day. The law was black marks on white paper and no more. The employers went right on working the bakers more than ten hours a day. Then the United States Supreme Court in all its might, majesty, dominion and power declared this act was unconstitutional. And that solemn decision was black marks on white paper and no more. For the bakers worked no longer than ten hours a day. They had organized in the meantime. The real law-making power resided not in the legislature nor yet in the Supreme Court, but in the bakers.

The compelling power, the cinch, seems to be here or hereabouts.

Artemas Ward once wrote a burlesque sensational novel one chapter of which began thus: "It was midnight and darkness brooded over the city. The prisoner in his lonely dungeon cell stood gazing moodily. For seventeen long years he had not tasted food nor drink. Suddenly a thought struck him! He opened the winder and jumped out!"

What was burlesque with Artemas Ward is plain sober fact about the working-class. Prisoners on a slim diet, all they have to do is to open the winder and jump out.

They are working people, and all of present day government, political and industrial depends upon their staying working people. Upon this rock Capitalism is founded. Indeed, what is Capitalism but the habit working people have of accepting less wages than what they earn? Let them stop being working people temporarily, not one at a time but all together, and the whole world tips over. No exterior power can make the working people work unless they want to work. Imprison them? The jails aren't big enough, and there's their keep to be provided. Starve 'em? They're starving now. It's like Mr. Man thinking to punish Brer Rabbit by flinging him into the briar-patch. "Baun an' bred in de briar-patch!" squalled Brer Rabbit when Mr. Man flung him there.

The Co-operative Commonwealth is an arrangement whereby the working-peo-

ple, owing nothing but possessing the implements of production, having them in their hands this minute exchange their time and trouble with each other on an even-Stephen basis. It has no point in common, that I can perceive, with the present political government. It is not a confederacy of territory but a confederacy of industry. Modern industry cuts across all political boundaries.

Political Action, I do not doubt, will play its preparatory part to the Co-operative Commonwealth. It will write upon the statute books such salutary laws as Old Age Pensions, Employers' Liability, The Eight-Hour Day—excellent laws, well-written laws, laws as carefully got up as the Sherman law abolishing the trusts. It won't be able to abolish lawyers, though, who will drive log-teams through the enactments.

\* \* \* \* \*

You think I'm all for Proposition B. That's only one leg. I'm astraddle of the fence. I'm for Proposition A, too. I'm going to vote my X-mark under the Arm and Torch until they put me on the cooling-board.

It is true that the feudal system, which maintained itself by the sword, was defeated by the sword. And it is my best guess that the capitalist system which maintains itself by the ballot will perish by the ballot. But also, mark this: Feudalism perished because it couldn't get the money. The capitalists have the money, but Capitalism will perish because it cannot get Labor.

And how long will Jim Priest have to support his family on \$2 a day if he waits for labor to unite on the industrial field? Well, in view of all the scrapping that goes on, jurisdictional fights and dual unions, and all that, I think the best thing we can do is to take the gloomy view. There's no sense in being so confoundedly hopeful all the time, anyhow.

View the matter calmly and dispassionately as a person should who sees his neighbors and friends getting the worst of it. The powers that be will keep on raising the prices of things that Jim Priest has to buy to live on until his \$2 will look like 30 cents used to. The powers that be will tell Jim

that they're sorry but they don't see how they can pay him any more and still do their duty by the stockholders. He'll stand for it without a murmur. And presently he and his family will lie down and die, quietly and unostentatiously so as not to annoy the summer people or give the place a bad name and so depreciate the price of real estate. All the people in this Long Island village of whom Jim Priest is a type will do the same. That's how we're constituted.

You see out here we haven't any unions because there aren't enough men in any one craft to organize a union. Nobody's ever going to tell Jim Priest that there is such a thing as an industrial union that will take

in anybody that works for wages. He'll never read the newspapers or the magazines or ever hear from anybody that the workers of the world are learning to unite, and discovering that when they do unite, skilled artisan and pick-and-shovel man together, they have the world by the tail on the down swing. All that is going to be kept a deep, dark secret from him.

No. There's no hope. Not a glimmer. The workingmen in this part of the country will never unite on the industrial field; will never unite on the political field. Laws, I don't know what's going to become of us!

Isn't it a pity though, that *other* people should be so stupid?

## Take Heart

BY

EDWIN BRENHOLTZ

Take heart, take heart, the winter's past;  
High is the sun of comradeship;  
Across the earth our hands, at last,  
Encircling, never slip.

The masters laugh; the masters sneer;  
"They won't together stand."  
But in their breath the note of fear,  
For we're of every land.

The masters spy; the masters plan;  
The masters laugh again;  
*We'll arm with death the downmost man  
And state his orders plain.*

The masters plan; the masters spy;  
And they are trembling now,  
For May has come with its reply—  
NO MORE SHALL LABOR BOW!

Take heart, take heart, O toiling host,  
Let the masters order, *Slay!*

They shall not drink their usual toast  
In blood *that* first of May.

Take heart. The time tempestuous comes.  
The time—but cowards shirk;  
They'll trumpet "*Shoot,*" and sound the  
drums,  
And thunder, "*Die or work!*"

Take heart, and strike; and stand as *one*,  
And hurl their thunder back.  
Before the skirmish is begun  
They're whipped—if *none be slack.*

Take heart, take heart. Uncounted hearts  
Are thrilling just as yours;  
Rejoicing when this curse departs,  
And shamed while it endures.

Take heart, and act—on *you* they wait;  
On *you* the words depend.  
Beware, beware, that not too late  
Is uttered STOP, and, END.



# VERDICT—NOT GUILTY

## Report of National Investigating Committee

To the Comrades of the Socialist Party of America:

We, Clyde A. Berry of Joplin, Missouri, and Stephen M. Reynolds of Terre Haute, Indiana, make to you the following report:

1st. On Nov. 23, 1911, Comrade Robert Hunter submitted to the National Executive Committee the following motion:

"I move that we request the National Committee to elect a committee of three to investigate and report the facts upon the following subjects:

"(1) Is the Chas. H. Kerr Co. a co-operative enterprise?"

"(2) To what extent are the shares of that company owned by party members and party locals?"

"(3) To what extent has that company a monopoly of the literature of Socialism?"

"(4) If the company is a co-operative, in what manner if any can the stockholders control and manage their property democratically?"

2nd. By request of the National Executive Committee, made Dec. 7, 1911, this motion was submitted to the National Committee as Motion No. 10.

### MOTION NO. 10.

"That we request the National Committee to elect a committee of three to investigate and report the facts upon the following subjects:

"(1) Is the Chas. H. Kerr Co. a co-operative enterprise?"

"(2) To what extent are the shares of that company owned by party members and party locals?"

"(3) To what extent has that company a monopoly of the literature of Socialism?"

"(4) If the company is a co-operative, in what manner if any can the stockholders control and manage their property democratically?"

The vote will close December 28. Please use the enclosed voting card.

3rd. This motion was carried by a vote of 34 to 22 and by National Party referendum this committee was chosen:

W. R. Gaylord of Wisconsin.

Clyde A. Berry of Missouri.

Stephen M. Reynolds of Indiana.

4th. The committee voted to meet at Chicago, 10 a. m. May 3rd, 1912. Comrade Gaylord notified the national secretary that he would not be able to attend on account

of his meeting with the legislative committee of Wisconsin.

5th. At 10 a. m. May 3rd we, Comrades Berry and Reynolds, met at the office of C. H. Kerr & Company and personally examined the books of the said company, all of which were furnished to us by the company.

6th. We find that the C. H. Kerr Co. had been doing business from 1886 to 1893 as a partnership, that in 1893 the company was organized under the laws of Illinois with a capital stock of \$10,000, that the business of the company was owned practically by Charles H. Kerr individually, that about \$9,500 of the \$10,000 was owned by Comrade Kerr when incorporated, and the balance by A. U. Hancock, that Comrade Kerr sold this stock and practically all the money was used in getting out books and these books were sold to stockholders at one-half ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) the retail price, that no other dividend was offered or promised.

7th. That the capital stock was increased, in due compliance with the laws of Illinois, in February, 1904, to \$50,000, and that stock has been sold since that time until now, May 4th, 1912. There are outstanding 3,688 shares of \$10 each. Of these Charles H. Kerr owns 1,137 shares, all strictly accounted for on the books of the company, the ownership accounted for according to business methods. That the other shares are owned by various persons, party locals, state organizations, etc., that the names of the owners are of record in the books of the company, and that there are locals and branches owning 390 shares, 183 shares are owned by Socialist societies and individuals outside of the United States and 1,774 shares are held singly by individuals, about one-half of whom are party members. At the January, 1912, meeting of the stockholders of the 3,697 shares then outstanding, 2,507 shares were represented either in person or by proxy. That at that meeting Charles H. Kerr held personally 1,137 shares and proxies for 1,282 shares. These proxies would seem to indicate that

the holders are not hostile to the ideas of Comrade Kerr so far as the business of the company is concerned.

8th. We find from the books of the company that the statement following, published in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, February, 1912, is true:

RECEIPTS DURING 1911.

|                                     |             |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Book sales .....                    | \$39,463.44 |
| Review subscriptions and sales..... | 22,006.03   |
| Review advertising .....            | 1,774.28    |
| Donations .....                     | 33.00       |

Total .....\$63,276.75

EXPENDITURES DURING 1911.

|                                     |             |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Manufacture of books.....           | \$13,752.48 |
| Manufacture of Review.....          | 12,232.16   |
| Wages .....                         | 9,876.28    |
| Postage and expressage.....         | 9,465.78    |
| Advertising .....                   | 7,632.43    |
| Review circulation expenses.....    | 1,386.76    |
| Review articles and photographs.... | 1,032.16    |
| Authors of books.....               | 1,903.25    |
| Books purchased .....               | 631.53      |
| Rent .....                          | 1,160.00    |
| Insurance .....                     | 85.80       |
| Taxes .....                         | 195.20      |
| Miscellaneous expenses.....         | 1,483.68    |
| Interest .....                      | 198.05      |
| Profit .....                        | 2,241.19    |

Total .....\$63,276.75

The profits of \$2,241.19, together with \$1,220 received during the year from the sale of stock, were used to pay off a bank loan of \$1,000 and to reduce the loans from stockholders. The financial condition of the publishing house at the end of 1911 is shown by the following table of assets and liabilities:

ASSETS DEC. 31, 1911.

|                                     |           |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| Cash on hand and in bank.....       | \$ 367.24 |
| Books, bound and unbound.....       | 8,308.22  |
| Electrotype plates of books.....    | 14,258.76 |
| Copyrights .....                    | 12,831.39 |
| International Socialist Review..... | 5,000.00  |
| Accounts receivable .....           | 695.95    |
| Office furniture .....              | 539.00    |

Total .....\$42,000.56

LIABILITIES DEC. 31, 1911.

|                              |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| Paid-up capital stock.....   | \$36,970.00 |
| Loans from stockholders..... | 4,610.79    |
| Accounts payable .....       | 419.77      |

Total .....\$42,000.56

One loan of \$500 has already been paid since the beginning of January, and others will have to be paid in the near future, so that most of the net earnings of the publishing house during 1912 will have to be used in this way. (The loans by stockhold-

ers have been reduced from \$4,610.79 in January, 1912, to \$2,335.67 on May 6th, 1912.)

9th. Your committee requested the national secretary to address letters to publishers in this country asking them to report the amount of Socialist literature sold by them. The national secretary sent such letters to:

- Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.
- Social Democratic Herald, Milwaukee.
- Political Action, Milwaukee.
- Socialist Literature Co., New York City.
- George R. Kirkpatrick, New York City.
- Free Press Pub. Co., New Castle, Pa.
- W. F. Ries, Toledo, Ohio.
- The Clarion Pub. Co., Newark, N. J.
- National Rip Saw, St. Louis, Mo.
- Samuel A. Block, Chicago, Ill.
- Intercollegiate Socialist Society, New York.
- Wilshire Book Company, New York.

Replies were received from the C. H. Kerr Co. reporting:

|            |             |
|------------|-------------|
| 1909 ..... | \$20,992.05 |
| 1910 ..... | 33,586.89   |
| 1911 ..... | 39,463.44   |

National Rip Saw reporting:

|                                   |                |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| 8 series, 20,000 copies each..... | 160,000 copies |
| Oneal's Book .....                | 10,000 copies  |

Wilshire Publishing Company reporting that they had sold all their Socialist literature to C. H. Kerr & Company and had done very little in handling Socialist literature for last two years.

W. F. Ries sent following for three years last past:

|                                       |        |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| 1st year, 1,150,000. Gross sales..... | 23,000 |
| 2d year, 1,200,000. Gross sales.....  | 24,000 |
| 3rd year, 1,400,000. Gross sales..... | 28,000 |

Socialist Literature Company of New York:

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| From July, 1908, to July, 1911, sales.. | \$16,754.47 |
| Loss on business during 3 years....     | 3,733.98    |

No replies were made by any others to whom inquiries were sent.

Your committee further examined the books of the Kerr Co. and asked for information as to years prior to 1912 and also as to policy of selecting books for publication and received the following reply:

|  | Review      | Books       |
|--|-------------|-------------|
| Receipts for 1901.....                       | \$ 3,352.51 | \$ 7,982.56 |
| Receipts for 1907.....                       | 2,533.26    | 22,174.31   |
| Receipts for 1910.....                       | 14,662.53   | 33,586.89   |
| Receipts for 1911.....                       | 23,780.31   | 39,463.44   |
| Receipts for Jan., Feb. and March, 1912..... | 6,783.35    | 15,050.67   |

In the selection of books for publication, and in the editorial conduct of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, it is the aim of this publishing house to stand on the

political field for revolutionary Socialism with "No Compromise; No Political Trading," and on the industrial field to support Revolutionary Unionism, and more specifically to encourage all unions whose ultimate aims are identical with the aims of International Socialism.

The Review subscriptions to individual addresses, 17,186. Sold monthly in bundles, 32,000.

Number of employes during 1911, 10 to 15.

Wages paid during 1911, \$9,626.28.

Officers receiving salary, 2.

Charles H. Kerr, \$1,500 per annum.

Mary E. Marcy, \$1,000 per annum.

All books and magazines, cards and leaflets are issued with the Union Label.

Employes have the 8-hour day and when in emergency any of them work overtime, they are paid time and one-half overtime. Employes have Saturday afternoons off, office closing at 1 p. m. After one year's service, employes are given a week's vacation on full pay.

During 1911, \$1,774.28 was paid to writers for Review articles and photographs and \$1,903.25 to authors of books.

#### SUMMARY.

Replying to Question No. 1 of Motion No. 10, "Is the C. H. Kerr Company a co-operative enterprise?"

The term co-operative has been given many definitions, some very loose.

(a) The Standard Dictionary says: "A co-operative society is a joint stock association for establishing and maintaining a co-operative store or factory or for borrowing and lending money among its members."

(b) A co-operative store is a store established by a co-operative society where merchandise is sold to *members* at or near cost, *profits* being divided among the members in proportion to their holdings of stock.

The C. H. Kerr Company has not paid dividends, has not earned any, until 1911. The company has kept its promise to stockholders in the manner promised, viz., by giving shareholders books at one-half ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) the retail price.

Questions 2 and 3 of Motion No. 10 have been fully answered by this committee in previous pages hereof.

Question 4. The company is a stock company. It is owned by the shareholders. The shareholders can control and manage the property. The Socialist Party of America has no more control of this publishing house than it has of the other publishing houses devoted exclusively to publishing Socialist books or magazines. The Socialist Party can and does control all publications to a greater or less degree by giving or withholding its individual approval of things published or advocated.

Your committee wants to say that all the books of the C. H. Kerr Company, stock books, minutes of directors and stockholders, ledgers, letters, proxies and the names and residences of shareholders were promptly given to your committee and that we have carefully examined the same and have reported herein the facts as we have found them and we believe that no Socialist publishing house has more open methods of conducting the publishing business than this one. It is not the ideal. It is not owned or controlled by the party. The profits when made belong to the shareholders. Comrade Kerr owns a very large part of the stock, almost one-third ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ). He has the *legal right* to own it *all*.

His ownership has been paid for as the books show. It would be difficult for scattered stockholders to assemble their proxies and take control if they desired to. Evidently they do not desire to, for at the January, 1912, meeting of the stockholders, Comrade Kerr held, as shown, 1,137 shares personally and 1,282 shares by proxy out of 2,507 shares represented and 3,688 shares outstanding. This committee reports that Comrade Robert Hunter became a stockholder in the C. H. Kerr Company on January 25, 1900, that he has been a stockholder ever since, that he now is and that he gave his proxy to Comrade Kerr in writing "good until revoked," that he and any stockholder has the right to attend in person or by proxy stockholders' meetings and to examine the books of the company, that Comrade Hunter could have answered the questions propounded



in Motion No. 10 and have published his findings as fully as now published by this committee.

Your committee believes that in the best interest of the Socialist Party a full report should be made and have intended this report to be such to give full information to the comrades who may have

been confused by the motion itself and the comments made thereon.

We therefore submit the foregoing for your information and consideration.\*

Fraternally yours,  
CLYDE A. BERRY,  
STEPHEN M. REYNOLDS.

May 6, 1912.

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## Platform

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## of 1912

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**T**HE representatives of the Socialist party in National Convention at Indianapolis declare that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of a plutocracy which exacts an annual tribute of millions of dollars from the producers. Unafraid of any organized resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines, the forests and the water-powers of every state in the union.

In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wage-workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from state to state awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rents, freight rates and storage charges.

Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage-workers. The overwhelming majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.

In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representatives of the Republican and Democratic and all reform parties remain the faithful servants of the oppressors. Measures designed to secure to the wage earners of this nation as humane and just treatment as is already enjoyed by the wage earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate, and laws ostensibly designed to bring relief to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulative measures, none of which has limited in any appreciable degree the power of the plutocracy, and some of which have been perverted into means for increasing that power. Anti-trust laws, railroad restrictions and refutations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation, have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any Republican or Democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike under the administrations of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave-power before the civil war.

We declare, therefore, that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them all. We declare them to be the product of the present system in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare, furthermore, that for these evils there will be and can be no remedy and no substantial relief except through Socialism, under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which, the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government—legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning—the colleges and schools—and even religious

and moral agencies. It has also the added prestige which established customs give to any order of society, right or wrong.

The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or on the soil, vastly outnumber the capitalist class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. Given such class solidarity and effective organization, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest.

All political parties are the expression of economic class interests. All other parties than the Socialist party represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class. Their political conflicts reflect merely superficial rivalries between competing capitalist groups. However they result, these conflicts have no issue of real value to the workers. Whether the Democrats or Republicans win politically, it is the capitalist class that is victorious economically.

The Socialist party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their defeats and its victories their victories. It is a party founded on the science and laws of social development. It proposes that, since all social necessities today are socially produced, the means of their production and distribution shall be socially owned and democratically controlled.

In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage-slavery, and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist party appreciates the full significance of class organization and urges the wage earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for economic and political action, and we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields as well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation in their struggles for economic justice.

In the defeat or victory of the working class party in this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of the common people of all economic groups, as well as the failure or the triumph of popular government. Thus the Socialist party is the party of the present day revolution, which marks the transition from economic individualism to socialism, from wage slavery to free co-operation, from capitalist oligarchy to industrial democracy.

### WORKING PROGRAM.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the co-operative commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

#### COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP.

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.
2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.
3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.
4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:
  - (a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.

- (b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.
  - (c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.
  - (d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.
  - (e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.
5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation
  6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT.

The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a workday of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

#### INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS.

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

1. By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.
2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.
4. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age
5. By the co-operative organization of industries in federal penitentiaries and workshops for the benefit of convicts and their dependents.
6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.
7. By abolishing the profit system in government work, and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.
8. By establishing minimum wage scales.
9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old-age pensions, a general system of insurance by the State of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

#### POLITICAL DEMANDS.

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.
2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.
3. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.
4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.
5. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.
6. The abolition of the Senate and the veto power of the President.
7. The election of the President and the Vice-President by direct vote of the people.
8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.
9. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in a majority of the States.
10. The granting of the rights of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.
11. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

12. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The Bureau of Education to be made a Department.

13. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent Bureau of Health, with such restrictions as will secure full liberty for all schools of practice.

14. The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

15. Abolition of all federal district courts and the United States circuit courts of appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

16. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

17. The free administration of justice.

18. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

## WALL STREET AND RAILROAD WAGES

BY

JOHN D.

THE wage dispute between the Eastern railroads and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which began with a conference in New York City on March 25, has developed several points of grave interests to Wall street. When the managers refused the demands of the engineers for high pay, they declared with general reference to the world-wide demands of labor for increased wages and with regard to the position into which the roads are rapidly drifting, that "this headlong movement towards financial disaster cannot proceed unchecked." The commission has gone on record very strongly to the effect that the roads cannot at this time increase wages without putting up freight rates, since their capitalizations are so large and waterlogged.

Bankers point out the fact that in 1907 wages were increased and again in 1910, and that the advance now put forth will call for an increase in wages averaging 18.6 per cent. They also call attention to the fact that in other demands for higher wages the workers have given as a rea-

son the increased cost of commodities, etc. But not so in the case of the engineers. They raise a new point—that of increased responsibility. That is that they today are hauling bigger cars, tonnage largest in history of the roads and that the number of employees has been reduced during the past year by many thousands, placing additional burdens on those employed.

Conditions, under which the transportation systems have been operating since the 1907 panic, show that the roads if confronted with a repetition of demands for wages increases every season as now seems to be the case, stockholders, bondholders and officials generally will have to take definite action to offset the burdens already imposed by compliance with these demands. A president of one of the 50 roads involved in the present dispute said that to increase engineers' wages an average of 18 per cent as demanded by the Brotherhood, would be equivalent to adding \$5,000,000 to the road's operating expenses.

This is equal to annual interest rate of



4 per cent on a capital of \$625,000,000. The roads cannot stand this at the present time without being either able to increase freight tariffs or greatly reduce their operating force and thus add to the labors of those who retain their jobs. Now, the roads, should they increase the wage-scale without adding to freight charges, would cause a panic among the bondholders since the roads would run down in equipment, roadbed, etc., and thus weaken the property upon which the bonds are a first mortgage lien.

Last year, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission figures, the roads as a whole were unable to effect any economy sufficient to offset the increase in expenses, which amounted to \$46,209,859, despite a slump in the number of employees of 8,197 during the same period.

Bankruptcy is bound to follow an increase in wages, all along the line, provided, of course, rates are not advanced. Should that take place, receiverships will be avoided, but upon no other basis.

Government ownership will loom up strong in the event of the engineers win-

ning their new wage scale, and the magnates are anxious to foist, if possible, upon the government at their valuation the various over-capitalized systems which they now control. Besides this excuse for handing over to the people the railroads of the country, they find that it is now impossible to raise funds for the development of the properties on less than a 5 to 5½ per cent basis, where previous to the 1907 crisis, 4 to 4½ per cent was the prevailing figures. The higher rate is now serious to the roads since the new bond issues run but from 3 to 5 years, which is in itself a revolution in railroad financing, when the fact is taken into consideration that 20 years ago, all issues ran from 99 to 500 years before maturing. Wall Street is convinced that as at present constituted, it is impossible to meet the demands of the engineers without bankrupting scores of roads, provided they are denied the privilege of increasing freight tariffs. The situation is being watched very closely by financiers, who see in it one of the most important moves made to date, by a fraction of the working class to cut into their profits by increasing operating expenses.

## SCAB PRODUCTS ADVERTISED BY THE UNION LABEL

BY

F. L. WALSER

**C**RAFT unionism is responsible for the closed shop so-called and the union label, which, so we are told by the advocates of this peculiar sort of unionism, guarantees fair wages and reasonable working conditions. "Buy only union made goods" and "Boycott the Scab product" is the battle cry.

But has it ever occurred to you that the union label may protect and advertise a scab product? A scab product at least in part.

For several years the International Typographical Union conducted a vigor-

ous boycott against the Butterick patterns. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent and the support of organized labor all over the country was enlisted in the attempt to bring the antagonist to terms and force the firm to sign an agreement with the union. There is a great demand for patterns and, of course, we had to caution our wives and sisters against buying the "Butterick," "New Idea," "May Manton," "Standard," and others, all being on the unfair list. A gloomy outlook for our housewives who cannot order their wearing apparel from

Paris or some swell Fifth Avenue shop, but whom necessity compels to do their own sewing. But they were not to be left in the lurch. Craft unionism does not confine its activity to "punishing its enemy," it also "rewards its friends" and in pursuing this policy the International Typographical Union in circulars and cards which were sent broadcast to the friends and sympathizers of organized labor all over the country by the millions warned against buying the "Butterick" and others and urged to buy the strictly union made McCall Pattern.

But now comes another story. In their New York plant McCall's employ about 450 men and women in the clerical and shipping departments or more than thrice the number employed in the mechanical department. The average wage paid in the clerical department is about \$8.00 per week with a system of fines for "being late," "throwing paper on the floor," and the like.

An expert bookkeeper with whom I became acquainted some time ago and who is now working for McCall's at the munificent salary of \$8.00 per week conceived

the idea of organizing the workers in the clerical and shipping departments. Before making any attempts in that direction he approached some of the printers to find out what assistance he might expect from their side. But they drew up their hands in horror. "Nothing doing!" "We have an agreement with the firm and we can't break our contract." And the printers continue to advertise the strictly union-made McCall pattern while the poor working slaves in the clerical and shipping department of that "closed shop" continue to work for starvation wages.

Do you want a more striking example of the inefficiency and injustice of craft unionism and its supposedly strongest weapon the boycott? The weakness of the boycott lies in the fact that while it injures the individual capitalist it does the capitalist system absolutely no harm. It injures one capitalist by helping another. What "Butterick's" and others lost, McCall's, no more scrupulous in their dealings with labor, won.

Craft unionism is indeed a crime against the working class.



MAY DAY PARADE, NEW YORK CITY.



GIOVANITTI.

ETTOR

HAYWOOD.

# EDITORIAL

**A Plot to Murder Wage-Workers.** Our readers already know that Ettore and Giovannitti, the I. W. W. organizers who directed the Lawrence strike in its earlier stages, were thrown into jail on charge of conspiracy to murder. At the time this seemed merely a move to cripple the strike, and it was expected that when work was resumed at the mills they would be released. Now, however, it seems that a desperate effort will be made to pack a jury with tools of the mill owners and send our comrades to the electric chair. No one claims that they had any part in the actual killing of any one. The victim was a woman striker, and the shot was fired by a policeman, as is fully explained in the *New York Call* of May 10. The real question is whether the prisoners were inciting the strikers to violence, and on this point there is an overwhelming array of testimony in the negative. The REVIEW had a representative on the scene all through the closing days of the strike, and from his personal knowledge we can say that the capitalists and police were eager to have the strikers resort to force, and in many ways did all they could to provoke violence. The strike committee on the other hand realized that any resort to force would give the police and the soldiers the pretext they were looking for to slaughter hundreds of strikers. Consequently they maintained such discipline and restraint among the strikers that the pretext never came, and finally the strike was won. Now in revenge, the jackals of the mill owners are seeking to murder Ettore and Giovannitti. Their trial has been postponed to the August term of court. Money for their defense is urgently needed. Send it direct to William Yates, Treas., 430 Bay State Building, Lawrence, Mass.

**A History-Making Convention.** The Socialist convention held at Indianapolis May 12 to 18 marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of organized Socialism in America. During the last four years the working class of the

United States has made marvelous advance in its sense of solidarity, in its revolutionary spirit, and in its fighting tactics, and the convention was a mirror of this advance on the economic field. The self-appointed leaders were on hand as before, they took themselves as seriously as ever, but with a single exception on which we shall comment later they failed utterly in controlling the action of the convention. The alliance of professional men, small capitalists and craft union officials which hitherto has been somewhat successful in manipulating conventions, has been hard hit. The working class is coming into control of the party, as it must soon come into control of the nation.

Two factors were decisive in bringing about this revolution within the party. First and greatest was the irresistible march of the Machine Process in the shops where the wage-workers earn their living. Day by day for four years the workers have experienced painful object lessons of the futility of the reactionary craft unions in the fight against organized capital. Slowly the sentiment for revolutionary unionism has crystallized until the would-be leaders of the Socialist party realized that it would be suicidal for them to antagonize it openly. So their representatives on the committee to which this subject was referred framed a declaration which, without using the phrase **Industrial Unionism**, conceded the whole principle for which the friends of the REVIEW have been contending. In this their object was not harmony but a fight. They thought our friends would contend to the last ditch for a mere phrase, thus losing the support of the rank and file. But they were beautifully disappointed. Tom Hickey, Tom Lewis and Tom Clifford, the three revolutionary members of the committee, signed the report and supported it on the floor of the convention, and our friends joined in adopting the report unanimously. This self-restraint on the part of the revolutionary delegates was the second decisive

factor in the bringing about the fortunate result.

**The Passing of the N. E. C.** For years the greatest obstacle to the development of a working class party has been a self-perpetuating oligarchy known as the National Executive Committee. They have been elected by a plurality vote of the entire membership of the party on a general ticket, each member voting for seven. The mass of the membership have usually scattered their votes on a multitude of local candidates not known away from home, and it has thus been easy for those in office, by utilizing their opportunities for self-advertising, to obtain the plurality of votes needed to keep them in. The inside machine bitterly resented the action of the membership in electing William D. Haywood as one of their august body, and the recent election of Kate Richards O'Hare as international secretary over Morris Hillquit may have shown them the advisability of retiring through the front door rather than through the window. However that may be, the new constitution places the future control of the party organization in the hands of a National Committee to consist of the state secretaries of all the states together with an additional member from each state for every 3,000 members. This committee is to meet annually and is to select an executive committee of five to act under its direction. We believe that these changes are in the direction of real democratic control of the party. The several state organizations will hereafter increase rapidly in importance, and it is through them that the rank and file will make their wishes felt in all matters of party control.

**An Appeal to Stupid Prejudice.** Article II, Section 6, of the new constitution submitted to the Socialist party membership by the late convention is a blemish on an otherwise admirable piece of work. It provides:

Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist party platform.

The words in italic type were added by the would-be leaders in revenge for their signal defeat on the resolution defining the relation of the party to the unions, and the passage of the clause was undoubtedly due to the fact that most of the delegates were wholly unfamiliar with the word "sabotage," and supposed it to mean the same thing as "crime against the person," which was the phrase used in the printed report of the constitution committee. As a matter of fact, the ratification of this clause by the membership would have no effect whatever, since no member of the Socialist party is in the habit of advocating sabotage "as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation." But before we go further, let us define our term. The word is too new for the dictionaries, but it fortunately happens that the Boston Globe, a leading capitalist daily, thought its readers needed enlightenment on this word, and in its editorial columns said (Feb. 23, 1912):

Nor does "sabotage," from the word meaning shoe or boot, and hence "giving the boot," necessarily include violence or force. It may mean only the prevention of work, without involving the destruction of property. If, for instance, work in a factory could not be resumed because a striker had locked the door and thrown away the key, that would be a case of "sabotage." On the other hand, the term is also applied to comparatively mild acts which cause financial loss to employers. But sabotage and violence are not synonymous.

A separate referendum will be taken on this clause of the constitution, and the result of this vote will merely be a rather interesting test of the extent to which the education of the membership has progressed. The phrase "sabotage and other methods of violence" is neither more nor less intelligent than, for example, "overalls and other weapons." If any party member wishes to go on record as an ignoramus, he can gratify his ambition very readily by voting for the adoption of the clause. Meanwhile our "leaders" will have to answer to their dear friends, Gompers, Mitchell, Tobin and the rest, for the fact that they are giving an immense amount of free advertising to the tactics known as sabotage. These tactics are not "advocated" as a matter of theory; they are not suggested by any



one as a weapon for the "emancipation of the working class," but they are as a matter of fact being practised in a quiet way as a response to the capitalistic tactics of "scientific management." It is safe to say that this practise will not be diminished by anything the Socialist party may say or do. Our traditional policy in the matter has just been admirably reaffirmed

by the convention in these words:

The party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement over questions of form of organization or technical methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions.

Why not let it go at that, and why make ourselves ridiculous?

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**Russia—Socialist Reorganization.**—In January there took place in Russia a conference of a number of local Socialist organizations. The result was an attempt to reorganize the national Social Democratic Party. The International Socialist Bureau has sent out the following account of this conference:

"The past few years have been for the Social Democratic Party of Russia years of confusion and disorganization. For three years the party has found itself unable to call a congress, and during the past two years the central committee has been obliged to remain entirely inactive. The party continued to exist, but only in the form of individual groups, which, because of the lack of a central committee, carried on their work separately in the larger cities.

"For some time, under the influence of the re-awakening of the Russian proletariat, the party has been getting on a solid basis again, and just recently it has been possible to call a party conference, a thing which has not occurred since 1908, at which the organization of both capitals, of the northwest and southern regions, of the Caucasus and of the industrial region of the center were all represented. Twenty organizations allied themselves with the committee which called this conference, i. e., almost all of the organizations which exist at the present moment in Russia.

"In the course of its twenty-three sessions the conference investigated and discussed all the questions on its program, some of which were of the utmost

importance. The situation and tactics of the party were given a thorough analysis, an analysis the results of which agree exactly with those reached by the congress of 1908 and the last general meeting of the central committee, held in 1890. Especial attention was given to the approaching elections to the Duma, and a resolution was adopted in which the tactics to be adopted by the party are outlined in detail. The problems of famine, workingmen's insurance, relations to labor unions and strikes, etc., were also discussed and such solutions as were possible were offered.

"The conference investigated also the question of the so-called "liquidators." The representatives of this tendency in the movement deny the existence of an illegal party, maintain that the party has in reality been disbanded, brand the notion of reorganizing it as reactionary utopianism and affirm that the party can come into existence again only when it is possible for it to have a legal form. Nevertheless, this wing of the movement, which has separated itself from the illegal party, has not thus far been able to found a legal one. The conference made it clear that the party has been fighting the tendency of the "liquidators" for four years, that the congress of 1908 and the conference of the central committee in 1910 declared their opposition to them, and that in spite of all efforts that have been made against them they continue to conspire against the party and attack it in the legal press.

"Finally the conference elected a cen-

tral committee and an editorial staff for the Social Democrat. In addition, action was taken with regard to Russian Socialists living in foreign countries. It was declared that since there are in foreign lands many groups of persons more or less socialistic groups, which are necessarily disconnected from the Russian proletariat and therefore entirely without responsibility, the conference draws attention to the fact that these groups can not in any way represent the Social Democratic Party, that the party cannot be responsible for such groups or undertake to protect them, and that anyone seeking relations with the party should do so through the central committee."

This statement of the present condition of the movement in Russia has been attacked by various groups of expatriated Russians. It is said that the January conference represented only a minority of the membership and so had no right to pretend to reorganize the national party. According to this representation the central committee which has been constituted has no authority and the work of unification must be begun all over again.

The editor of the Social Democrat has answered this attack at length. He states that the reorganized party does not pretend to include the various national Socialist bodies within the borders of Russia, such as the Polish party, the Lettish party, etc. But it does contain, according to his statement, the great majority of the Russian Socialists. The "liquidators" are, of course, ruled out of it. But they are nothing but middle-class Socialists who were unable to endure the persecutions of the reaction which followed the uprising in 1905. They are opposed to a definite Socialist organization, therefore a Socialist party cannot be expected to include them. But leaving them out of the account, it is maintained, the reorganized party contains the main body of Russian Socialists.

Socialists outside of Russia may well suspend judgment so far as the controversial points of this matter are concerned. But one thing is clear, and that is that the revolutionists of Russia are getting on their feet again. This is news

that will be received with joy by the working class of the world.

**England—A New Labor Daily.**—The labor movement of England has been singularly backward in the development of its press. Germany has more than seventy labor dailies; until within the past month England had not one. This unpleasant fact may be partly due to the fact that English liberal papers know the game of patting labor on the back better than do their continental counterparts. In part it may be due to the formidable financial difficulties in the way of any publishing enterprise in England. The members of the English Socialist and labor movement, moreover, have a very high ideal in matters journalistic. In America Socialists have been content to begin with small dailies, four-page or six-page sheets, carrying a good deal of propaganda matter and boasting only a limited news service. What all sections of the working class in England have in mind is a daily labor paper comparable in size, make-up, news service, and amount of advertising with the greatest capitalist organs. The founding of such a paper involves the raising of a large amount of capital. The Social Democratic Party attempted to raise 10,000 pounds for this purpose, but was unsuccessful. The Independent Labor Party has collected more than 70,000 pounds to be devoted to the establishment of its new organ, The Daily Citizen, but will not begin publication until 150,000 pounds are assured.

Amidst all the talk of papers which might have been or are to be, there appeared almost unannounced the first number of the first English labor daily. It is called the Daily Herald, and it made its initial bow on April 15. Though the fact is not officially proclaimed, it is generally known to have the backing of the London book printers. Here is what the new spokesman for labor promises:

"Bound to no particular section of the movement, the Daily Herald is the mouthpiece of all industrial, political and social activity. While giving general support to the policy and program of the Labor Party in the House of Commons, we do not claim identity with them, and reserve to ourselves the right of criti-

cizing their actions whenever it becomes our duty so to do. The trade unions will find in the Herald a persistent and fearless advocate of their principles—of rare utility also in the dissemination of official views and instructions. Exponents of Socialism and industrial unionism will likewise find opportunity in our columns for the open expression of their views. In short, we stand for absolute freedom in thought and action, unfettered by party ties of any description."

A large contract, truly! Whoever hopes to see a really free, open, above-board, unbiased labor paper, "hopes for what ne'er was, nor is," and probably ne'er will be. In the nature of things it cannot be. Yet the Daily Herald starts well. There is in the first number Socialist and labor news of all sorts. A great mass meeting of the British Socialist Party is well reported. No attempt is made to conceal the fact that it was Tom Mann who received the ovation of the occasion. The movement "for the consolidation of the trade unions in the building industries into one industrial organization" is given adequate space and intelligent interpretation. There is, moreover, no attempt to fraternize with capitalist sheets or to conciliate the great. The tone of the editorials is temperate, yet definitely militant.

This is all good. Nevertheless, I must confess to a doubt or two. It remains to be seen whether one publication can be big enough to cover Tom Mann and J. Ramsay MacDonald. The editor of Justice is more than skeptical. He writes: "We have no faith in 'laborism' in newspapers any more than in politics. It is much too vague and indefinite, as the failure of the Labor Party has proved. We do not believe there is any room for a 'labor' daily. But a Socialist daily paper is another story. Had either of the new ventures adopted a bold Socialist policy, it would have insured a successful future, and would have 'filled the bill.' As it is, we must bide our time—our turn will come later."

**Hungary. Socialist Party Congress.**—Among the numerous Socialist congress-

es held during the Easter vacation the most interesting was the one which took place in Hungary. Our Hungarian comrades are making a tremendous fight against militarism and in favor of a modern electoral system. Their work of propaganda and organization is carried on under great difficulties. The majority of the workers of Hungary are employed either on the land or in small concerns. There is lacking the feeling of solidarity which comes about naturally after the introduction of industry on a large scale. The rural laborers, moreover, are so poorly paid that it is impossible for them to purchase propaganda literature or pay party dues. Nevertheless, the party has made good progress.

The fight against militarism has for the present been successful. Bills to increase military appropriations have been defeated in the present session of the national parliament. In the fight for a new electoral law the party has been able to tie the government up in a deadlock. This was the situation at the time the party congress met. Naturally enough, the sessions were carried on with a feeling of enthusiasm and sense of responsibility. The government threatens to adjourn parliament and order a new election. If this threat is carried out, it is probable that military force will be used to give the government a majority in the new house. This is the situation actually faced by Hungarian Socialism at the present moment. Amidst tremendous applause the party congress adopted a resolution which concluded with the following sentence: "If the enemies of the popular franchise resort to an adjournment of the chamber of deputies in order that they may be able through the terrorism of money, of brandy, and of bayonets to overwhelm the forces fighting for a new electoral law, then the Social Democratic Party will fight terrorism with terroristic weapons and will, moreover, use all its powers to see that only such deputies are returned as will fight against military appropriations and in favor of a universal, equal and secret right of suffrage."

# The Labor Struggle

**Misguided Seamen.**—Just after the Titanic disaster, 300 firemen on her sister ship, the Olympic, struck rather than put to sea when they found that the life-saving equipment was inadequate. The proper course for them to have observed, of course, was to continue at work and send a petition to Parliament for a redress of grievances, meantime paying a committee for lobbying on the outskirts of the 'Ouse of Lords. By faithful and diligent work among the legislators and the expenditure of much money, they might have secured an adequate safety law about the time most of them were drowned in the next disaster. But instead of that, the poor, misguided things resorted to DIRECT ACTION. They knew the conditions, they knew what the proper safeguards ought to be, so they simply ORGANIZED ON THE JOB and agreed among themselves that they wouldn't work until those safeguards had been provided for. True, they were arrested as soon as they put foot ashore for "mutiny," but the judge considered it "unwise" to hold them as soon as it was discovered that the working class of England was taking an interest in the proceedings. It is time resolutions were being drawn up opposing such "anarchistic" tactics. If the workers start to emancipating themselves in this way, where will our politicians get off?

**Striking at the Strike Fund.**—One of the favorite theories of the trade union type of mind is that nothing can be done until a large strike fund is gathered to be used in emergencies. There are signs that in the future it will be most useful in supplying something for the capitalists to grab whenever trouble arises. Coal operators in Wyoming recently brought suit for damages against the miners' union and attached the strike fund as a guaranty that there will be something to collect from when the suit is won, as, of

course, it is most likely to be in a capitalist court. The truth is that a big strike fund tends to make a union more cautious than revolutionary. It hates to do anything that will put that nice, fat pile in danger. The 25,000 successful textile workers of Lawrence didn't have a strike fund, did they? But they won, didn't they? But they got plenty of money, didn't they? From whom? From the working class, wasn't it? Very well, then, that's where the money will always come from when there is a real class struggle on.

**How to Get Rich.**—It was shown before the congressional investigating committee that the Pittsburgh steel worker, whose average wage is 15½ cents an hour, by close economy can save the sum of \$1.50 a year. Now if he can put that in a savings bank, in a billion years he would be as rich as John D. Rockefeller. You see how simple it is. But instead of that, the improvident creature goes out and spends it on automobiles for chorus girls. Where is this wave of extravagance going to lead us, anyway?

**Our Partnership.**—A preliminary bulletin from the census bureau states that the value of the goods manufactured in this country increased from \$14,793,903,000 in 1904 to \$20,672,052,000 in 1909, or about 45% increase. If it is true that capital and labor are partners the number of wage earners should have increased in about the same proportion, but instead we find that these numbered 5,468,383 in 1904 and 6,615,046 in 1909, or about 20% increase. It is stated that this small increase was due to "improvements in methods of manufacturing." In other words, the capitalists are steadily dispensing with human labor by the installation of new machinery. That's why the percentage of men out of work is constantly growing. The remedy is to cut down the working hours.

**"Harking Back."**—And now let us leave these unpleasant topics for a moment and have a smile with our friend and fellow worker, S. Gompers. In the May *American Federationist* he devotes considerable space to his views on this new and horrid thing, "Syndicalism." He turns aside momentarily to wallop the nasty Socialists, in his usual vein. Judging by the way he quotes from it, Sam is evidently one of the closest readers of the REVIEW, though the tenor of his comments would lead us to believe that he holds it with a pair of tongs. On the subject of Industrial Unionism he solemnly separates himself from the following: "Industrial unionism, so called (for no comprehensive definition has as yet been found to prescribe its boundary lines, or to classify the elements to be contained therein) is a theory, which, if carried to its logical (or better still, illogical) conclusion, is harking back to the primitive battlefield." There you are! Sam has exposed our whole evil purpose. We are going to arm ourselves with bone knives and bows and arrows and thus give battle to the Steel Trust. Gompers here gives us an entirely new interpretation of the history of early days. We always had an idea that our primitive forefathers fought each other in small bands like the trade unions do in jurisdictional rows today, but instead of that, it seems, these battles of the past were fought, for example, between the Textile Workers, industrially organized, and the Industrial Union of Cigar, Stogie and Cigarette Makers. Thus do we read and learn.

**Same Old Quarrel.**—The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America and the United Garment Workers are now having words over a matter of jurisdiction, the former accusing the latter of organizing a craft that properly belongs to the Journeymen. Here we have the same old quarrel arising out of craft divisions. The garment making trade, besides these two unions, also includes the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Here are three big crafts in the same industry. Thus we see that the A. F. of L. plan of organization not only encourages and upholds dual unionism and triple unionism but multi-

ple unionism. And yet our intellectual guides tell us that we ought not to advocate industrial unionism because that would be dividing the workers! As if they could be divided much worse than they are today, with numerous small crafts each making its own rules and suspicious of the others. These internal fights are bound to continue till a great union of all workers concerned with the making of wearing apparel is formed.

**How Did Wall Street Know It?**—While Grand Chief Warren S. Stone of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was going around making dark threats of a strike on the eastern railroads, market letters were being sent out by several Wall street firms containing this sentence: "There will be no strike of engineers." Now, how did they know that? Who gave this secret assurance to financial insiders. Reading of Wall Street news at that time showed that many little stock buyers hastily began selling at the threat of a strike, but the big guys merely closed one eye and bought stocks at the low prices thus caused. While we are on the subject, let us take note of the fact that Stone and his committee selected Pat H. Morrissey as the men's "representative" on the arbitration board which is to determine wages for the engineers. This is one of the most humorous tricks that Stone, who is a leading member of the Civic Federation, ever put over, because Morrissey, who is one of the finest specimens of labor skate extant, is president of the "Railway Employes and Investors Association," an organization formed by the railroads themselves. The arbitration board will thus be composed of three men, all acting for the railroads! Of course, some sort of "concession" will be made to the engineers, because they have been too useful to the capitalists in scabbing on other organizations not to get a little something.

**Those Ignorant Asiatics.**—A force of Hindoos, brought to break the strike in the lumber mills of Aberdeen, Wash., quit work as soon as they learned what the situation was, so what scabbing was



done was performed by Americans. Instead of solemnly resolving against Asiatic immigration, why not send for some more of these poor, ignorant foreigners to teach class consciousness to our aristocratic American workers?

**Eight Hours and Prosperity.**—The Senate Committee on the eight hour law in government workshops reports as follows: "The evidence gathered and the facts at hand lead us to believe that the approach of a general eight hour day of labor has no blight to cast on the economic prosperity either of the working class or of the nation at large, while it will be certain to contribute greatly to the moral and social elevation of both." This is the same as saying that the capitalist class can afford to concede an eight-hour workday and still make profits,

which proves that there is nothing revolutionary about the eight-hour demand. It is chiefly useful as a means of concentrating the attention of the working class on one particular object, but the demand might be made for four hours just as well as eight.

**Organizing the Unskilled.**—A new organization is the International Union of Machine Shop and Round House Workers, formed at Denver recently. Its object is to organize the unskilled railroad workers, to whom so little attention has been paid in the past. Its preamble declares that "We assert that the working class, and it alone, can and must achieve its own emancipation. We hold, finally, that an industrial union and the concerted political action of all the wage workers is the only method of attaining this end."

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# NEWS AND VIEWS



ELYRIA, OHIO, REDS ENTERTAIN HAYWOOD AT SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS.

**From London.** Comrade Toleman of London sends us seven new yearly subs. and writes, "I only wish you could hear the praises of your British comrades of the straight, unadulterated, revolutionary attitude you take up. They are absolutely delighted."

**National Secretary Work never a Preacher.**

Dear Comrades: In the May number of the REVIEW I notice the following:

"Our National Secretary is an ex-preacher; a union stenographer would do as well." (This was in a communication from Comrade Lindsay Lewis.—Editor.)

I am not an ex-preacher. Please get that straight. I never was a preacher. Furthermore, I am a member in good standing of the Stenographers' and Typists' Union. Please publish this and oblige—JOHN M. WORK.

**Approve Haywood.**—Just because our Com. Wm. D. Haywood happens to lay some stress on the industrial field, we are told by Local Yuma, Arizona, that he is unfit for the executive committee. We, Local Boise, take exception to this and declare that if Haywood is unfit for the executive committee we had

better disband the Socialist party and tell Carl Marx to turn over in his grave, since by such an act we would proclaim to the world that the bona fide workers were not able to be a directing head. Local Yuma, in the desert of Arizona, seems to have a spirit in its ranks. This spirit seems to be able to go thousands of miles to report the words of a man who, maybe, is little to its liking. If Com. Haywood transgressed the holy word, why doesn't Local New York, in whose territory Com. Haywood is said to have desecrated the Socialist party, we say, why doesn't New York move to recall Com. Haywood? Perhaps Com. Hillquit and others, who are always in New York, have too much influence there, and as they love Com. Haywood the New York local overlooks whatever Com. Haywood says. We rather think that the gods of our party make the faith in New York, but only the rank and file of Yuma, Arizona, believe it. Comrades, we, Local Boise, have had the good fortune to know Com. Haywood at close quarters. We saw him suffer day by day in the damp jail in this city. We saw him heroically withstand the slaughter of bloodthirsty lawyers and all

for our cause. Comrades, we know that Com. Haywood is a true Socialist. His dues are paid in the Socialist party, and above all he never flinches from his duty to the working class, our class. If the referendum proposed by Local Yuma should carry, a smile of pleasure would spread itself over the face of every enemy of Socialism. We, Local Boise, call on all true comrades to snow under the proposed recall and thereby keep Com. Haywood where he was duly elected by a big majority.

MICHELE CIMBALO,  
SEWELL H. CHAPMAN,  
Local Boise Press Committee.

**Industrial Unionism in Australia.** The dissemination of Socialist literature has always been to me the very basic principle of a class-conscious and effective working class organization, and I am more than gratified that the Amalgamated Workers' Association of Queensland has now definitely pledged itself to further the object. The organization is undoubtedly the most advanced and militant in Australia, and numerically is second only to the Australia W. Union, which is a sectional Union and covers the whole of Australia, while, though we shall shortly extend to the other Australian states, the "Fighting A. W. A."—as it is generally known—is confined to Queensland. It is quite a new organization comparatively, and its constitution and aim is to embrace every individual and every union in the one organization. As you from your own experience can readily understand, we have the open and veiled hostility of most of the officials of the sectional unions for obvious reasons, but the rank and file are rapidly realizing here the absolute necessity of the one big union. At our last conference this year, a sum of fifty pounds was donated, and a fixed sum of not less than one hundred pounds per annum was granted for the purpose of purchasing Socialist and Unionist literature. I have the honor of being Secretary of the committee appointed to select and purchase such literature and am fully aware of the educational value of it.

You will be pleased to hear also that the Butchers' Union of Queensland has granted money for this same object, through the enthusiastic advocacy of some A. W. A. members amongst them. Comrade Crampton, organizer for the Butchers, is also an A. W. A. comrade, and we shall get literature in conjunction. Shall be sending you an order within a couple of weeks as we want to get moving as soon as possible. Comrade Kunye, from whom we get our REVIEWS, is one of us. You may have heard of Brisbane general strike, which has just concluded. It was simply miraculous that the forty-three sectional unions of Brisbane struck en masse not for more wages or shorter hours, but for a principle and the succoring of a victimized union. The vast majority of these unions remained on strike for five weeks, and despite a vile capitalist press, government and pulpit, the educational value of it to the workers here

has put the movement forward twenty years. The police and specials, armed with rifles, bayonets and so forth, took possession of the meeting places and streets and on a now memorable Black Friday bludgeoned and rode down men, women and children. By the way, the workers throughout Queensland came out on strike for a week in support of their Brisbane comrades, showing one of the finest examples of the oneness of Labor ever seen. Brisbane has indeed made history the past two months, and there was actually no premeditation or organization whatever for such a stupendous fight, until after the strike was declared. This, of course, was deplorable generalship but magnificent courage and enthusiasm. It has put new life into all of us of the old brigade who had almost despaired of the workers in Brisbane. It was the blackest spot in Queensland, but they rose like lions after slumber and astonished both their friends and their foes.

ERNEST H. LANE, President A. W. A.



TOM MANN AND BILL HAYWOOD.

**Tom Mann Sentenced.**—Tom Mann, the industrial union labor leader who inspired over a million English miners to strike a few months ago, has been sentenced to serve six months in jail for calling upon the troupes during the recent coal strike to refuse to shoot down strikers or their sympathizers. Comrade Mann defended himself and asked no mercy of the court. The charge against him



was "inciting to mutiny." The following quotation from Comrade Mann's speech will show how dangerous he was to capital class interests and why severe measures were used against him.

"Men, Comrades and Brothers: You are in the army, so are we. You in the army of destruction; we in the industrial or army of construction. We work at mine, mill, forge, factory, or dock, etc., producing and transporting all the goods, clothing, stuffs, etc., which make it possible for people to live. You are workingmen's sons. When we go on strike to better our lot, which is the lot also of your fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, you are called upon by your officers to murder us. Don't do it.

"In God's name, where do they come from. these soldiers—from the ranks of the toilers and the homes of the workers. For the most part they are sons squeezed out of a job, not allowed to be able to get a job, not to get food and clothing. They go to the army and become the servants of the capitalists. It is one thing to be working on the battlefield and another thing to be brought into a strike area among the very class from which these soldiers are drawn, sometimes their own relatives struggling, as the miners are now, to obtain a tolerable living wage. For these men, these soldiers, to be ordered to fire and to murder, to fire and to kill, for that is how they have been told how to fire, and then to tell us we dare not and shall not on pain of imprisonment utter our voice, utter a sentiment or dare to address them and urge them not to do so—then if we obey we are indeed cowards and mean things. But we are built of different stuff, and by all the gods and devils I will let the government know that I will not stand it."

We have looked over the English papers in vain but cannot find anywhere one kind word in the capitalist press for Tom Mann. This shows what a valuable fighter he is for the working class.

**Friends of Darrow.** Comrade Walden of Bonners Ferry, Idaho, sends us a Resolution passed by the Socialist local there from which we quote the following:

"Workingmen, Darrow has spoken for us in the labor crises of the past. Let us speak for him. Let us make haste lest it be said to our everlasting disgrace that we turned away from our friend while the hounds of Otis—Otis whose name suggests nothing to union men but crawling maggots and running sores—lick their frothy chops and go on, unchallenged by the unions but for whose defense Darrow would not now be facing this charge, go on with their very apparent intent to ruin him financially, debar him from practice, humiliate him before the world and break his tired heart."

**Looks Forward to It.** I take two weekly papers, and one other monthly, but I look forward to receiving the "fighting magazine" more than any of the others. I feel proportionally mad when it is held up for any reason.

COMRADE HARRIS, Alberta, Can.

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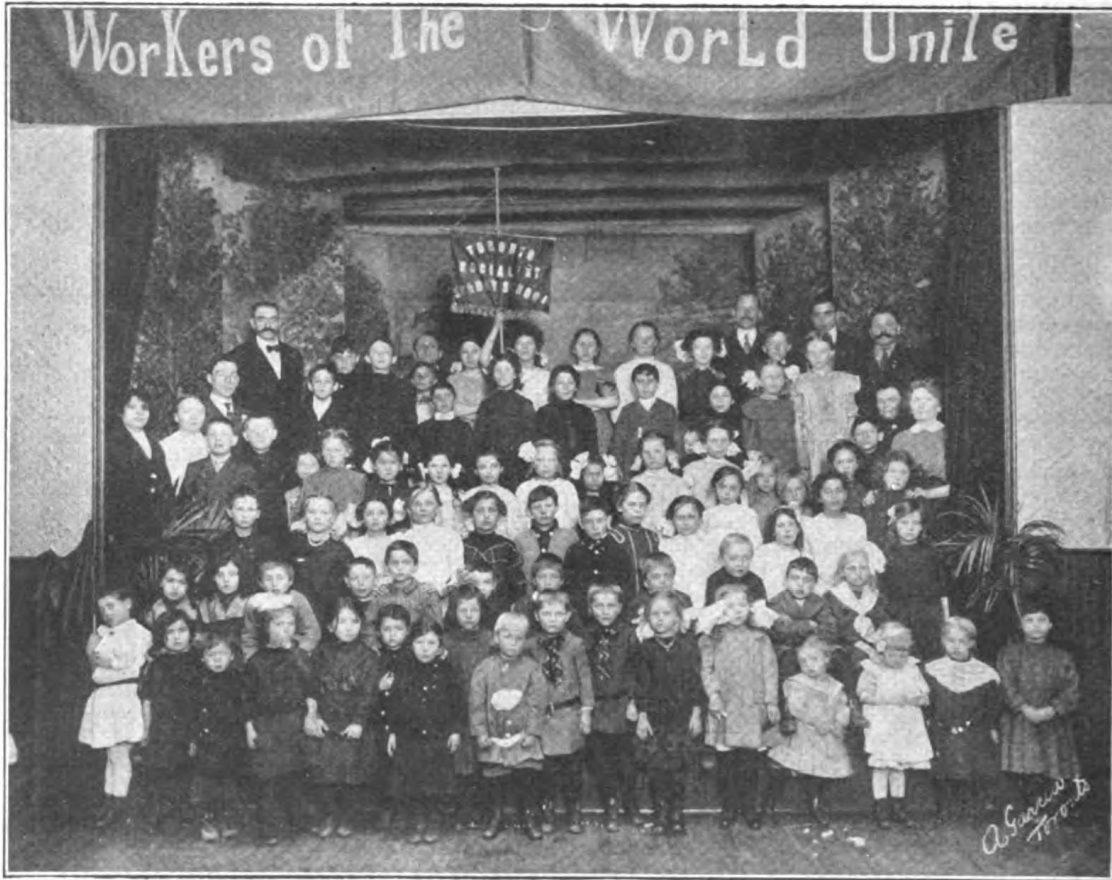
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TORONTO SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL.

**First S. S. S. in Canada.** Last September Finnish, Jewish, Italian and English locals in Toronto opened the first Socialist Sunday School in Canada. All sent their children, all attended themselves when they could, all supported it financially, all helped when it was needed. It is inspiring to think over the good times we have had with the children; the love and good will they have given us. Best of all, this kindness is making for brotherliness and comradeship throughout the movement in the city of Toronto. Our first aim in organizing the S. S. S. was to do negative work, counteract the bad influence of the capitalist system of education on the impressionable young minds. At once, we found this meant substitution of positive teaching that would be a firm basis for later lessons on economics. Elementary science was accordingly taught, charts being used to illustrate the Botany lessons and specimens for the Zoology talks, showing evolution by concrete examples and pictures the children could understand. Simple talks on stars and the Nebular Theory led the older children and young people to ask questions. That decided us to set apart a few minutes each Sunday as "Question Time." Economic Determinism has been shown the potent factor in every History lesson, e. g., Social Instincts.

We hope great things will be done by this club, most of whose members stand across the back row of children. They are full of earnestness and are taking an active part already. This picture shows children of six nationalities, officers, teachers and members of the "Board of Education in the S. S. S."

It was a lovely sight to see the respect and love of beautiful motherhood in every child's face. A simplicity marked the service that was full of reverence for the sacred bond between mother and child.

What a lesson to the Capitalist class who point us out as the "destroyers of the home" and speak with bated breath of "The Red Peril."

We Socialists need but to show them our Sunday Schools where children are loved, not patronized, taught and not deceived. We hold naught good or worthy of our respect that does not give mother and child the place of honor.

ELIZABETH NESBITT.

**Worth Any Other Two.** The REVIEW is worth the price of any other two magazines put on the news stands.

MRS. EDGAR SMITH, British Columbia.

**Sold Out Quick.** I received the 20 REVIEWS and soon disposed of them. I would like to try 30 this time. Please send as soon as you can.

COMRADE STANLEY, Pennsylvania.





PHILADELPHIA SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL—150 STRONG.  
(See page 794, May Review.)

**Young Rebels' Magazine.**—We are glad to see the Young Rebels Literary Digest, a new Socialist magazine for the young folks. It is edited by Lester Bernard and sells at 5c a copy or 50c a year. Subscriptions should be sent to 925 Golden Gate avenue, San Francisco, Calif. Send in your sub and tell your friends about the new journal for young folks.

**Smashing Us in Butte.**—Whereas, a number of members of the Western Federation of Miners, heretofore employed in the mines at Butte, Montana, have been discharged because of their activity in the Socialist party; and

Whereas, the Western Federation of Miners stands for and advocates independent working class political action through the Socialist party, and advises its membership to engage actively in the work of the Socialist party; therefore, be it

Resolved, by said discharged and blacklisted miners, in meeting assembled this 12th day of April, 1912, that we do hereby officially advise the Western Federation of Miners, through its officers and executive board, of our situation, and ask the W. F. of M. to render to such discharged and blacklisted members as are in need, such moral and financial assistance as is required until they may either

secure other employment or be sent to other places where employment may be found.—Comrades Rissell, Kuittinen, Keturi, Ollikkala, Williams, Curran, Geick.

These resolutions were passed at a mass meeting April 12.—Frank Curran and E. L. Williams.

Comrade Williams says: "By a referendum vote our cause was defeated 4 to 1." Gradually the capitalists are weeding out the men active in Socialist circles in Butte by refusing to employ them. Is it possible that the industrialists are right when they claim that political victory means nothing permanent unless supported by a powerful industrial organization? Our friends in Butte seem to think so, and they are not going to overlook a single weapon that will help them in the class struggle.

**Doing the Work.** The local has instructed me to place a standing order for 20 copies of the REVIEW as soon as they come from the press. The hotter the better. They are doing the work. COMRADE ACTON, Colorado.

**What Two Little Girls Did.** The REVIEW bundle did not last 25 minutes. Two girls sold them, one eight years old, the other six. Enclosed find \$2.00 for another bundle.

COMRADE COX, Amarillo, Tex.

**Results from the Review.** Local Puyallup is in favor of increasing its order for the REVIEW just as fast as it can. The comrades here realize that the results derived from the REVIEW are clear cut, revolutionary Socialists who see the class struggle and know its purport from the working class standpoint without the frills and confusing minor phrases used by mere politicians and office seekers who care little for the stern facts of the economic basis of all present institutions, which are bound to change as soon as the change is made economically.

COMRADE GARRETT, Washington.

**From a Southern Socialist (?)** Why is it that you have permitted in your Magazine an Article by Hubert H. Harrison (The Black Mans Burden), an article that is a Slap at every self Respecting white man in the South, North, East or West, an article that is full of Vile indecent fabolus Lies, and Article that is Teeming with insolence and misrepresentations, and Article that will strike a Felling of Bitterness in every White Mans Breast against the Socialist Party, and if it throws the South to the four Winds she will never have any power, for it is a fact that the Balance of Political power now lies with the South. I have been a Socialist for years and have made many members for it. but if I knew that 100 People was in the party with as little princible in their Blood and make up as this infamous Harrison I would do my all against the Party. But Mr. Editor you must have been asleep when this crept in, and allowed it with out thought. for you could if you would have obtained information that would have set this Falsifier adrift. I, myself, was raised in the North. I was raised Upon a Republican Platform my Kindred gave up their lives to Free this accursed race of People and I have spent now 20 Years among them, and will say that Your Statistics are made From Fanatical Designing men who want to still slap the South because the South is now rising to were her power can be felt. A nigger in the South and (I have lived in Several Southern States) gets more Protection more Justice than if he were in the North. He is realy better treated than the poor white man. Can find Friends to help his miserable being when a white man's Appeals would not be Noticed. Now Mr. Editor for the Good of the Black Man, for the good of the white Man, and best of all for the Good of Socialism, do Repudiate this malicious Liar. Now in this County alone the Niggers get far more of Taxes than the whites per Taxes paid and this is so nearly every where I have been. It is a fact that admits no dispute that the best educated Niggers fill our chain Gangs, our low dives and the Mulatoes mostly come from well educated Negro women, and the Negro of the South today makes better wages, works less hours and lives far better than the average White man with Natural, not mimical, Talent does. I believe in justice, I believe in Equal Rights so far as the treatment of Negroes in law in

Honest dealings, but never in Social or Political Life. And the sooner the Socialists make up their minds to this and eliminate the Nigger from them, the sooner they will win the South, and when they win the South, they win the North, East and West.

Now Mr. Editor will you please do me the Justice and the South the Justice to publish this, and give it as fair a hearing. This Mud slinger ought to be made to live among some of the niggers he loves so well. It is easy indeed to gather statistics made by the same kind of men like he is, made in the interest of his lovable nigger. His manly instincts certainly goes no higher than a niggers, and goes to get the Niggers into the Socialist Party. Never will the White man that has had any experience or knowledge or has lived and made honest investigations be willing for the nigger to vote with him. much less to have him as a Brother Socialist. The nigger I admit "is a Specimen for the very purpose he claims we want them," Hewers of wood and drawers of Stone. and when he is at this and none of the vain foolish Political ideas get in his head is free and happy and knows more pleasure at hard work than at anything else, and when Men that is Men keep him there. But Fools, want to sit beside him and put their arms around him and say dear little nigger you are as good as I.—W. N. WERTZ, Thomasville, Ga. (We take pleasure in printing the above letter exactly as written, since it will give our readers a pretty fair notion of the intelligence of those who oppose applying the principles of Socialism when questions of race are involved. Our readers may expect future contributions from Comrade Harrison in early issues of the REVIEW.—Editor.)

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found changes are never sudden, and sudden changes are never profound.

With hammer and chisel I suppose the cellar could be dug out, and the change, while profound, would not be very sudden. But the change was just as profound when the cellar was blasted out, and if there is anything suddener than blasting I haven't heard of it yet. It's the suddenest thing I know of.

Listen: Any desired change, whether profound or shallow, can be effected when you are strong enough, and the stronger you are the suddener the change. The slowness does not depend upon the profundity of the change but upon the power of those who want the change.

How shall we get the power?

The old-fashioned, I might even say, the Romanticist way was by fighting, barricade-fighting, preferably. If that were Proposition B, and the ballot-box were Proposition A, I should decide promptly and stick to A uncompromisingly. I don't know anything about barricade-fighting except what I have read in "Les Miserables," but it doesn't appeal to me. It possesses thrill, I admit, but that's because story-book people do the fighting. Me? I hardly think so. I might bring myself to shoot a soldier, and again I might not. I dislike extremely to kill people; I don't even like to see it done. I'm funny that way, I guess. I once reported a hanging, which is a neat and respectable form of murder, and it made me sick as a dog. I got my copy in first though.

And I don't like to be shot at. It makes me so nervous, you can't imagine. And being hit is ruinous to the clothing. It won't come out. That's if you don't die. If you do, being all over blood is the least of your troubles. But that's not my main objection. If you shoot soldiers you shoot poor devils of wage-workers, and if you blow up stereotypers, the same objection applies. You don't hit the right ones. The capitalists are somewhere else. And if all the capitalists in the world were in front of the barricade or over the dynamite bomb, and not a grease-spot were left of any of them, the agent would still come round for the rent the first of the month, the interest would be due June

1, just the same; the profits would be distributed in quarterly dividends just the same.

As compared with the barricade the ballot-box has all the best of it. It takes up so little of your time. You go into the stand-up confessional, make your X-mark under the Arm and Torch, give your ticket to the gentleman, and it's all over but the shouting. (We haven't begun that on Long Island—not the shouting.) And there you are. Biff! You smack Capitalism right in the face. Take that, you saucy devil!

A week or so later when the Socialist vote is exhumed from the debris of election—we don't get it for anyhow a week, not around these parts—it is really exhilarating. We have increased our vote from 5 to 32 in six years, and all we have to do is to gain 209 more and we'll carry the election. Let's see how long will that be? How do you figure it? Never mind. It'll be "quite some time yet," as they say here. And all during that "quite some time," Jim Priest will be trying to keep his family on \$2 a day. Two-thirds of the village will be starving mentally or physically. Still, a day will come, James Montgomery, when we'll capture the governmental powers of this village, the Trustees, President and all; the School Board, the Board of Health, the Village Clerk, the Tax Collector—Yes, even the dog-catcher. And then—

I had been making a grand talk to my doctor on Socialism, and had got that far, when he said: "And then—"

"Why, we should run the village in the interest of the people—"

"Yes, they all say that," he smiled. "Understand me, I do believe you Socialists would give us a better government than we have now because I think you're sincere and actuated by high motives. I'm not asking for argument but for information: How would you Socialists administer the village government so that our citizens wouldn't have to winter on potatoes and clams? How would you provide that a workingman would have more than \$2 a day to keep his family on? The village is not organized to produce the means of life but to levy, collect and expend taxes. That's all it can do





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"I have made a faithful trial of the Sargol treatment and must say it has brought me new life and vigor. I have gained twenty pounds and now weigh 170 pounds, and, what is better, I have gained the days of my boyhood. It has been the turning point of my life."

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**Great Gains in Pennsylvania.**—"The outlook for an aggressive and effective campaign in Pennsylvania is very bright. From every portion of the state we are receiving reports of activities on the part of locals and branches. Besides the speakers being toured by the state office—usually running from six to eight—there are hundreds of comrades developing their talent along this line and holding meetings in their own localities, that are of considerable influence in arousing and educating the workers to the necessity of getting together at the ballot-box. Industrial conditions in our state are such as to prepare a fertile field for Socialist agitation and progress. The great majority of the workers are in a state of want and oppression that, it seems to me, would be comparable only to the conditions in Russia. The strikes and lock-outs in many localities are evidencing the class struggle so plainly that even the most stupid can no longer be deceived into misapprehension or ignorance of its existence. Our Socialist organization, while nothing like we would like to see it, is much better prepared than ever before to carry on the work of propaganda and organization and we believe that big results will be apparent when the campaign ends next November."

"The membership, as indicated by purchases of due stamps, for January, February and March would indicate 13,500 paid-up members, which would possibly indicate seventeen or eighteen thousand within the limits of legal standing. This is about three times the number we had at the beginning of last year and indicates something of the progress that we have been making in our state."

"We believe there are fair chances for landing some members in the state legislature and if the coal strike materializes, it may be possible that a congressman or two might also be put into Washington. We are planning to push through a large number of speakers and these, with the twelve or fifteen counties employing their own organizers, are bound to have a powerful influence in strengthening the organization and continually fitting us for larger and better work."

"There are in the neighborhood of twenty-five or thirty local Socialist papers in our state, in addition to three or four of state-wide circulation. All this gives promise of a vigorous and enthusiastic campaign that is bound to show results when the ballots are counted."

Yours in the Cause

ROBERT B. RINGLER, State Sec'y.

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This original service was first done by Gustavus Myers in his "History of the Great American Fortunes." In this comprehensive work Myers revealed the origin and sources of the vast private fortunes of the magnates who rule us industrially and politically. No longer did Socialists have to generalize on the robberies and other exploitations of the master class. The facts disinterred from a huge mass of official documents and court records are arrayed in detail in the "History of the Great American Fortunes." Their accuracy has not been disputed, nor can be.

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But another illuminative and original work has been completed by Gustavus Myers which is of equal, if not greater importance to the Socialist movement.

In this vast work, "The History of the Supreme Court of the United States," Myers presents, for the first time, the specific proofs of the rigging and juggling of our "exalted tribunal" by the capitalist class, and how from the foundation of the government to the present time the capitalists have packed that court with their retainers and tools.

It is a work, however, that is far more than its title implies. Without attempting to wander into theory, and confining itself strictly to the facts, it is an entirely original presentation of the whole process

of capitalist development and plundering from the settlement of America down to this very day. Under existing institutions this despoilment could not have been consummated as successfully and as adroitly had it not been for the courts.

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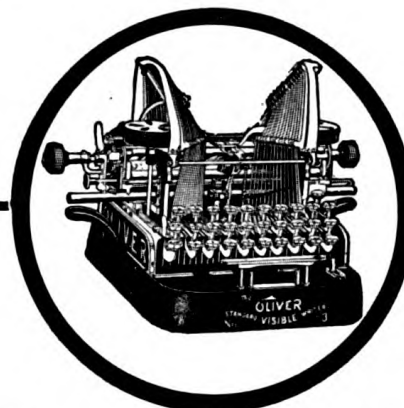
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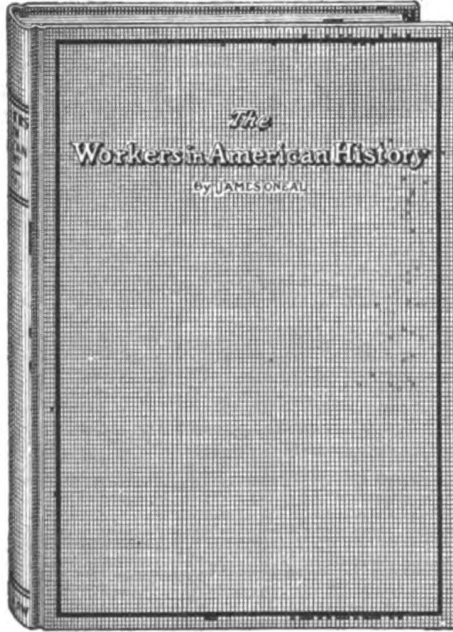
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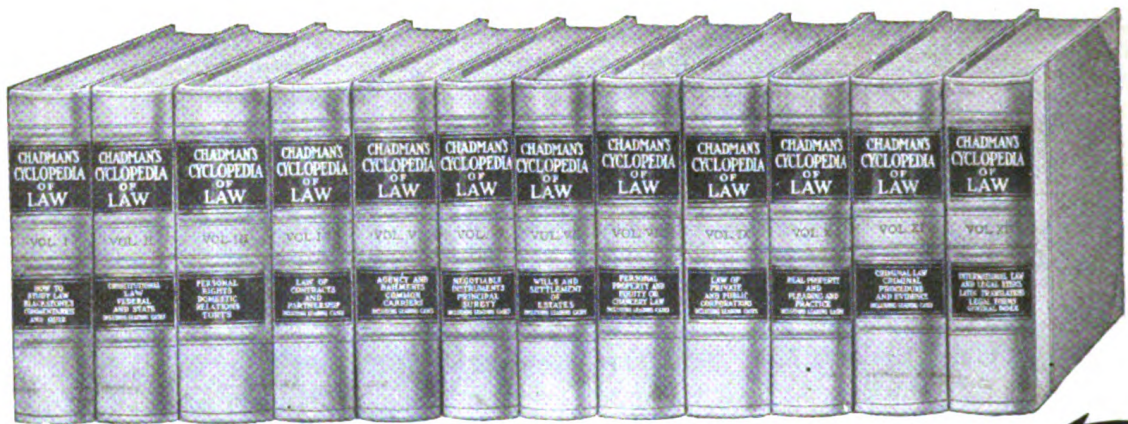
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