

# The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1909

TEN CENTS



EVICTED—A STRIKER'S FAMILY AT MCKEES ROCKS

THE STEEL STRIKES

LOUIS DUCHEZ

# The International Socialist Review

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST THOUGHT

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: John Spargo, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes,  
William E. Bohn, Mary E. Marcy.

## CONTENTS

The Strikes in Pennsylvania	- - - - -	<i>Louis Duchez</i>
Reformer and Revolutionist	- - - - -	<i>William E. Bohn</i>
The Flood: A Story of the Cave People	- - - - -	<i>Mary E. Marcy</i>
The Way to Win	- - - - -	<i>Tom Mann</i>
The Reformer (A Story)	- - - - -	<i>James Oneal</i>
You Are My Brother (Poem)	- - - - -	<i>Nicholas Klein</i>
Work's Coming of Age, Industrial Unionism in Europe	-	<i>Odon Por</i>
The Revolt in Spain	- - - - -	<i>A Spanish Exile</i>
The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem	- -	<i>I. M. Robbins</i>

## DEPARTMENTS

Editor's Chair:	:	The New Prosperity; Revolutionary Unionism
International Notes	:	The World of Labor
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Subscription price, \$1.00 a year, Canada \$1.20, other countries \$1.36.

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Vol. X.

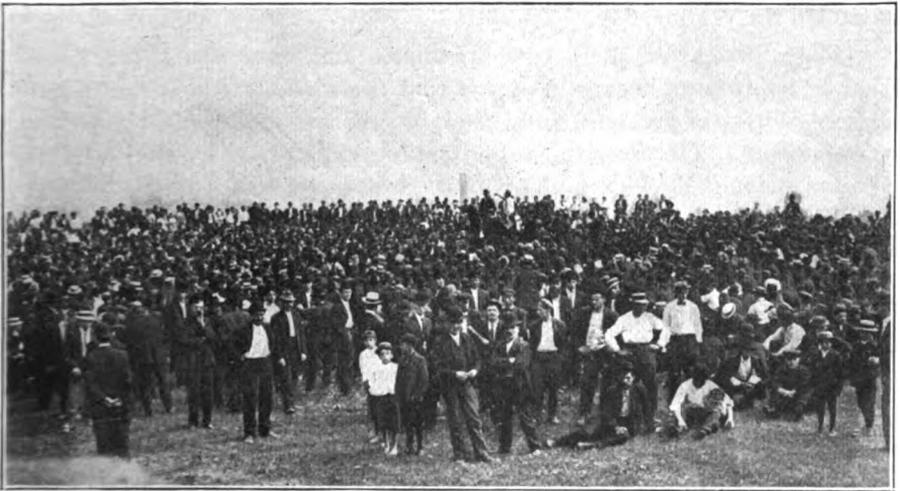
SEPTEMBER, 1909

No. 3

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## The Strikes in Pennsylvania

BY LOUIS DUCHEZ.



STRIKERS MEETING ON INDIAN MOUND ABOVE MCKEES ROCKS.



It is impossible to treat this subject fully within the space allowed. The writer will simply present a few of the more important facts gleaned from a study of conditions as they exist at McKees Rocks, Butler and New Castle. At McKees Rocks fifty riveters of the "erection department" of the Pressed Steel Car Company's plant came out on strike. The others remained at work. Half

of those fifty returned the next day—the other half were discharged. The following day one-third of the force in the “passenger car department” walked out and they returned to work twenty-four hours later. About half of those were “fired.” On the third day half of the force of the “Pennsylvania porch department” walked out.

The discharged men with the new strikers organized their forces at once and placed pickets at the entrances of the mills, and within four hours had all workers out, with the exception of those employed in the “crane and tool department,” and those in the power houses. Most of the men in the crane and tool department were organized in the A. F. of L., Local Union No. 124, International Association of Machinists. They remained at work as long as it was possible for them to do so. When the other departments were tied up they had to come out.

Five thousand men are involved in the McKees Rocks strike; those dependent on them number 20,000. At this writing, there are wounded in riots, 78; dangerously hurt, 6; deputy sheriffs on guard, 200; state constabulary on duty, two troops. There were fifty men wounded on Wednesday, July 15th.

The reasons for the strike are many and one. As a matter of fact the oppression became so great that the workers could stand it no longer. The few riveters simply started the ball rolling. The others were waiting. They had no organization. They were nearly all foreigners, principally Germans, Hungarians and Poles.

The principal source of the strikers' discontent and oppression is what is called the Baldwin contract or “pooling” system. In brief, it is the parceling out of lots of work to a foreman who contracts do it for a certain sum, the money to be divided pro rata among the men under him. This system has been very satisfactory to the company, and the president, Frank N. Hoffstot, says: “We will not change the pooling system, against which, it is said, the men complain. In fact, we intend to increase it, and extend it to all departments.”

President Hoffstot says it has proven to be a very satisfactory arrangement. And it has—to the company. As evidence of this we saw several pay envelopes showing that many of the workers slave for practically nothing. One envelope showed that the owner worked nine days, ten hours a day, and got \$2.75; another eleven days and received \$3.75; another three days and got \$1.75; another four days and got \$1, and the fifth, who had been idle for two months, worked three days and received nothing. “A very satisfactory arrangement,” indeed. The company manages the pooling system through the foreman—and the workers are skinned until their bones shine.

Most of them are compelled to purchase their jobs. Some of the foreigners have paid as high as twenty and twenty-five dollars for a chance to work, and afterwards they have had collected from their pay by clerks, who go among the men, 10 and 15 per cent every two weeks.

The company owns the houses, "shacks" holding six families, and they are rented for \$12 a month. If boarders are kept, extra charges are made. In several instances families that kept one boarder were charged \$12 a month extra. In another case one family that boarded three men, with only four rooms in their house, paid rent amounting to \$24 every two weeks, and this was collected from the wages of the boarders.

Two years ago, before the pooling system was introduced, the men were making \$3, \$4 and \$5 a day. Today most of them make 50 and 75 cents and \$1 a day. The company owns the stores. Everything must be bought there or the employee soon loses his job. By keeping the slaves struggling from hand to mouth they have been held in submission until this revolt came a few weeks ago.

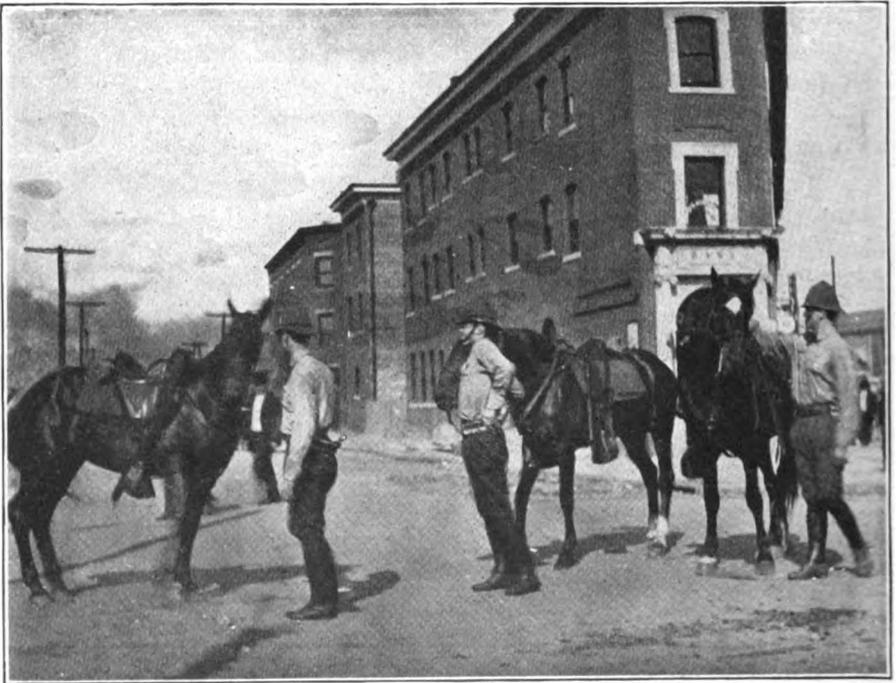
In Butler the conditions are practically the same as in McKees Rocks. The Standard Steel Car Company, another branch of the steel trust, has been forcing the same conditions on the workers there. The Butler men were not given as much publicity—that's all. Six families are jammed together in tiny houses—or pig pens—and they pay \$8 out of their wages every two weeks for them. The men in the mill average about \$15 a pay, so over half of their earnings goes for rent alone. The men and their families are kept in abject slavery. "Kickers" are fired and evicted from their houses and in many cases they are given no pay whatever after they have worked hard for two weeks—the steel trust says they don't deserve it. One man in Butler, who had the nerve to put by \$150, and made a payment on a little shack outside the company's territory, was discharged at once and all those who expressed sympathy with him or were seen at his house were "spotted" by the company "bulls." Above all things the worker who was known to talk unionism was "chopped off."

There were over 3,000 out on strike in Butler. As at McKees Rocks, six riveters came out and the rest followed. It was simultaneous with the walk-out at McKees Rocks. The workers there are nearly all Poles, Greeks, Hungarians and Russians. They were not organized, either.

In New Castle it is different. The strike was against the "open shop" order of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company. About half the men were organized in the Amalgamated Association and the Tin Workers' Protective Association, though only about 30 per

cent of the members were paid up in dues a week or so before the strike. There are about 3,300 men involved in the New Castle strike. In New Castle with the kick against the "open shop" order they are also resisting a reduction in the wages of the "hot mill" men—those who work about the heaters.

The methods used to stamp out the spirit of revolt and incite riot in McKees Rocks, Butler and New Castle have been the most brutal and bare-faced ever used in the history of labor troubles in the United States, I believe. "Law and order" was pushed aside entirely. Not only that but those who stood for "law and order" did everything and avoided nothing that would press into greater and greater slavery the working class of Pennsylvania.



PENNSYLVANIA COSSACKS PATROLLING STREETS OF MCKEES ROCKS.

In McKees Rocks the slave condition of the workers was given much publicity. The Pittsburg Leader (for political reasons) came out openly and told of the steel car company's methods and the brutality of the company "bulls" and the "Pennsylvania Cossacks." The stories are almost unbelievable—the despotism was greater than that of Russia—but they were true.

In the mills the men were worked until they dropped with over-

exhaustion. When a man was killed he was left to lie in the "bull pen"—an open space where the dead and injured are hurried—until the close of the day in many cases. His friends were not permitted to quit work to take him home—if they did they would be told to go to the office and get their "time." The average death in the plant of the Pressed Steel Car Company was one man a day. The company had a system of insurance in which so much was collected from the men. When one was killed more were waiting out at the gate ready to take his place. The steel trust lost nothing.

The plant of the Pressed Steel Car Company is known as "the slaughter house," and "the last chance," because of the many accidents, and the fact that those who work there can get work nowhere else. The *Pittsburg Leader* of July 15th says:

"The lowest wages, the worst working conditions, the most brutal treatment, looking to the deadening of every human impulse and instinct, graft, robbery and even worse, the swapping of human souls, the souls of women, for the lives of their babes, have for years marked the Pressed Steel Car Works as the most outrageous of all the outrageous plants in the United States. The 'slaughter house' is the most expressive name that could be given to the plant, although it has other claims to rank as a strong side show of Inferno. Workingmen are slaughtered every day, not killed, but slaughtered. Their very deaths are unknown to all save the workers who see their bodies hacked and butchered by the relentless machinery and death traps which fill the big works. Their families, of course, know that the bread stops coming. But the public, the coroner, everybody else, is ignorant of the hundreds of deaths by slaughter which form the unwritten records of the Pressed Steel Car Plant. These deaths are never reported. They are unknown by name except to their families and their intimates. To others they are known as 'No. 999' or some other, furnished on a check by the 'slaughter house' company for the convenience of its paymasters. A human life is worth less than a rivet. Rivets cost money."

A woman representative of the *Leader* writes:

"I spent several hours in the dwelling places—for they cannot be called homes—of these workmen yesterday. They are all alike both without and within. Situated in what is known as the Dump of Schoenville, runs a narrow dirt road. Frequently strewn with tin cans and debris, it is bereft of trees and the glaring sun shines pitilessly down on hundreds of ragged, unkempt and poorly fed children. They seem too young to leave their mothers' sides, but in spite of their youth, their faces, wan, white, and surmounted by the blonde hair of their Slavonic nationality, are peculiarly aged in their expression, and their eyes gleam with premature knowledge, which is the result of a daily struggle, not for life, but for existence. These are the children of 'the company's men.' Their fathers are always spoken of as 'the company's men.' They refer to themselves that way, for the long oppression and constant bullying at the hands of petty bosses have forced them practically to consider themselves as slaves."

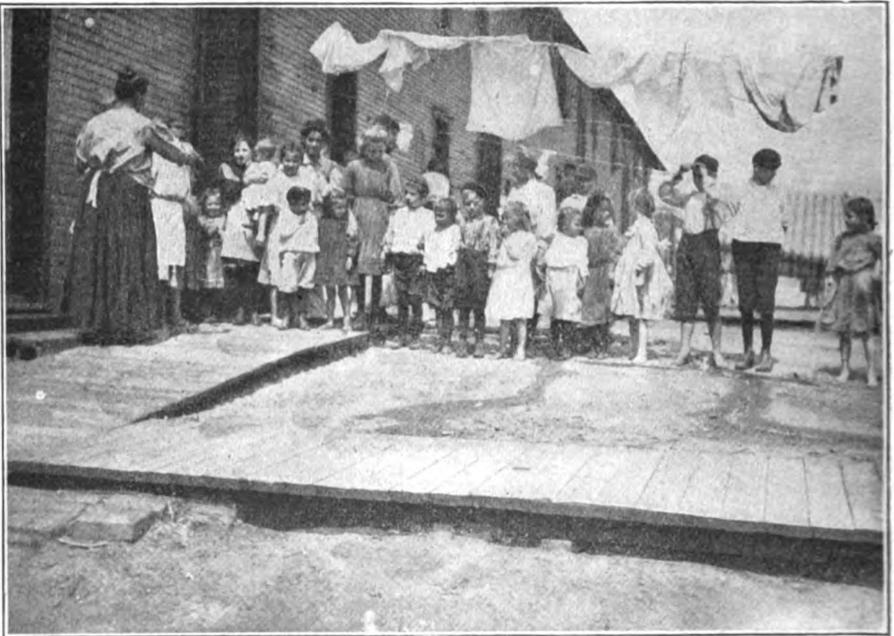
I quote again from the same capitalist sheet. This is an editorial:

"Skilled men with their faces begrimed and hands made horny by wielding the weapons used in the industrial battle for an existence come from the shops of

this great car company and say they have been paid 10 to 12 cents an hour for their labor. They point to Schoenville, derisively called 'Hunkerville' by the bosses, where there are long rows of squalid houses, the homes of an army of foreigners and ask whether these men with their families are living as human beings or animals. They point within the homes of Poverty Row to the bare floors, the empty larders and hungry children and ask why, if 'the laborer is worthy of his hire,' these men who journeyed from foreign shores to what they thought was the land of promise, are compelled to live in such poverty and misery.

"And these are the men who are striking. They have no organized union, but as one man they present their cause.

"Foreigners have been encouraged to seek employment with this company. A big percentage of the men in the car works are foreign born. A glance at their homes and a survey of their lives leads to the conviction that they have been reduced to the state of animals.



DANGEROUS CITIZENS OF "HUNKEY TOWN" DRIVEN OFF THE STREETS BY THE COSSACKS.

"But these foreigners are men, with hearts that throb and arms ready to protect their wives and children. Their babes are just as dear to them as the children that nestle in silken pillows are to wealthy parents. Poverty and adversity have been strong bonds of sympathy and affection between these men and their wives.

"That is the reason these wives fight for 'their men.'

"The foreigners labor under men speaking a strange tongue. The 'pooling' and intricate pay systems of the strangers are beyond the comprehension of the foreign-born toilers.

"But they do know some things. They know when their families are hungry and naked. They know when the pay envelope is exhausted before the larder is filled with simple food and the children are provided with shoes. They see that there is work to be done. They do not understand why in the doing of that work a man cannot earn a livelihood. Nor do they understand why the 'land of promise' sends armed men to shoot them down when they object to strangers taking their jobs. And so they fight."

I have quoted the editorial and news columns of the "Leader" at length, first, because it is a capitalist paper, and, second, because I could not tell the story any better.

The steel trust "bulls" and "Pennsylvania Cossacks" were rushed in by the hundreds to club the laborers to death. One poor Hungarian while on the run was shot twenty-four times in the back. Comrade J. W. Slayton has the coat and every bullet hole shows up. The victim is lying in the hospital at the point of death. Another one, an Italian, looked through a knot hole in the fence surrounding the company's property and two "bulls" ran out with drawn revolvers. One of them kept him covered while the other beat him so badly that he had to be dragged away by his fellow strikers and carried to the hospital. It would take volumes to relate in all its detail the brutality and boldness and lawlessness of the Pressed Steel Car Company.

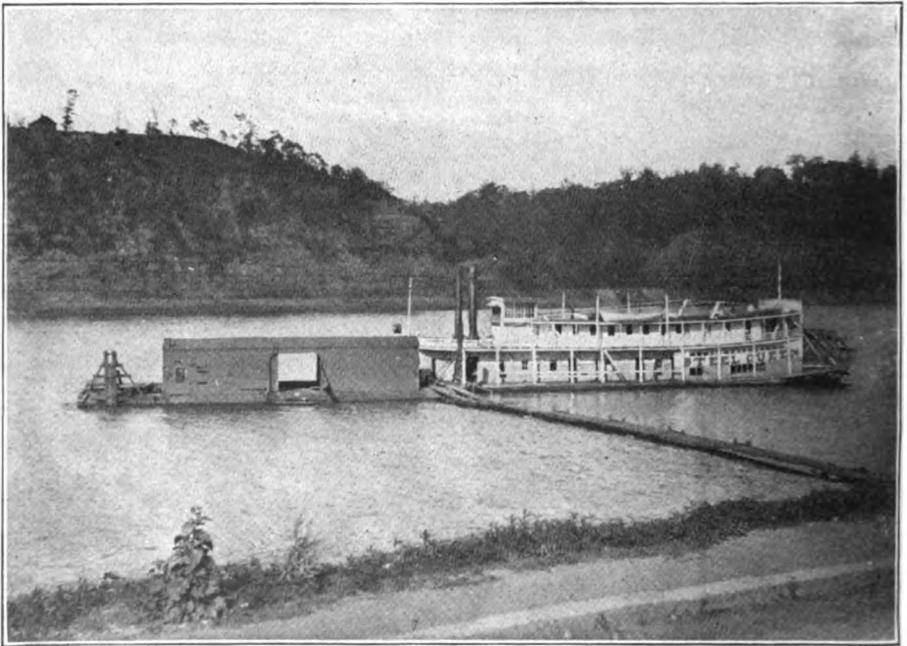
It is no wonder that the country was aroused over the matter. No one with human feeling and a cent to give could refrain from offering it to the poor, starving men and children and sick women, who were treated a thousands times worse than the serfs of the Middle Ages or the black chattel slaves of the South.

In Butler the strikers were treated about the same as in McKees Rocks. Before the "Cossacks" came all was quiet, aside from the fact that the company "bulls" did everything to start a riot.

When the "Cossacks" came into town, naturally, the striking men and their families would crowd along the main streets. Hundreds of them got out in the middle of the streets of the little village of Lyndora, the Standard Steel Car Company's town, and the mounted constabulary rushed into them without warning. The squire of the village, a democrat, told me the story. He said they ran into the peaceful mass and began clubbing right and left. Two or three of the strikers refused to be treated in that manner and they picked up oranges and bananas at a nearby stand and threw them at the "troopers." Then the "riot" started. Heads were falling in every direction and shots were fired. Two "Cossacks" ran their horses into a fruit store after a couple of strikers. It was positively known that the constabulary was brought to Butler to start a riot. Everything was prearranged. The company "bulls," or guards, failed to do it alone.

In New Castle the case is similar. All was quiet. The strikers

were peaceable and well disciplined. The American Tin Plate Company had done everything conceivable in order to incite riot, but failed. Finally, they struck a plan. Seventy "scabs" were sent from Cleveland. They were each given a half pint of whiskey on the train. They nearly all had revolvers. When they got off the cars at the Union depot each was handed a club and told, "If you have to go through blood, go through it." The strike-breakers, most of them intoxicated, marched through the town, and made insulting remarks to the strikers that lined the sidewalks. One striker, it is reported, put his hand on a scab's pocket to ascertain whether he had concealed weapons or not.



THE STEEL TRUST'S STEAMER FOR TRANSPORTING SCABS.

The scab struck at him and hit one of his own number, who is yet in the hospital.

The county sheriff sent at once for the "Cossacks"—stables were prepared for them two weeks previously. But neither he nor the city police nor the mayor prevented the armed men from marching through the town. In fact they did everything in order that a riot might be started. This is no secret. Every citizen in New Castle knows it.

In New Castle company "bulls"—men (?) who are neither citizens or taxpayers of the county—are sworn in as deputy sheriffs. As one of them told a striker, "I am not here to work. Do you think

a man with hands like those (and he showed the palms of his hands) ever worked? I'm here to start something." There are strike-breakers, too, held in the tin mills of New Castle against their wills. Ignorant foreigners are brought into the mills from out of town, and once within the gates, they are kept there—unless they become too unruly. The writer saw one man who was sent into New Castle from Cleveland, struck over the head and shoulders a half dozen times by one of the "bulls," because he hesitated to go in after being let off the train near the mill.

In McKees Rocks at the beginning of the strike there was no organization, aside from the few machinists—who refused to come out, at first, with the rest. With the different nationalities there was



SOCIALISTS ADDRESSING STRIKERS—COMRADES MRS. A. J. MENG AND J. W. SLAYTON.

chaos for awhile. Priests were the first to interfere. Finally the socialists of Pittsburg came in, led by Comrade John W. Slayton, organizer for Allegheny county. Some kind of order and discipline was brought about. An executive committee was elected, and it looks, at this writing, as if the men had a good chance to win.

However, the foreigners, who compose nearly all the strikers, are suspicious of their leaders. There is a deep distrust among the McKees Rocks strikers, of the A. F. of L. and all its branches. And this distrust is well founded. In the strikes of the past eight years it was the A. F. of L. men in the mills that caused the defeat of the

strikers. Certain organized departments remained at work while others—mostly unorganized—came out. And the present executive board is made up, principally, of the A. F. of L. men—those who stayed in until they were compelled to walk out because the other departments were tied up—and A. F. of L. sympathizers.

In Butler none whatever are organized. A Polish priest took charge of the situation at the beginning. Finally, he told the men that the company would give them a raise after they worked awhile—and they went back. Eighty of the leaders were victimized, evicted from their hovels, and the brand of the company has been placed upon them. Officials of the A. F. of L. were appealed to, but they did nothing. Apparently they thought the situation too grave—besides the strikers had no money to give them.

Just about this time William E. Trautman, general organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World, who had just landed in western Pennsylvania, Frank Niedzillski, a member of the first and second Russian douma from Poland, and the writer planned for a meeting in Butler. We had a crowd of 800, started an organization of about 650, and it looks as if all will be brought into one compact organization in the near future. The men feel the need of an organization where every member stands as one man.

The most prominent feature of these three strikes is the wonderful spirit of solidarity and the recognition of the need of one compact organization. The men speak of it as a "labor trust" and "one big union." They are not troubled about the "failures" and "splits" of the I. W. W. in the past. They only know that the A. F. of L. has failed to make good; moreover, they know that wherever it interfered it divided the workers. They instinctively feel that it is a capitalistic organization. On the other hand the Industrial Workers of the World represents industrial unionism. Old "Amalgamated" men in New Castle who have been hanging to the old organization for years realize this now and they are doing all in their power to build up industrial unionism in New Castle. Already two unions of the I. W. W. have been formed in New Castle, one among the unorganized of the tin mills, with a membership of 500, and a mixed local of about 65 members. In fact, it was a group of men in the mechanical department of the Shenango tin mill in New Castle, imbued with the principles of industrial unionism, that brought the men out in that department in sympathy with the Amalgamated and Protective Association men. Charles McKeever, an electrical engineer in the Shenango mill, and a half dozen others, for two or three weeks after the Amalgamated men came out, carried on an education in the principles of industrial unionism. These

men formed the nucleus for the I. W. W. organization. Finally, when McKeever, who is an active Socialist, was handed a check by the master mechanic and told his services were no longer needed, he said: "All right," and ran to the whistle rope and gave it a long pull. This was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon—one hour before quitting time. Every man dropped his tools, picked up his bucket, and they walked out in a body, without shutting off the engines or anything else.

A sample of the tactics of industrial unionism was given and the men learned a concrete lesson. The Free Press, the local Lawrence county Socialist paper, realizing that the workers want shop talk and shop action, was simply driven to stand out and out for industrial unionism and the I. W. W. as the only organization that represents that form of unionism.

Political action is at times an effective weapon in fighting the capitalist class, but we should not get away from the fact that the revolutionary movement of the workers is on the industrial field. Instinctively the wage slave's mind is in the shop—judicial and legislative wranglings do not appeal to him.

Organizations of the I. W. W. are being formed in McKees Rocks, Butler, New Castle, South Sharon, Struthers and other places in and around the Pittsburgh district. W. E. Trautman, general organizer, has more dates than he can fill. The workers are ready for constructive work.

I miss my guess badly if western Pennsylvania is not going to be the storm center of the revolution. The Knights of Labor died last in this part of the country, and the industrial process is more developed here than in any other part of the United States. Now is the time, indeed, to quit wrangling and get down to doing things.

All classes have ever been insistent on their own rights, and regardless of the interests of their fellow man. Thus the captains of industry have ever stoutly maintained their right to monopolize and control; have ever built up their combinations even against positive human law, but they just as loudly deny the right of the working man to monopolize and control the one commodity he has to sell—his labor—which is his flesh and blood, his very life.—Clarence S. Darrow, in *The Open Shop*.

# Reformer and Revolutionist

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN.



IN every organization there are two wings; in every movement two tendencies are bound to appear. We call them radical and conservative, revolutionary and reformist or possibilist and impossibilist. The fact that this division is so general suggests that it is based upon a corresponding division in human nature. We say, "There are two sets of people," and let it go at that.

In the socialist movement—we may as well admit it—our two tendencies are full blown. And at first thought our ready-made explanation of the fact may seem sufficient. Yet the more I consider the matter the more it seems to me that there is at the basis of it something deeper than a mere difference in temperament. The two wings of our movement are marked with tolerable clearness. On the one hand we have the reformers—on the other the revolutionists. What I wish to show, in the first place, is that the difference between these two forces in our movement results from opposing views as to the importance of the political state. To the reformer the political state seems the controlling force in our society; to the revolutionist it seems but the reflex of our economic life.

In order to convince ourselves that this is at bottom the distinction between our two tendencies we shall merely have to recall a few socialist speeches or articles. Is not your reformer always telling us that all we need is a majority of the votes? Does he not calm our minds with the assurance that we can "get socialism" little by little; pass now one law, now another, take over first this industry then that under government control? And your revolutionist—is he not always talking of the class struggle, of strikes and lock-outs? Does he not represent the advent of socialism as the result of a better physical fight, a fight quite beyond control of the state?

This very evident difference in point of view, in manner of picturing the course of our movement, seems worth examination. If we can discover how it comes about we may be able to conclude which side is in the right.

It seems to me to result from the unprecedented division between

our industrial and political organizations. And it is this division which we must thoroughly appreciate before we can understand the origin of our two opposing opinions.

I spoke of the division between our industrial and political life as unprecedented. A mere glance at history will show that the word was justified. At no previous stage of social development can one find precedent for it. No matter what epoch in the evolution of civilization we examine the political and economic interests are represented by the same organization. In the time of tribal communism, for example, the tribe was the unit both for political and industrial purposes. That is to say, the business of a tribe, many of the private relations of its members, and all of its external relations were under the direction of the same organization. Under feudalism we discover a similar condition of affairs. The lord of the manor controlled practically the whole life of those who had sworn fealty to him; he disposed, in large measure, of their economic power, he could prescribe rules as to their most private relations and they owed him service in time of war. Industrial and political power were both in his hands.

Capitalism, however, even in its early stages, brought a new element into society. In the early days of feudalism production was carried on within the feudal community; there was little buying or selling. But gradually there began to appear traders, mostly Jews. Together with free natives these began to live in towns. For a variety of reasons these towns received privileges from the kings and rapidly increased in wealth. In spite of raids made by robber barons and taxes imposed by monarchs these centers of trade continued to flourish. And now occurred a remarkable thing: there grew up a state within a state. Within each city the trades were elaborately organized as guilds, and among the various cities were often powerful leagues. Still, except in bourgeois countries, like Holland, or in the case of the free cities of Germany, the citizens had nothing that we should call political power. They disposed of great wealth, they had elaborate systems of banking and exchange, they were an organized society; yet their private lives were largely subject to laws passed by others, and they were always exposed to the diplomatic and military machinations of men over whom they had no control.

In England this relation, or lack of relation, between two great forces in society reached its natural result in the seventeenth century. Charles I, and later Charles II and James II, ruled according to tradition, paid no attention to the demands of business. If trade was hampered in this way or that, e. g., by the dominance of the Dutch, it made little difference to him. But the lords of trade now had the

growing city of London at their back, and his majesty was much in need of cash; they could demand consideration. And when they finally discovered that they were not likely to get it from a Stuart king they imported a monarch to their own taste—first exacting solemn promises as to his behavior.

What took place in the England of the seventeenth century was repeated, with variations, in the France of the eighteenth. Since then it has occurred in varying degrees and in various ways in other civilized lands. But no matter where, the moment it has taken place there has come into being the division of power which is characteristic of our day. Just what is this division? Before this, in the main, power had rested in the hands of one class. Why did not this continue to be true—with merely a change of class? The bourgeois class came into power; why did it not frankly and openly take unto itself the overlordship? Why did not the rich send both kings and commoners to the right about and proclaim: This is our day; from now on it is ours to command? The principle reason is that they needed the support of the common people, a power which the organization of trade had not yet placed definitely in their hands; they were forced to proclaim themselves the champions of all, to shout for "liberty, equality, fraternity."

Their problem, then, was how to satisfy the majority, on whose support they depended, and at the same time remain themselves the actual masters of the situation. It is in the attempt to solve this problem that the form of present day society has been worked out. Parliament and congresses apparently give the control of affairs to the majority; so the majority comforts itself with the notion of democracy and is content, and these parliaments and congresses, at least formally, have real power: they make and enforce rules as to many of our life relations, they control foreign affairs and command the forces of war.

But now notice a peculiar thing. These popular assemblies are the direct descendants of feudal lords and kings, but they are only one of the controlling forces in our society. Along with them, and touching them at many points we have a business, or industrial organization. In a certain sense this is the same as that which asserted its power at the time of the bourgeois revolution, but it has risen to a degree of effectiveness hitherto undreamed of. More and more branches of industry have come under central control—till now, in this country, e. g., we have a small group of men ruling the industry of the most productive nation in the world. This small group decides what enterprises are to be undertaken, how high the wages to be paid, what the conditions of labor, etc., etc.

We have, then, in our modern society practically two states—a political state and an industrial state. The first is, at least in form, democratic; the second is frankly autocratic. The first has long been considered a matter of public importance; its policies have been generally discussed; its affairs considered everybody's business. The second has from the first been considered the affair of a few; a man's business is his own concern; business is business, and the public has no right to meddle with it.

Now what does a socialist mean when he says that all we need is a majority of the votes? Or that we can "get socialism" by taking over this industry now that under state control? Is it not clear that in his mind the political state is supreme? That according to his notion a matter settled by the political machinery is settled forever? Does he not mean that the political state is society and that therefore no other organization needs to be thought of?

On the other hand, what does your revolutionist mean when he says the industrial revolution cannot be accomplished without a bitter struggle? When he proclaims that this struggle must increase in intensity till one side gains a definite and permanent victory, is he not speaking of a conflict outside the realm of law, i. e., beyond the control of the political state? Is this supreme conflict not entirely an affair of the industrial organization, which, we have seen, shares with the political the control of modern society?

Which of these two is right? The one who lays stress on politics or the one who lays it on industry? Shall we follow the reformer or the revolutionist? If we examine the positions of the two in the light of the analysis just made, we may be able, not only to answer these questions, but to arrive at certain conclusions with regard to socialist tactics.

The implication of the position assumed by the man who is going to change the world by votes is that the political state is supreme, or at least that it holds the preponderance of power. Let us see. In the first place, which organization is it that exercises the greater influence over the life of the individual? In how far is the course of your life determined by the political state? This organization does something to deter you from killing or stealing, things which, in all probability, you do not want to do in any case; it determines, within limits, the amount of your direct or indirect taxes; it makes regulations as to certain of your private relations; it carries your letters and furnishes you with a weather report. But the ordinary, well-behaved citizen can live his life and go to his grave almost unconscious of the existence of this much talked of organization.

We are always hearing, however, about the complexity of modern

society, about the fact that each of us fits into his place like the cog in the machine. What organization is it that determines our placé? Is it not the very economic organization mentioned above? The political state tells you not to kill and carries your mail, but the economic state determines the conditions of your life. It determines, at least for the most of us, where and in what sort of houses we are to be born, whether we are to be educated, what are to be our trades, whether we are to marry, where and how we are to live: indeed it may determine whether we are to live at all.

How far this marvelous organization trenches upon the domain supposed to belong exclusively to the political state is seldom realized. It often concerns itself, for one thing, with private morals. Thousands of railway employes, e. g., are forbidden to indulge in alcoholic liquors on or off duty. The employes of the Great Lakes Navigation Company at one time were forced to sign contracts which, in some respects regulates their lives down to the smallest detail. And these cases are not the most astonishing; often the industrial lords consciously and formally supersede the civil power. Mining companies make a practice of compelling their men to sign agreements abrogating the protection afforded by law.

To a certain extent, of course, the power of this tremendous, never-sleeping, all-controlling organization is wielded in an impersonal, automatic manner; it acts like the force of gravity. But as society has evolved it has become more and more self-conscious and more and more responsive to central control. We have it on the authority of a former prosecuting attorney of the state of Ohio, a man who learned about the trusts by fighting them, that eight men could stop the wheels of industry in the United States. At any rate a very few men have it in their power to say, within limits, how and where millions of their fellow creatures shall live—or, often, whether they shall live at all. Yesterday's paper tells me that one, man, Mr. Harri-man, has it in his power to give to the great city of Chicago a good or bad railway service.

But, our political reformer may say, after all does not the political power control ultimately? Cannot the government coerce the trusts? Can it not pass laws and thus bring about any desirable change—if necessary by changing the trusts themselves? Let us keep our eyes steadily on facts. Look, first of all, into the making and enforcing of laws. Who makes the laws? Do you? Do I? Who is fixing up the tariff bill that is soon to pass Congress? Did any Republican or Democratic voter give effective expression to his will when he put his little voting paper into the box? Of course we all know that the common man voted—and "the interests" are doing the rest. William R.

Hearst's revelations during the last presidential campaign proved to the last doubter that the real source of national power is, not the capitol at Washington, but Wall street. What becomes of suggested labor legislation? Almost always it is branded "vicious" and buried in committee. What happens if a great money king wants this or that? He gets it.

And how about law enforcement? Occasionally a labor law is passed under stress of public opinion—or a measure to regulate "the interests." What comes of it? The courts are sacred, but when law after law of one or the other of these two sorts is declared unconstitutional, or so applied as to fail of its purpose, one has his suspicions. Think of our great, great anti-trust law—which has been enforced **only against labor unions**. Consider the fact that boycotting is criminal, but blacklisting entirely legal.

The reason for this state of affairs is not difficult to discover. A German proverb has it, "Whose bread I eat, his man I am." The judges, almost without exception, are men who have received large fees as corporation lawyers; and almost always, after their service on the bench, they go back to their former masters. Now it is no more than natural that a man should think the welfare of society bound up with the good of the class which he serves and with which he lives. So court decisions are naturally in the interest of the great economic machine.

What, then, has become of the political state, that mighty organization to which many of us look for the regeneration of society? In final analysis it appears but as the tool of a far more powerful force behind it. It is the shadow, the other, the reality. It is the servant; the other, the master.

Then those of us who think all we need is votes expect the tool to wield the user, the shadow to change the reality, the servant to command the master. Just that.

In one respect I may be doing injustice to the purely political socialist. He may agree in the main with what I have said about the relation between the political and industrial organizations—and then go on to maintain that he, too, is bent on the control of the latter. The political state is already democratic and formally, at least, it is supreme. Does it not, he may ask, furnish the readiest means to power? After its capture we can make it—what it is not now—the real center of our society; it can become, as it should be, the controlling force.

My answer is, that until the conflict is won we must deal with facts as they are, use the means now at command. We are fighting within the limits of the present social structure, and we must conquer

for our use, not the tools that can be made powerful, but those that are powerful now.

All this, however is merely negative. If our analysis of the forces of society is at all correct we should be able to reach some rather definite conclusions as to what is the best line of tactics for those who wish to overthrow existing society.

Out of our present social organism is to develop the higher form for which we strive. Will this higher form grow in the main, out of our industrial or our political organization? It is obvious that if industry is at the heart of our civilization, if it is that in the main that conditions our lives, if, finally, it is that which determines the course of our political government—if all this is true, it is obvious that it is out of our industrial life we are to expect the future society.

Or look at the matter from the point of view of our own volition? It is clear to anyone acquainted with the rudiments of socialist theory that both our political and industrial organizations are merely characteristic of our present stage of development. Both will pass away; we are fighting to save neither. But our examination of the actual condition of affairs showed the one to be dominant over the other. As a matter of practical tactics, which is it the more worth while to conquer? Obviously the dominant, i. e., the industrial, organization.

It is evident that the political state plays a large part in our life. This is proved by nothing more clearly than by the fact that "the interests" keep it carefully under their control. A class which strives for revolution must conquer it. But if the main force in our civilization is industry, the revolution will be brought about by industrial power.

And how is the working class to gain industrial power? The working class has industrial power, but it has not yet learned to use it. Labor power is the greatest item among the world's assets. The class that controls that has the key to the whole situation; it can give command to all the earth—provided it has learned how to use the advantages of its position. It must know how to act as a class in its own interest, to use its industrial power. How is this to be brought about? How and where is the working class to learn to act effectively in its own interest?

How and where does the capitalist class use its industrial power? i. e. Where does it bring its power to bear effectively on the masses of the people? Obviously in factory or mine or on the transportation line. The forces of government are only subsidiary to powers exercised directly in these places. Our question is answered; the working class, too, must learn to use its power in factory and mine and on

transportation line. Then, whenever there is a strike or lock-out or the drawing up of an agreement, the real struggle for the revolution is on.

More than this, if ever the working class is to take charge of our industrial organization, it is there, in industry itself, that it must learn its business. It cannot prepare for its task by studying history or law or even learning Marx letter by letter. The men in each department of our economic life must know their work from A to Z. And not only that; they must know how to manage large affairs, how to choose men for responsible posts, how to reach together decisions regarding matters of supreme importance. How are they to get the training for all this? In industry itself. Surely it were idle to seek it elsewhere.

The conclusion seems to me self-evident, the chief emphasis of the socialist movement must be put on working class organization. I say this, not because it is necessary to get into the confidence of the workingman, to interest him in our party, but because working class organization is the only means to a revolution. Our present labor movement is pitifully inadequate. What we need is a great, solid organization of workers, class-conscience, industrially organized, fighting capitalism at every step, and so, growing as capitalism grows, steadily evolving into the industrial commonwealth. Of course we must keep up the political fight, but if this great labor army is what we most need our best brain and muscle should go into the work of its upbuilding.

Only a fraction of the intellectuals and the very small farmers and the little bourgeois who are actually wage-workers and dependent on their custom, unite with the proletariat. But these are decidedly uncertain allies; they are all greatly lacking in just that weapon from which the proletariat draws all its strength—organization.—Karl Kautsky's *Social Revolution*, page 87.

# THE FLOOD



## STORIES OF THE CAVE PEOPLE BY MARY E. MARCY



EARLY in the spring, the snows began to melt on the mountain tops, many miles above the Hollow, and to run down into little streams that lost themselves in the great river. Day by day the waters of the river arose along its banks. The Cave People gave little heed, for they had much to do at this time, to satisfy their hunger. Only the Old Woman bent her eyes on the whirling waters with fear and dread in her heart.

Long before the memory of the other members of the tribe, she recalled a time when the waters had clambered over the river banks and spread many a day's journey into the deep forests. Many of her brothers and her sisters had been swallowed up by the angry waters. The members of her tribe had been scattered and joined new tribes. Since those days, she had always feared the river, when it rose in the spring.

When she warned the Cave People, one and all, they listened to her words, but they knew not what to do. And always the river rose higher and higher and its current grew more swift, tearing away the young saplings that grew low down, and bearing them swiftly away.

But the Cave People had need of great skill these days to satisfy the hunger of the tribe. A new activity seemed born unto them. Eyes grew keen for the tracks of the wild boar and their ears were open for a sound of the foot of the forest enemies.

Sharp eyes everywhere pierced the woods and glanced from the branches of trees, for man and beast had need to be ever alert and watchful to survive the dreary period of the hard seasons. The black bear appeared, thin and dangerous. But the Cave People eluded and outwitted her. Across yawning cracks in the ground or over great hollows, they threw branches of trees. And upon these branches they threw dead fish and smeared the blood of the wild duck.

Through the woods the smell of fresh blood reached the keen nose of the bear and she made her way thither to satisfy the hunger that gnawed her continually. But the branches gave way under her great bulk and she fell crashing into the pit below, where the Cave People killed her with their long bone weapons.

It was after one of these great bear feasts, when the Cave People had fed the Fire into a roaring blaze to protect them from the animals that grew over-bold at this season of the year, that the Old Woman renewed her warnings. The waters of the great river continued to climb upward and there remained but a little way before they should overflow the banks.

Then the Old Woman gathered the members of the tribe together and told them the story of her childhood days. The new words of the tribe came stumblingly to her lips, therefore she made known her thoughts chiefly in the gesture language.

First she pointed to the land across the river, waving her wrinkled hands northward. That way lay the home of her birth. Many, many years before—she held up both hands to indicate the time was beyond the power of counting—she had lived with her fathers and mothers, on a river bank. Very small she was in those days. Her head came only to the thigh of a man.

Came a time when the waters of the river crept up over the lands, just as they had begun to steal over the wood north of the Hollow. The people of her tribe had climbed into the great trees, but with the coming of every new sun, the waters rose higher and higher. Long the waters continued to climb till they became a great surging flood, creeping through the forest and at last joining the waters of the river that flowed beside the homes of the Cave People. Over all the world there remained no dry land.

And the Old Woman, who was then a child, dwelt for many suns with her fathers and mothers, in the tall trees.

But there came one day a storm, when the waters foamed and whirled and tore up the trunks of the great trees and hurled them into the flood. And the limbs of the tree, on which the Old Woman clung, were beaten and bent in the mighty struggle till at last, she was

whipped from the branches and thrown into the waters, as nuts are shaken from the trees.

And the Old Woman was borne away in the swift current. She heard many cries, as the waters threw her about, and some of her people leaped into the flood to save her. But she was beaten about like a leaf in the wind and unable to call to them.

Soon she found herself dashed against the trunk of a tree, and she climbed upon it and clung to it for a long time. Often she grew very weary and slipped back into the waters, but always she clung to the branches of the tree, till, at last, she had been washed ashore. And she made her way into the new land till she came, by and by, to the homes of the Cave Dwellers.

Tubers they fed her and the eggs of the wild fowl. And she remained with them and became a member of the tribe.

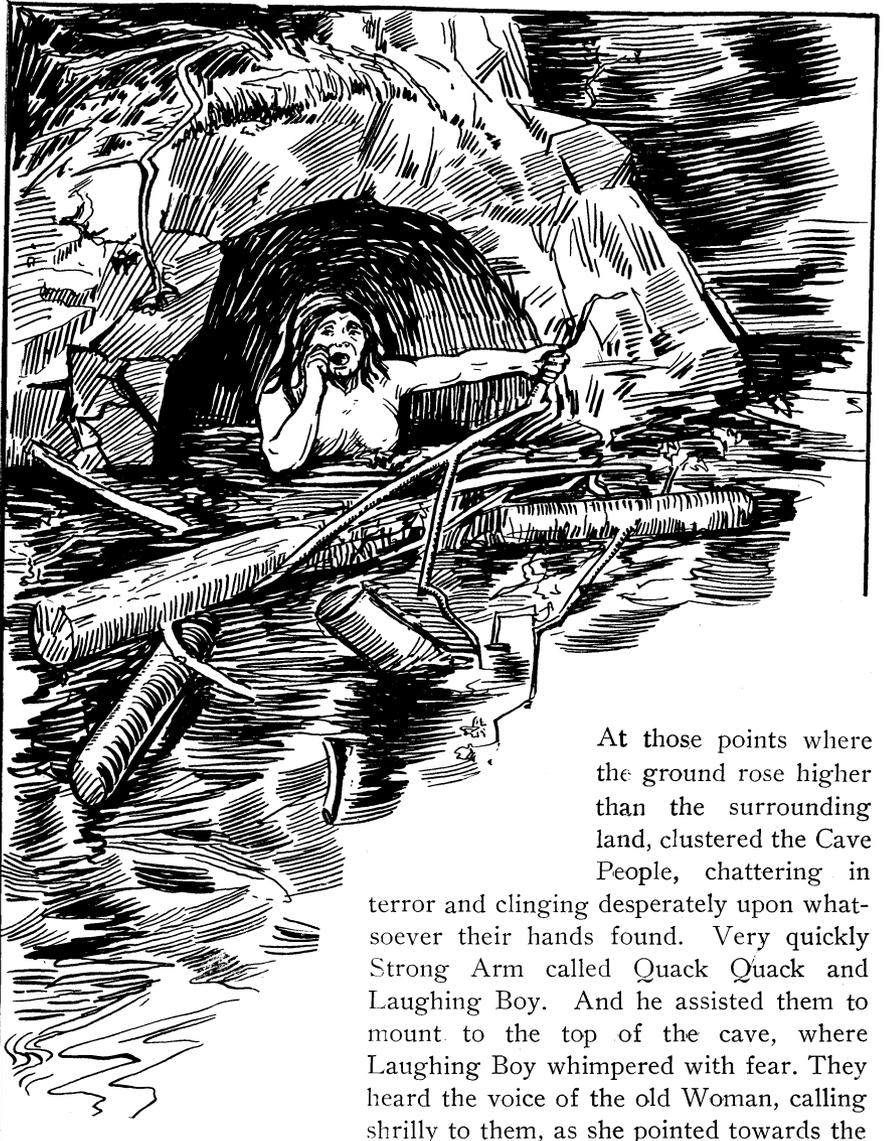
Never again had the Old Woman beheld the people of her own tribe, save at night when she dreamed on her bed of dry leaves in the deep cave. Sometimes they returned to her then and told her strange things.

Thus the Old Woman told her story and when she was finished a trembling seized her brown body and she gazed long at the swift waters of the river. Of the color of the leaves, touched by the frosts of winter, were her wrinkled hands, with which she pointed toward the river. And the Cave People were seized with fear also, for even as they watched, small rivulets crept over the banks and trickled down into the Hollow.

Heavy rains fell all through the day that followed and the small streams of water that overflowed the banks found their way into all the little hollows, filling them. At night when the Cave Dwellers sought their caves, their hearts were filled with dread.

Quack Quack crouched close to Strong Arm, with her arms about little Laughing Boy. The rumbling and roar of the waters sounded in their ears, as the swollen river tore downward in her course. But, after a time, they fell asleep and forgot their terrors, till the cries of their brothers and sisters aroused them, towards the morning.

Now the cave in which Strong Arm slept, was upon a point above the caves of the other members of the tribe, but when he arose and rolled the great stone from the entrance of the cave, the snarling waters curled about his feet and wet them. And, when he looked into the Hollow, a strange sight met his eyes. For the river had risen in the darkness, covering the face of the world. Every moment the waters surged savagely onward over the land, into the deep woods, as though they meant to devour the whole earth.



At those points where the ground rose higher than the surrounding land, clustered the Cave People, chattering in terror and clinging desperately upon whatsoever their hands found. Very quickly Strong Arm called Quack Quack and Laughing Boy. And he assisted them to mount to the top of the cave, where Laughing Boy whimpered with fear. They heard the voice of the old Woman, calling shrilly to them, as she pointed towards the

branches of the tall trees in the forest, where they might find safety.

And many members of the tribe cast themselves into the waters that rose steadily every moment, and swam toward the woods. But the waters tossed them and the current pushed them ever backward. Often they were struck by great floating logs, that rolled over and over when they sought to climb up on them.

Then, amid the great tumult, was heard the voice of Light Foot

and the sounds of Big Nose, her husband, also. And when the Cave People looked about, they discovered a flood of huge logs and dead trees that had been jammed before the entrance of the cave wherein dwelt these two, barring the way out.

And every man in the whole tribe forgot his desire for safety to answer the cry for help that Light Foot sent up. For, among the Cave Dwellers, there was a great tenderness among the men and women of the tribe. The word of a woman bore great weight, for it was the joy of every man to please and aid her.

So Strong Arm threw himself into the water, with a cry to his brothers, while Quack Quack remained upon the top of the cave holding Laughing Boy in her arms, lest he be harmed.

Long the members of the tribe struggled with the current, till at last they reached the cave of Light Foot where she struggled with the logs that shut her in. With all their strength these strong men tugged and plucked at the trees. But with every effort, the waters bore back on them, jamming the logs into a wedge again, between the cave and the rocks, till the Old Woman thought they should all be drowned.

At last, however, Strong Arm thrust a great stick between the cave and the jam of trees and Big Nose and Light Foot were able to add their strength in diverting the danger. Soon they were free and making their way, with those who had saved them, toward the woods. It is well to note here too that the cave men thought always of the women, lending them every aid and that there was not one forgotten amid grave peril.

Not till it was too late to effect his rescue, however, did the Cave People remember Old Grey Beard, who had also become imprisoned in his cave. At that time the waters tore about the tops of the rocks and they knew it was too late to help him.

Although many swam for the woods, few arrived there. Strong Arm, Quack Quack and Laughing Boy, who had followed their friends, soon found themselves regretting the rocks above their cave. For all the drift borne down the river by the swift waters, seemed hemmed and wedged about the woods. Over these logs it was impossible to pass. For they rolled and dipped under the feet, dumping the Cave People back into the boiling water, sometimes crushing them between the great logs.

Strong Arm progressed beneath the debris, but he was unable to find an opening to come up, and was compelled to return to Quack Quack and Laughing Boy, who swam about the edge of the great mass of logs, awaiting him. Very dizzy he was and his lungs col-



lapsed with his breath as he appeared, for the struggle against the current was almost beyond his strength.

Again and again they sought to reach the woods where they might find shelter in the trees, but each time they failed. It was impossible to advance and the strong current rendered it still more difficult to go back.

And every moment the waters rose. Logs whirled swiftly past with many of the forest animals clinging to them. Now and then they saw one of the Hairy Folk tossed and straining to reach the trees. The Silent One, who clung to one of the cane rafts, was flung into the whirling jam, by the current, and crushed like a dry leaf in the hand. As far as the eye could reach the foaming waters tore

their way through the woods. But between the Cave Dwellers who clung to the skirts of the jam, and the safety of the forest trees, it seemed there floated and rocked and churned all the trees of a great world of woods, plucked out and cast there by the great river, in order to mock them.

But the Cave People clung tenaciously, while the great mass of logs strained and tore each other, or were flung away in the current. At last the great hollow tree, in which Strong Arm had kept the Fire alive, was borne down, for its trunk was old with fire and with rot. As it was tossed onward in the mighty current, Strong Arm, with Laughing Boy and Quack Quack close at his side, made their way toward it with a great effort. As it whirled past them, they flung their arms over the rough bark and clung to it.

Soon they were able to climb into the burned out hollow of the tree, where they lay shivering with fear. The trunk of the tree make a kind of boat the Cave People had never seen, for only the burned out portion at the end lay open and dipped into the waters. In the hollow they lay for a long time, till their strength returned and their fears fell. Then they sat up and looked about.

The rains had ceased and the sun made his way high in the heavens, and they were borne swiftly along in the great log. Often they crashed into the branches of trees that rose just above the water. But always Strong Arm, Quack Quack and Laughing Boy clung tightly. They did not mean to be hurled into the waters again.

But they were checked in their fearful journey, at last, when the hollow log was driven amid the interwoven trunks and branches of a tall banyan. There it lay, tossing in the boughs, as safe as though it had been anchored securely. For the current of the river sucked and drove it always more strongly into the arms of the tree.

Soon a great chattering arose among the branches that dipped now and then into the angry waters, and in a moment they beheld the Foolish One and a man from the tribe of the Hairy Folk, who called to them.

And Laughing Boy forgot his terrors as he seized a bough and made his way into the tree, for safety, while Quack Quack and Strong Arm followed him.

Then arose such a jabbering as was never before heard in the old banyan, while Strong Arm and the Foolish One made known their adventures. Also they talked to the man from the tribe of the Hairy Folk in the gesture language.

Where the limbs of the tree ran far out over the whirling waters, Laughing Boy found the long deep nests of the oo-ee-a. Often the

branches bent beneath his feet and threatened to give way under him, but his lightness enabled him to secure these treasures. And together, the Foolish One, Strong Arm, Quack Quack, Laughing Boy and the man from the tribe of the Hairy Folk made a supper upon the eggs of the oo-ee-a. Then they sought out forked branches, where they curled themselves up and fell asleep.

The waters roared and thundered beneath. Dead trees and old logs beat against their new refuge in the great banyan, but they wound their arms and legs about the limbs of the tree and found rest.

Thus they dwelt in the old banyan, with a wild fowl now and then, a fish, or a few gulls' eggs to satisfy their hunger, while the river sank lower and lower into its old channel. Every day the waters receded and slipped back into the river bed, till Strong Arm' declared the time was come when they might venture forth toward the land of their fathers.

The latest investigations respecting the early condition of the human race are tending to the conclusion that mankind commenced their career at the bottom of the scale and worked their way up from savagery to civilization through the slow accumulations of experimental knowledge.

As it is undeniable that portions of the human family have existed in a state of savagery, other portions in a state of barbarism, and still other portions in a state of civilization, it seems equally so that these distinct conditions are connected with each other in a natural as well as necessary sequence of progress. Morgan's *Ancient Society*, page 3.

# The Way to Win

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*AN OPEN LETTER TO TRADES UNIONISTS ON METHODS  
OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION*

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BY TOM MANN



COMRADES—The great crisis is drawing nigh when the supreme effort must be made by the workers to take entire responsibility for the management of all industry and commerce; the existing system of society must of necessity give place to some other system that will adequately provide for the requirements of all. The nature of the newer order will depend in considerable measure on the standard of intelligence possessed by the workers, and their courage

to apply sound principles that will ensure social and economic equality.

The object I have in writing this letter is not to enlarge upon principles or ideals, but to direct attention to the machinery that is necessary to enable us to achieve our object.

### THE PRELIMINARY ESSENTIAL CONDITION IS WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY.

Without this solidarity, *i. e.*, without the power and the disposition to act in concert as the working-class against the dominating plutocratic class, there is no hope.

At present we have not got this solidarity, either industrially or politically.

The weakness of our industrial organization lies less in the fact that only one-fourth of the workers are organized, than in the much more serious fact that those who are organized are not prepared to make common cause with each other.

Hitherto we have been content with trades unions—meaning unions of skilled workers, supplemented by unions of unskilled workers. But each of these unions has for the most part initiated and as far as possible carried out a policy for itself alone; more recently broadened out somewhat by joining trade and labor federations to secure something in the nature of general help in time of trouble or warfare.

Still, the basis of unionism of to-day is distinctly sectional and narrow, instead of cosmopolitan and broad-based.

In Australia, more particularly, resort to Arbitration Courts and Wages Boards for the settlement of industrial disputes has resulted in settlements being arrived at and agreements entered into by the various unions, binding them not to become actively engaged in any dispute during the period covered by the agreement.

Such agreements in themselves absolutely destroy the possibility of class solidarity.

Agreements entered into between unions and employers directly—*i. e.*, without the intervention of Arbitration Courts or Wages Boards—are equally detrimental to, and in dead opposition to working-class solidarity. They, therefore, must be classed as amongst the chief obstructive agencies to general working-class progress.

Thus it is clear that to continue entering into binding agreements with employers is to render the unionist movement impotent for achieving our economic freedom.

Therefore, no more agreements must be entered into for lengthy periods. Of course, temporary adjustments must be made, but they must be for the hour only, leaving the workers free for concerted action with their fellows.

The form of capitalist industry has changed during the past 50 years. It has passed through the stages of individual ownership of shop or factory, the employer taking part in the business and competing with all other employers in the same business, then to limited liability and joint stock companies, which removed the individual employer—whose place is taken by a manager—and reduced competition between the capitalist firms. From this it has now gone to trusts and combines, inter-State, and even international in their operation.

A corresponding progress must take place with the workers' organization. Sectionalism must disappear, and the industrial organizations must be equal to State, national and international action; not in theory only, but in actual fact.

Another influence tending strongly towards discord and not towards solidarity is the stipulating in some unions that a man who joins an industrial organization by that act pledges himself to vote in a certain way politically.

I have, in days gone by, argued strongly that the industrial organizations should be the special places where economic knowledge should be imparted and adequate scope for discussion afforded. I hold so still, but I am thoroughly satisfied that this is a source of serious discord to couple the political with the industrial in the sense of demanding that a man must vote as the industrial organization declares.

It is not difficult to understand why this should be so. It is because in the unions or industrial organizations we are (or should be) prepared to enroll every person who works, irrespective of his or her intelligence, or opinions held upon political or other subjects.

Take the case of an organizer, who finds himself in a center of industry where there is practically no organization. He soon discovers that the usual orthodox bodies are there, theological and political. He finds out the composition of the local governing bodies and the type of politician who received the votes at last election. From this he concludes that there are resident there the usual percentage of reactionaries, Liberals, Laborites and Socialists, and each of these parties finds its adherents chiefly in the ranks of the workers.

That ought not to interfere with industrial organization, in which they should be enrolled entirely irrespective of political faith; and, becoming members of the industrial body, it is here these workers should get their education in industrial and social economics, and this would prove the true guide to political action.

To insist upon them voting solidly politically before they have re-

ceived instruction in matters economic, is to add to the difficulties of organization.

Notwithstanding what has been done and is now being done by the Australian Workers' Union, it is abundantly clear that we shall have to separate the industrial from the political, and so afford scope for growing activities with the least amount of friction.

I am not wishful to deprecate political action, but it is necessary to say that during recent years, in Australia, undue importance has been attached to political action; and although the actual membership in industrial organizations may be as large, or even larger than in former years, there is not held by the typical unionist a proper understanding of the fundamental and vital importance of economic or industrial organization. Indeed, to listen to the speeches of the typical Labor politician, it is clear that he is surfeited with the idea that that which is of paramount importance is the return to the legislative bodies of an additional number of Labor men, and that all else is secondary and relatively trifling.

In absolute fact, the very opposite is the case. Experience in all countries shows most conclusively that industrial organization, intelligently conducted, is of much more moment than political action, for entirely irrespective as to which school of politicians is in power, capable and courageous industrial activity forces from the politicians proportionate concessions.

It is an entirely mistaken notion to suppose that the return of Labor men or Socialists to Parliament can bring about deep-seated economic changes, unless the people themselves intelligently desire these changes, and those who do so desire to know the value of economic organization. During the past few years the representative men of France, Germany, Italy and other countries have urged upon the workers of the world to give increased attention to industrial organization, and they are acting accordingly.

Indeed, it is obvious that a growing proportion of the intelligent pioneers of economic changes are expressing more and more dissatisfaction with Parliament and all its works, and look forward to the time when Parliaments, as we know them, will be superseded by the people managing their own affairs by means of the Initiative and the Referendum.

However, I am not an anti-Parliamentarian. I am chiefly concerned that we should attend to the first job in the right order, and thus make it the easier to do whatever else may be necessary.

It is encouraging to see the practical turn of affairs in Port Pirie,

S. A. There the Combined Unions' Committee have already sent out a circular letter to the unions of South Australia, in which they say :

"During the present struggle with the Broken Hill Proprietary Company, we have had ample opportunity of ascertaining in what manner industrial organization might be made more effective in resisting the tyrannical encroachments of modern capitalism, and securing to the worker a larger share of the product of his labor. My committee have come to a definite and unanimous conclusion that craft unionism has outlived its usefulness, and that 20th century industrial development demands on the part of the workers a more perfect system of organization. With this end in view, we urge, as a preliminary step, the holding of a Trades' Union Congress in Adelaide during the month of July next. We sincerely hope that this proposition will meet with the earnest and energetic support of your members, and that immediate action will be taken."

This is a significant sign of the times, and an encouraging one, too, to those who lament the sectionalism of the present unionism movement.

Such a conference could well discuss and carry such resolutions as follow :

"That the present system of sectional trades unionism is incapable of combating effectively the capitalist system under which the civilized world is now suffering, and such modifications and alterations should be made in the existing unions as will admit of a genuine Federation of all organizations, with power to act unitedly for industrial purposes."

"That this conference urgently advises all trade societies, unions and associations to speedily make such changes in their rules as may be necessary to separate the funds subscribed for purposes usually provided by Friendly Societies from the funds subscribed for economic or industrial purposes, and proceed to at once form district Federations of all unions as distinct from trade or craft Federations."

"That a Provisional Committee, or Council, be formed in each State (or, if need be, in each industrial district), to direct organizing activities, until the movement attains such dimensions as will warrant the holding of an Interstate Congress, at which Congress all details as to objects and methods can be definitely decided upon. The members composing such provisional councils or committees to be drawn from members of unions agreeing to the previous proposals."

"That no dispute be entered upon and no encouragement given

to any section to formulate grievances (unless compelled by the action of employers), until the movement shall have attained a high standard of organization, approved by the proposed Interstate Congress."

"That in order to guard against dissension, it be declared from the outset that this movement is neither anti-political nor pro-political, but industrial and economic, and that members may belong to what political organization they please providing they do not oppose the expressed objects and ideals yet to be agreed upon at the Inter-State Congress, and at present set forth in the previous proposals."

If the unions of the Barrier agree to take such action as suggested in the foregoing proposals, I believe there could be, in a short time, a far more powerful organization than anything of the kind known to modern times.

Beyond any question, the industrialists of Australia are prepared to carefully consider any well thought-out proposals submitted to them by the comrades of Broken Hill and Port Pirie.

The time is particularly opportune also, because for some two years past much discussion has been indulged in as to the merits of industrial unionism, and the minds of many are prepared to co-operate in such effort as here set forth.

Many of the unions in New South Wales and Victoria have already given much attention to the subject, and are well disposed thereto.

To remain in the present forcibly feeble condition characteristic of present-day unionism would be to stamp ourselves as incapables; and would admit of an indefinite prolongation of capitalist tyranny.

On all sides we see hysterical efforts being made by the plutocratic governments of the different countries to prepare for war on an unprecedented scale, as a relief from glutted markets. Such is the condition of the peoples in Europe and America that deaths by starvation and deaths from diseases arising out of ill-nourished and unsanitary conditions are so appallingly large that the modern system stands condemned in the eyes of all intelligent citizens.

Through the ages men have died by millions before the naturally allotted span of life, because they have not been able to produce life's requirements in the necessary abundance; but never before did the anomaly we now witness obtain, viz., that people die of hunger because they have produced so much as to glut the markets and fill the warehouses, and are then deprived of the opportunity of work, therefore of incomes. Hence, poverty, destitution and misery.

These conditions cannot last. In spite of colossal ignorance, there is

already too much intelligence and genuine courage to acquiesce in such class dominancy and exploitation as brings such results in its train.

Therefore, comrades, get to work like men of intelligence and courage, count it a privilege to be permitted to share in the great work of social and economic emancipation; for, indeed, there is no higher, no worthier, no holier work than can engage the energies of man.

With a  
Comrades regards  
of hearty congratulation  
on the  
excellence of the  
Review  
Tom Mann  
Australia

The specific economic form, in which unpaid surplus labor is pumped out of the direct producers, determines relation of rulers and ruled, as it grows immediately out of production itself and reacts upon it as a determining element. Upon this is founded the entire formation of the economic community which grows up out of the conditions of production itself, and this also determines its specific political scope.—  
Capital, Vol. III, page 919.

# THE REFORMER

BY  
JAMES ONEAL



HE streets were ablaze with varied colored light. Electric arches, Japanese lanterns, brilliant display windows, temporary towers and minarets, all sparkled and glowed with bulbs and candles. Tents were pitched in side streets with streaming banners announcing the exhibition of wonderful freaks, these ranging from a feeble-minded boy, who served as the "Wild Man of Borneo," to a disgusting negro, who bit off the heads of coiling snakes and ate them with relish. "Barkers" beat brass tambourines which, combined with Oriental music and the hoarse yells of the aforesaid barkers, made the night hideous with nerve-racking noise. The main walks were littered with display booths of merchants, part of their stocks being transferred to the temporary structures to attract the patronage of the multitude. In the street masses of boisterous men, women and children moved in confusion, back and forth, in and out, among the booths and shows, singing, hooting, laughing, cursing. Occasionally a group formed, while two belligerents settled their differences by the time-honored method of one beating the other to a pulp. The vanquished usually disappeared with hair and face smeared with the red evidence of defeat, while the victor, with face purple with rage and panting like a dog, is led away by admiring friends who envy his prowess. Shambling creatures reduced to idiocy by the vile stuff imbibed in wine rooms and alleys, amble with lascivious strides among the crowds, casting suggestive glances and

extending invitations to gilded youths who might indulge in the wretched commerce these women advertised. Old and young gave them wide berth, except the rotting layers of the other sex who, with hats askew, eyes glazed with liquor and reeling with unsteady steps, accosted the street women with ribald jests and vulgar insinuations. From windows and poles bunting and colored ribbons streamed in ripples to the breeze, while "Old Glory" hung in huge folds high above as though to bless the orgy in the street. Comic musicians, dressed in grotesque costumes, wandered through the dense throngs, their "music" adding to the confused din and almost stunning the senses. Merchants greeted customers with affable smiles and pleasantries, their clerks panting, irritable and tired, rushed to wait on impatient patrons. From the thousands of residents and visitors tiny streams of coin flowed into the tills of the business men and they were jubilant. The streets belonged to them. Only a few days before the Mayor with impressive ceremony had in the public square handed to the business men a huge key in token of their possession of the streets. The street carnival was a big success, for the earnings of myriads were flowing into the coffers of the tradesmen and bankers of the city.

Into this clamor and revelry the Rev. Thomas West entered from the boulevard in which he lived, and where reposed the fashionable church of which he was pastor. He had come to this "Pittsburg of the West" a year before, and established a reputation by his earnestness, eloquence and learning. His early life of hardship on the farm and struggle to obtain an education had left an impress on him that found expression in his sermons. His frequent reference to social problems, the over-lordship of the great millionaires, the struggles of the poor, dishonesty in public office, and other "burning questions," won for him the title of "reformer." He had never identified himself with any party or any "ism," contending that these were too narrow for men of broad vision and lofty purposes. With the Rev. West character was of more worth in these days of decadent business and political ideals than anything else. Character, Christian character, was the burden of his sermons. This would make strong, self-reliant, fearless men who would battle with wrong wherever found and pursue its perpetrators even though the path led into the very temples of finance, industry and commerce. In fact it was this idea of the good citizen that led him forth from his study into the street. So absorbed was he in his thoughts that in spite of the increasing roar of the street he was not aware that he had entered the main thoroughfare until a shower of confetti covered him.

He looked up with a start and shook the paper from his clothes. He was at last in the midst of the carnival which was causing so much

controversy. He was shocked as he recalled the rumors regarding it and the previous one. The business men, bankers, merchants, manufacturers and shopkeepers had some years before formed an association to give a street carnival annually. Ostensibly to advertise the city, but in reality the cause lay deeper. The extension of the business of the large mail order houses into Indiana towns and the general depression of trade had reduced the incomes of these merchants and traders. Appeals to "patronize home industry," appeals that were directed to ill-paid laborers, failed to check the foreign invasion. "Civic pride" seemed to lose its charms for the factory operative who could have shoes and clothing delivered cheaper to his door from Chicago than from the local trader. To stimulate the virtue of buying in the dearer market and to bring in rural patronage at the expense of village stores, the street carnivals were decided on. But the carnival of the previous year had presented some features which, if true, were a disgrace to any community. Some of the attractions were of such a character so rumor had it, as to reflect on the business interests of the city. No investigation of these rumors was made, but it seemed to be common knowledge that conditions were bad enough. This impression had semi-official confirmation in the admission of the executive committee of the carnival that "some attractions had unfortunately been granted privileges without proper investigation," but that "care would be exercised to avoid all objectionable features in the future." This promise had quieted criticism as it came from a source that stamped it with integrity and good faith. The Ministerial Association, composed of the ministers of the city, accepted the promise, too, as indeed was natural, since business men provided the influential members of the churches and were active in the spiritual welfare of the masses.

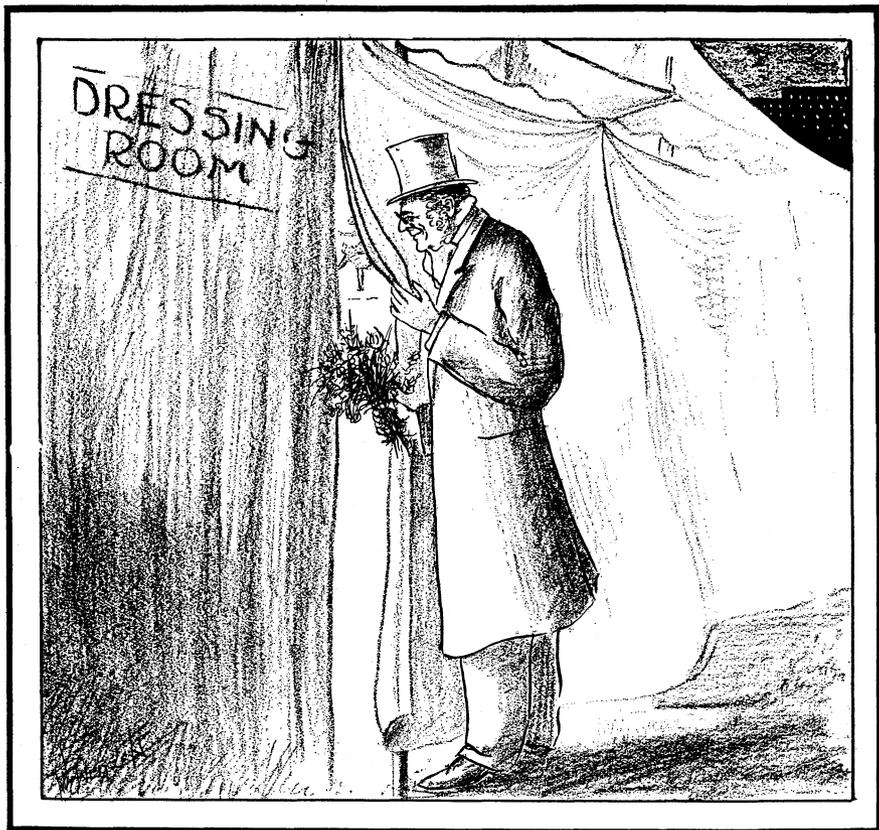
But what disturbed the Rev. West was the renewal of these rumors regarding the present carnival. He would satisfy his conscience by personally investigating for himself. This was his duty and in accord with the civic ideals he professed. Besides, he could not forget the shameful epithet thrown at the church by an itinerant street orator in using the carnival as a text for a Socialist tirade. Paraphrasing an epigram of a popular novelist the speaker had said: "There's no law of God or man runs higher than business interests." The newspapers had commented on it as "an example of the vicious utterances of ignorant demagogues." He flushed hotly as he recalled the infamous charge of the street speaker. The church cowed by wealth! The church barter Christ for the profits of a public carousal! For a moment he felt something of the itch to retaliate that must have seized the mediæval monk when the blasphemer launched his curse at God's holy church. It was true, he reflected, that the churches

had taken no action but a report was expected from its investigation committee tomorrow. The facts would then be known and given to the world. Meantime he would investigate for himself.

His thoughts were again interrupted as he was caught in the crowd. Onward he was swept by the revelers, the dignity of his calling failing to preserve him from the jests of many who recognized his garb. A sea of human forms stretched out before him, while the rattle of brass cymbals, the noise of roaming bands, the hoarse cry of the "barkers" and the shouts, yells and laughter from thousands of throats bewildered him. At last he came out at the public square in the center of which stood a splendid stone building. Almost at its portals, within which justice was dispensed by judicial representatives of the state, a great concourse of people had gathered in front of a brilliantly lighted platform. He pushed his way through the crowd till he stood at the entrance of the exhibition. A coarse-featured man whose face was pitted with small scars that made him repulsive, in a husky voice proceeded to advertise his "attraction." The latter had already appeared and stood under the full glare of the gasoline lamps. A swarthy girl of painted face and supple figure stood looking insolently down at the assembled throng. The spangles that decked the short red dress glittered and sparkled like a crystal pool. The "barker" proceeded to enumerate her accomplishments, introducing her as "Mme. Fatima," the Oriental dancing girl, late of the sultan's harem. She was an exclusive attraction secured at great expense and would give a free exhibition of the grace and skill acquired in her native land. At a signal a group of Oriental musicians struck up a screeching medley of noise to which "Fatima" responded with a series of muscular contortions and suggestive movements of the body, fixing her eyes now on one, now on another of her audience, a voluptuous smile accompanying each glance. With distended form, heaving bosom and hands on hips, she swayed in senuous abandon, appealing to the lewd appetites and arousing the lust of degraded hundreds. These eagerly watched her every movement, totally oblivious of everything else. A leering drunkard shouted a coarse epithet and turned to the crowd with blinking eyes. With an idiotic laugh he endeavored to wipe away the froth that oozed from his mouth, but missing that cavity he frantically clutched a bystander to preserve his balance. Another vulgar sally was the signal for a volley of vile jests and hoots from the crowd which finally ended in loud guffaws. The music became fast and furious, the girl becoming bolder in her challenges. Young girls with embarrassed escorts flushed crimson at the shameless spectacle and wildly escaped from the crowd. Rev. West stood white and speechless as the music ended with a crash and



"Fatima" disappeared within the enclosure. The hot blood mounted to his temples but even as he stood there the "barker" resumed his role. With hand placed to the side of his mouth and in a confidential undertone he told the "boys" of the "real thing" to be seen inside. The music again started and soon a stream of men was paying admission. The Rev. West passed inside, sick at heart but determined to pursue his investigation to the end. In a few minutes he again appeared in the street, his lips drawn and white, a sickly pallor having replaced his ruddy, youthful features.



A PILLAR OF SOCIETY.

"My God!" he mused, "this is terrible." A few steps farther on brought him to a cluster of these exhibitions. The horror of it all stunned him so that he was scarcely able to think rationally. Hastily making his way into the shadows of a side street he returned to his study. This was the crisis of his life; he knew that. What would

be the action of the Ministerial Association tomorrow? There could be but one answer to that. The infamous carousal must meet the firm condemnation of the church. He again recalled the terrible accusation of the uncouth street orator. His hands clenched. It was such reckless disregard of the public weal which the management of this carnival displayed that gave weight to the hasty judgment of these extremists. Without such things these rebels would have a scant hearing and the progress of reform would not have to bear the stigma of an apparent relationship with their wild harangues.

The next morning the Rev. West called a meeting of the directors of the church which consisted of a coal operator, a lawyer, a banker and two business men. The result of that conference no man ever knew outside of those who attended it, but the minister wore a grave and troubled look when he came from the meeting. He went direct to the meeting of the Ministerial Association. The morning papers stated that the executive committee of the carnival had requested a conference with the Association which would be granted. The rumors regarding questionable attractions had become common and was the talk of all the citizens. Interest in the action of the ministers was stirred to a white heat. But the citizens were disappointed by the report of the conference which appeared in the evening papers. One account read as follows:

"The joint conference announced this morning between the Ministerial Association and the Executive Committee of the carnival met this afternoon. It is said that the conference lasted two hours and that the discussions were spirited from the beginning. Just what was said on either side is not known, but the Rev. Thomas West, chairman of the Ministerial Association, stated to the representatives of the press that at the request of the business men definite action will be postponed till after the carnival. This decision was reached because of the fear that action at this time might affect the success of the carnival which has proven an excellent advertisement of the growth and resources of the city. At the conclusion of the carnival another meeting will be held and the report of the ministers' investigation committee will be acted on."

\* \* \* \* \*

The streets again resumed their normal appearance except for the piles of rubbish that remained. The Ministerial Association had been in session all morning and an afternoon session was now in progress. The rumors coming from behind the closed doors conveyed the information that the discussions were dramatic and the oratory heated at times. The expectant public was keyed up to the highest pitch and groups of citizens in offices, stores and streets dissected rumors that

came from every quarter and every source. At last the evening papers containing the official statement given out by the Ministerial Association appeared. The presses ran over time to supply the eager populace who could not wait for carriers to deliver to its doors. The text of the document was as follows:

"The Ministerial Association, after a thorough investigation into the management of the recent carnival held in our streets, proclaims its loyalty to the legitimate business interests of the city. While we deplore the lamentable fact that some exhibitions brought here last week were in many respects shocking to the morality and Christian life of our city, we point to this as proof of the urgent need for all good citizens to work to the end that the vicious influence of saloon keepers shall be eliminated from our business life and so avoid the evil results of their unholy traffic."

The name of the Rev. Thomas West headed the list of the signers of this statement. The matter became a closed incident, a disagreeable thing of the past, for the influential church directors and the good pastors resumed their arduous labors of saving God's erring sons and daughters from the lusts of the world.

A few nights later the Rev. Doctor, seated in an automobile, was attracted by a large crowd in one of the lighted streets. A brawny fellow with lines of toil seared in his face, in shirt sleeves and wilted collar, stood upon a platform raised in the street. As the cheers which had interrupted him subsided, he resumed his speech, saying: "I thank you, friends, for this demonstration of approval. You workingmen constitute the only class that is capable of saving city, state and nation from the curse of class rule. I said on another occasion and I repeat it here: 'There's no law of God or man rules higher than——'"

His utterance was drowned by the rattle of the automobile as it carried the minister down the street where he was soon lost to view in the shadow of the maples that lined the boulevard.





FIRST COAL BARON (AT THE ROULETTE TABLE): THERE'S ANOTHER TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS GONE TO HELL!

SECOND COAL BARON: NEVER MIND, THE MINERS WILL GO DOWN TO HELL AND BRING IT BACK FOR YOU.



*Drawings reproduced from "Koprivi," Prague, Bohemia.*

## You Are My Brother

By Nicholas Klein.

If you are weary in the struggle for existence,  
 If you are uncertain of the morrow,  
 If you are naked and hungry,  
 Despised and disinherited  
**YOU ARE MY BROTHER.**

If you are an outcast among the many,  
 If you are lovesore and loveless,  
 If you are sick and ailing,  
 Driven or disemployed  
**YOU ARE MY BROTHER.**

If you are the most ignorant in society,  
 If you are hunted like the beast,  
 If you are foul and dirty,  
 Chained and deformed,  
**YOU ARE MY BROTHER.**

Regardless of your condition in this life,  
 Your strength or your weakness,  
 Your faults or failures,  
 Many though they be,  
**I AM YOUR BROTHER.**

Let the world kick and cuff you,  
 Let them spit if they will,  
 On you, and on me,  
 Though often and ever,  
**I AM YOUR BROTHER.**

You are merely a neglected flower,  
 Planted in the cellar of earth,  
 Without rain, sunshine and beauty,  
 Come now and look at me,  
**I AM YOUR BROTHER.**

Had you been planted in the front yard,  
 With love, joy and security,  
 Real labor and Equality,  
 I would still say,  
**YOU ARE MY BROTHER.**

Look not at me searchingly,  
 I see who you are,  
 From near or afar,  
 Come to my breast, dear,  
**YOU ARE MY BROTHER.**

# Work's Coming-of-Age

REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM IN EUROPE.

BY ODON POR

The development of the Syndicalist movement here in Europe, or rather, in the three Latin countries of Europe, is so rapid and striking, that it seems to me very important that American socialists should understand it. As a matter of fact, faith in parliamentary governments is fast departing among all classes of people, but from none more rapidly than the working class. On the other hand, the syndicalist revolutionary unions are compelling things from respective governments, and are achieving results for the working class beyond anything that socialist members of parliament have ever ventured to demand. A turn of the hand might place the French government—and in two or three years the Italian government—in the hands of the revolutionary unions of the syndicalists. Whatever the result of all of this, it is the most momentous phase of the present European economic and political situation. It is because I think it urgent that the American movement should at least know about this, that I have requested Odon Por to write a series of articles about it, which I am enclosing to you. He has been making a special study of the movement, and is writing a book about it for publication in his own country of Hungary. Faithfully yours,

GEORGE D. HERRON,  
Florence, Italy.



T the beginning of the capitalist era of production, when modern wage-slavery was just introduced, the attitude of the capitalist and the non-workers towards the workers was akin to the attitude of the feudal lords towards their serfs. They despised the workers and considered their occupation dishonorable to a gentleman. In some countries, especially in Russia, the workers were kept shut up in the factories and they had no liberty to go freely from one place to another. The man who went to a factory was a man without honor. A respectable person would never have anything to do with a factory worker. And the first women who went to the factories were regarded as the scum of humanity.

The workers themselves felt that they were in a low position, and their attitude toward the employer, the foremen and the non-workers was essentially one of reverence and fear. It was natural to them to have no wealth, no leisure, to be without knowledge, and without culture and to receive brutal treatment.

The first industrial workers were thrown into a cage. They were barred. They were petulant and intractable and their gentle longings were stamped out. The common worker of the past was utterly helpless. He could not break through the bars of the social cage. In his captivity he developed unsocial instincts; only these were called into action.

Many species of animals have lost their social habits since they are hunted by man. Man's sociability is dwarfed and driven back since man has begun to hunt man. But wherever man has relaxed from the hunt of his fellowman the better self of man is reappearing.

When man is captured in the hunt his very sense of limitation makes him desire to burst the frame-work of his prison. He wants to break and destroy and kill. He desires vengeance. A dull, obscure, perverse prompting takes hold of him: the prompting to hit and to hurt.

However, as a rule, he does neither. His rage is sterile. He is so weakened in body, his spirits are so dull that at the mere approach of the hunter, of his master, he falls into a humble attitude. His active resistance is less than nothing. There is nothing in him or around him that would help him to strengthen himself and to overcome his enemies. There is no fortitude nor manhood in him. His revolt is spasmodic and not an undismayed continuous resistance. He is underfed and overworked, his muscles are loose and his mind is deadened. He has no social intercourse; he has no interests whatever beside the mere reproduction of his life. He does not realize at all his part in the life of society; he does not know the power of his work; he does not know how to act, and, trembling lest he lose his employment, he does anything he is ordered to do.

At the beginning of the capitalist mode of production both capitalists and workingmen were brutal and undisciplined. We know of the terrible struggles that took place in England, France, America, everywhere new machines were introduced. The workers in the spasmodic desire to destroy machinery, set factories and warehouses ablaze.\* The manufacturers and the foremen were compelled to struggle day in and day out against the incompetency of the workers to run the machines and against their inability to attend to the com-

\* Communist Manifesto.

plicated process of production. While the workers sought to restore by force the status of the workman of the Middle Age and the traditional methods of production, the capitalists had to impose upon them by sheer force the new machine process.

"At this stage," we read in the Communist Manifesto, "the laborers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, broken up by their mutual competition."

"But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers even more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (trade unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there, the contest breaks out into open riots."

"Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battle lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union has been strengthened by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes."

\* \* \* \* \*

Since the publication of the Communist Manifesto more than sixty years have passed. The organized working class has expanded its union over millions of workers, and it has gone through various experiences which have occasioned new political and economic attitudes, and have given a new personality to the workingmen.

The working class, in the so-called civilized parts of the world, has conquered, despite the resistance of the State and the employers, through its political and economic organizations and struggles, the power to organize and strike; it has raised the wages, shortened

the work-day, improved the sanitary conditions in the factories, made work safer and more enduring, has secured indemnities in the case of accidents, illness, old age and unemployment. The relations of servitude between employer and workers have been transformed into relations of a considerable independence and liberty. In the factories where labor organizations do not exist servility, favoritism and corruption reigns, the workers are left at the mercy of the overseer in all questions anent work and wages.

Through their organizations the workingmen have become self-conscious and dignified, and their position before the capitalist is very different now from what it was at the time of the Communist Manifesto. It is a rare case today, where organizations are strong, that an employer can discharge a worker for the simple reason of his being a union man. The right of organization is even recognized for employees of the State, though the State tries to interfere with these organizations. The liberty of the working class is in its formation. The blind subordination of the old times has vanished. The workingman today does not appeal to the generosity of the employer but imposes his demands through his organizations.

The value of the life of the workers has been elevated in all respects. The complexus of material advantages which the workers have realized has called out in them a desire for moral advance, which in its turn influences the intensity and the forms of the fight for still other economic improvements.

The workers have realized the creative nature of their activities and their own causative strength. Their interest in their own work has grown. They have ceased to be mere tools in the factory and have become intelligent and competent factors. Therefore their wishes and capacities have to be taken into consideration by the employer. Whereas they were first treated with contempt, they are now feared and appreciated. Their new consciousness and sense of honor demand respect from their employer, creating a new attitude of the employer toward them. They do not bow to anybody. They have become stronger men, who look straight into the eyes of their enemies.

The workers know that the quantity of liberty they enjoy is proportioned to the material and moral force they can dispose of in defending their rights and demands. Trained in the struggle they have also realized that they have nothing to fear from a still more accentuated struggle, that, on the contrary, the more they try to collectively assert their wishes, the stronger will become the moral personality of the individual worker. In every walk of life they want to be free and want to affirm their free individuality. The ideal of freedom

has become matured in the working class and is bent upon translating itself into action.

\* \* \* \* \*

We are at a crisis in the life of the working class. The new class consciousness of the workers and their new personality is eager to manifest itself and wants to enlarge the activity of the socialist parties. It is true that the socialist movement has brought together the incoherent, ignorant and unorganized masses into a coherent organization wherein every member is in a way at a high stage of culture, for he is imbued with an ideal and is conscious of his social mission; however this consciousness when trained in the economic movement fills the more advanced workers with a desire for greater activity than the present political frame of the socialist movement affords. The traditional methods of the socialist parties are in conflict with the new methods proposed by these workers so impatient to act, in whose minds political socialism has accomplished its mission, stretching the liberty of organization as far as it could, and realizing as many economic reforms as the capitalist would peaceably consent to, under a legal pressure of a socialist party.

The activities of the socialist movements of Italy and France are stagnating in spite of the numeric growth of their membership. Because of their present tactics, determined by the composition of the different elements of the population they embrace, they cannot secure any more vital political and economic advantages for the workers. Within their present form of organization they cannot offer a field of activity for the desire of constructive personal work so imperious in the make-up of the Latin revolutionary workers. The time is not far off when the socialist parties of the other countries will have to face a similar situation.

The tragedy of this situation roots in the fact that the workers have to turn away from the socialist movement, and, in many cases, must even fight it, in spite of the fact that his very movement made them personally capable of desiring and accomplishing greater things; it has awakened their slumbering senses and faculties and has given them a new life upon the impulses of which they now must seek new activities.

That the different socialist parties have become peaceful, respectable and reformistic parliamentary parties is largely due to the bourgeois elements in their ranks which though foreign to the true psychology and real demands of the working class, have assumed leadership in the socialist movements. These men shifted the burning issues of the class struggle onto the scenes of the Parliament. A lassitude and languishing in the direct class struggle and a decline of its revo-

lutionary principles followed, for it is in the nature of parliamentary activity to extort certain stated measures, to meditate and make compromises.

The famous three million vote of the German Social-Democratic party, in 1903, contained about 750,000 bourgeois votes. And from recent statistics we know positively that the socialist parties of Italy and France and other countries recruit a great part of their voters from the various strata of the bourgeoisie. The fact that the different socialist parties gather many hundred thousand votes from the half-proletarian, intellectual and well-to-do class has destroyed the fiction, hitherto firmly held, that the socialist parties are class parties.

The efforts of some socialist parties to proclaim themselves revolutionary parties in their radical class struggle programs and by a class struggle phraseology does not change the intrinsic tendency of their composition. The socialist parties would become useful levers of social development if they were openly confessing this latter fact and were openly considering their parliamentary work as a mere support of the efforts of the bourgeois democracy for securing—especially in those countries where democratic legislation is still vitally needed—constitutional, juridical and cultural reforms, political and civic rights, the separation of the State from the Church, universal obligatory schooling and so on, facilitating thus even the organization of the workers into a class and helping along the class struggle itself. And if the socialist parties were to give up the fiction of being the paramount means for realizing the socialist society—then they would find their due place and work as determined by their composition.

“Whereas such a party that pretends to be the real class organization of the proletariat, the supreme and decisive organ of the working class, demanding for itself the part of leading the working class over into Socialism—is only usurping the part which belongs to the economic organization and struggle. Such a party brings only trouble and disorder into the ranks of the working class and serves the cause of the enemy. The unique mission of the working class is to sweep away the rule of the victorious bourgeoisie together with all its superstructure. Thus the role of a parliamentary labor party ends where the direct political action of the working class begins.”

“The true class struggle is waged on the grounds of the economic struggle. There the representatives of the material forces of production, the economic classes, the active factors of the antagonizing productive forces, stand face to face.”

The economic classes are not heterogeneous groupings like the political parties “but they are brought forth by the imperative force of natural selection as original and homogeneous formations, as the repre-

representatives of the two types of the relations of production. . . . In the state and the parliaments the question turns around division and dividing; in the economic struggle the representatives of the different forces of production face each other. Which forces are the springs of social development? To this question Marxism, which is the philosophy of economic production, has but one answer.”\*

However it is not the task of the present essay either to show the ways which the different socialist parties must take in order to refresh the interest of the masses and to exercise a greater positive activity nor to point out what organic factors keep the socialist parties from progressing and turning in a revolutionary direction.† The socialist ideal is living, and its life does not depend upon political parties.

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What is to my mind of supreme importance is the moving spirit of the producers, their efficiency and active energy as evoked by the socialist and the economic movement. This spirit has found a way of expressing itself which can be seen without much theoretical beckoning.

The consciousness of the revolutionary worker is expanding and is becoming the determining factor of social revolution. Especially in Italy and France has the directive influence in the movement of the workmen passed out from the hands of the socialist politicians, parliamentarians and journalists and is now being concentrated into the hands of the revolutionary unions. This is not saying that the ultimate ideals of Socialism are given up. On the contrary, the socialist spirit has intensified itself to such a degree in the individual consciousness of the worker that he, anxious to realize it, has chosen a direct way to Socialism. He is confident of his preparedness both in respect to morality and industrial efficiency to take over the capitalist industries and therefore he wants to avoid all mediative political action.

The political form of the socialist movement was attractive enough to the workers when it chiefly occupied itself with gathering the inert masses and infusing them with an ideal. In this earlier and revolutionary socialism the masses were trained to think and to act collectively. And as soon as the consciousness of efficiency, trained by

\*Evin Szabo: Introduction to "The Criticism of the Gotha Program" by Marx. In Hungarian. Budapest, 1909.

†See for statistical data and general information on this subject: Robert Michels: "Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie in ihrer sozialen Zusammensetzung." Archiv für Sozialwissenschaften, Bd. XXIII. 1906. And by the same author: "Proletariato e Borghesia nel Movimento Socialista Italiano." Torino, 1908. See further, Odon Por: "Class Struggles in the Italian Socialist Movement." International Socialist Review, December, 1906. And Ervin Szabo: "Politique et Syndicats." Movement Socialiste, February, 1909.

socialist thought and action, outgrew the present possible limits of political socialism—then the workers were forced to seek another way of expressing and imposing their desires and capacities.

Most of the socialist leaders will not understand this change and will oppose the work of the revolutionary unions or will try to bring back the revolutionary workers to the socialist party without changing its content and old tactics. As far as I can see this effort is made in vain under present conditions. However, the possibility is not excluded that, at times of a great national or international political or industrial crisis, the socialist parties, provided they shed their bourgeois elements and attitudes, will join hands with the revolutionary workers for the ultimate issue. At present, however, at the occasion of great strikes of national importance, like the strike in the Province of Parma in Italy in 1908, the Italian Socialist Party has, if not directly betrayed the revolutionary unions, certainly hindered their victorious advance by untimely and tactless interference. And the Socialist Party of France has taken a quite neutral attitude during the recent postal strikes. The French socialist members of Parliament delivered many speeches but without any practical effect whatsoever in favor of the strikers. The French Socialist party was utterly helpless and incapable to effectively aid the strikers.

Driven to activity by their collective confidence in the ready efficiency and steadfastness of their class the revolutionary workers will not wait for Socialism to be realized by some parliamentary majority. They do not want to wait for a political decree abolishing capitalism. They try to undermine both the present state and capitalist industrial institutions in order to get a control over them industrially, in other words, by undermining the economic power of both the state and the capitalists they are directly laying the foundations of the economic structure of the future society, and are conquering indirectly the political power.

The workers know that in all social legislation a critical moment must come sooner or later. They very well know that at the moment when the capitalist class feels its interests vitally endangered, then it will shut up the doors of the parliaments and will proceed to violent resistance. Socialist legislation is valuable but it must stop as soon as it transgresses vital interests. The capitalist is aware of this, he knows that if he does not resist and assert himself with violence when his vital interests are involved—then he is doomed. And the revolutionary workers see this point very clearly.

Parliamentarianism is useful in a way but the revolutionary workers do not see in it a means of economic revolution. Parliamentarian-

ism, as we said before, is good so far as it secures the common advantages of democracy.\*

Considering the fact that the Italian and French workers neglect consciously all political reform activity, that their revolutionary demands are coming to the foreground and that they are emphasizing the final issue, parliaments lose their importance even as means of realizing reforms in the factories or of other improvements in the life of the working class. The direct conflict with the capitalist class, sought by the revolutionary workers, not only enhances the hope for final victory but it also calls into existence the same economic reforms which the socialist parties try to get through political compromise.

On the other hand the revolutionary workingmen do not feel any desire to put to test the different economic theories of industrial revolution. They do not want to wait for a time of a tremendous unemployment and then to act, nor for a still greater concentration of wealth and industries, nor for the moment until the State has monopolized all public utilities and all industries, neither do they believe in the economic inevitability of a free socialist society without their continuous and unbending efforts to usher it in.

Industrial evolution may very well separate the classes but it does not follow at all that it creates a rigid struggle between them. Through repeated and systematic compromise we may arrive at the "social peace" so cherished by bourgeois politicians.

The most recent experience, especially in Germany, the United States, Great Britain and the Antipodes, have conclusively demonstrated "that the movement of the workingmen is not necessarily revolutionary, or in other words, that it is not destined imperatively by its very nature to upset the capitalist order of things. We must impregnate artificially the movement of the workers with this necessity, that it should propose to itself a revolutionary aim."\*\*

Revolutionary unionism has worked out and is imposing a determined method by which to reach the revolutionary aim. "This method consists in the separation of the life of the institutions of the workers from the life of the capitalist society, in representing the labor movement as a civil war conducted against the capitalist society, in antagonizing all methods which tend to reabsorb the labor world into the bourgeois world making the first participate in the life of the latter."\*

"The necessity of Socialism," says Arturo Labriola, "is not derived any more from the development of a mechanical process which brutally suppresses the greatest possible number of capitalists to the advantage of a minority of plutocrats. . . . But this necessity

\*\*Arturo Labriola: "Marx nella scienza economica e come teorica del marxismo." Lugano, 1908.

\*A. Labriola: "Lotta di Classe." Anno I. No. 1. Milano, 1907.

comes from the very volition of the associated workers who, persuaded of the utter uselessness to further conserve the social differences between the capitalists and the workers, give birth to a new body of social relations, which must produce the disappearance of capitalism."

The proletariat has realized that it is not wise to count upon an automatic development of capitalism to a final clash and that it is not safe to rely upon an alleged degeneracy of the capitalist energies, for the capitalist classes seem to have entered a new period of expansion and combativeness that could absorb and paralyze all other tendencies. And if the capitalist classes, inebriated with their modern industrial success and feeling in themselves a stirring of a life capable of new conquests, will give up—as it can easily be foreseen—all prudence and every foresight, then a new phase of bellicose conflicts may begin between the various countries. And it is impossible to forecast the extreme influence of this upon the conduct of the working class. Today even such countries as are traditionally cautious and not inclined to martial adventures are full of war-cry and military preparation."\*

The revolutionary working class knows this and realizes that it cannot be watchful enough and must impose its collective wish for peace and must bring collective resistance against any further imperialistic expansion of capitalism, against any kind of war.

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At times of critical issue man's character is revealed in all its aspects. At the time of a crisis when the question turns about life or death, about progress or retrogression, about loss or gain, then man's moral personality shows itself at its best or worse. The same is true in social life. At times of great calamities that put a whole class of men, a whole nation or all humanity, before a vital problem that has to be solved immediately in order to assure the social or industrial functions of society or of a class, we learn more about the future possibilities of the human race than at any other time. It is at such moments as if everything in us, all our notions, all our personal immediate interests, all our attitudes and ideals would fuse into one issue, forcing us imperatively to act in one particular way.

The great spontaneous strikes throw a bright light upon the soul of the workers and put in relief their character more distinctly than any other phase of their continuous struggle for the emancipation of humankind. In these strikes are summed up all their impulses, all their material power, all their capacities and ideals. All big strikes create a new collective psychology in the soul of the working-

\*A. Labriola: "Contro G. Plekanoff," Pescara, 1909.

men. In all big strikes the force of the proletariat becomes tempered and expresses its whole vitality. Nothing else gives us a more suggestive notion of the future and the ways that lead to it than the phenomena brought to light in the modern big industrial and agricultural strikes.

So intrinsically dynamic is the notion of power and liberty in the modern working class that even the peasants of Italy, who for more than two thousand years had no part whatever in the political and social life of their country, have awakened to a most revolutionary activity. The dramatic conflict in 1908 between the organized peasants of the Province of Parma and the associated land-owners marks a new epoch in the history of the international labor movement.

This conflict was a violent clash between two classes conscious of their class distinction. It was a limpid and marvelously logical struggle. "The peasants have proclaimed that the earth, the great factory of the harvest and the bread, may not only be connected with the industrial factory in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers but may even become the field of the most classic and revolutionary struggles hitherto fought."\*

This strike was fought with a desire to conquer. The immediate interest involved, the demand for better wages and shorter work-day, was entirely driven to the background. The fight for the expropriation of the capitalist system, the revolutionary scope of Socialism, came out during the struggle in all its splendour.

The proprietors realized the danger latent in this revolutionary upheaval of the peasants and armed themselves with guns against them. They imported scabs and protected them with their own armed hirelings whom they recruited from the bourgeois youth and from other worthless and loafing elements of the population. They locked out the peasants. They kept paid organizers and published newspapers during the strike. But all these efforts were entirely useless. They could neither break up the marvelous cohesion and solidarity of the strikers nor save the crops from rotting in the fields. Not even the numerous soldiers whom the State put at the disposal of the landowners, in their faculty both as workers and soldiers, could force the peasants to return to the fields.

The industrial workers supported the strike of the peasants and declared a general strike in order to manifest their solidarity with them. For more than twenty-four hours all work stopped in Parma. In Parma the soldiers and the police were laying siege to the district of the workers for four days, assaulting and occupying the head-

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\*A. O. Olliver: "Anima Nuova. Pagine Libere, June, 1908.

quarters of the organizations, putting in jail the leaders and shooting at peaceful citizens. But the strike could not be broken. The workers repelled each time with marvelous decision and self-discipline the attacks of the soldiers and the police.

The state was forced to send soldiers to Parma in defense of the landowners, scabs and hirelings. By its own intrinsic nature the State must side with the class of the landowners and must use all resources in its power, like army, police, law and violence, against the influx of the proletarian forces. It acts in its own defense when it grants impunity to the provoking violence of the ruling classes.

The organization of the peasants in this strike and the solidarity of the whole Italian working population shows the great social maturity of the Italian working class. In order to relieve the strikers of the care of their children more than 3,000 children, from 3 to 12 years of age, were sent away from the Province of Parma to the organizations in other districts and cities. These received them with great enthusiasm and festivities, with music and banners and great processions and placed them with the families of the workers, who generously offered to divide with them their daily bread. The enthusiasm and sense of solidarity is so diffused among the workers that the offer to feed and board the children of the striking parents far exceeded in all cities the number of the children sent there. Every family which boarded a child from Parma was conscious of obeying a sacred duty toward the revolutionary ideal. More than 6,000 adults left the Province in order to relieve the organization financially and to send their material aid to the comrades from exile. More than sixty communistic households were organized in the Province. The strikers gathered here to take their "communistic soup" and here they discussed the action to be taken. Here they mutually inspired each other and drew force from their mutual solidarity. "What marvelous solidarity," said a peasant in such a gathering, "we feel it coming toward us uninterruptedly like a large wave of sympathy." Hundreds of thousands of francs were sent in support of the strike from all parts of Italy, from everywhere came aid, numberless families were asking for children, the organizations of the neighboring provinces were ready for a sympathetic general strike.

The striking women held the spirit of the men afire. They threw themselves before the horses of the charging cavalry and force it to turn back. They disowned their own sons if they became scabs. Thanks to their heroism the army was put before the alternative of choosing between a civil war, flooding the province with blood, or withdrawing. The army finally withdrew. The strikers were victori-

ous. Their demands were granted. And finally all their comrades in jail were released.

The heroic and touching solidarity of the workers, their dignity and pride stopped the encroachments of the ruling class and the State, it prevented the massacre of the whole working population as bravely suggested by a General who announced his desire to bombard Parma and sweep it off the earth.

The proletarians of Parma have, by their organic solidarity, demonstrated their preparedness for a social change and for a social revolution. On the other side the complete failure of the landowners and political authorities to reorganize the work on the farms without the peasants and with the aid of the slum proletariat and the work of their own sons, has made it clear that the peasants are the only class upon whom the organization of agriculture really depends. Further, this epic struggle has demonstrated that the workers of one locality cannot be replaced and betrayed by the workers of another locality. For the whole working population is organized into one solid and conscious body desiring a social change and knowing how to attain it through diffused and conscious solidarity.

The working class has demonstrated that it is the only active force working toward a concrete social aim, that it by its efficiency, by its abnegation, by its own violent action and collective decision, may, on the one hand, destroy crops and paralyze the industries and may, on the other, create a high personality clearly suggesting the future man, and may build a novel organization of society. "The will accumulated in the soul of the proletariat is a reconstructive force."\*

From the violent, desperate and direct defense and resistance of the landowners the working class has learned better than from any previous struggle that it must attend to its own affairs. The worker has realized that only an active strike brings out in him ideas intrinsic with volition and strength never felt during electoral movements. Electoral propaganda never brought the women on the side of the revolution. Only a daily practice of resistance and fight awakened the inert masses, realizes the ideal and makes it expand. Only a direct fight renders the proletariat strong enough to repel the combined direct attacks of the proprietors and the soldiers.

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\*A. O. Olivetti; "Senso di Vita." *Pagine Libere*, 1908.

*(Concluded next month.)*

## The Revolt in Spain

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[The storm center of the recent revolt of Spain's working people was Barcelona, and the directing head of the fighting forces in that city was its federation of trades unions. The writer of this article was but a short time ago secretary of Barcelona's central labor body and is probably the best informed man in America today as to the impelling cause behind the bloody struggle. For reasons that will be plain to all who know anything of Spain's working class history, the writer's name cannot pass beyond the editorial rooms of this magazine—The Editor.]

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LET no one misunderstand, the Spanish working people have risen in revolt and are fighting, dying in protest against the war-lust of the government. The people's greatest enemy is the army, that sharp and blood-stained weapon of the capitalists that time and again has sought the heart of Barcelona. But to understand the things that are now happening in Spain I must tell in sequence some bits of history:

Old Spain was a country of warriors living upon its victories over neighboring countries, and all in the name of religion. But the brutality of its ancient rulers was met by an awakening of the people in the eighteenth century and the Catholic Church began to lose its grip. A century later a strong communistic movement against the Inquisition and Fernando VII was headed by the popular leader Zorrijos, who was shot down with some hundreds of his followers while attempting to overturn the monarchy and establish a communistic republic. This was an epoch when Spain's liberal leaders were numerous and the more the government shot down the more great men arose to take the places of those killed until finally Comandt Riego, with a few hundred followers, proclaimed in Cadiz the Constitution. After long and desperate fights for liberty the people of Spain were, for the time being, victorious, leaving the writers and educators free to teach the people.

But with Isabella II despotism again descended upon the land and remained up to the end of the rule of Amadeo Savoia. After his short career, came for the first time in Spain the Republic — of 1873. Un-

fortunately the Spanish people were not prepared to defend the rights gained and in three years' time the Republic was delivered by Castelar into the hands of Alfonso XII.

Then came the time of the International, and 70,000 Spanish workmen joined the its groups, fighting on the economic field for better wages in the cities of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Sevilla. Such rapid progress did the economic movement make that the rulers became alarmed and unmerciful persecutions commenced. But new adepts took the places of those imprisoned and murdered and many periodicals were published in the people's cause, such as "Emancipation" and "Acracia" in Madrid, "Productor" and "Tierra Y Libertad" in Barcelona and "La Controversia" in Valencia. Translations of Marx, Bakounine and Forrier were issued in popular editions along with the writings of many others.

After the end of the International the movement turned to communistic groups; especially strong were they in Cartagena, Valencia, Alcoy and other cities of Southern Spain.

The trades unions commenced their fight for an eight-hour day in 1880, and bloody uprisings took place on the first of May in Barcelona, Valencia and Bilbao.

In 1882 the capitalists plotted with the government to stop the strikes in Jerez (Andalucia) and Barcelona (Catalonia). In Jerez twenty workmen were hanged and in Barcelona the police threw a bomb into a religious procession for the purpose of accusing the people's leaders of murder.

On this day were arrested 400 men, and the officer of the Guardia Civil, Portas, dragged twenty more, among whom were the best educated speakers and writers of the people, to the fortress of Montjuich. There the modern inquisition commenced and these men were tortured with hot irons, and in other ways unspeakable, until many of them at last broke down and false confessions were wrung from them to the effect that they were guilty as accused. Wholesale killings by the government followed and hundreds were sent to the penitentiary as well, causing Professor Tarrida del Marmol to make his well remembered trip to Paris and there denounce to the world the hidden horrors that were taking place in the fortress of Montjuich.

From all this propanganda came the general strike in Barcelona in 1902. For two days and a half the Commune of the People was complete master of the city. The troops were imprisoned in their barracks and the people went freely to the markets and stores and bread and meat were given to those in need. The capitalists were for the time being powerless, and if they would fill their bellies with rich

food must go to France to get a meal because in Barcelona the wealth was in the hands of those who produced it.

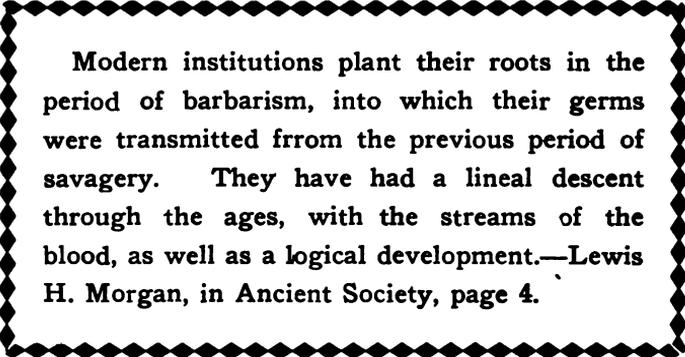
Government re-enforcements were hurried to Barcelona and death again strode through the streets, ending the Commune of 1902.

One enemy the Spanish workingmen see always—the army. Against the army, with its conscriptions, its bloody violence against every just demand of the workers, and its inhuman desire for foreign conquests, Spain now protests.

We of Barcelona remember when groups of our young workingmen distributed manifestos against the Spanish-American war and were hurried to prison for their acts of humanity. We know, too, that many thousand young Catalonians deserted to France rather than serve in a capitalist war, refusing to fight the Cubans and Filipinos.

Knowing these things is it not clear what has caused the present revolt in Spain?

Although the present anti-war movement is more of an economic than a political movement yet no one can doubt that a republic will soon sweep the Spanish monarchy from its rotten foundations.



Modern institutions plant their roots in the period of barbarism, into which their germs were transmitted from the previous period of savagery. They have had a lineal descent through the ages, with the streams of the blood, as well as a logical development.—Lewis H. Morgan, in *Ancient Society*, page 4.

# The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem

THE NEGRO'S PROGRESS DURING HALF A CENTURY.

I. M. ROBBINS



WE deeply sympathize with the average reader's abhorrence of statistical tables, but in the following chapters repeated excursions into the mysteries of statistics will be inevitable. We have stated a great many theories with as little prejudice as we could, and now we have come to the point where some testing of the conflicting theories by actual facts is absolutely essential. For in the broadest sense, the negro problem may be defined as the problem of the role the negro race is destined to play in the future of this country. And in order to judge as to what the negroes will be able to give in the future we must learn, at least in a general way, what they have succeeded in accomplishing in the past, at least during the half a century which has elapsed since they have been granted their personal freedom.

And it is needless to say that in this study, preconceived notions and a priori reasoning are of very little help, and cold statistical facts all-important. The political dictum that "All men were created equal" would be as useless as the quasi-scientific assertion that anthropologically the negro is nearer to the anthropoidal apes than the white man. Fortunately the negro problem has always attracted so much attention that it naturally proved a grateful field for many serious students and called forth a great many special investigations and monographs. In fact it is no exaggeration to say that we know a great deal more about the southern negro than of his immediate neighbor. But of all the sources of informations, the most important remain the works of the United States Census Office, and the very interesting publications of the Annual Atlanta Conference held in connection with the Atlanta University, of which thirteen annual reports have appeared by this time. It may be useful to mention right in the beginning of this study, that unfortunately the data of the

U. S. Census referring to the year 1900, are considerably out of date by this time and the conditions have changed perceptibly since then. Students of the negro problem will therefore await with a great deal of impatience the publication of the results of the thirteenth census soon to be undertaken. However it is only reasonable to expect that the tendencies which have manifested themselves during the preceding decade or two will have become more strongly developed during the first decade of the twentieth century; and after all it is tendencies and not bare facts which we are mainly concerned with.

**Population.** The growth of the negro population is the essential thing to be considered. It is one of the usual arguments against the lower races, that they cannot survive in competition with them. From that point of view a simple mechanical automatic solution to the negro problem must work itself out by the gradual extinction of the negro race. We have already shown in an earlier chapter how the number of negroes rapidly grew under slavery. This, however, is not argument against the theory of extinction, since the negro then was not living in competition with the white race. But the fifty years since emancipation surely should have furnished an excellent opportunity for the testing of this theory. Conditions favored it altogether. The emancipation left the millions of negro slaves in a horrible economic condition. The slaves of yesterday were transformed into free wage workers without property in a ruined land. In the mad desire to experience some real freedom a great many negroes drifted into the cities where the opportunities for finding employment were at their worst. They did act like so many helpless children who would be absolutely unable to take care of themselves. Nevertheless they did not die out. Relying upon the faulty figures of the eleventh census of 1890, which has a very bad reputation among the economic fraternity, even the famous sociologist, Benjamin Kidd, concluded that the negro in the United States was destined to extinction, and he thought to have found in these figures a complete corroboration of the superiority of the white race. The well known statistician Frederic Hoffman tried to prove the same with a great many complicated tables. But the results of the twelfth census completely destroyed this illusion. The increase of the negro population at the successive censuses is shown in the following table:

Year.	Negroes.	Per Cent of Total Population.
1860.....	4,441,830	14.1
1870.....	4,880,009	12.7
1880.....	6,580,793	13.1
1890.....	7,488,676	11.9
1900.....	8,833,994	11.6

By this time the negro population has surely reached ten million people. It is true that the ratio to the entire population has slightly declined within recent years. But this can very easily be explained by the rapid increase of immigration from Europe. If immigrants be expected, then it will be found that the negro population is increasing more rapidly than the native white population, notwithstanding the frightful negro mortality and especially that of the negro children. Because of a faulty enumeration in 1890 the rate of increase of the negroes from 1880 to 1890 seemed to be only 13.8 per cent, but for the following ten years the increase was 18 per cent.

Of course this mere increase in numbers really shows nothing except the power to procreate, but one is forced to quote these figures because so much has been said about the inevitable disappearance of the negro race, and especially about his frightful rate of mortality. It was shown on the basis of the twelfth census that the death rate of whites in this country was annually 17.3 per thousand and that the negroes 30.2 per thousand, and this difference was frequently emphasized even by such level-headed men as Professor Willcox as an argument against the negroes. If the modern status of medical and sanitary science is taken account of, this point of view is perfectly preposterous. Modern anthropology has admitted that the comparative death rate is a sociological and not an anthropological characteristic. Death depends upon conditions of life, upon the sanitary conditions surrounding us, upon our level of education as affecting our mode of life, upon our occupations, etc. In all these characteristics the negro differs from his white neighbors, could one expect to find the same death rate among a nation of laborers and a nation of teachers, business and commercial men? In this connection an interesting illustration of the many conditions influencing the death rate has been given in a scientific publication a few years ago. It was shown that among the Russian peasants the death rate varies in an inverse ratio to the amount of land they hold, so that those who had the largest farms, over 135 acres, had a death rate of 19.2 per thousand and those who had the smallest farms, less than 13.5 acres, showed a death rate of 34.7, and the intermediate groups had intermediate rates. A pretty illustration indeed of the literally killing effects of poverty. We shall see presently what the degree of poverty among the American negroes is.

Having established the fact that the negro population of this country shows a healthy rate of increase and is not only in no danger of extinction, but seems to be fully able to hold its own, at least as compared with the native American element, we may take up the interesting question of distribution of the negro race.

It is a matter of familiar knowledge that the vast majority of the negroes live in the south. But we know a great deal more than that. It appears from the census figures that the negro population in 1900 was distributed as follows:

South Central Division.....	4,193,952	47.5%
South Atlantic Division.....	3,729,017	42.2%
North Central Division.....	495,751	5.6%
North Atlantic Division.....	385,020	4.4%
Western Division .....	30,254	0.3%
Total . . . . .	8,833,994	100.0%

Thus the north has by the end of the last century absorbed over one-tenth (10.3%) of the negro population. This was not accomplished in a day. It shows that a steady movement of southern negroes northward is constantly taking place.

The negro population of the northern and western states increased as follows:

In 1860	344,719	or	7.8%	of total negro population.
In 1870	459,198	or	9.4%	of total negro population.
In 1880	626,890	or	9.5%	of total negro population.
In 1890	728,099	or	9.7%	of total negro population.
In 1900	911,025	or	10.3%	of total negro population.

The increase from 7.8 per cent to 10.3 per cent within forty years may not strike the reader as very remarkable. But these percentages are somewhat misleading without a more careful analysis. Looked upon in another way they show, that the negro population in the northern and western states has increased by 265 per cent or more than two and a half times within this forty years while the total negro population has a little less than doubled. In any case, detailed figures aside, we see conclusively that while the vast majority of the negroes is still in the south and will be in the south for many generations to come, perhaps forever, as far as that word has any human meaning at all, nevertheless there is a constant and continuous stream of negroes northward; and that stream is probably much greater than the figures seem to show, for the following two reasons: First, there is also a stream of negroes returning, and, secondly, the fecundity of negroes as of all other races and nationalities must be lower in the northern cities than in the southern plantations. As this movement northward has recently not abated but rather grown in strength, there is not very much more than one million of negroes beyond the boundaries of the south, to which they have been supposed to belong climatically.

This persistent movement northward is significant for two reasons: To begin with it is the most eloquent demonstration that the negro is enterprising enough to look for a change of economic and

social surroundings and opportunities, notwithstanding the tremendous difficulties of such migration in view of his extreme poverty, and thus is no different from other races in kind; and secondly that the negro problem, whatever we may mean by that phrase, is becoming less a local problem and more a national one. From the proletarian and especially from the socialist point of view this second consideration is specially important, for it simply means that in the economic as well as the political field the labor movement can less and less afford to neglect the negro, and is being forced by the inexorable force of circumstances to form some logical plan of dealing with this problem. We may rail as much as we like against the public franchise monopolist or any other capitalist for importing negro scabs, we may even throw bricks at the negro scab, and possibly smash a few hard negro skulls, but it is worse than childish, it is criminal to deceive oneself that it would be possible by such primitive means to dam the inevitable movement of labor from one part of the country to the other, when they are not and cannot in the very nature of things be divided by any legal barriers, and when such definite differences in the economic and social status of labor in these two parts of the country persist. As we shall have opportunity to emphasize more than once in the concluding chapters of our study, the law of self-preservation will force us towards an active effort at the solution of the negro problem.

Simultaneously with this movement northward, and constituting part of it, there is an even stronger, more pronounced movement of the negro toward the cities. Originally, it will be remembered, the negro was almost exclusively an agricultural worker, and whether an agricultural or industrial worker, he lived in a rural community. For one thing, there were very few cities of any size in the antebellum south. In 1880 there lived in the cities with a population over 4,000 849,721 negroes, or 12.9 per cent of the entire negro population; in 1890 1,482,651 negroes, or 17.6 per cent, and in 1900 1,810,407 negroes, or 20.5 per cent. Thus over one-fifth of all the negroes lived in cities ten years ago, and judging by the rapid increase in their relative number, this proportion must have increased to nearly one-fourth by this time. Thus the economic problem presented by the negro is still mainly an agricultural problem, but not exclusively so, and is becoming less and less so. Another reason, why we should know a little more about him.

Because of the rapid influx of European immigrants into American cities, the proportion of negroes to the total urban population is not increasing; it still constituted in 1900 as in 1880 a little over 6 per

cent, but in the South they constitute over 30 per cent of the entire city population, and proportionately their number is growing very rapidly.

One can frequently hear a southerner express the opinion that the only motive for a negro to move to the city is to enable him to exploit his wife or his wife's employers by living off the leavings of their table. There are, however, many more less frivolous reasons why the negro prefers to drift away from the country into the city, and on the whole they are not so very different from the reasons which drive the white American farmer into town. It is the economic opportunity which the city offers, the opportunity for social life, and in the case of the negro an additional factor of comparatively safety from the arbitrary rule of the local planter.

A better understanding of these movements will be derived from the study of occupational statistics, perhaps the most fascinating part of statistics, when properly presented.

According to the census of 1900 there were in the United States altogether nearly 58 million persons of all races over 10 years of age, and of these 29 millions or almost exactly one-half were gainfully employed, in the language of the census. That means that the remaining one-half were mainly wives working at home or children in schools, etc. When, however, the separate races are taken, it is found that out of 51,250,000 white persons over 10 years of age, 24,912,000 were gainfully employed or 48.6 per cent, while of the 6,415,581 negroes over ten, 3,992,337 were employed or 62.2 per cent. This fact may be interpreted in a great many different ways, but it surely is sufficient evidence that the negroes are not parasites on the economic structure of this country.

Now, what are the negroes employed at? It is largely because of their economic status at present that the negro problem is of such momentous import to the socialist and labor movement. Here again, a brief comparison with the population at large is necessary in order to emphasize the distinctions. The total working population of this country is distributed as follows:

Agricultural pursuits . . . . .	10,381,765	35.7%
Professional service . . . . .	1,258,538	4.3%
Domestic and personal service . . . . .	5,580,657	19.2%
Trade and transportation . . . . .	4,766,964	16.4%
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits . . . . .	7,085,309	24.4%
Total . . . . .	29,073,233	100.0%

That gives a bird's-eye view of the occupations of the American

people, though not a very satisfactory one. The distinctions here are industrial and technical rather than economic, and it is only by inference and painstaking analysis that we arrive at the conclusion that the vast majority of the latter class are employees, while in the agricultural class most of them are independent or at least quasi-independent producers. The failure to analyze the economic status of the persons gainfully employed is one of the weakest points of the American censuses, but that is the best material available.

Be it as it may, the distribution of the negroes gainfully employed shows several distinctive features.

Agricultural pursuits .....	2,143,154	53.7%
Professional service .....	47,219	1.2%
Domestic and personal service.....	1,317,859	33.0%
Trade and transportation .....	208,989	5.2%
Mechanical and manufacturing pursuits.....	275,116	6.3%
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>3,992,337</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

A proletarian race! The figures above quoted leave no room for any difference of opinion. Considerably over one-half of the negroes employed are in agriculture, and as we shall presently see only a very few of them own the land they till. A good third belong to the group of personal and domestic service, so that only much less than one-sixth—less than one-seventh even, is employed in professional service, trade and transportation or even mechanical pursuits. Of the male negroes earning a living, 58.3 per cent were employed in agriculture, and 23.8 per cent in domestic and personal service, and of the female negroes 44.2 per cent in agriculture and as much as 51.8 per cent in domestic and personal service. A race of laborers and servants, that is what the negroes are, and that is what they are destined to be in the opinion of the southern white man.

It is to test this latter point of view, that the statistics, dry as they are, are here quoted. At a glance it must be observed that even about one-half a million of negroes engaged in trade, transportation and manufactures are not a factor which ought to be left out of consideration. But more light may be obtained by mentioning specific occupations rather than very large and largely artificial groups, and also by comparing the data for a series of censuses so as to discover any natural tendencies which may assert themselves. The following table may be a little too long, but we feel quite constrained to make use of it. In it are mentioned all the occupations which are employed, or rather were employed in 1900, over 2,50 negroes:

	1900.	Per Ct.	1890.	Per Ct.
Agricultural laborers .....	1,344,125	35.7	1,106,728	36.0
Farmers, planters and overseers.	757,822	19.0	590,666	19.2
Laborers not specified.....	545,935	13.7	349,002	11.3
Servants and waiters.....	465,734	11.7	401,215	13.1
Launderers and laundresses.....	220,104	5.5	153,684	5.0
Draymen, hackmen and teamsters	67,585	1.7	43,963	1.4
Steam railroad employees.....	55,327	1.4	47,548	1.6
Miners and quarrymen.....	36,561	0.9	19,007	0.6
Saw and planing mill employees.	33,266	0.8	17,276	0.6
Porters and helpers in stores...	28,977	0.7	11,694	0.4
All other occupations.....	436,901	11.3	332,381	10.8
Total . . . . .	3,992,337	100.0	3,073,764	100.0

Thus the occupations of the negroes are found not to be so uniform as one might have thought from the preceding statements. In addition to the occupations enumerated claiming about 90 per cent of all employed negroes, one may mention the following employing from ten thousand to twenty-five thousand persons: Turpentine farmers and laborers, barbers and hairdressers, nurses and midwives, clergymen, tobacco and cigar factory operatives, hostlers, masons, dressmakers, iron and steel workers, seamstresses, janitors and sextons, housekeepers and stewards, fishermen and oystermen, engineers and firemen. From five to ten thousand persons were employed as lumbermen and wood choppers, boatmen and sailors, clerks and copyists, merchants and dealers, messengers, painters and glaziers, brick and tile makers. Numerous other occupations claimed from one to five thousand each.

It is impossible to go here into a detailed comparative study of the occupational distribution of the employed negroes, to disclose the less important tendencies in the economic shifting of the negro labor because the question of the economic status of the negro one alone might be made subject of several volumes. Besides this has already been done by such a statistical authority as Professor Walter F. Willcox of Cornell University in the various census publications dealing with the negro, and in various articles in economic periodicals. These studies are made available to the average reader by the republication as a supplement in A. H. Stone's work "Studies in the American Race Problem." But while the facts as stated by Professor Willcox are undoubtedly correct, the difficulty with the professor is that he hastens to claim a race significance to results of economic environment. He has done it in interpreting the death rate of the American negro, and he repeats this mistake in explaining the changes in the occupations of the negro men and women:

"In the industrial competition thus begun the negro seems during the last decade to have slightly lost ground in most of those higher occupations in which the services are rendered largely to whites. He has gained in the two so-called learned professions of teachers and clergymen. He has gained in the two skilled occupations of miners or quarrymen and iron or steel worker. He has gained in the occupations, somewhat ill defined so far as the degree of skill required is indicated, of sawing mill or planing mill employee, and nurse or midwife. He has gained in the class of servants and waiters. On the other side of the balance sheet he has lost ground in the South as a whole in the following skilled occupations: Carpenter, barber, tobacco and cigar factory operative, fisherman, engineer or fireman (not locomotive), and probably blacksmith. He has lost ground also in the following industries in which the degree of skill implied seems somewhat uncertain: Laundry work, hackman or teamster, steam railroad employee, housekeeper or steward. The balance seems not favorable. It suggests that in the competition with white labor to which the negro is being subjected he has not quite held his own."

How carefully guarded and carefully weighted are these statements, how perfectly professorially the tone! Things are not, they only seem to be. And, yet, and yet how perfectly evident the animus.

It is no coincidence that Professor Willcox's papers are reproduced in Mr. Stone's book. If Mr. Stone approvingly reproduces the professor's statements, it is because it was Mr. Stone's opinions and views that have shaped the opinions and views of Professor Willcox on the negro problem.

The veiled insinuation that the comparative skill of the white and negro laborer are the determining factors in determining these indicated changes. As a matter of fact, it is perfectly obvious, as soon as the thought is suggested, that the losses of negroes in various occupations are often explained by the development of a specific opposition, from a newly developed labor union, or by the direct consumer as such. If for reasons of racial prejudices, or even legitimate racial feeling, as some would insist, the white southerner prefers an Italian barber to a negro one, this may be a misfortune for the negro but surely it need not necessarily be his fault, unless it be his fault to have been born a negro.

In view of this opposition, which is too well known to need any evidence, the fact that slowly but surely the negro is nevertheless forcing his way into industrial work, is of tremendous significance. Most of the occupations practiced in the South employ some negro labor. There can be no claim of the physical incapacity of the negro, for physically the negro is much stronger than the southern white man. The claim is often made, however, and supported by a good deal of evidence, that the negro is too frivolous, careless, shiftless, to be depended upon, to be trusted with important and regular work, and that he is too stupid to handle expensive and complicated machinery.

The evidence on this point is far from uniform. To sift it all would be impossible and scarcely necessary. But as evidence of biological inferiority it is not conclusive, and sociologically it leads to diametrically opposite conclusions from those which the southern gentlemen seem to derive from it.

It is not conclusive biologically, because it is not uniform. A biological characteristic must appear universally and uniformly. If a goatee is a characteristic of a goat, it is because each and every normal billy goat has a goatee, and not 25 or 45 per cent of them. The negro has proven himself fit to do any mechanical work which the white man is doing. The thousands of the graduates of the Tuskegee and other industrial schools have demonstrated it. And if there is on the average less efficiency in the negro mass, it evidently must be explained by the conditions of its existence in the past and present. In the professions, arts, sciences and trades and business, the negroes, at least some negroes, have proven their ability to do the required work. And even if in competition with the various white races they should prove less efficient, it could be easily explained (waving aside the possibility of the failure being due to prejudice) by the conditions of their life during the last two hundred years, and also by the conditions of their individual education. As Mr. Booker Washington wisely remarks in one of his books, it is not at all fair to compare the negro farmer with the educated American farmer of the middle west. Even the superiority of the imported farmer of Italy over the negro, of which Stone makes so much capital, is very far from conclusive, in view of the differences in the conditions of their growth and education. The essential fact remains that in the competition with the dominant white race which has all the advantages of legal, social and economic position on its side, the negro has been able to hold his own, and in many branches of work to encroach upon the white man. In any case the fluctuations are too fine, to subtle, they must be looked for with too fine a comb of statistical analysis to be given any value in an organic estimate of race value. Such race distinctions must be self-evident, obvious, or they are not race distinctions at all.

These race distinctions are usually emphasized most obstinately in the case of the negro farmer. And yet, it is especially in his case that the historical and social conditions must be taken into consideration. The previously quoted tables showed that over one-half of the negroes gainfully employed belong to the agricultural class, and therefore the condition of the negro farmer must be carefully studied. The interested are referred to the classical work of Professor Du Bois on

"The Negro Farmer," published by the U. S. Census Office, and only the essentials are here given.

Present conditions, as Du Bois correctly points out, can only be understood by bringing in mind the historical development from slavery. The normal farm of the ante-bellum days was the large plantation worked by slave labor under the direction of the supervisor for the account of the white plantation and slave owner. After the war a weak effort was made to perpetuate this system with the substitution of the hired labor for slave labor. But this soon broke down, partly because of the refusal of the freedmen to work under such conditions, and partly because of the inability of the slave owners of several generations to assume the new and difficult roles of capitalistic entrepreneurs at a moment's notice. As a result a tenant system arose. It was almost exclusively a share tenant system in the beginning as the tenant had no money to become a money rental tenant. Gradually money tenantry has been gaining way, and as the highest form, farm ownership by the negroes. The process was slow, but the evolution unmistakable, as is shown by the following figures:

Number of farms operated by owners....	187,797	25.2%
By Managers.....	1,744	0.2%
By Tenants—Cash.....	273,560	36.6%
Share.....	283,614	38.0%
All.....	557,174	74.6%
<hr/>		
Total . . . . .	746,715	100.0%

Thus, one-third of the negro farmers are cash tenants, and one-fourth or nearly 200,000 farmers are owners of their farms. Considering that forty or fifty years ago, they were almost all slaves without any property rights at all, it can scarcely be claimed that they have done so very badly, especially as they had to meet the competition of the white man all the time.

It is but natural that the vast majority of the farms owned or rented by the negroes are very small, smaller than the corresponding holdings of the white man. In the aggregate the amounts loom up considerably, and it is these aggregates that are often quoted in the discussions of the negro problem. But it conveys very little to say that the negro farms cover an area of over thirty-eight million acres, or nearly 60,000 square miles, that the total value of the property of these farms, owned as well as rented, amounts to half a billion, and the gross value of the products of these farms in 1900 to a quarter of a billion dollars.

More important are the following data indicating the general size of the negro farms:

Negro Farms.		Number.	Per Cent.
Under 3 acres.....		4,448	0.6
3 and under	10 acres.....	50,831	6.8
10 and under	20 acres.....	119,710	16.0
20 and under	50 acres.....	343,173	45.9
50 and under	100 acres.....	134,228	18.0
100 and under	175 acres.....	66,582	8.9
175 and under	260 acres.....	16,535	2.2
260 and under	500 acres.....	8,715	1.2
500 and under	1000 acres.....	2,007	0.3
1000 acres and over.....		486	0.1
		746,715	100.0

Thus the negro farmer is found to be in a very precarious condition as regards the amount of land held; 88.3 per cent of the farmers, or practically seven-eighths of them held less than 10 acres apiece, 69.3 per cent or practically seven-tenths of them operated less than 50 acres per family. This shows that as farmers the negroes must suffer from lack of land and the accompanying consequences of such insufficiency of land.

No less significant for the characterization of the economic status of the negro farmer the following data of the gross (not net) earnings of these farms are:

Negro farms reporting a gross income of:

Dollars.	Number.	Per Cent.
None . . . . .	10,379	1.4
\$1 to \$50.....	50,794	6.8
\$50 to \$100.....	73,075	9.8
\$100 to \$250.....	247,477	33.1
\$250 to \$500.....	254,490	34.1
\$500 to \$1000.....	95,505	12.8
\$1000 to \$2500.....	14,220	1.9
\$2500 and over . . . . .	835	0.1
Total . . . . .	746,715	100.0

This table is significant enough for the general economic condition of the negro farmer. It must not be forgotten that these figures of gross products, and that the net after deducting the cost of feeding the cattle and especially after payment of rent (usually one-half of the product) will be correspondingly smaller. Even taking into consideration the lower standard of prices and living in a southern rural community, the extreme poverty of the negro is clearly established. Eighty-five per cent. of the negro farmers have a gross product of less than \$500; more than one-half of them have a gross product of less than \$250.

These budgets do not leave much room for the saving of a surplus and accumulation of property. And had the negroes accumulated none, that would hardly be a valid argument of their economic unworthiness. But in the entire discussion of the economic status of the negro, this power of accumulation has always been assumed to represent the most important test. We shall reach this question presently (in the following chapter of our study), but limiting ourselves here to the statistical representation of the matter we must show that as a matter of fact the negroes have accumulated quite a considerable amount of property. It was shown in one of the preceding tables that 187,797 farms were owned by negro farmers and these farms included nearly 16,000,000 acres valued at approximately \$180,000,000 and producing about \$60,000,000 of agricultural products.

The above, we appreciate, is a very meager account of the wealth of information contained in the census concerning the economic status of the American negro. But the trying nature of statistics must not be forgotten. We have quoted enough, however, to give to the absolutely uninitiated some conception of the conditions under which the negro lives, and in our following installment we shall discuss the general bearing of these figures upon the negro problem.

(To be continued.)



**The New Prosperity**—Prosperity seems to be here again—for the capitalist. All the well-known barometers—bank clearings, postal receipts, railroad earnings, steel sales, imports, internal revenue—these tell the same story. Thousands upon thousands of workingmen who a few months ago were unemployed are now offered jobs at the same wages (measured in dollars and cents) that they received before the panic. And to cap the optimistic climax, strikes for increased wages are being won.

And still the laborers are not happy! The successful strikers are getting wages that will purchase a little less of the comforts of life than could be bought with the wages of 1906. And most working people are getting their former money wage in money that has depreciated in purchasing power. The standard of living in the United States is declining. Discontent is growing. Capitalist papers are shrewdly trying to shift this discontent to the question of the tariff, which enables the over-protected trusts to charge "monopoly prices." Even some socialists occasionally fall into the trap. But the wage-workers in the great industries, ignorant alike of classical and Marxian economics, take instinctively the right position. They conclude that since their wages will no longer enable them to live as before, they want more wages. They know they are being exploited by their own employers and by no one else. They already see that a strike for lower prices would be useless, while a strike for higher wages might get them something. They will soon come to see that a union of all wage-workers will enable them to own the land they live on and the tools they use, to put the capitalists out of business, and to enjoy all the good things they produce.

**Revolutionary Unionism**—From France and Italy, from Australia, from the Rocky Mountains, and from the keenest observers and clearest thinkers in our own Socialist Party comes a tremendous wave of enthusiasm for this new method of warfare against or-

ganized capital. The old craft unionism was essentially conservative. Groups of workers with special technical skill organized to limit the competition of laborers for jobs in their own particular craft. In the days of the small employer, such unions won many small successes. But the growth of the modern trust, which under one central control exploits laborers of many crafts and no craft, has made this form of organization a helpless and ineffective survival.

Out of the new industrial conditions arises the new union. It is no aristocracy of labor, it is democratic through and through. It is not conservative, for its members possess nothing worth conserving. It does not seek to restrict its membership but to enlarge it. Its immediate aim is to organize all the workers in the employ of any one corporation, so that they may treat with the employer on something like equal terms. Its ultimate aim is to organize all wage-workers up to the point where they may defy the capitalists, take possession of the industries, and operate them for themselves.

These aims and tactics are so obviously in line with the principals of international socialism that it is at first sight surprising that the propagandists of the Socialist Party and of industrial unionism should often be working at cross purposes. A partial explanation may be found in the fact that many Socialist Party members must keep up their membership in craft unions in order to earn a living, and by that fact are prejudiced against the new unionism. On the other hand, this prejudice reflects itself in a bitter prejudice against the party on the part of some of the "I. W. W." agitators, and has led them to denounce all political action as essentially middle-class.

Happily, this misunderstanding seems to be nearly at an end. The clearest-headed socialists, notably Eugene V. Debs, are coming out squarely for revolutionary unionism, and representative revolutionary unionists, like Lagardelle of France and Tom Mann of Australia, point out the immense value of a political party as an auxiliary to the unions. A revolutionary union without the backing of a revolutionary party will be tied up by injunctions. Its officers will be kidnaped. Its members, if they defy the courts, will be corralled in bullpens or mowed down by gatling guns.

A revolutionary party, on the other hand, if it pins its hopes mainly to the passing of laws, tends always to degenerate into a reform party. Its "leaders" become hungry for office and eager for votes, even if the votes must be secured by concessions to the middle class. In the pursuit of such votes it wastes its propaganda

on "immediate demands," which either are of no importance to the working class, or else could be enforced ten times as readily by the menace of revolution as by harping on the reforms.

There are two great things that a revolutionary party of the working class can do. One is to spread the propaganda of revolution, to awaken the slumbering toilers to the fact that they are slaves, and that united action will make them free. The other is, as fast as it gains an atom of political power, to use that power in such a way as to obstruct the workings of the capitalist state as a weapon against the working class.

Here is the true way to get the "something right now" which reformers have vainly promised. The capitalist parties in the United States thus far have competed for votes on the plea that each was the real "friend of labor." Confronted by a compact, active revolutionary minority, the capitalist politicians may hesitate to go on record for the new measures which will soon be required to crush the new unionism. And with the possible loss of some branches of the government at stake, the big capitalists will, if they show their accustomed shrewdness, be willing to make substantial concessions in the way of shorter hours and higher wages, in the hope of stopping the tide of revolution. And, best of all, **it will not stop!**



## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

WILLIAM E. BOHN



To a Socialist the past month has been one of more than ordinary interest. In Persia there has been revolution, in Sweden a general strike and in Spain an uprising against a capitalist war. France and Germany have contributed cabinet crises both of which appear as incidents in the great struggle of the classes. In England there has been talk of a great strike and the revolt of the Hindus has stirred the whole country as never before. Europe as a whole has been roused in opposition to the round of visits made by the Czar. It is safe to say that never was there more widespread revolutionary activity. In the limited space of this department it will be possible to discuss only a few of the events of the month.

**SPAIN. War and the Working Class.** When the September Review reaches the hands of its readers the recent uprising in Spain will be better understood by outsiders than at the time of writing. At present (August 17) I am still chiefly dependent on cablegrams published in American dailies. But these are sufficient to show that a remarkable thing has happened; and taken in connection with Spanish papers, which appeared just before the event, they make a tolerably complete story.

Spain is rather backward so far as working class organization is concerned. The church is powerful and the people are poor. More than this, bitter experience has taught the proletariat the distrust of revolutions. But in this disorganized, backward country has occurred one of the most magnificent exhibitions of class-consciousness.

Spanish capitalists are "developing" a part of Morocco. As a part of this "development" they found it necessary to build a railway from the sea-board to a mine some fifteen miles inland. The Moorish tribesmen, having a foolish notion that the land belonged to them,

attacked the workmen engaged in the construction of the railway. Capital demanded it, and a war was declared. In most "advanced" countries there are few who ask the real cause of a war or care what the poor will get out of it. But in backward Spain this once it was different. The Spanish Socialist movement is small, but it is active. Pablo Iglesias, its leader, is editor of *El Socialista*, and week by week he has been exposing and denouncing the capitalist plans. When matters came to a climax it was evident that his work, and that of other revolutionists, had been effective.

During the last days of July war was declared. Then on August 1 and 2 came news of uprisings in the chief centers of the country. Whole companies of soldiers refused to march; wives and children of soldiers mobbed officers and public officials; at Barcelona Socialists, Anarchists and Republicans united forces, barricaded the streets, and for a time controlled the city. The remarkable thing is, not that there was an uprising, but that everyone knew just what it was about. Everywhere the war was denounced as a capitalist affair; the complete division of interest between capitalists and workers was never more clearly understood or more vigorously proclaimed.

Of course the immediate results amount to little. The working class is almost powerless without organization; at any rate it cannot establish a government or even control a situation; even at Barcelona it could maintain itself but for a few days. The government has put down the revolt. The war goes on with deaths by the thousand. But another object lesson has been given to the working class and no doubt our Spanish comrades will make the most of it. Meantime there is cause for rejoicing in the new signs of life and vigor exhibited south of the Pyrenees.

**PERSIA. Revolution Accomplished.**

For the present the revolution is complete; the troops of the Russian tyrant have been driven from Teheran, the nefarious, anti-parliamentary Shah, Mohamed Ali, has been deposed and a constitutional regime has been instituted. This good news was sent through Europe and America on July 18th, and subsequent dispatches have added little of importance. The long fight made by the revolutionists seems to indicate that they have both numbers and organization. So it is possible, even probable, that Persia has at last come into the modern world to stay. We must keep ourselves reminded, however, that this is merely a belated bourgeois revolution.

To me the most interesting feature of the recent events in Persia has been the mission of Pahim Zade and Dr. Mirza Abdulla to Europe. The Persian revolutionists, having read much of liberty in the newspapers of Western Europe, sent these two in quest of sympathy and aid. Never was the hypocritical nature of bourgeois devotion to freedom better exhibited than in this lack of success. For they sought far and long, but experience in the ways of the world is their only reward. After weeks of waiting in England they have issued a sadly reproachful letter which includes the following sentences: "Is it then that the love of humanity and progress with which England is credited throughout the world is an empty boast, and that the pursuit of selfish gain is regarded as the only rational and legitimate aim of Great Britain's foreign policy? \* \* \* Is our prayer that we may be allowed to possess in peace, without fear of foreign spoliation, the soil of our fatherland, an unreasonable one?"

Thus speaks the bourgeois class of Persia to the bourgeois class of England, but the English bourgeois has his own fish to fry.

**FRANCE. The Fall of Clemenceau.** On July 20th the world was startled by news of the dramatic fall of M. Clemenceau, for more than two years premier of France. This was followed by accounts of a new ministry containing three "Socialists," and capitalist papers published solemn editorials about the advent to power of these "Socialists."

Americans who hear of this "Socialist" cabinet should keep in mind two or

three points that are essential to an understanding of the French situation. In the first place M. Clemenceau resigned his office in consequence of a typical French "drama," a mere scene, which resulted largely from a personal quarrel with M. Delcassé, a previous minister. The new ministry contains many members of the old one and stands pledged to continue its policies. M. Briand, the new premier, was once a Socialist, but now he is a mere power-seeking radical. So from one point of view nothing important has happened.

On the other hand, as an incident in the struggle of classes this event has a certain importance. On July 22nd Comrade Allard wrote in *L'Humanité*: "We have never expected any ministry to serve the interests of the Socialist Party. In capitalist society the government can be nothing but an agent of social reaction and resistance to the emancipation of the workers."

But we must acknowledge that no ministry has shown itself more brutal and violent toward the working class than that of M. Clemenceau, as instruments of government he knew but the police, the prison and the military charge. \* \* \*

"But to be just it is necessary to recognize also the fact that without intending to do so M. Clemenceau has rendered us a service. His brutality and violence have forced the Socialists to group themselves more definitely as a class party, to assume a position of opposition and offense. At the same time he has been so openly and energetically reactionary that he has brought into the open the essential conservatism of the Radical Party."

As to the position of M. Briand and the other ex-Socialists in the cabinet, Comrade Jaurés has an enlightening word to say in the issue of *L'Humanité* for July 25: "There is something paradoxical about the sight of a Radical government presided over by a man who belonged, but a few years ago, to the Socialist Party and who declares periodically that he still retains all his Socialist ideas. This surely indicates the existence within the Radical Party of a secret disorganization, a lack of self-confidence or a lack of men that may appear to the country as a lack of ideas."

**Revolutionists and Reformists in the C. G. T.** It will be recalled that at the last annual convention of the *Confédération General de Travail* the two wings

of the French labor movement, the Reformists and Revolutionists, attempted to bring about a compromise. To this end they elected M. Niel, a Reformist, as General Secretary. M. Niel did not favor the recent general strike, in fact, was quite open in his criticism of it. He maintains, however, that he was opposed and hindered in the discharge of his duty. At any rate he resigned. On July 12 Comrade Le Fevre, a Revolutionist, was elected in his place. Since the wing of the movement represented by the new secretary is in the majority the prospects for concerted action are brighter now than they have been thus far this year. The leaders of the C. G. T. have taken the lesson of general strike much to heart. Everywhere the cry now is for larger and better organization. If the Confederation succeeds in enlisting large numbers there will be interesting news sent over from France.

**GERMANY.** The Government's Dilemma. In last month's Review I told how Chancellor Von Buelow's "tax reform" bill had failed to pass the Reichstag. The feudal landowners, who control the bloc, refused to accept the income tax scheme which was to yield 100,000,000 marks of the 500,000,000 required to carry on the imperial military and naval plans. The chancellor was embarrassed, the Emperor indignant. An additional 50,000,000 marks they finally managed to wring from the poor by taxing beer, tobacco, etc., and then they adjourned the Reichstag. Immediately afterward, on July 14th, it was announced that Herr Von Buelow had resigned his office. His successor was Herr Von Bethman-Holweg. The change is insignificant; the new chancellor represents the same policies as the old and he will have to rule by leave of the same combination of landowners and churchmen. Personally he represents the modern bourgeois element somewhat more directly than his predecessor.

The Social Democrats are thundering against the new tax law. Herr Von Buelow said publicly some time ago that to risk an election now would give added power to the Socialists and they will probably not lose through delay. Their campaign has already begun, and whenever the election occurs they will be ready.

**ENGLAND.** The Revolt of India. On July 1st Madar Lal Dhingra, an edu-

cated Hindu, shot and killed Sir W. H. Curzon Wylie on the steps of the Royal Institute, in London. All England was stirred to a fever of excitement. It was learned that the young Hindu was a fervent patriot and that the nobleman who fell his victim had advised him to give up his foolish revolutionary notions. Sir Curzon Wylie had been connected with the Indian service and so, in the mind of the young Oriental enthusiast, he became the embodiment of foreign oppression. Hence the deed.

Of course even English Socialists, who have bitterly opposed the British policy in India, did not approve of the method of campaign employed. But they made use of the incident to emphasize their contentions and could not withhold from the young Hindu a tribute of praise for his fine conduct after the deed. He was immediately tried, and the words he spoke in his own defense, beside throwing a flood of light on the Indian revolution, have the fine dignity and eloquence that go with the consciousness of a great cause. Addressing his judge he spoke in part as follows:

"I do not want to say anything in defence of myself, but simply to prove the justice of my deed. As for myself, no English law Court has got any authority to arrest and detain me in prison, or pass sentence of death on me. That is the reason I did not have any counsel to defend me.

"And I maintain that if it is patriotic in an Englishman to fight against the Germans if they were to occupy this country, it is much more justifiable and patriotic in my case to fight against the English. I hold the English people responsible for the murder of 80 millions of Indian people in the last 50 years, and they are also responsible for taking away £100,000,000 every year from India to this country. I also hold them responsible for the hanging and deportation of my patriotic countrymen, who did just the same as the English people here are advising their countrymen to do. And the Englishman who goes out to India and get, say, £100 a month, that simply means that he passes a sentence of death on a thousand of my poor countrymen, because these thousand people could easily live on this £100 which the Englishman spends mostly on his frivolities and pleasures.

"Whatever else I have to say is in the paper before the Court. I make this statement, not because I wish to plead

for mercy or anything of that kind. I wish that English people should sentence me to death, for in that case the vengeance of my countrymen will be all the more keen. I put forward this statement to show the justice of my cause to the outside world, and especially to our sympathizers in America and Germany."

Of course he was promptly condemned to death. He expected to be. The English press fulminated against him in its best self-righteous style. Still the deed has accomplished its purpose; the English have been forced to hear of the oppression of India. Madar Lal Dhingra will not have died in vain.

**The English Poor.** We hear much of "practical" Socialism in Europe. The English government, for example, long ago recognized that it owes a duty to the poor. For more than thirty years it has been spending huge sums on the care of its industrial wreckage. No end of administrative energy has been put into the working of its elaborate poor laws. Now it appears that the whole thing has been but an expensive failure. In 1905 a Poor Law Commission was set at work to examine into the government provision for poor relief. After five years of labor its findings have been formulated in a voluminous report. The upshot of the whole matter is that while the government has been spending millions the number of the poor has steadily increased—not to mention their misery and moral degradation.

Of particular interest to Socialists is the minority report. This was submitted by four members of the commission, among whom were our comrades, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb. The former of these has recently given in *The Clarion* an outline of their proposals. Hitherto it has been the declared policy of English poor law administration to keep the condition of those relieved somewhat worse than that of the lowest grade of independent labor." The object of this is said to be to reduce the number of those applying for relief. Incidentally, of course, this policy does not interfere with the labor market, does not force up the wages of "the lowest grade of independent labor" by drawing off the reserve army of suffering unemployed. The result of this method of dealing with poverty is now officially described as "a morass of destitution into which there sinks annually tens of thousands of our fellow citizens—of men thrown out of

work and unable to get back into regular employment, of persons smitten with phthisis or chronic rheumatism, of widows and girls growing up without proper nurture or technical training, of wastrels refusing to work, of men and women of weak will succumbing to drink."

The minority of the commission proposes to set on foot "a systematic crusade against destitution in all its ramifications." To this end it has outlined a new poor law, or rather a measure to take the place of a poor law. The chief feature of this new measure is that it does away with poor law officials. It makes the care of dependents part of the regular business of government. Unemployed, for example, are to be looked after by a new department of the national government, the duty of which is to secure work for as many as possible and support decently all who are out of work. Needy children are to be left to local school authorities, the sick to local health authorities. That is to say, in principle this piece of proposed legislation recognizes it as the duty of the government to provide in a systematic way for all those not taken care of by our industrial organization.

One might think that the lords of industry themselves would recognize the economic value of this proposal. But of course they will not. A group of Socialists and Philanthropists is organizing a great society to work for the measure. Let us hope that their efforts will have some educative value. Nothing beyond that is to be expected. Real relief of the poor is not on the capitalist program.

**AUSTRALIA. Socialist Party Convention.** The Second national convention of the Socialist Federation of Australia met at Broken Hill June 12-16. Reports of this convention indicate that the Australian Movement has made considerable advances during the past year. Two things which occurred give particular pleasure to an American observer: A resolution to embody "immediate" demands in the platform was decisively lost and a very sensible resolution was adopted on the subject of industrial unionism. Last year, it will be remembered, the convention of the S. F. A. adopted a resolution in favor of the I. W. W. This year it was moved and carried that the S. F. A. endorsement of I. W. W. preamble be withdrawn and

Federation only declare for the broad principle of industrial unionism.

Tom Mann was chosen general organizer and a resolution was passed inviting Eugene V. Debs to make a tour of Australia. In addition a large number of measures were taken to insure active and united propoganda during the coming year.

**The Imprisoned Revolutionists.** As a result of the recent labor war at Broken Hill, Comrades May, Stokes and Holland still remain in jail, two of them sentenced to two years, the other to one year of confinement. A general committee has been formed to work for their liberation. Labor organizations throughout the country are passing resolutions with regard to the matter, literature is being distributed and public officials are being bombarded with petitions. A separate committee is looking after the families of the imprisoned men. The recent S. F. A. convention re-elected Comrade Holland as National Secretary, with a substitute to act for him till he is set at liberty.

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# WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

While the cables from Honolulu announce that the strike of the Japanese laborers on the plantations has been abandoned, it is significant that no mention is made of the terms of settlement. Whenever the Associated Press is silent on that phase of industrial adjustments it can be usually taken for granted that the workers have secured some advantages that the capitalists prefer that the public know nothing about. In fact it has often occurred that strikes have been abandoned, with an understanding that the workers return to their employment under old conditions, and then later were conceded every demand made. Whatever the immediate results may be, it is a certainty that the Japanese laborers have lost nothing. They came on strike, as has been mentioned in *The Review*, without having held meetings, attempted to arrive at settlements, or having an organization along union lines. It was a sort of spontaneous, voluntary movement, but class-conscious and sympathetic, and, although the governing powers and the capitalist class of the islands were solidly opposed to the workers, the strikers succeeded in developing an organization that was rather an innovation and might well be emulated by some of our unions in the States that have had years of experience in organization work.

A prominent citizen of Honolulu, who was in entire sympathy with the Jap laborers, but who for obvious reasons does not want his name published, has sent me an interesting account of the tactics that were pursued by the workers. It appears that the mob of workers who suddenly and spontaneously walked out on strike several months ago have been drilled into a well-disciplined organization possessing the cohesion and solidarity of a military body. The whole army, several thousand strong, were divided into squads of twenty, each captained by one of the most intelligent of the lot, who was responsible for his associates to the Higher Wage Association. The roll was called in each group twice a day, and if a man was absent he had to be accounted for. When a

member wanted to absent himself from his fellow workers he received a pass with a time limit reading: "Permit to go out of town. The above named man is granted traveling permission, good for this day only." The pass bore the name of the individual receiving it and was signed by the Wage Association. If the man went into the country (the strike district) he was met by pickets, who inspected the pass as sentries do on the lines of an enemy.

In the matter of supporting the strikers a system was followed that appears to have operated like clock-work. The commissariat purchased supplies through bidders, the food was wholesome, meals regularly served and the housing was carefully looked after. The strikers were said to have had plenty of finances and every penny was accounted for, and, as the funds were carefully husbanded and no waste was permitted, the money problem was not as aggravated as the plantation owners hoped it would be.

It should also be stated that a system of courts martial was in operation by which offenders against the rules of the Association were arrested, tried and punished. It is not claimed that the punishment was severe, the moral effect being sufficient to cause prisoners to mend their ways, as the strikers took a natural pride in displaying their solidarity and loyalty to their movement.

As mentioned above, the capitalists and politicians were a unit in opposing the strikers. Many American and European workingmen in the Hawaiian Islands were also inclined to antagonize the Japs at the outset, perhaps largely on racial grounds. But gradually the Caucasians began to show more respect and sympathy for the Orientals and racial prejudice is disappearing. Of course, the Japs, having developed a splendid organization, will, now that they have returned to work, keep it intact in all probability and be ready for another contest if necessary. But as the capitalists lost millions of dollars it is not likely that they will hunger for more trouble.

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Samuel Gompers' European trip hasn't set the world on fire. While he is studying industrial and political conditions in the older countries our cousins are studying him rather curiously. Socially, Sam is a hale fellow well met, and, while the Englishmen have received him with due hospitality and drank 'alf-an'-'alf to 'is 'ealth, and the Frenchmen uncorked some wine, and the Germans said "gesundheit," as they raised their steins, at the same time they watched their American visitor out of the corner of their eyes. In Great Britain Gompers was heckled at some of the meetings he addressed, in France some of the radicals charged him with being a "labor plutocrat," and in Germany they have been asking him some pointed questions about what the American workingmen are doing with their free ballots, how many strikes they have won and lost, and so forth.

Our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, while repeatedly requested to state his views regarding the labor movements in the various European countries, has quite diplomatically abstained from committing himself to any great extent. Once or twice Gompers unguardedly dropped remarks that started the foreigners to talking. He complimented John Burns, it is reported, and was sharply criticised for so doing, although when Burns was over here some fifteen years ago he rapped Sam pretty hard for his conservatism. In Paris it appears that only about two hundred persons heard Gompers speak, and when he lightly criticised some of their policies they poked fun at him and grew sarcastic.

Gompers is writing a series of articles for an American newspaper syndicate, which appear in some of the dailies and labor publications. But they merely refer to the living conditions of the workers, state of trade, etc., which might be duplicated in our own industrial centers, and are significantly luminous in what they do not relate about the political progress of our European fellow-workers. In all probability Gompers will discuss the bigger questions relating to the struggles between the workers and the ruling classes in his concluding articles, which will serve as a basis for his recommendations to the Toronto convention of the A. F. of L. next November.

The action of the Western Federation

of Miners, in voting to call a national conference of all organizations engaged in mining for the purpose of forming some sort of an offensive and defensive alliance, is bound to be commended by every progressive worker in the labor movement. The Western Federation, as the officers' reports submitted to the recent convention demonstrated, is now, at the close of one of the most severe struggles to which any American labor body ever has been subjected, stronger financially and numerically, than at any time in its history. The United Mine Workers are also in fine shape, and if these two organizations come together along with scattering bodies that may be eligible, and form an alliance, they will be a great industrial power.

As is well known, both the W. F. of M and the U. M. W. are strongly Socialistic. Class lines have been drawn upon them so often by the capitalists that they would be stupid indeed if they failed to grasp the principles involved and take steps along the path of true progress. During the past few years I have had opportunities of visiting a good many mining localities in the Middle West and have been agreeably surprised to find a rapidly increasing sentiment for Socialism, where eight or ten years ago the movement was unknown. In two or three years more the United Mine Workers will be more thoroughly permeated with Socialism than almost any other organization, not excepting the Western Federation. I know officers identified with old political parties who admit that this prediction is no dream.

In this connection it should be stated that the United Mine Workers' Journal, following the course of many other labor publications, has thrown open its columns to a free discussion of all economic and political questions. Editor Scaife announces that he will not be muzzled or attempt to suppress free speech of others. His predecessor, one Sexton, gloried in the fact that he possessed the power of injunction and used it unsparingly, with the result that under his "editorial" administration the Journal was about as progressive as the Congressional Record. Not only does Editor Scaife invite free and open discussion of all matters in which labor is interested, but he fearlessly attacks some sacred institutions and individuals when he deems it necessary. Thus in a recent column editorial the Journal

roundly denounced Samuel Gompers in writing his series of a dozen articles and syndicating them for \$12 to the labor press. The Journal declares that union members who receive as little as a half day's work per week have, through payment of dues, defrayed all of Gompers' expenses on his European tour, and that it was an outrage to charge the labor press for the information that he was paid to collect, and which additional expense the miners' international executive board refused to stand for as a matter of principle. This is lese majesty in earnest.

At their Buffalo convention, just held, the journeymen tailors adopted the resolutions declaring for Socialism, with slight amendments, which were passed in the United Mine Workers' convention. One of the surprises of the convention was that Secretary John B. Lennon, who is also treasurer of the A. F. of L., supported the resolutions. The Tailors' organization is becoming strongly Socialistic. The peculiar thing about it is that an independent organization in San Francisco, which claims to stand for Socialism, has been bombarding Lennon as a reactionist and shouting "down with him," and Lennon, on his part, has invited them to join the international and help overthrow him. The 'Frisco tailors seem to be as etoinn as Lennon is conservative.

It looks as though the new employers' liability law, about which Roosevelt, Taft and other politicians made so much fuss, is doomed to follow its predecessor. It was said that the old law was faultily constructed and that the new act would be sure to run the gauntlet of the courts. The corporation fat men pretended they were greatly pleased when th bill went through the upper, and in both houses of Congress they lustily shouted, "Aye!" upon roll call. Then they winked and grinned at each other and went home and told their constituents all about their friendship and love for the dear workingman—and, of course, were re-elected.

Now comes the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors and declares the national employers' liability law is unconstitutional. Two brakemen employed by the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway, sued that corporation for damages for injuries sustained while in

its employ. The United States government was represented in the case to defend the constitutionality of the law, but the corporation won. Now the precedent will doubtless be quoted by other courts as sound reasoning and the law will be a dead letter.

There is no hope for an adjustment of the jurisdictional controversy between the glass bottle blowers and flint glass workers. The latter have withdrawn their local unions from all central bodies chartered by the A. F. of L. They had made an offer to combine with the bottle blowers, but met with refusal, and it is quite likely that the war between the two factions will go on, to the great satisfaction of the capitalists.

As we go to press, word comes of the successful outcome of the hatters' strike. The main contentions of the men were for the Union label and the closed shop. They win on both points. The label will be used in hats as before, the union will be recognized and all strike-breakers fired. It seems to have been a clean-cut victory after seven months of hard fighting.

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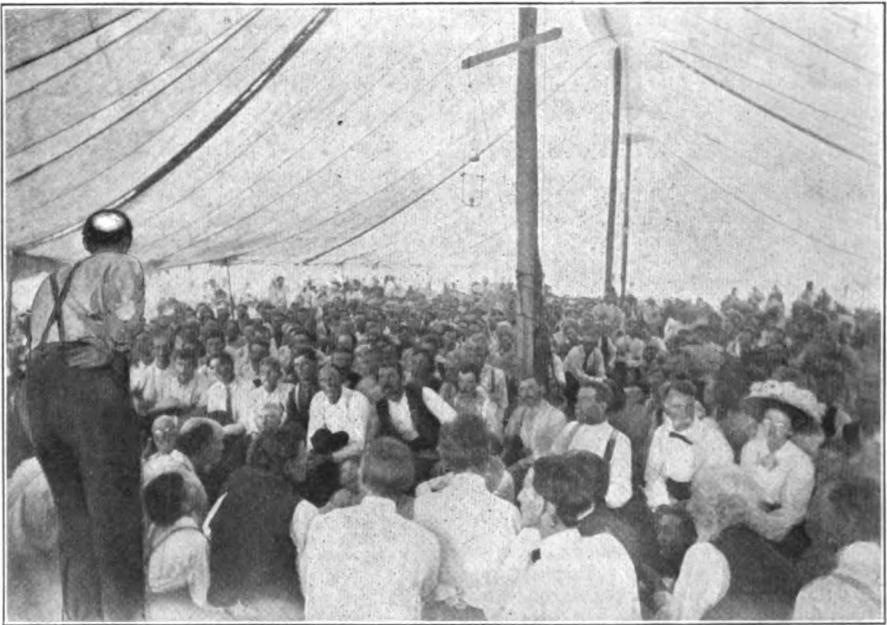
Mr. Fitch wrote the first edition of this book without previous knowledge of our socialist literature, and as the result of a thorough study of the generally recognized writers on physical science, he arrived at practically the position held by Marxian socialists. In revising the book he has referred to the works of Engels, Dietzgen, Labriola and other socialist writers, and in its new form his own work will help many socialists to a better understanding of the scientific foundations of socialism.

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# NEWS & VIEWS

## The Oklahoma Encampment



COMRADE DEBS, SOCIALIST ENCAMPMENT, SNYDER, OKLA.

**SOCIALIST ENCAMPMENTS.** Three meetings a day, five days a week for four weeks, makes a total of sixty red hot propaganda meetings a month, with an attendance of from 500 to 10,000 at each lecture. This is what they are doing at the Oklahoma Socialist Encampment.

Successful encampments have already been held at Waurika, Snyder, Elk City, Aline and Woodward and the country for miles around has been showered with literature. The big canvass tent with a seating capacity of 1,000, is always pitched in a shady, well-watered grove, and from every pole top a red flag floats toward freedom.

Scores of covered wagons file into camp during Monday and far into the night, so that by the time the speaking begins on Tuesday, we find ourselves in the midst of a big, happy and seriously-minded family, happy because they have given the capitalist system the slip for a few days and serious because they realize that they are becoming landless farmers.

Comrade Eugene V. Debs gives his usual sledge-hammer speeches at every encampment, and the folks come 100 miles to hear him. Comrade Oscar Ameringer's lectures on the "Land Question" and "The Race Problem" are particularly effective owing to his knowl-



THE AMERINGER ORCHESTRA—OFF DUTY.

edge of the conditions which confront the Oklahoma farmer and to his continuous humor. Comrade Caroline Lowe appeals to the heart of her audience and drives home each point with unswerving earnestness. State Senator Winfield R. Gaylord's lectures are of especial value to Socialists. Music is furnished by the Ameringer Orchestra and is a big factor toward the success of the meetings. Comrade D. O. Watkins is ably engineering these encampments in the capacity of General Manager, and with the experience gained this year, he will no doubt be able to put up a whirl-wind campaign at next year's encampments.

A fine line of Socialist literature is on sale at all meetings and is in charge of Comrade R. E. Dooley, ably assisted by L. H. Harvey.

**THE WESTERN CLARION.** We are always glad to read our copy of the *Western Clarion*, as we invariably find something in that clear-cut paper that is worth preservation. For example, read the following and then paste it in your hat: "All reforms show the same old story, lock the door after the horse is gone. You are robbed right where you work and nowhere else. You and

your one-fifth can juggle till the crack o' doom and you won't be ahead any. Get out after the four-fifths."

**ONE COMRADE IN ALASKA** sends thirteen dollars for thirteen yearly subscription to *The Review*, and says: "I was surprised to find how many names I got. The world is moving."

**SIX YEAR OLD Paul Oakford**, the youngest Socialist speaker in the United States, sent us a bundle order for copies of *The Review* this month and says he intends to keep it up.

**TWO OF THE ALASKA comrades** bet each other a share of stock in our publishing house. Naturally one of them lost his bet; but the same mail that brought us ten dollars from him, for a share of stock for the winner, brought also ten dollars from the man who won, for a share of stock for his friend who had lost. The *Review* desires to suggest that the other comrades follow the lead of our Alaska friends. We would like to see them all wagering shares of stock in our publishing house. We take great pleasure in recommending this form of betting.

**FINANCIAL AID IS NEEDED** right now by the striking steel mill workers in McKees Rock, Pa. The Review is very glad to announce that it will receive contributions for this hungry army of workers who are battling with the steel trust for a living wage. Now is the time to lend a hand. We must stand together, aid each other and **STICK** to the **FINISH** if we ever hope to accomplish anything. We hope our readers will all chip in something and get it to us at the earliest possible date.

**ACKNOWLEDGMENT.** We are glad to give credit to the Pittsburg Leader for the illustration we use this month on The Review cover. This paper told some important tales in connection with the McKees Rock strike.

**NOT ROBBED IN CONSUMPTION.** A striking illustration of the truth that the worker is robbed in the pay envelope and not in the prices he pays for the things he uses comes to hand in the fact that the Amalgamated Copper Company, in other words the Standard Oil, is threatening to put in a Miners' Supply Store in Butte, Mont., unless the local merchants come to terms and make cheaper prices to the miners. Is this because Amalgamated has the remotest interest in protecting the miners from extortion? Not in the slightest degree. They know that the worker's cost of living reflects itself in wages and they are either figuring on reducing the miners' wages or heading off a demand for an increase. The middle men may rob other members of the middle class but they can't rob the wage-earner. The employers do that themselves.

A. M. STIRTON.

**FROM NEW ZEALAND.** Comrade Greene sends a book order and writes us a letter in which he says: "There are hundreds of unemployed here and hundreds of workmen leaving New Zealand. This country and every other country is doomed under Capitalization."

**WASHINGTON, D. C.** Last week Local District of Columbia held an open air meeting on the lawn of August Bebel, at 11 B street N. W. Here, under the very shadow of the dome of the Capitol, the political, industrial and social evils of the day were shown up and the constructive remedy of Socialism, pointed out. Comrade Pollock presided at the meeting. There were 150 people present.

Music was rendered and refreshments served. Comrade Ferguson, pastor of the People's Church, gave a delightful talk on the personal side of August Bebel and other European Socialists whom he has met. Comrade Jackson and Comrade Cohen talked most entertainingly in their happiest vein, and Comrade Ellen Wetherell discussed the question of woman's suffrage and pointed out why Socialism means the full emancipation of woman.

**HAWAIIAN TREE WALKERS.** A friend from Honolulu writes his appreciation of the Stores of the Cave people by Mary E. Marcy, now running in The Review, and encloses a photograph which we reproduce here, showing how the natives walk up the tall trees in Hawaii.



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**THE CALIFORNIA MOVEMENT.** If California is to maintain its reputation for having developed the most thoroughly revolutionary organization of any state in the Union, taken as a whole, the next few months are destined to be very active ones for those who have the best interest of the Movement at heart. Already the reform step-at-a-time forces are at work. The deadly freedom-by-purchase "Reds" are taking advantage of the Southern California schism in order to get ultra-opportunist doctrines before the comrades of vote-catching mania. The chief egotist of the outlawed faction even went so far as to attempt the establishment of a Lecture Bureau of his own, in direct violation of the letter and spirit of the State Constitution. The Wisconsin forces were reprimanded by the S. E. C. for aiding and abetting the schemes of the down and out one. Apologies duly followed, but the Berger orators are still busy

trying to break into the California field. Tainted as is the Wisconsin Movement with bourgeois reform tactics, a sort of water and oil combination of pure and simple politics with pure and simple craft unionism, it bodes ill for the California Movement to have its fields sowed with the tares of the applied Bergerism.

Already the withering blight of pure and simple A. F. of L. politics has been grafted on the San Diego branch of the Socialist Party. Pure and simple graft and pure and simple rottenness will inevitably follow. Here is certainly a fine chance for "something now" for the grafters and confusionists! But even in San Diego there is still left quite a nucleus of straight, uncompromising Reds, determined to cleanse the local movement of capitalist, craft union affiliations, and it will not be long before the "something now" (for the politicians) elements will be driven back into

the ranks of "simple" if not "pure" union labor politics. The recent addition to the **WORLD'S** subscription list of forty or more new names from San Diego shows that quite a number of comrades there are in sympathy with our avowed endorsement of the principle of industrial unionism as a necessary complement of the political organization.

The long-drawn-out fight in San Francisco between the non-compromising revolutionary faction and the A. F. of L. "something now" (for the grafters) bunch has ended in victory for the former. The frantic attempt of the McCarthy parasites and Civic Federation gum-shoe men to inveigle the San Francisco Socialist organization into their net has failed ignominiously, leaving the Socialist Party much stronger through the opportunity presented for propaganda. The day of fusion of Socialists and craft unionists on a capitalistic-controlled Union Labor Ticket is forever passed in San Francisco and Oakland.

Taken all in all, the Socialist Movement in California seems to be steadily growing in power and clearer perception of its proper aims and tactics. The principle of industrial unionism is pretty generally recognized here as the only form of labor organization capable of fostering class consciousness, and of affording an adequate basis for the establishment of real working-class solidarity; but that such a powerful organization of wage earners as is necessary for successful battle with the owning class can be effected before the development of a strong, class-conscious political party of the workers, few believe possible.

Some idea of the growth and numerical strength of the Socialist vote in California may be derived from the figures below:

In 1900 the votes for Debs numbered but 7,572; in 1904 the same Socialist candidate polled 29,534 votes, only 21,642 of which were true Socialist votes. The 7,892 extra votes were cast for Debs by disgruntled Bryanites, as is evidenced by the fact that the Socialist Congressional vote was 21,642. This accounts for the apparent falling off of three per cent in the Socialist vote of California in the 1908 election, the 7,892 Democrats returning to their own party with Bryan heading the ticket. So, while Debs polled but 28,659 votes in 1908, as compared with 29,533 in 1904, the actual Socialist vote increased by 2,108, since the bona fide Socialist vote

in 1904 was about 21,551. That Socialism does show a good, healthy increase for the four years past is proved by the fact that whereas the Socialist candidate for Congress in 1904 polled but 21,642 votes, in 1908 they received 25,037. This increase is shown, despite the fact that so many members of the working class were unable to qualify as voters at the November election, owing to their migration in search of Republican prosperity.

The increase in real class-conscious Socialism is accurately measured in the vote for associate justice of the Supreme Court. In 1902 the highest vote cast for associate justice of the Supreme Court on the Socialist ticket was 8,193. In 1906 the same candidate, Emil Liess, polled 17,515 votes for this important office. In the recent contest Austin Lewis received 25,266 votes for the unexpired term. A few more "defeats" like this, and we'll raise a tribune of the proletariat to the Supreme Bench.—Maynard Shipley (Editor *The World*.)

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NEW PROPAGANDA BOOKS



FRED D. WARREN,  
Managing Editor Appeal to Reason.

**SUPPRESSED INFORMATION.** One of the most popular propaganda books published by the Appeal to Reason, whose book business we bought last winter, was "Suppressed Information," by Fred D. Warren, whose bold and stirring speech before the Federal Court at Fort Scott was quoted on page 165 of the August Review. Hundreds of thousands of copies of this speech have been circulated in newspaper form, but there is an insistent demand for copies fit to preserve, and meanwhile the last edition of "Suppressed Information" has been ex-

hausted. We are accordingly bringing out a new edition, in which enough of the old matter has been omitted to make room for the full text of Warren's speech without increasing the price, which will be as before, 10 cents a copy, 70 cents for ten copies; \$5.00 for 100 copies. Our stockholders' discount will apply only to the retail price.

**METHODS OF ACQUIRING POSSESSION OF OUR NATIONAL INDUSTRIES.** This book, by N. A. Richardson, written in easy, popular style, has already proved most effective in making clear-headed revolutionists out of sentimental reformers. Our new edition is on cream-tinted book paper, pocket size, just right to slip into a letter. Price, 5 cents; 60 copies of this, or 60 booklets of the same size, all different titles, in a strong paper box, will be mailed to one address for \$1.00.

**REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM.** By Eugene V. Debs. New edition just ready, same attractive style, same low price. A little later we shall publish, uniform with this, Debs' three speeches, entitled, "Craft Unionism," "Class Unionism" and "Industrial Unionism." We already have his "You Railroad Men" in the same shape at the same price.

**SOCIALISM AND PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.** By William Thurston Brown. So much idiocy has been talked and written regarding the relations of these two movements, that this booklet, clear, scientific, tolerant and sympathetic as it is, will prove a welcome addition to our propaganda. This also is in the new "Pocket Library" style, at 5 cents a copy or 60 for \$1.00.

**INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM.** This standard pamphlet by N. A. Richardson is now once more offered at 5

cents; \$3.00 a hundred, including expressage. From the hundred price we can make no discount to any one. The book contains 64 pages, and ought to sell for 10 cents, but the author allows us to print it free of royalty on the express condition that the price be kept down. Richardson is one of the few writers who have thus far succeeded in combining a clear conception of Marx's principles with a simple readable style. His books will make revolutionists, not reformers.

### FINANCIAL REPORT FOR JULY.

#### Receipts.

Cash balance, July 1.....	\$ 66.77
Book sales .....	1,468.86
Review subscriptions and sales..	618.09
Review advertising .....	61.90
Sales of stock.....	245.20
Loans from stockholders.....	102.80
Loan from Henry Murray....	500.00
Loan from G. D. Steere Co....	459.53
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$3,523.15</b>

#### Expenditures.

Manufacture of books.....	\$ 720.60
Books purchased .....	46.53
Printing July Review.....	593.56
Review articles, drawings, etc..	107.26
Wages of office clerks (5 weeks)	400.40
Charles H. Kerr, on salary....	110.00
Mary E. Marcy, salary.....	75.00
Postage and expressage.....	385.60
Interest .....	12.00
Rent .....	70.00
Insurance .....	94.38
Miscellaneous expenses .....	77.47
Advertising .....	578.21
Authors' royalties .....	39.60
Loans repaid .....	162.03
Cash balance, July 31.....	50.51
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$3,523.15</b>

July was a hard month for us. It is usually the worst time of the year for subscriptions and book sales, and this year was no exception. The insurance bill for a whole year had to be paid out of July receipts, and other unusual expenses added to the difficulties to be met. We were thus obliged to give a short time note to be discounted at a bank, instead of taking the full discount on bills.

We are glad to say, however, that the situation has improved immensely since the first of August. We go to press too

early to give complete figures for the month, but the July figures for both *The Review* and book sales are already exceeded, with another week of receipts to come. New loans from stockholders have also enabled us to discount all August bills, and if the receipts simply continue at the present rate, we shall soon be able to take up the bank loan of \$1,000 that we have been carrying since the first of the year. Increased receipts will go to enlarge our work even more rapidly.

### HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES.

Orders for this great work by Gustavus Myers, must be sent in this month to get the special price of \$3.50 for the three volumes. See full particulars in last month's *Review*, or write for circular.

**INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS.** This new book, by N. A. Richardson, has been a little delayed in printing, but will be in the hands of those who have sent advance orders by the time this month's *Review* is out. It sells for \$1.00 in cloth, 25 cents in paper, and we think it the best elementary text-book of Socialism thus far written by an American.

**THE ANCIENT LOWLY.** This book in two large volumes, by C. Osborne Ward, is a history of the ancient working people from the dawn of Christianity to the time when Christianity, till then the religion of the slaves, was made the state religion by the Emperor Constantine. We became the publishers of this book a little over two years ago, and we have in press a new edition, more attractive in appearance than any heretofore printed. Price \$4.00, including prepayment of expressage. Or we will send the set of books free to any one sending us \$4.00 for *The Review* one year to four new names or four years to one new name. See also advertisement on last page cover of this month's *Review*.

**NEW STREET ADDRESS.** Hereafter all letters addressed to *The Review* or Charles H. Kerr & Company should be addressed to 118 West Kinzie street. We have not moved, but the city has adopted a new system of street numbering.

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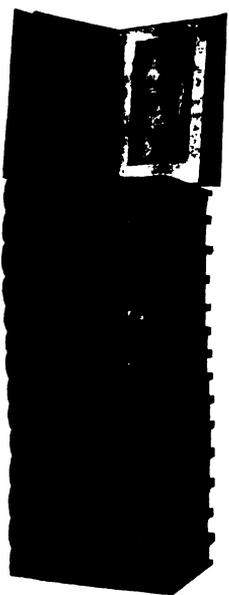
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