

APRIL, 1910

TEN CENTS

# *The* INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



SNAP SHOT FROM PHILADELPHIA.  
ARRESTING A "STRIKE SYMPATHIZER."

VOL. X No. 10 THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW APRIL 1910

# The International Socialist Review

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST THOUGHT

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EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR.

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

## CONTENTS.

The General Strike in Philadelphia	- - - -	Joseph E. Cohen
The Class War in New Castle	- - - -	Louis Duches
The Bethlehem Strike	- - - -	Robert J. Wheeler
Politics, Parliaments and the State	- - - -	Henry L. Slobodin
Making Sugar in the Laboratory	- - - -	W. O. Wing
Strikes and Socialism in Eastern Canada	- - - -	Roscoe A. Fillmore
Preston and Smith	- - - -	Maurice Eldridge
The Pittsburg District	- - - -	Bertha W. Starkweather
The Working Class Movement in Belgium	- - - -	Henrik De Man
Tramping Through France and Italy	- - - -	Giovanni B. Civalo
I Have Seen and I Have Vowed (Poem)	- - - -	Edwin Brenholz
Prospects of a Labor Party in the U. S.	- - - -	Louis B. Boudin

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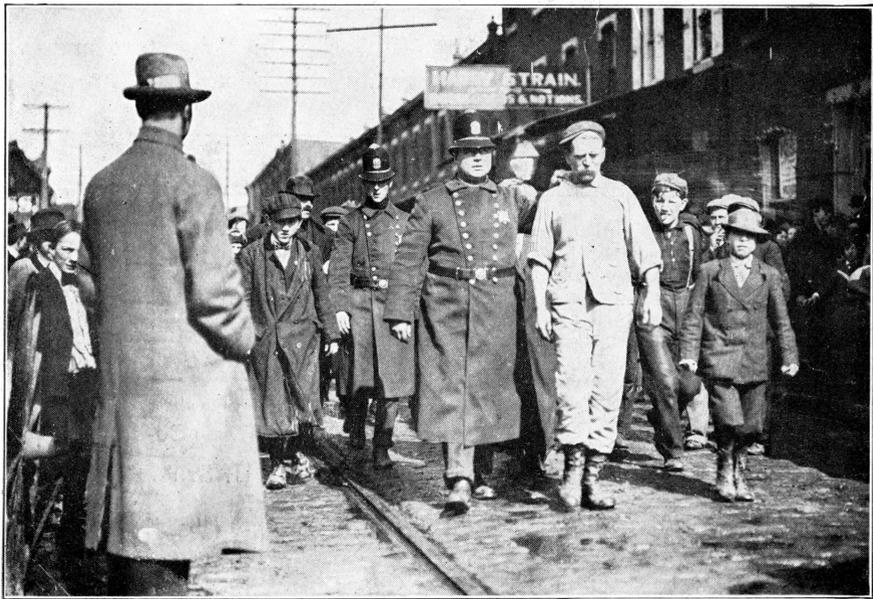
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**CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers (Co-operative)**  
118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900,  
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# THE INTERNATIONAL Socialist Review

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Vol X.

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## “When the Sleeper Wakes”

THE CAR STRIKE AND THE GENERAL STRIKE IN PHILADELPHIA.

By JOSEPH E. COHEN.

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POLICE SHOOTING AT WORKERS IN WINDOWS OF BALDWIN LOCOMOTIVE WORKS.

*Colliers.*



CHILD does not blossom into maturity in a day, nor can a weakling be transformed into a Hercules over night. It requires the lapse of many years in the one instance as in the other. And several decades may pass before a city or a nation attains its majority. Yet there is no telling for how long a time the elements have been gathering for some mighty upheaval; how soon, when the surface of things seemed as calm as ever, there would break out an eruption such as would rearrange all that seemed stable and permanent.

Philadelphia is the third city, in population, in America. It has its own peculiar makeup, fondles its own brand of conservatism and will have to work out its own method of salvation from the condition of “corruption and contentment” which has been ascribed to it.

It is a city of "magnificent distances." That, of itself, explains a great deal, for solidarity and separation are usually antithetical, and Philadelphia is spread over such a wide territory, that people who work and live in Manayunk, Chestnut Hill, Germantown, Olney, Fox Chase, Frankford and Bridesburg—all within the city limits—come down to the center of the city much as country folk go "into town." Many wage-workers in these localities have had no notion at all of what a trades union is. The seeds of class feeling were only beginning to be scattered among them, their outlook was for all the world, that of some fair sized village—not of the third city in America.

The trades union movement of Philadelphia, as would be expected, is in a backward condition. There is the Central Labor Union, composed of possibly a majority of the organizations of labor in the city. There is the Allied Building Trades Council, which broke away because of the scramble for control of the central organization. There are the Hebrew Trades and German Trades, practically independent organizations. And there is the Central Union of Textile Workers, comprising about thirty locals—the sinews of the Kensington mill district—and less than half a dozen of them have been sending delegates to the Central Labor Union. Unallied with the central body, too, are the railway organizations and some other unions.

It may also be said, in passing, that the Central Labor Union exercises about as much jurisdiction over the organized labor of the city as does the Executive Council over the American Federation of Labor. Its usefulness is largely advisory. Complete autonomy prevails among the craft organizations except in so far as they discuss each other's grievances in the "sections" or "councils" consisting of delegates from the crafts most closely related. The powers of the sections and councils, in turn, are considerably circumscribed. The great ship yards, locomotive and car shops, steel works, refineries and larger industrial establishments in general are practically operated by unorganized labor.

Into this state of affairs was projected the strike of the street car men of the city, members of Division 477 of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Men of America.

The present strike was the logical outcome of the forming of the car men's union. Ever since the defeat sustained by the men in the strike of 1894, there had been no organization. One incipient union was started in 1907 and 1908, but was quite easily discouraged by the display of police force, in the deliberate prevention of one mass meeting and the beating up of motormen and conductors at another. When the strike came in May, 1909, only a few hundred men out of a possible 6,000 were members of the union. The men as a whole were dissatisfied with their lot—but, they did not want organization; they wanted fight.



GENERAL STRIKE MEETING AT LABOR LYCEUM.

The company was appalled at the sentiment displayed, both among the employes and the public. Even at such notoriously non-union establishments as Baldwin's Locomotive Works and Stetson's Hat Factory, feeling ran strong against the strike breakers. At the navy yard a conflict between the marines and the police on strike duty was barely averted. The employes at the federal arsenals were so disaffected that all efforts to coerce them to ride the cars had to be abandoned. After a week of strike the company capitulated, granted some concessions and signed a contract promising to deal fairly with the men.

The company made the contract in order to evade and break it. It had agreed to discharge no man without just warrant, and to permit the union's grievance committee to plead the case of any one dismissed. On Friday, February 19, it locked out several hundred employes "for the good of the service." It later admitted that it considered membership in the union to conflict with good service. Its avowed purpose was to exterminate the car men's union.

The officials of the local union carried the news to Clarence O. Pratt, chairman of the international executive board, who was then in town. A meeting of the local executive board, consisting of representatives from the nineteen car barns, was promptly called. Sanction for the step to be taken was wired from international headquarters. Saturday

noon the order was given to strike. By nightfall every union man had left his car.

The union was not anxious for a fight just then. The organization was less than a year old, and dissension had been spread by some of the old officers, who were finally expelled from the union, and not a few of whom were taken care of by the company or the local politicians. Moreover, the union did not desire a strike in the midst of winter, for obvious reasons. But when the lockout came, there was no alternative. It was fight or perish.



A POPULAR BONFIRE—STALLED CAR BURNING. *Leslie's Weekly.*

The people were in sympathy with the union. In almost every part of the city there was "rioting," cars were stoned and destroyed, crews beaten up and the strikers supported financially. Even Manayunk, with its most poverty stricken population, entered its protest against the company and the city authorities. But it was noticeable from the start, that, whatever sporadic outbursts there were elsewhere, the intensest feeling was manifested in the Kensington mill district. Here class consciousness was most acutely developed.

Sunday following the declaration of the strike crowds began congregating. It is safe to say that ten thousand people strolled about along Kensington avenue, within the radius of half a mile. The scene at one point will give an idea of how the crowd works.

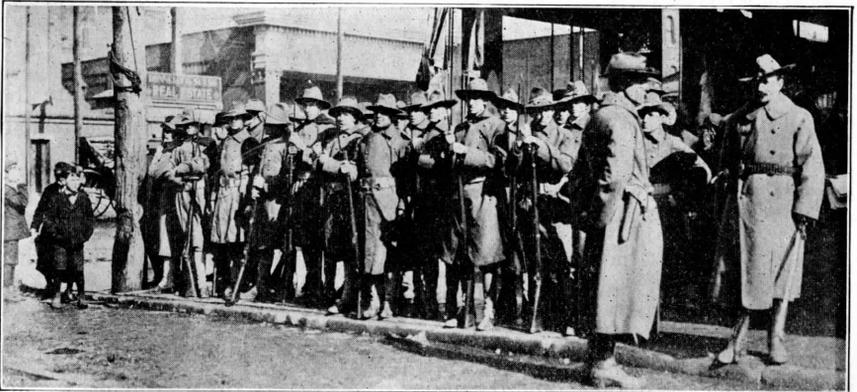
Belgian blocks and culvert lids are piled up at the intersection of two streets. A car comes along. It stops at the obstruction. A volley

of bricks and stones shatter every pane of glass. The policeman on the car throws up his hands and joins the crowd. The motorman follows suit. His coat and hat are ripped from him but he is not otherwise molested. The conductor tries to run away. In a minute he is writhing in the street from a shower of blows. He staggers to his feet, blinded by the blood which spurts from a gash in his forehead. He runs about like a trapped rat. A hundred hostile arms are raised against him. The crowd closes in. Again he is down in the dirt, being pummelled and kicked. He no longer stirs.

On the floor of the disabled car four strike breakers are crouching, their chins to their knees, their hands covering their faces. They do not know why the car has stopped, other than that the motorman has deserted in the face of the jeers and missiles. One jumps up, grabs the controller and turns on full power. The car is derailed by the obstruction. He and the other strike breakers dash out of the car to get away. The crowd batters them into helplessness. By and bye an ambulance comes along and carries the injured men off to the hospital.

The "riot call" brings the chief of police and a hundred of his men. They try to drive the crowd back. The mounted men force their horses upon the sidewalk and against the women and children. The crowd is urged up into the cross streets, back and back, but it trickles through the cordon of police to the scene of disorder. By this time one of the company's repair wagons has put the car into shape again. It is returned to the barn under the care of a troop of police. The company makes known its intention to run no more cars in the district. Rain begins to fall. The crowd disperses.

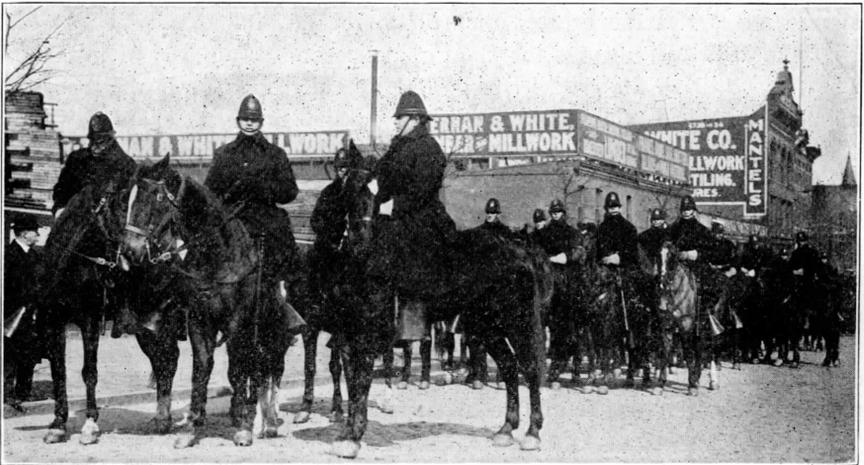
For a few days no cars were run in the northeast. When they were sent out later on, they were so well ventilated by the crowd and so poorly patronized that it was a matter of curiosity to see them running.



STATE FENCIBLES—ROUTED ON FEBRUARY 22.

The crowds that overflowed the streets were not organized or disciplined. They acted spontaneously. The smashing up of cars was a source of amusement rather than the consequence of resentment—only against the strike breakers was there animosity shown. The crowds fraternized with the regular policemen and laughed at the state fencibles, one hundred and seventy-five of whom were called out. The people helped themselves to the buttons from off the coats of the fencibles for souvenirs, and plucked the bullets from out their belts. The presence of these “darling boys” was provocative of so much hilarity that even the mayor became sarcastic. If, on this occasion, the state fencibles did not behave like an infantry corps, they did nevertheless establish a reputation as a corps of infants.

On February 23rd, Mayor Reyburn dispatched a telegram to Governor Stuart, asking for the state constabulary, or cossacks, as they are more popularly known. Four companies of them, 158 men all told, arrived next day and remained until March 1st.



STATE COSSACKS—RESTING.

Now, the people of Philadelphia had no particular quarrel with the state constabulary. Their antipathy was confined largely to the transit company and its strike breakers. To fight against the cossacks meant to engage in bloody warfare, not with fists or bricks, but guns, and this the people were not prepared to do. Were it otherwise, the handful of cossacks would never have left Philadelphia alive. So, aside from a drubbing administered to a few of their number, they were permitted to depart in peace.

The people refrained from patronizing the scab-manned cars and let it go at that. Without standing upon the formality of organizing a club, they began to walk to and from work. All manner of conveyances carried



A WORKING CLASS "CARRYALL."

passengers and did a flourishing business. The director of public safety tried to put a stop to the vehicle traffic by having scores of the drivers arrested and fined, for doing a transportation business without a license. But the wagons continued to go "all the way up" or "out" or "down." To circumvent the director, they displayed legends such as the following: "Charity Wagon," "Free Ride," "Union Transit." Unnecessary to add, no one was discouraged from tendering the conductor a free will offering.

Here it may be inserted that the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company did not exert itself to any extent in this struggle. It imported strike breakers, true enough, issued conflicting statements as to its strength, and parleyed with its old employes in the hope of bribing them to return to work. It converted its car barns into stables for the horses of the constabulary and mounted police, and tendered the use of the floors of its cars to the policemen for sleeping quarters. That represents the limit of its capacity to cope with the situation.

The fight upon the car men's union and the sympathizing public was not conducted from the offices of the company. The seat of war was at the city hall. The plans of campaign were mapped out at the desks of the mayor and director of public safety, and carried into effect through orders issued by them.

Every car contained from one to half a dozen policemen, to protect the strike breakers and assist them in learning the route. Possibly ten thousand extra policemen were sworn in altogether, recruited by the political ward heelers. Their character can readily be imagined. They were called "brownies," and seemed to aspire to become of the hue of the "black hundreds" of Russia. Whatever other faults they may have had, they early acquired a very exasperating one of clubbing and shooting in-offensive wayfarers. Of the number, three thousand or more were "plain clothes men," who circulated among the crowd. At least two instances of dynamiting they were responsible for. To what extent they instigated disturbances cannot, of course, be ascertained. Insofar as the mayor and director were concerned, it was a fight of brute force, in which the side guilty of the greater amount of thuggery would prevail.

The local magistrates and judges were at the elbow of the company's officials. The term "riot" was distorted out of all legal sense, while an amusing precedent was established in making it appear that the alleged act of one individual, C. O. Pratt, constituted a "conspiracy."

It is hardly worth while to enter into a consideration of the part played in the trouble by the mayor and his underlings. Pennsylvania's political history, and Philadelphia's contribution to that history, are too well known to require it. Suffice to mention here that after the mayor frowned down all talk of arbitration, he called the attention of the city councils to an act of assembly of 1893, which provided a way for the adjustment of grievances between employer and employe, by having each side select three arbiters, the common pleas court appoint three, the nine to constitute the board. And after doing that, when the men on strike offered to accept this medium, unfair to them though it was, the mayor sitting on the board of directors of the company, as a representative of the city, voted against his own proposition.

That the mayor of the city owns traction stock is denied. But it has been charged, and never refuted, that the director of public safety is a heavy holder and a heavy loser. During the course of the strike stocks tumbled headlong down, so the rage of the director can be understood.

Like most, if not all, public service corporations, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, apart from its stock manipulations and gentlemanly "steals," has been enriched by valuable franchises and other favors conferred upon it without a penny of recompense to the city. Transit and political interests have always been found together. Therefore, no stone has ever been left unturned to defend the holdings of the clique in control of the company at any particular time.

To cement the tie between the corporation and the city officials, a contract was entered into by city councils in July, 1907, whereby the company bound itself to turn over to the city all earnings above a stipulated amount ;

the city, in exchange, to be the guardian of the company. To insure the carrying out of the provisions of the compact, the city is entitled to three representatives on the company's board of directors. That the city's representatives served the company only too well, is attested by the fact that one of them has since been promoted to the vice-presidency of the company, while another openly fought the public in the strike. The mayor's position we have already seen. On the other hand, no part of the company's surplus has ever found its way into the city treasury.

Among the holders of large amounts of traction stock are men who either own or influence one or more of the daily papers. This explains why every editor opposed the car men, although several of them went as far as they could in antagonizing the present directors of the company. Financial jugglery even reached the stage when it was believed that the men in control aimed to throw the company into the hands of a receiver, in order to squeeze out the small investors. As many as 25,000 shares changed hands in one day's transactions during the strike.

That the group of financiers seeking to discredit the present directorate desires not to stand in intimate relations with labor was shown later on when the president of the Central Labor Union, John J. Murphy, was arrested on the charge of "inciting to riot." His unsophisticated friends hastened to try to procure bail from the moneyed men who had supported the reform movement, on whose ticket Murphy had twice been a candi-



ARRESTING A "STRIKE SYMPATHIZER."

date. But the eminently respectable reformers refused to have their names sullied by association with that of a strike leader.

One more incident might be cited here to indicate the nature of the conflict. Among those who put in a conspicuous appearance were the United Business Men's Association, claiming to speak for 90,000 of the city's merchants. They reported themselves to be "the bone and sinew of the community." But they and their plea for arbitration received scant courtesy from either the company or the city officials. A delegation from the Kensington Business Men's Association came down to attend a session of the city councils and exercise their influence upon that recalcitrant body. They were permitted to have their picture taken in front of the city hall, but not to enter the portals of that stately edifice. In this way was it made manifest that the fight was between the real vested interests, corporate wealth, in the one camp, and labor, the small business men and all other elements of the people, in the other.

For their own part, the car men's union, if anything, under-estimated their relative strength, and guided themselves accordingly. Everyone strained himself to the utmost. The two local secretaries scarcely left headquarters, day or night, while other local officers and international officers, after attending to matters in the office during the day, were out all hours of the night and early morning, addressing meetings called for the members of a car barn, some sister union or the public.

The car men are fully aware that the company has plenty of resources, that it is strongly entrenched politically, and that the greater part of the financial burden of the fight will be borne by the city. For this reason, among others, all that the men hoped to accomplish was arbitration, arbitration that would secure for the men a fair consideration of their grievances.

At the same time, the riding public had its own complaints against the company, although it had apparently never entertained any serious idea of having them attended to. Yet it was on the lookout for the occasion to present itself where it could manifest its displeasure at having the rate of fare increased although the service remained abominable. Furthermore, that which had been the eye-sore of the company, the big buttons worn by the members of the union, had done much to encourage a fellow feeling among the working people who daily came into contact with the motor-man and conductor. So that the notion of having a sympathetic strike, as a protest against the management of the company and the executives of the city, was not the extravagant conception of some dreamer. It was the expression of the desire and will of the working people of the community.

On Sunday afternoon of February 27th, two meetings were held in

the halls of the United Trades Association. One consisted of the delegates to the Central Labor Union; the other of representatives from unions unaffiliated with the central body. The meetings lasted all afternoon. Everyone present at those meetings—and there were a dozen international officers and several veterans of the labor movement—everyone declared it to be the most inspiring meeting he had ever witnessed. There was unanimity of opinion as regards the purpose of the meeting. But the unaffiliated unions were in favor of carrying out that purpose the following Tuesday. They had to be prevailed upon to withhold making the move until Saturday.

In the anteroom were nearly a hundred newspaper men, one local paper having as many as fourteen reporters there. After what seemed endless waiting, the union's press committee came with the resolutions, with a list of the organizations which had participated in the meetings, and with words of greeting from unions in other cities. By relays the information was scribbled down and telephoned to the paper offices. Within a quarter of an hour the news was in type and had been telegraphed across the continent.

The first general strike in America had been ordered. Philadelphia, the city that seemed until that hour to be impervious to all progressive ideas, had for once taken the lead. The sleeper had awakened!

Within the next few days special meetings were called of all unions and the question of going out on strike was put to a vote. With the exception of a few organizations bound up in "iron clad contracts," the decision was favorable. Wednesday evening there was held a joint conference of delegates from all unions in the city, whether or not affiliated with the Central Labor Union. A proclamation was drawn up, a committee of ten empowered to take command of the situation, and the call to cease work issued for Friday midnight, March 4th.

A very curious thing happened at this juncture. The company furnished the newspapers with copies of telegrams it had received from manufacturers' associations and citizens' alliances throughout the country. With two exceptions, they were dated March 4th. It demonstrates only too well the concerted nature of the action of the employers. It showed that it was recognized among the ruling class that this was to be an important grapple between the forces of labor and capital.

Possibly the publication of this intelligence was calculated to dismay organized labor. In this purpose it utterly failed. At the appointed hour the general strike went into effect.

Philadelphia, Pa.

(To be continued.)

# The Class War in New Castle.

BY LOUIS DUCHEZ.



REALIZING the power of a revolutionary press in the very heart of industrial America, the Steel Trust has set its blood hounds on the trails of Solidarity, the I. W. W. weekly and the Free Press the local Socialist Party paper both of New Castle, Pa., thinking that by putting these papers out of business a long step will be made in preventing the tremendous interest in industrial unionism that is spreading throughout the State of Pennsylvania most rapidly at the present time.

The editor of Solidarity, A. M. Stirton, the manager, C. H. McCarthy and the press committee were arrested on the first of last month. Also several members of the Socialist Party connected with the Free Press, including Charles McKeever, the newly elected councilman. There were eleven in all "pinched." Four refused bail and remained in the county jail three days when they were given a hearing; gave bail and were held for court. They are Stirton, McCarthy, and Moore of Solidarity, and McKeever who is now the editor of the Free Press.

The charge upon which they are held is a technical violation of a state law requiring papers to print the name of the publishers and editors of newspapers at the head of the editorial column. While the Free Press did not entirely live up to the law in this respect—and there are many capitalist papers in the state that have not done so—Solidarity did, yet it was held that the press committee's names should have appeared, also.

However, it is seen, the arrest is but a pretext to put the socialist papers out of business by hook or crook.

But that is not all. Finding that this charge was too weak, since the socialists retaliated by bringing the same charges against the "Herald," a capitalist paper of the same place, another line of attack was adopted.

On the following Saturday evening five more arrests were made in connection with articles that appeared in the Free Press regarding the tin mill strike and the attitude of the city and county officials in behalf of the steel trust which owns the tin mills there. The charge against the socialists is "criminal libel" and the information

contains about 5,000 words and is signed by chief of police Gilmore of the city. The names of the socialists arrested on the second charge are Charles McCarthy, Charles McKeever, William White, Frank Hartman and Evan Evans. The cases will come up before the grand jury in June.

It has been discovered that detectives have been working on the cases against the socialists for several months and that it is thought an effort will be made to involve several other active socialists before the steel trust is through. Thugs broke into the desks at the socialist headquarters and took the names of the 300 or more Socialist Party members on the books and many of these will, doubtless, be called up in the case.

The whole is part of a well laid plan to kill, before it gets any stronger, the revolutionary propoganda emanating from New Castle. Whether or not the Steel Trust will succeed depends upon the amount of publicity and financial assistance that the New Castle revolutionists receive from the outside. If the revolutionary press of New Castle can be strangled to death by a too heavy financial burden imposed by litigation—which is, doubtless, the tactics of the Steel Trust a heavy blow will be dealt to the revolutionary movement in the most strategic revolutionary point in America. The Steel Trust is out for blood. Will it succeed? The New Castle revolutionists say it won't. But they are expecting the assistance of the revolutionary movement at large. They must have this assistance if they are to win. The issue involved is a national one.

In this connection it should be remembered that in sending funds to the defense of Solidarity and the Free Press, those intended for the former should be labeled, "Solidarity Defense Fund" and those intended for the latter, "Free Press Defense Fund." Solidarity is owned and controlled by the local unions of the I. W. W. in New Castle, while the Free Press is owned and controlled by Local Lawrence County Socialist Party. The Free Press Publishing Company simply does the press work for Solidarity.



# The Bethlehem Strike.

A Revolt of Slaves.

BY ROBERT J. WHEELER,

*Member of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Union.*



HIS little town is the scene of a bitter industrial conflict. Her one time peaceful streets are thronged daily with the striking wage slaves of the Bethlehem Steel Company. Sinister, brutal faced men, armed with riot clubs, patrol the highways. Heavily armed Cossacks, grim visaged and as merciless in action as Capitalism, guard the gates of the steel plant, or in groups of two or three ride up and down. Business is paralyzed. The social life of the town is disrupted. Men's faces show lines of care and apprehension. Women are becoming worn and pinched from want and worry. Little children go hungry to bed. All is turmoil, anxiety, dread.

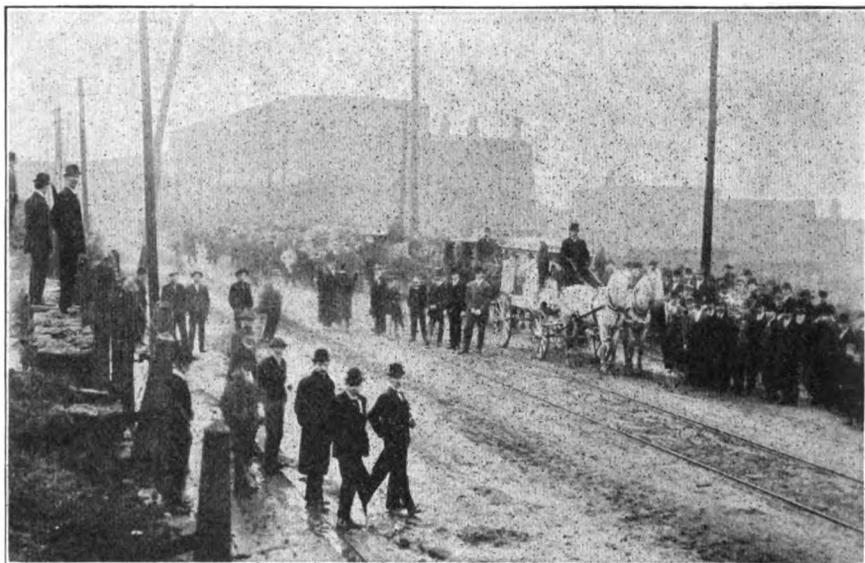
Schwab is at war with his men. Schwab, the steel king, the pet of Carnegie of Homestead infamy. Schwab, the picturesque philan-



*STATE CONSTABULARY ON DUTY - BETHLEHEM STEEL CO. STRIKE.*

*CONRAD - Photo.*

COSSACKS ON DUTY.



FUNERAL OF JOSEPH SZAMDO, STRIKER, KILLED BY THE COSSACKS.

thropist, the debonair gambler, the owner of 10,000 men's jobs, the master of 10,000 men's lives. Schwab, backed by American capitalism and Cossacks is contending against 10,000 wage slaves supported only by their capacity to endure privation.

No, he has nothing to arbitrate. He had no complaint. His men suited him well. Were they not the most highly skilled in all the land? Did they not work the longest hours for the least wage? No, nothing to arbitrate. What master has? ,

For nearly a quarter of a century, Bethlehem has been a city of peace; the peace that exists where slaves are submissive and the master supreme.

Here was the ideal open shop. No union men were tolerated. "Union men," said Schwab, "are all Socialists." The lowest wage in the steel industry is paid here; 12½ to 27 cents per hour. The hours were from 10 to 12 per day. Overtime, Sunday and holiday work for straight pay, the bonus system for bosses, these were the conditions. And coupled with this slave system was the church, enacting its historic role, "the ally of depotism," collecting dues through the office and teaching "Servants obey your masters."

The lords of America Industry gave a banquet in that modern Babylon—Chicago. There while they feasted and the wine flowed freely, they boasted of their greatness and riches. Schwab, more vain glorious than the rest, like some modern Belshazzar, praised himself as the most successful slave owner. "The best mechanics in



COSSACK CLEARING THE SIDEWALK. U. S. A.

the steel business at the lowest wage," said he. The newspapers carried the boast to the men. It was the last straw. Resentment against the system now flamed into action. Three machinists refused to work overtime unless paid time and a half. They were discharged. Then 1,000 men threw down their tools and walked out, their foremen with them. The revolt had come at last.

Marx was right, there is a point below which the workers will not be driven. This outburst is significant of that which is to come.

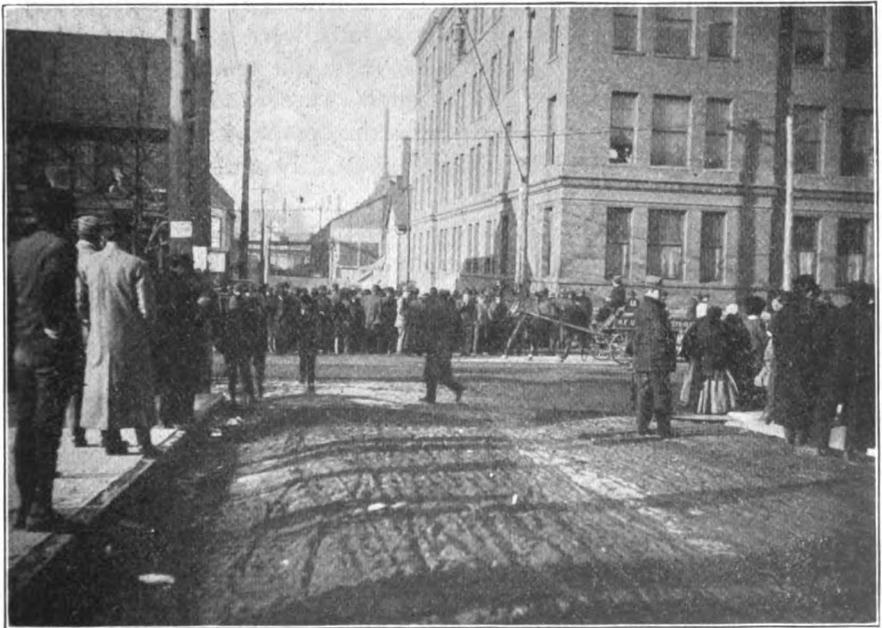
The capitalists are up against the "law of diminishing returns." The rate of profit continues to fall in spite of most economical management in production. Dividends must be maintained somehow. They try to force the wage slave to accept less and less as his share. Therefore outbreaks, strikes and in the end revolution.

And they are drunken with power in Pennsylvania, these masters. They care not that the human machines have needs or unsatisfied longings. Schwab told Chairman Williams that he estimated the cost of production before he took a contract. He could not see why he should be expected to readjust his estimate of cost after the contract was made. "Why," said he, "should I be obliged to pay more now for labor than for any other item in the estimate." Chairman Williams replied: "You mean you buy labor power from us as you buy other commodities from the producers." "You are on," said Schwab. He and his kind have no other relation to the working class. Neither do they fear unarmed strikers. The brutal Cossack, fit representative of his ruthless owners, easily subdues them.

Two weeks of slow progress in organization, Chairman David Williams and Chief Organizer Jacob Tazlear, ably supported by their corps of assistants, worked night and day gathering the men into the unions, then Ettor and Schmit of the I. W. W. came to town. Their addresses on "Solidarity" aroused the fighting spirit of the men. Ettor advised the men to get up in the morning and do picket duty in a body. "Don't let anyone go to work," said he. When the leaders decided to act on this advice, sending more than 2,000 men on the picket line, the big plant closed down. Mass action cannot fail of success.

Schwab rested easy while the slaves passed resolutions, proclaiming the justice of their cause and their respect for "law and order," but when they used the power of numbers to carry out their plans, he was aroused to action. He called on his servant, the Governor, for help. The Governor sent the Cossacks.

These thugs and gun men came to promote disorder and break the strike. Hardly had they detrained before they were clubbing and shooting. 'Ere they had gone the short distance from the train to the mill, they had murdered one striker and wounded another. The crowd aroused to fury, fearless now, assailed them with bricks and stones. By desperate fighting they forced their way through the thousands of furious strikers and reached the mill. The troopers



I. W. W. TACTICS—"EVERYBODY GET OUT AND DON'T LET THEM GO TO WORK."



"BEATEN UP" BY COSSACKS BECAUSE HE DID NOT MOVE FAST ENOUGH.

said they had never faced such an angry crowd, not even at McKees Rocks. Had anyone urged the strikers, they would have killed the police before they could have reached the shelter of the plant. The fighting was renewed time and again during the day and night. Many were injured on both sides. Twenty arrests were made, including a member of the city police force. He had the temerity to order a Cossack off the sidewalk. The prisoners were jailed in a box car and on Monday were given a hearing in the company's office. Several were remanded for trial under \$1000 bail. The unsupported testimony of a Cossack was sufficient.

Since then the city has been under martial law without the formality of a proclamation. The municipal government is ignored. Peaceful people are clubbed on their own door step or walking the street. Men are held up after dark and searched. Some have been dragged from bed and given the choice of going to work or to jail. The city government is in sympathy with the strikers but is powerless to protect citizens against the Cossacks, who are above the law and backed by the state. Again Marx was right, the state is merely the executive of the business interests.

Still the strike goes on. The men are enduring patiently. The A. F. of L. is not giving much financial aid. President Gompers does not seem to take the strike very seriously. Waiting for the "psychological moment" perhaps.

No matter what the outcome of the struggle is to be, the people

of this section have learned a needed lesson. Before the strike they believed they had liberties and rights and that the state would protect them in the enjoyment of the same. Now they know that the capitalist is the state and can violate all rights and destroy all liberties when he wills.

These people are a patient people, slow to change. But the club of the Cossack has quickened their faculties. Men beaten down on the street by a thug in the employ of their master, and being denied redress at law, become advocates of force thereafter. The multitude standing by, helpless to aid, because unarmed, and furious because of their impotence, becomes ripe material for the propaganda of revolution.

This fall, we shall make a determined effort to right these wrongs by the ballot. Failing, then, though we are a peace-loving people, no defense will remain to us but force against force.

We can retreat no further in this slave state. Our backs are as it were against the wall. The veneer of civilization seems slipping off. The primal instinct to give blow for blow in brutal combat is rising strong within us. We can endure no more. So listen——

“Masters and Rulers, take warning, we’re men;  
The blood in our veins came down from the past;  
We’ve hearts and they’re human, forgiving, but when  
Aroused to the Limit, resist to the last.”



# Politics, Parliaments and the State

BY HENRY L. SLOBODIN.



WITH a youthful ardor and apostolic zeal issued forth Por and Duchez, the neophytes of a renewed revolutionary faith, to spread the stirring gospel of proletarian Socialism. Por's brilliancy sparkles like a fine cut diamond and is bound to stir the most inert spirit; while the fire of Duchez will set the most slothful blood a-tingling and a-coursing. Whether in agreement with them or contradiction to them, Por and Duchez will prod one out of one's self-complacency to renewed thought. They are of the leaven that sets ideas fermenting. This good work no one can gainsay. Undoubtedly, these two are bound to stir up a theoretic discussion and an interest in the fundamentals of Socialism of which we are sadly in need. So Boudin complains in the *Zukunft*, the Jewish Socialist monthly, of the contempt on which avowed Marxists hold theoretical discussion in this country. Por and Duchez have stirred up an interest which offers to a lover of theory a rare chance to try his mettle.

As for myself, while I may take issue with both our militant comrades on some points, I confess that I will do so not without sympathy with their ideas. First, because they came from France and I have a predilection for France, though you will find me sitting reverently at the feet of German philosophy learning of the mysteries of cosmic wisdom and harmony. But mindful of the revolutionary testament of Karl Marx—Watch and listen when the Gallic cock crows! I hope and hold that the spirit of the American people is more akin to the French spirit than to that of Germany, let alone the English spirit. We stand with bared head before the proletarian movement of Germany. It is deep, clear and creative. But France the Liberatrice, France the Torch Bearer, the Alarum bell of the world, holds a place of her own in the hearts of the proletariat. Of England we can only say this: we devoutly pray that the American proletariat may be spared some of the wiles and temptations to which the English proletariat fell a prey.

The dispute, the lists of which Por and Duchez entered, is not between Marxists and anti-Marxists. I am told that Duchez snaps his fingers at Marx. Well, what will you have? Such a youth! I do not see why our direct action comrades need to abandon Marx. To be sure, independent political action by the working class is one of the important

inferences which Marx himself drew from his theories. But it seems now that by accepting Marx's theories one is not bound in duty or reason to follow Marx into the field of practice. The teachings of Marx seem to survive all sorts of dismemberment. So, for instance, Professor Seligman, in his work on Marx entitled *Economic Interpretation of History*, accepts Marx's philosophy and historical method including the theory of class struggle, but declines to follow Marx into the field of economics, let alone into a Socialist commonwealth. The Labor Party of England exorcised Marxism for the reason that Marx hated compromise and advocated revolution and the Labor Party hated revolution and advocated compromise. Until one day it was told by Beer that itself was Marxian and that what it advocated was the purest Marxism. Whereat, strange to relate, the Labor Party was greatly rejoiced and ever since the worse thing it found to say of the Socialist Democratic party was that the S. D. P. was not Marxian.

This is as it should be. We can conceive of no proletarian revolutionary method, but it will be bound to gain in strength and inspiration from the three Marxian fundamentals—the materialistic conception of history, the class struggle and the surplus value theory. We can conceive of no such method which would militate against these fundamentals. And, while in the end these fundamentals must too stand trial before the forum of reason and science, it is not for us lightly to pick them up and drop them to suit our every petty convenience of the movement. But when the question discussed is of mere inference and policy, I am willing, together with Por and Duchez, to exchange snuff with Marx and slap him on the shoulder as a good fellow.

Por and Duchez offer the following thesis:

The political state is used by the capitalist class to oppress the working class. Parliaments are dying institutions of the dead past. The working class cannot free itself by the same instrument by which it is oppressed. The working class should not attempt to breathe new life into the dead past. The past offers no lesson to the working class. It must ignore capitalist institutions and forge its own instruments of defence and attack outside of state and parliament.

Por quotes Maeterlinck's counsel to ignore experience and be guided by imagination. I hope Por will not follow this counsel in eating his soup too hot. This is not meant for a gibe, but in all earnest. If experience will stand Por in good stead in eating his individual soup, why will it not serve us in cooking and eating our collective broth? How else should we have learned that wise rule that things are never eaten as hot as they are cooked.

It is a mistake to say that the past is dead. It would have been a calamity if it were so. Mankind would be in the pitiful condition of a

man whose memory became suddenly obliterated. And there would be no one to fill the void with new images and ideas. Fortunately, the past we will always have with us. It follows Maeterlinck to his Olympic regions. Who is Maeterlinck, anyhow, that he should sit in our party councils and give us advice? Has he ever carried a platform and distributed real proletarian literature? Real proletarian literature, I say, which puts a thing up to you as plain as the nose on your face. Not the mystic and mystifying beatitudes which no workingman can understand. Under Socialism the working men will learn to value Maeterlinck and other great masters of literature. But now Por might as well talk to the workmen about the fourth dimension. And who says that Maeterlinck is good literature? The answer is—the cumulative experience of the past says so.

If we must accept the judgment of the past that Maeterlinck is better literature than our agitation leaflets, why not consult the past among others, on the use of politics and parliaments? Por and Duchez are particularly hard on politics and parliaments because they are so effectively used now by the capitalists against the workmen. But what if they are? Are the workmen forever to forego the use of everything that is now used against them? What is not used against them? Science and art are certainly doing yeoman service against them. And the printing press, the spoken word, the teachers, the preachers—how about these? Are these, too, taboo for the working class? How about guns, cannons, explosives? Is the working class to forge its own weapons? Certainly Duchez and Por are not trying to make things easy for the working class. They want the working class to create a civilization out of their imagination, ignoring the past and present.

And how about your industrial unionism? The capitalists have industrial unionism long since. You don't find, as a rule, one capitalist owning the coal in a mine, another the machinery, a third the mules. Here is where a pinch of Marxism helps one out in great shape. The same conditions and forces that brought about the industrial organization of capitalism impel now the workmen to organize industrially. What are those forces? Imagination? Ideas? Oh, yes; they helped a bit, but they were not the forces. The forces were economic necessity. "Necessity, thou mother of the world!" said Shelley, who in his way is as good as Maeterlinck. But we may talk Shelley and Maeterlinck till we are blue in the face; all the workmen will be interested to know is whether those fellows had union cards. And they are right, too. The revolution is a serious business for the workmen. We may be standing on a hill admiring the marching hosts of the revolution. It all appears to us as one grand procession. But those who march do not

feel in the least as if they were on a dress parade. They sweat blood and fall dead in their tracks by the thousands.

If workingmen must organize industrially because the capitalists are so organized, does it not follow by the same token, that workingmen must go into politics because the capitalists are in politics? Does it not follow that if the capitalists use the state to oppress the workingmen, the workingmen ought to use the state for the overthrow of the oppressors? The state is a stick of two ends and it devolves upon us to show the workingmen how to get on the right end of the stick.

“If the proletariat, during the contest with the bourgeoisie, is compelled by the force of circumstances to organize itself as a class; if by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force, the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.”—*Communist Manifesto*.

The proletariat will seize control of the political state in order to overthrow capitalism and the political state itself. This is in accord with the Socialist philosophy which teaches that all great institutions bear within themselves the agencies for their own destruction. Neither Ducheux nor Por urge upon the proletariat the Tolstoian theory of non-resistance, though their Socialist ideal undoubtedly contemplates the abolition of all murderous weapons. Not to use the state? In what respect is this advice different from the Utopian counsel to withdraw from organized society into the wilderness, there to establish an ideal community? Both views reject the achievements of the past and are pessimistic of the political institutions as hopelessly in capitalist control.

The state is usually referred to as if it were a thing fixed, unchangeable. As a matter of fact the idea of the state is in a flux as is the thing itself. The King's I AM THE STATE has become obsolete. Why should the capitalist state not undergo a similar change? It requires only a little twist in the course of development. Wonderful changes does nature achieve just by a twist. Nature is not wasteful of energy or matter. Whenever an organic change is to occur for the good of the species, this change is not brought about by the destruction of the obsolete organ and the creation of a new. Nothing of the sort. Just a little twist by that wonderful master workman—nature, and the same organ will perform a different function. A feeler will be made into a pincer or an eye or any old thing to suit the need. And evolution will make your terrible state fetch and carry for the social revolution, and then bring about its own destruction. Not to use it? Ignore it? That is exactly what Gompers was advocating for a generation. He suffered of late a change of heart.

Well, what would you have? You cannot very well ignore a thing when it takes you by the collar and drags you to jail.

Por stands in reverence before the future and speaks with contempt of the past. There need be nothing awful about the future to us. We, ourselves, are the future that is of the past that was. There is nothing contemptible about the past. We, ourselves, are the past that is of the future that is to be. We are climbers. Mankind is climbing over rocks and precipices. Where to? We look above and we see a light. We look below and we see a bloody trail. That is where man has passed. The past is not dead. It is alive with images and emotions.

“Thoughts, like tides swing within fixed limits, with ages for systole and diastole, ebb and full, and to know to-day you must “be a student of all the past.”—GEIKIE.

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## Making Sugar in the Laboratory

BY W. O. WING.

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HE miracles performed in the chemical laboratories to-day are second only to the marvels being wrought by the twentieth century inventors in the world of machinery. This is the age of growing wonders. Soon we will cease to marvel for every day the impossible is coming to pass. Thirty years ago soldiers of fortune turned their steps toward the Orient in search of the indigo plant. In the interior of Hindustan innumerable natives worked in the indigo fields to supply the world with indigo dye. Six years ago Germany exported six millions of dollars worth of indigo made in her own factories. For many years a great German chemical firm had kept its chemists at work experimenting upon artificial indigo. After almost endless failures the golden secret was discovered in the new process that has transferred the indigo industry across the hemispheres from Hindustan to the indigo factories of Germany.

Offensive coal-tar, formerly counted among the waste products, is one of the most astonishing illustrations of the power of chemistry in taking waste products and turning them back into the channels of usefulness. Professor Ira Remsen, President of John Hopkins University, has made saccharin from coal-tar, and saccharin contains six hundred times the sweetening power of cane-sugar.

M. Berthelot, who was a member of the Institute of France, was one of the greatest modern scientists. It was his opinion—prior to his death

two years ago, that the wheat stalk would ultimately be supplanted by the test-tube and that our bread, like our indigo, would come, not from the wheat fields but from our factories.

M. Berthelot made certain fats directly out of their original elements in the laboratory. And Fischer has, in the same way, made artificial sugars out of the original elements without the use of any plant or animals whatever. He has taken the original elements—carbon, hydrogen and oxygen into his laboratory and brought forth sugars exactly like those produced by the beet-root and the sugar-cane.

Now water is a compound—two parts hydrogen and one part oxygen. And the black smoke (that evoked the smoke nuisances) is nothing more nor less than unconsumed carbons.

In the packing industry they have learned to make use of every scrap of hogs and beeves. Nothing is wasted. "Nothing is lost except the squeal."

All the other modern industries are seeking the same results. Doubtless if the chemists suggest methods whereby the smoke nuisance can be abated, the smoke diverted into laboratories, there to be utilized with hydrogen and oxygen (of which water is composed) and manufactured into sugar, the factory owners will not yet be satisfied. The Germans have shown us how to consume our fuel altogether. This leaves no smoke. The trust magnates want chemists who can turn air and water and waste products into marketable products. Professor Fischer has almost attained these heights.

It was Victor Meyer, a celebrated German chemist, who said:

"We may reasonably hope that chemistry will teach us, in the near future, how to make the fibre of wood the source of human food."

Professor Walker, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology observes that we may be able to use ligneous matter which is left after the fibre has been extracted for the purpose of making paper. This opens the possibility of using the WASTE PRODUCTS of our paper mills as food.

The old idea that chemistry has performed its mission when it has divided, subdivided and analyzed everything has passed away. Creation—re-building, putting together—is the aim of chemistry to-day.

This old earth contains the same old elements. The things we have used, the things our forefathers have used are still here. But in these modern days of rush and hurry Nature—unaided—seems a slow creator. It is the aim of the modern chemist to hasten the processes and supply our needs from the laboratories.

# Strikes and Socialism in Eastern Canada

BY ROSCOE A. FILLMORE.



UNTIL very recently the Maritime Provinces of Canada have seemed to be the hardest possible ground in which to inculcate the principles of Socialism. The industrial activities of the population are chiefly confined to agriculture, lumbering and fishing with the exception of certain portions of Nova Scotia (notably Cape Breton and Cumberland) where mining is carried on extensively. There are portions of the country where one can imagine himself set down in Europe during the dark ages. Religious superstition is rampant. The old fables anent the "Divine right of kings" are explicitly believed in by a very large majority of the people.

In this atmosphere of superstition, bigotry and medieval conservatism a number of isolated comrades have for years worked steadily and bravely for the cause until today we are beginning to reap the fruit from their sowing. In 1899 the S. L. P. was organized in Halifax. It was disrupted a few months later but it had done some good spade work. In July, 1902, an independent local (later affiliated with the S. P. of C.) was organized at Fredericton, N. B., with about a dozen members. In November, 1904, the Glace Bay, C. B., comrades organized. And so the work of organization and education went on until at the beginning of 1909 there were five locals in the maritime. In May of that year, with the financial assistance of party members all over the Dominion, we were enabled to secure the services of a competent organizer, Comrade Wilfred Gribble of Toronto. This comrade spent about five months with us, speaking on the street, in halls, every where and anywhere that an opportunity offered, with the result that we now have sixteen locals with a membership of probably 300. A Maritime Executive Committee has been elected situated at Glace Bay, C. B., to carry on the affairs of the party. This committee is now considering the advisability of putting a permanent organizer on the road. Of course in the maritime, as elsewhere, we have the usual bunch of reform quacks with their palliative nonsense to deal with. There is also a bum Independent Labor (?) Party doing business in the country that has a few secret supporters in our ranks. But on the whole the movement is clear-cut and revolutionary, "impossibilist" as Berger would say.

Now, as regards our "local strike," I will give you a brief history of the causes leading to it and the results so far as can be seen at present.

In Nova Scotia there has existed for about thirty years a labor organization known as the Provincial Workmen's Association. Its adherents have been mostly miners (or ground hogs) but a few other crafts have affiliated with it. Its stronghold has, until recently been in the mining communities of Cape Breton. A few years ago a corporation known as the Dominion Coal Company came upon the scene. Until its appearance the P. W. A. had, in its dealings with individual employers, attained quite a measure of success. But when the coal merger appeared a change was wrought. The P. W. A., a mere sectional organization, found itself powerless to cope with so large an organization of capital.

About five years ago the coal company, true to its traditions as an astute business corporation, decided to "recognize" the P. W. A. This of course was granted only because it did not injure the company and would have a tendency to pacify the workers. After many flowery promises and pledges had been made by the company the workers came to a working (be it noted these are always "working" agreements. Work is all that wage earners are good for) agreement with their masters. And since that the edifying sight has been presented of the lion and the lamb lying down together (the lamb within the lion as usual.)

None of the master's pledges have, as yet, been redeemed and the tyrannical rule of the Dominion Coal Company has steadily become more hateful to the workers as was natural. A three-year contract had been signed by the P. W. A. officials and Brother Capital and Brother Labor were locked in each others arms in a loving embrace. And it might be noted in passing that the latter has been unable to extricate himself from the bear-hug up to date.

The men, being unable to do otherwise and being under the domination of the master's moral teachers who expatiate upon honor (whatever that may be) and such like, lived up to the letter of the agreement with Brother Capital, as usual, flagrantly disregarding it. At the expiration of the first contract the workers were forced by economic necessity to sign a second and even more enslaving "working" agreement. The men became dissatisfied with their union officials suspecting them, with a very large degree of truth as later developments prove, of being merely tools of the masters. They tried to oust Moffat the grand secretary and the other tools of Dominion Coal but without success. Then a number of P. W. A. men invited the U. M. W. A. to come into the provinces. This the U. M. W. A. refused to do until a majority of the miners should declare for it. The P. W. A. officials, Moffat and his gang, submitted the question to the membership and a referendum was taken. The

officials—no doubt expecting the proposition to be turned down—pledged themselves to abide by the result of the vote.

The vote was taken. About 75 per cent of the P. W. A. membership voted for affiliation with the U. M. W. A. and organizers were invited to visit the province and came. But Moffat, labor dictator, refused to vacate. He, and those who had voted against affiliation, still supported the obsolete organization. Those who had voted in favor of the proposition joined the U. M. W. A. Then the fun began. Members of the new organization were discharged—over a thousand of them. The P. W. A.—Brother Capital agreement had not yet expired. The U. M. W. A. demanded recognition and a new contract, also a cessation of discrimination against their members.

The company held up its hands in holy horror. Recognition! What! To a “foreign” organization! Ye Gods! Treason! Sedition! etc., etc., *ad nauseum*. A new contract! Some more spasms of righteous indignation over the terrible depravity of men who would break the unexpired contract, made by the P. W. A., and demand a new one. Finally the U. M. W. A. called a strike about July 1st, 1909, and about 6000 men dropped their tools. But Brother Labor, represented by Moffat and the remnants of the P. W. A. considered themselves bound by “honor” to stay on the job. So a labor (?) organization becomes a scab agency.

The second day of the strike some women, wives of strikers, clawed the face of General Manager Duggan of the Coal Company and pulled his hair. This was made a pretext for calling out the soldiery. The mayor and a majority of the councillors of Glace Bay were opposed to the calling of the military (as they know another civic election would be held within a few months.) But the red coated thugs were sent for nevertheless and came—500 officers and men from the Halifax garrisons armed with machine guns. It later developed that even before the requisition papers were signed the machine guns were entrained and the men under arms.

For some time after the arrival of the thugs everything was peaceful. But this did not suit the purpose of the masters. So Pinkertons were hired; a series of bomb outrages planned and carried out and then a number of workers were arrested for conspiracy. Meantime the licksplittle press of the company spread the news far and near that Cape Breton was in a state closely bordering upon anarchy. It was reported that the residence of Mine-Manager Simpson had been completely wrecked by a bomb presumably the work of the U. M. W. A. Later we learned from authoritative sources that \$1.25 repaired the damage done. And so it went on.

On July 31st several thousand strikers, carrying their master's

flag "the glorious Union Jack," formed in procession for the purpose of demonstrating the strength of their organization to the public. They were met by the military armed with machine guns. In spite of the flag of "their" country which the strikers carried the military ordered them to disperse upon pain of being blown full of lead if they refused. They dispersed. Men were arrested for calling "scab" at those who were at work and this still continues. Pickets are arrested almost daily. A few days ago a picket was shot by a company thug who had been sworn in special as constable. The fight is still on and likely to continue for some time. The company claims it has plenty of men and is getting out as much coal as before the strike. Whether this be true or not the strikers will probably lose the fight. Within the past few weeks a merger has been effected by the Dominion Coal Company and the Dominion Steel Company another Cape Breton corporation. This, of course, has strengthened the masters.

There is a silver lining, however. Already there are four socialist locals in Cape Breton and these are steadily increasing their membership. The men are awakening to the fact that the political scab is the lowest, most contemptible sneak alive. They are discovering that they must unite politically and take, because they have the power, the coal mines and all other industries for themselves. Ere long Cape Breton will be "Red" which ever way the strike goes.

While these events were transpiring in Cape Breton the U. M. W. A. had ousted the P. W. A. in Springhill. They asked the Cumberland Coal and Railway Company to remedy certain grievances and were refused. So in August 1909 about 2000 men quit work and the mines have been closed ever since. Here several (five I think) investigations had been held under the Lenient Act (that glorious bit of labor legislation of which Laurier, King, et al., are so proud) and, of course, the findings of the boards of conciliation were against the men. Through incompetent management one of the finest seams of coal in America had failed to pay and the wages of the men had several times been cut in order to make up for this incompetency. They were also mulcted by a thieving system of fines and finally turned like the proverbial worm. Here, unlike Cape Breton, no effort has been made to start the mines.

The men may win at Springhill. But, whether they win or not, they are awakening to the need of political action on the part of the workers. There is still a certain amount of confusion in their minds as they are enthusiastic over their obsolete I. L. P. But a strong Socialist local has been organized and will ere long leaven the whole community. On the whole the Revolution is progressing favorably in Eastern Canada, and we will presently make the capitalist parties sit up and take notice.

# Preston and Smith

A Cry From the Depths of Nevada's Prison.

By MAURICE E. ELDRIDGE.



THREE years ago the 10th of March, John Sylva, a restaurant keeper at Goldfield, Nevada, was shot and killed by M. R. Preston, a miner and member of the Western Federation of Miners at that time affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World, and on May 9th, just two months later, Preston and Joseph Smith, the latter a cook and member of the I. W. W., were found guilty on an indictment charging them with murder and were sentenced to imprisonment, Preston to twenty-five and Smith to ten years.

A girl employed as waitress in Sylva's restaurant had left her job and Sylva withheld a part of her wages. The local union of the I. W. W. sent its business agent to demand a settlement and upon being denied, a strike was called and a boycott instituted and the place was picketed, all the proceedings of the union being lawful in the State of Nevada.

Preston and Smith both acted as pickets in front of the restaurant and on several occasions, as appeared in the testimony at the trial, Sylva had displayed a large caliber revolver and threatened to take the life of Preston. On the night of March 10th, Smith had left his post and gone to his home to eat supper with his family. Preston came along and took up the picket duty and after a little while Sylva rushed to the door, gun in hand, and ordered Preston to leave. Preston refused to abandon his post and Sylva raised his gun threateningly at Preston. The latter, having heard of the threats and seeing the gun pointed at his person, had good reason to believe that his life was in danger, and in self-defense drew his own weapon and fired, killing Sylva.

Further on I shall review carefully some of the most important points of the case as they developed at the trial and some of the subsequent developments, but here I wish to state my purpose in presenting the case for your consideration.

Preston and Smith are wage workers. Like Debs, Moyer, Haywood and others, they were organized. They were members of unions that were organized to fight the capitalist exploiters, not to

barter with them for the sale of the commodity, labor-power. And they were active members of their union, thus constituting themselves a menace to vested interests, to the right of capital to exploit labor, to the right of the capitalist to defraud and pillage the victims of our social system.

Like Debs, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, Preston and Smith were drawn into the coils of the capitalist law and order machine and the forfeit of their lives demanded because they had dared to oppose the capitalist monster and to fight in the interest of their class, the class that lives only when it finds work and that finds work only when that work adds to the wealth of other men.

The arrest and conviction of Preston and Smith occurred while the W. F. of M. and all of the other labor organizations of the country were in the throes of the struggle to save the lives of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. The W. F. of M. and the I. W. W. provided able counsel and some funds for the defense of these two valiant members of our class and a good fight was made for their lives, but it was almost entirely overshadowed by the other fight and as a result the capitalists and their hirelings in Nevada were allowed to send our comrades and fellow-workers to prison.

They have committed no crime but that of class-consciousness.

They have done no wrong but that of defending a helpless girl of their class against the brutal power of capital entrenched.

Their trial was a farce.

Their motion for a new trial was denied, arbitrarily.

Their application for an appeal was denied upon a technicality of language, a word used in the future instead of the present tense.

Through their counsel they have appeared twice before the State Board of Pardons and although the most flagrant violations of even the capitalist rules of legal procedure were shown to have developed at the trial, the Board has persistently, and consistently with the bourgeois idea denied their prayer.

Now, comrades and fellow workingmen and women of America, wherever you happen to be, it is time for us to act.

It is time for us to again submerge our differences of opinion as to the most effective method of political and industrial organization.

It is time for us to re-organize the Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone Protest Conferences into Preston and Smith Protest Conferences.

It is only by arousing and uniting the wage-workers all over the entire country that we shall succeed in swinging open the heavy doors of Nevada's bastille so that our imprisoned brothers may come forth into light, liberty and life.

Will you join us comrade? brother? fellow-worker?

The following are a few of the most glaring irregularities that developed in the judicial farce which landed Preston and Smith behind the prison bars.

Preston and Smith were charged with having entered into a conspiracy to kill Sylva. To prove the conspiracy charge the State offered three witnesses—Claiborn, Bliss and Davis.

Claiborn was a predatory person infesting the mining camps of the West and at the time of giving his testimony was wanted at his home in Arkansas on a charge of having forged an insurance policy. He disappeared immediately after the trial.

Of Bliss, the leading paper of Goldfield had the following to say: "Member of Butch Cassidy's gang at Robber's Roost, Utah, and participated in the robbery of a \$7,000 payroll; implicated in the Schurz stage robbery; arrested and brought to Goldfield, jumped bond; in trouble all through Nevada, Wyoming, Colorado and part of Utah; principal witness against Preston and Smith."

Jack Davis, the third of this trio of state's witnesses, had been tried and found guilty of a most brutal and cowardly murder of two sheep men in Idaho. While on the stand he was asked a question regarding the trial and he answered in great bravado "Sure—I was convicted of murder in Idaho," and he often displayed the rope with which he was to have been hanged.

It was not merely the evidence of these desperadoes that convicted Preston and Smith, it was generally understood in the court room that these three would "get" any juror who failed to come through with a verdict of guilty. But notwithstanding the charge of conspiracy and the testimony, the jury failed to bring in a verdict of murder in the first degree as the prosecution demanded and the instructions of the court would have permitted. The jurors knew that Preston and Smith were innocent, that they had violated no law, but they also knew that they had to bring in a verdict of guilty and consequently they found Preston guilty of murder in the second degree and Smith guilty of manslaughter.

I have before me two books of 80 and 75 pages, respectively, published by the Clerk of the Supreme Court of Nevada, and which constitute the briefs submitted by P. M. Bowler and F. J. Hanks, attorneys for plaintiffs in error, and by Judge O. N. Hilton, of Denver, of counsel for plaintiffs. In these two volumes every error and every flagrant violation of law and rule in the trial is taken up and discussed in the minutest detail and the reports of state and federal courts as well as English and Canadian reports have been ransacked for parallel cases that have been decided almost invariably for the defendant. Space will not permit me to go at length into these details, every

one of which should be on the end of every working class tongue in America, but these two books should be reprinted in pamphlet form so that every member of the protest conferences might have a copy.

Attorneys for the defendants asked the trial judge to give the following instruction to the jury: "If you believe from the evidence that the deceased, John Sylva, made an attack upon the defendant, M. R. Preston, and that the defendant, M. R. Preston, believed and honestly acted upon the belief that he was in danger of losing his life or receiving great bodily harm, and that in order to protect his life, or to protect himself from great bodily injury it was necessary for him to kill the said John Sylva, then and in that case the killing was justifiable and you must acquit the defendants." But the court refused to give the instruction saying that it did not state the law correctly. Judge Hilton, in his brief, says: "It conforms to every authority in its requirements and is full, complete and cogent," and he asks if it would not have been given if the case had been reversed, if Sylva, the business man, had killed Preston, the workingman, and had been put on trial for his life.

That's the point, fellow workers! It was class justice that was being doled out by the court, capitalist class justice by a capitalist court. Let us demand working class justice, and let us organize the members of our class to voice that demand.

The case of Smith would be a joke if it were not so serious for Smith. He is charged as a principal and accessory to murder, planned, premeditated, and is found guilty of manslaughter. In this case it was impossible to commit the crime of manslaughter for he was not present when the killing occurred, and the statutory requirement is that the act be done by the person charged and in the sudden heat of passion, too great, apparently, to be resisted, and without being premeditated. Smith was at home eating with his family when Sylva was killed and Attorney Bowler well says: "there being no evidence of the presence of Smith at the time and place of killing, there was no middle ground and the jury with equal propriety might have found Smith guilty of sodomy, rape, robbery or any other crime or public offense as to have found him guilty of voluntary manslaughter."

The jury just simply had to find a verdict of guilty for both Preston and Smith and in their fear and ignorance they decided upon manslaughter as a pretty good thing for Smith.

All the courts and constituted authorities to whom they may appeal have turned them down. Comrades and fellow-workers, these two imprisoned workers now appeal to the members of their class, to the workers of the world. Shall we turn them down?

One more point which developed in that infamous trial and I have finished. An outside attorney was hired by the citizens' alliance or the mine owners and paid \$5,000 for his services as special counsel to assist in the prosecution. At the conclusion of the testimony, in his address to the jury, he uttered substantially the following words which I quote from the brief submitted by the defense to the supreme court: "You must convict the defendants, because such conviction will cause people living outside of Nevada to invest their money in the State and so bring about great prosperity. Convict these men as an example, not because of individual guilt, but sacrifice them, if need be, to secure the general prosperity of Nevada."

Enough!

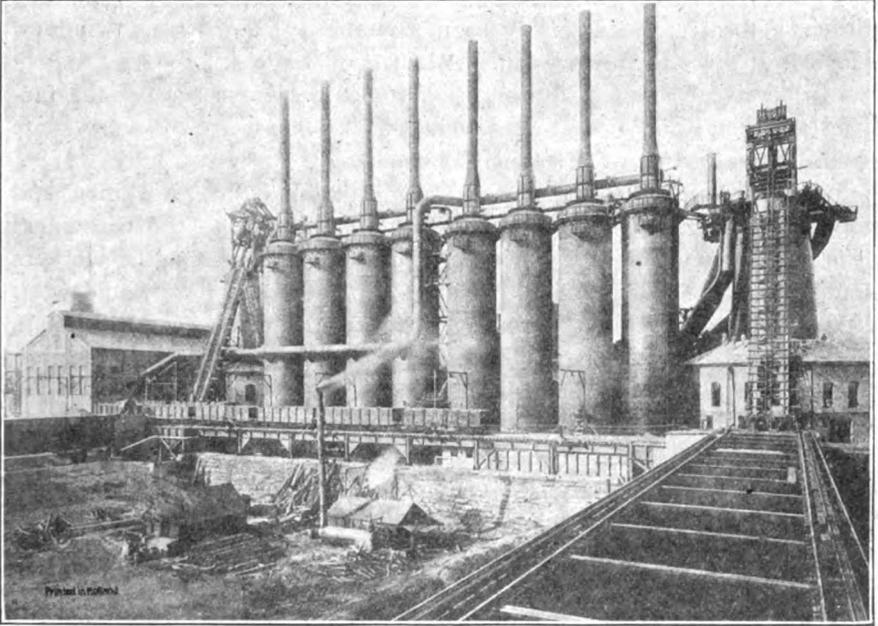
Comrades and fellow-workers, our lives and our liberties are to be sacrificed in order that capital may not be timid, that it may be invested in the industries in which we toil our lives away to enrich others.

How long, oh, how long, shall we submit!

Let every Socialist and Labor paper in the land copy this article or get the facts and write their own version of the infamy, and then let us all with one accord urge the workers of America to unite for effective protest against the further imprisonment of these two brothers. Let the protest come from every quarter and let it be so loud that the very doors of the prison will fly open. Until a central organization can be formed communications may be addressed either to John J. Balem or to the undersigned, both members of a committee elected by Branch Oakland, Socialist Party of California, for the purpose of precipitating this action.

# The Pittsburg District.

By BERTHA WILKINS STARKWEATHER.



THE CARRIE FURNACES—CARNEGIE STEEL CO.—CAPACITY, 40,000 NET TONS.



WITHIN a radius of forty miles from the city of Pittsburg a great number of various kinds of industrial plants are to be found. Here Nature furnished lavishly the elemental materials which man has learned to turn to his use in producing what he desires for his needs.

Two beautiful rivers winding westward through picturesquely wooded hills, joined forces and the larger stream which resulted, the Ohio River, became the great water high-way between the middle states and the West. "The Point" at the head of the Ohio has become strategically and commercially of vast importance.

The Pittsburg District, eighty miles in diameter, boasts of leading the world in the manufacture of iron and steel, tin plate, air-brakes and electrical machinery (both Westinghouse interests), coal and coke, fire brick, plate-glass, window glass, tumblers, tableware, pickles (Heinz's 57 Varieties and other pickle factories), sheet metal, white lead and cork. Each of these plants is conducted along sweatshop lines. All

possible work is done by machinery and unskilled workmen form the greater part of the working force.

The great factory producing Heinz's 57 Varieties, is one of the boasts of the city. It is in every way a well-conducted, clean institution, where all things are well cared for except the poor foreign girls who do most of the work. The company gives these girls a lunch room, rest room, roof garden, a theatre and assembly room containing stained glass windows—in fact, it gives them everything except good wages.

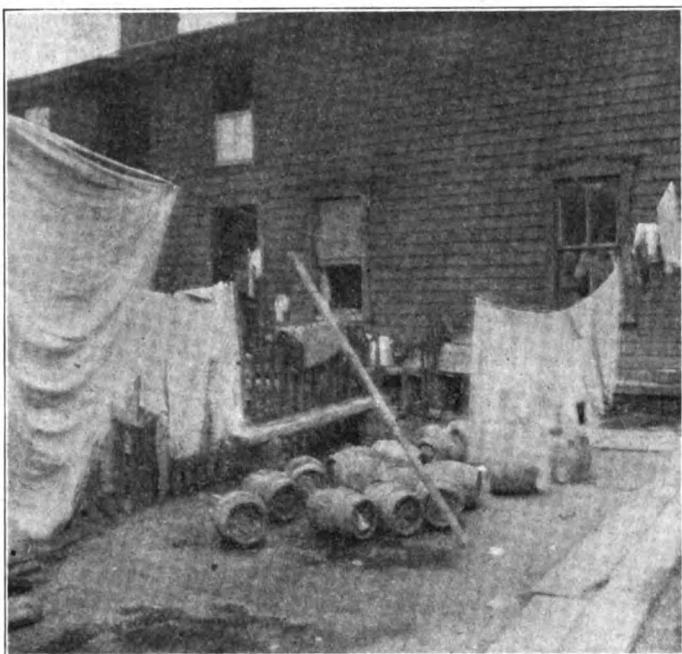
In nearly all other institutions conditions are worse because the factories are dirty, unhealthy places. Sweatshops there are of every stage of sordidness in this great industrial maelstrom.

The Heinz pickle factory certainly surrounds the workmen and women with conveniences and comforts and insures to the consumers clean articles of food. Under a rational industrial system, the workers would work three hours where now they labor ten and they would work with even better machinery than the Heinz factory employs. With hours shortened and wages up to full producing power, surroundings pleasant and stimulating to faithfulness and cleanliness, the great work of the world might be done without suffering to any class.

As it is, the plague of the slum is upon this industrial center so that the civic clubs of the city are trying in their gently reformatory and apologetic way to remedy matters by establishing a bath here, and a settlement there, in a vain attempt to "save" the children of the slums.

Because of all the smoke stacks belching forth black soft coal smoke, Pittsburg is literally over-shadowed. The heavy pall of smoke from the mills alone would shut off the sun for many weeks in winter. The air is heavy with a marrow-freezing chill which is hardest to bear by the poor, half-fed working men and women as they go to work early and return late. This cold, darkness of the winter days and the sickening heat of the summer months seems to have a distinct psychological effect upon the inhabitants of the working districts of Pittsburg. The per cent. of suicides is unusually high.

"This dark, cold weather with the rents so high, and the living so high and the men folks always having trouble with the bosses, is enough to make a woman do the Dutch!" exclaimed a steel-worker's wife as she set her washboard into her tub of hopelessly soiled clothes. "You don't know what 'Doin' the Dutch' means? You must be a stranger in Allegheny! Why, it's committin' suicide, that's what it means and if you happen to have a helpless child or two to leave out in the cold world, you take 'em along so they won't have to suffer without your care. That's 'doin' the Dutch'. Everybody knows that—and lots do it, too. You can see by the Coroner's books. I've been witness at two inquests right in this neighborhood. Goodness knows, I didn't blame the poor things."



TYPICAL STEEL WORKER'S "HOME."

There were 189 suicides in Allegheny county in 1907 (good times). In that county, too, the coroner reported 64 murders.

As the output of a steel plant depends upon the number of its blast-furnaces, it is a significant fact that the Pittsburg District has 103 of these furnaces, whereas South Chicago contains eleven and the new plant at Gary, Indiana, is said to be planned for thirty.

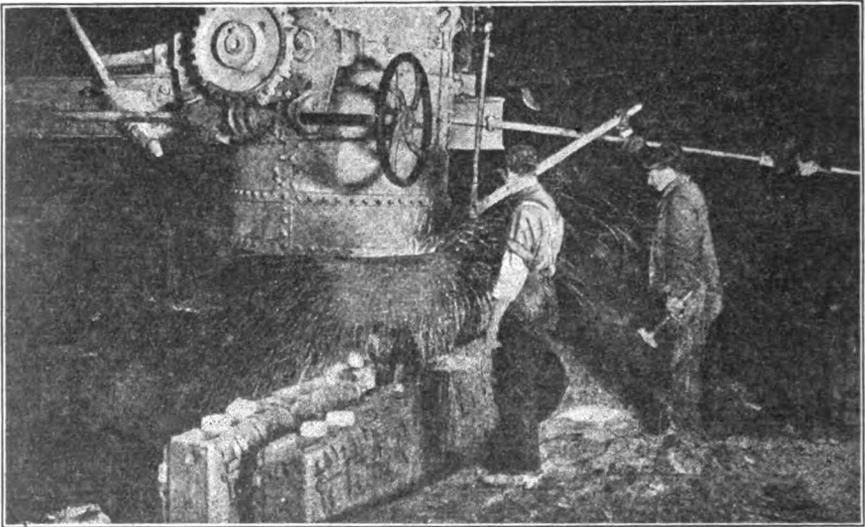
"The Pittsburg District" is a great department factory in the production of steel. At Homestead the specialties are rails, armor plate and structural steel for buildings and bridges; at Duquesne, rails and billets; at McKeesport, tin plate and pipes are specialties; at Wilmerding, air-brakes (Westinghouse); Turtle Creek, also a Westinghouse property, makes electrical machinery where one may see several thousand girls in a single room winding armatures. These plants are all sweat-shops in that they are merciless in squeezing as much from and giving as little as possible to the workmen. The Westinghouse air-brake works at Wilmerding illustrate modern methods of speeding as applied to the making of the many small parts of steel or brass that are needed in air-brakes. The great place was hot; metal was being poured into small moulds on all sides, one day when I visited the plant.

"What does that boy get in wages for making those small brass castings all day," I asked of the guide as we passed along and stopped to see

the young workman tip the ladle full of melted brass, which moved on a little track overhead.

"I think he gets about a dollar and a quarter per day," said my guide. "The men get more. They make larger castings and it is harder work. Some of the Hunkies get a dollar sixty or a dollar eighty per day."

They were all working, hot and sweaty for many hours, casting the parts of the air-brake systems in this great sweat-shop which is hailed all over the world as a model workshop. There was one man who had the job of pulling down a lever to release a set of little castings from their moulds. A workmate said he had been pulling down that handle for twenty years—just one stroke of the two arms over and over and over for twenty years for a little less than two dollars per day. All around was



INTERIOR OF SWEAT SHOP.

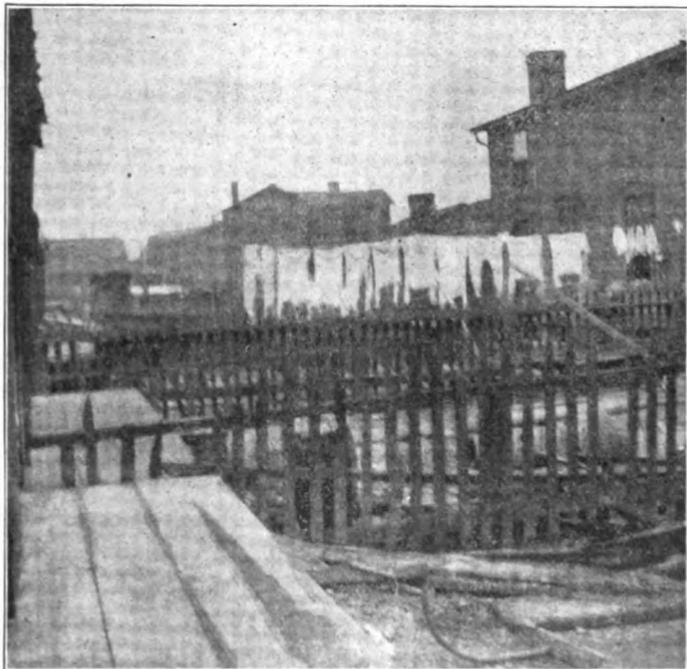
just such slavish toil; no man could feel glad to be doing such mind-dwarfing labor all day only to drag his aching body home at night to prepare for another tragedy the next day. But it is vain to think of the ideal of work which William Morris gave us—that it should be worth doing, that it should be pleasant to do, etc. Wherever one goes in this great center of industry, one finds the same slavish toil holding the men as in a straight-jacket.

Twelve miles down the Ohio River in a northwest direction from the Point, is the new town of Ambridge, the plant of the American Bridge Company. Three years ago, the soft hills of Pennsylvania rolled down to the Ohio invitingly, where now Ambridge stands. It is "made" by the American Bridge Company and every man who lives there is in some

way connected economically with the Bridge Company. Ambridge is crossed by a hundred railroad tracks covered by a great bridge which connects the bridge works with the great office building and the town.

From Homestead they run the structural steel into the Ambridge plant, in the rough. Here it is prepared for riveting, dipped in paint, every part carefully marked and all parts tied together as they will be needed by the bridge builders. High towers in the works mark the places where the places where the great girders, over a hundred feet long, are handled.

The evening before my visit an accident happened killing two men and injuring eight others. One of the long girders had slipped, that was all. It happened at six P. M. and even the coroner was not admitted when he called to inquire into the cause of the accident. At two o'clock on the next day, I went to see Hunkey town in Ambridge—as wretched and mean a place as a very new slum can manage to become in so short a time. There were rows of crowded tenements and other long rows of box-like houses, all containing four rooms. Every room swarmed with foreign workmen. In some cases the beds never grow cold, as they are used by day and night shifts in turn. The workman who could speak a little English told me that upstairs in one of those crowded rooms lay



BEDRAGGLED WOMEN MAY BE SEEN WASHING ENDLESS LINES OF  
HEAVY UNDERWEAR FOR THEIR BOARDERS.

one of the seven men who had been injured by the accident of the evening before. His neck had been deeply lacerated, almost cutting the jugular vein. They told me that he was wild with delirium. They were waiting for the company doctor, who had promised to come at three o'clock. The little hospital of two rooms inside the works' enclosure had been too full to give him a berth when he was hurt, so they sent him "home." And eighteen hours later the company doctor was being expected to care for the wounded man in the foul room which he shared with four other men.

#### THE PROCESS AND THE WORKINGMAN.

In 1905 the United States Steel Corporation paid the sum of \$128,900,000 in salaries and wages, in spite of the fact that more than one-half of its men are paid laborers wages—fifteen to twenty-five cents per hour—for dangerous work. Yet the Captains of Industry look with jealous eyes upon this "wage budget" and the limit of displacing labor by machine work seems farther away than ever, as new labor-saving inventions are constantly being made. Usually these inventions are the products of workmen themselves.

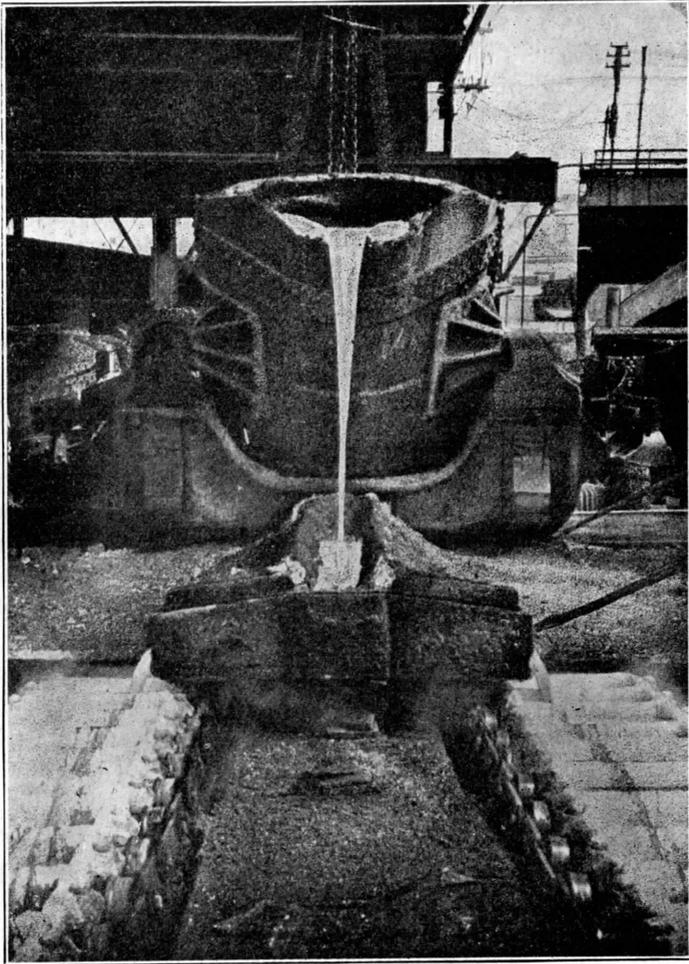
A few years ago an attempt was made to employ colored workingmen instead of foreigners because of the many costly accidents occurring where the men did not understand the language shouted by the bosses. When the boss cried "Look out!" the luckless Hunkies stood still, blinking stupidly and shrugging their shoulders, only to be caught by flying metal or switching cars. So a gang of fifty colored men was detailed to the furnaces shoving ore buggies. They pushed the empty little cars down the incline willingly enough but when the boss told them to take the loaded cars back, they stopped and the spokesman, a great giant in bronze, asked smiling quizzically:

"Where's the mule, boss?"

"Ain't got no mule!" howled the boss, "Get a hold there you fellers and push 'em along!"

"Well, boss, I see you's mistaken about mules. If I is hired to do mule work, I quits right heah. We alls goin' to balk, that's all."

So the fifty colored men filed out of the mill yards carrying their full dinner pails in their hand. Our colored brothers do not seem to make such willing wage slaves as might have been expected. The Steel Company seems to have taken a hint from the colored giant. In most steel mills ore-buggies have been replaced by automatic charging machines and the "mule" is a splendid electric motor. This innovation has thrown a thousand Hungarians out of work in a single plant, but anyone familiar with the inhuman conditions under which these poor fellows had to work, cannot but rejoice that the work is now done by machinery. On each alternate Sunday these Hungarians worked a twenty-four hour day.



FRONT VIEW OF LADLE EMPTYING MOLTEN METAL INTO MOLDS,  
PIG IRON MACHINE. PITTSBURG.

When they complained they were given the alternative of submitting or taking their "time."

The Coroner's report of men killed in mill accidents is very non-committal. The names of the witnesses are usually foreign and the jury "failed to get evidence sufficient to decide as to the cause." When an employe who had worked for many years in a dangerous department of the mills was asked for information on the causes of accidents and the coronor's proceedings later, he said.

"Yes, they hold those fake inquests over us AMERICANS where questions would be asked; but we think that some never do get inquested."

"Do you mean to say that they break the laws and bury the dead without permits?"

"Why, after one of these big explosions, a man may be fairly engulfed in white-hot metal and then nothing is left to hold an inquest over. There is no question of a burial certificate, because there is nothing to bury. How can you hold an inquest over nothing? So the boss of the gang may say that he has immigrated and his fellows who escaped injury, keep still at peril of their lives or their jobs, which amounts to about the same thing. The men who really know about the accident are not called in as witnesses before the coronor's jury."

With a population of forty million people, England injures less than a hundred thousand and kills about a thousand a year. With a population of eighty million, the United States injures a million and we do not care to let the world know how many of these die.

There is a report among the men, that a few years ago three Austrian workmen disappeared in the mill yards in South Chicago, like the animals that went into the lions' den and never came out. It was said that the Austrian consul blustered and threatened to get indemnity. But the men say that the mills have a prescription for even severe cases of righteous indignation.

The most frequent accidents occur at the base of the blast furnaces. A workman told of an accident in which several men were killed. The foreman called into service a dump-cart. In this the dead were taken to the hospital. A passer-by, it is said, heard the groans of one of the victims. He noticed that the driver and his assistant were about the dump the mangled human bodies out as if they were scrap-iron. But the common citizen was not yet hardened to the ways of steel. He came forward and cried:

"You take those bodies out like humans, one by one, or by heavens, I'll shoot you down as dead as the deadest man in the load!"

They found the groaning man at the bottom of the pile.

Where a few years ago ore was shoveled by men, it is now taken from the hold of the ship by means of a great arm of steel. This arm takes fifteen tons of ore in an immense double handful, on the principle of ice tongs, and affords a saving of two thousand dollars on each ship-load of ore. Of these grabs these are almost a score in the South Chicago plant. Sometimes a dozen grab hooks work at the unloading of a ship and this means a great saving of time for the services of the ship. The conveyors, great bridge-like carriers, then bear the ore to the blast furnaces.

# The Working Class Movement in Belgium

BY HENDRIK DE MAN.



ELGIUM may claim, equally with Italy, to be the birthplace of capitalism. Already in the middle ages, and especially in the 13th and 14th centuries, the Flemish cities were to all central Europe what the cities of Northern Italy were to the Mediterranean world: centers of intense industrial and cultural life.

Here, at this early period, a small but powerful class of capitalists, great merchant-manufacturers, trading in cloth and other goods, confronted a mass of workers almost dispossessed of property, who found strength for only intermittent struggles against the ever-growing physical and moral degradation that was forced upon them. In spite of long periods of economic stagnation, when the work of exploiting and degrading the proletariat passed, in part, from the hands of capitalism into the dead hand of the Catholic Church, this situation has continued, under various political and economic forms, up to our own day.

At present Belgium deserves more than ever the name Marx gave it long ago,—the “Paradise of Capitalists.” Its exceptionally favorable situation for international commerce, its fertile soil, its mineral wealth and its age-long accumulation of capital, for which even its recently acquired Congo Colony fails to provide field for expansion,—all this makes it the most prosperous of European countries—for the capitalist class.

As a logical result of the law of surplus value it follows that this prosperity to the minority of the nation is only possible by the increasing physical and moral misery of the majority of the nation. Belgium is a most striking example of this law. It would not be a paradise for capitalists if it were not a hell for proletarians. Belgium is, in fact, that one of all capitalist countries where the material and intellectual condition of the working class, considered as a whole, is the most deplorable.

Belgium, as is shown by the comparative charts on the working day of the various countries, shown at the St. Louis World's Fair, is the nation of the longest hours of work. The normal day, for more than half the industrial workers, averages over 10½ hours. Here too

we find another confirmation of the Marxian theory of surplus value—the longer the workday the lower the wage. According to the last government census, out of 468,000 adult male laborers employed in manufacturing, about 30,000 earn less than 3.87 francs (75 cents) a day, and only 5,000 earn so much as 6.25 francs (\$1.25). The daily wage of men employed on farms is 1.20 francs (24 cents) with board or 2 francs (40 cents) without board. The position of the women and children is worse still.

A similar state of affairs is found when we consider intellectual poverty. Of all the countries of Western Europe, Belgium alone has no compulsory education laws, and it stands next to Russia and Italy in its proportion of illiterates.

Belgium shares with Spain the sad distinction of having a Clerical Party of Roman Ultra-montists in political control. The extraordinary persistence of clericalism as a political force in this country with so intense an industrial development is one of the most baffling problems in the materialist interpretation of history. Its solution through the interpretation of special economic and political conditions in Belgium since the Middle Ages and especially beginning with the sixteenth century, when the revolution of the Belgian provinces against Spanish Clericalism was drowned in blood, is too complicated for us to attempt here. We need only point out the power of Clericalism and its political manifestations to see the obstacles to socialism in Belgium. The Clerical government is always opposed to all social reforms and secular education. Belgium lags behind all the civilized states of Europe in the matter of legal protection for laborers. The only reform realized under the Clerical Government which has any meaning at all is the old age pension law, which grants to laborers 65 years of age, after their wages have been repeatedly cut through long years, in the event of their being able to prove their utter destitution, a pension of 18 centimes (less than 4 cents) a day.

At the expiration of a few years of Liberal Government, at the accession of the Clericals in 1884, the latter reduced the number of primary public schools from 4,787 to 4,004, of normal schools from 27 to 18 and of evening schools for adults from 2710 to 1560. After 25 years of steady increase in population, the number of schools existing before 1884 has not quite been reached again.

Side by side with the destruction of public education has proceeded the Romanization of the teaching force. The instruction itself is permeated with Catholicism. This is not without influence on the labor movement.

As an independent country, Belgium is merely the artificial pro-

duct of certain combinations in international politics in the early part of the nineteenth century. It really comprises two nations, each with its language; 4,000,000 Flemings, in the northern provinces, who talk Dutch and are Germanic in race, and 3,000,000 Walloons, in the South, who talk French and who are linked by their whole civilization to France.

In both the north and south the capitalist class uses French almost universally. Flemish, or Dutch, while making progress as a literary language, remains the sole tongue of the proletariat, the peasants and the smaller capitalists. This implies, for the French-speaking population, a preponderant influence of French political ideas, with results often unfortunate. Scientific education comes to the Flemings in French and is not understood by the mass of the population. There is no Flemish university; no Flemish scientific books or reviews; only the dirty little "popular" papers in Flemish. Like the Flemish people, the Flemish language is an outcast. Thus all efforts to raise the Flemings out of their intellectual misery meet immense difficulties. The Flemish socialist movement is unable to avail itself of the advanced elements of the class of intellectuals who generally aid in spreading the leaven in the lump. Flanders is unique in the socialist world. The whole movement (if we except the editor of the *Vooruit* at Ghent, formerly a teacher in the primary schools) is made up of actual manual wage-workers, or former wage-workers. It is these men, whose education is rudimentary at best, who edit the party's newspapers and represent it in parliament.

#### CONFLICTING THEORIES AND TACTICS.

Thus it appears we cannot accurately speak of the Belgian labor movement, but rather, recognizing the variety of its elements, we should say the "labor movement in Belgium." It is true that the comradeship of the struggle against the same institutions has given to the different elements of the movement certain traits, and it is no less true that the diversity of the phenomena and tendencies of Belgian socialism cannot be understood if it be regarded (a mistake superficial writers usually make) as a national unity.

Belgium offers a striking picture of the two great tendencies that influence continental socialism, tendencies which we might call French and German.

In Flanders the socialist movement arose in the middle of the nineteenth century from a desire on the part of the wage-workers for an immediate improvement in their material conditions. It was started by the weavers of Ghent, who founded, in 1857, a union with the aim of improving working conditions, but with no consciousness

of a higher political or revolutionary aim. That did not, however, prevent them, nor the unions established soon after at other places, from waging a heroic and bitter war against their employers in pursuit of their immediate aim. But, for lack of theoretical propagandists, it is this struggle of the unions which has educated the Flemish proletariat in socialism.

It is not by the light of socialist theory, of which it received only crumbs and morsels translated (and that for the most part into Dutch) from the German, but it is by the glaring light of the brutal, material class struggle, that its eyes opened to socialism. In spite of plenty of deviations caused by the lack of scientific socialist education, the socialist movement in Flanders remained purely working-class, inspired, if not by an enlightened class consciousness, at least by a class instinct absolutely proletarian.

The socialist movement in the Walloon or French part of the country developed in an altogether opposite direction. Thanks to the influence of France, the country of great political bourgeois revolutions and, up to these last years, the paradise of petit bourgeois democracy, a democratic and radical movement, more or less or strongly influenced by Fourierism, Blanquism and Proudhonism, existed within the ranks of the intellectual bourgeoisie before there was any thought of an independent organization or movement of the Walloon working-class. It was the ideas of this bourgeois democracy which were to awaken the working-class and which inspired its first acts. Nothing on this subject is more characteristic than the great labor movement of 1886, which culminated in a general strike of the miners of the Walloon country, which by the way, degenerated promptly into a bloody riot which was mercilessly repressed by a military dictatorship. This strike marks the beginning of the socialist movement in Belgium as a political movement and it showed the Belgian capitalists, as a conservative politician said "for the first time the existence of the social question by the light of incendiary fires."

The immediate occasion of the strike was a terrible industrial crisis. But instead of demanding economic reforms or immediate benefits, the strikers, directly influenced by French radicalism, demanded a series of political reforms. Agitators lately arrived from France played a prominent part in this movement which culminated in the demand for a republic in place of the monarchy, something rather strange in view of the fact that the bourgeois constitutional monarchy of Belgium differs from the bourgeois republic of France only in certain points of etiquette. Moreover, the organizations which survived the movement in 1886 in the Walloon country were not trade unions but groups of a political character called "labor

leagues," which concerned themselves particularly with the obtaining of universal suffrage in place of the restricted suffrage then existing.

It is this struggle for universal suffrage which brought about the union of the Flemish and Walloon groups into a single Parti Ouvrier (Workers' Party), organized in 1885 but which did not really take the field until about the year 1890. This union was not brought about without serious difficulties due to the diversity of the tendencies represented. The Flemish, representing the "Flemish Socialist Party," inspired by almost the same ideas as the German Social Democracy, did not even succeed in securing the adoption of the name socialist party, in place of which they adopted the name of Workers' Party. Cesar de Paepe, the most notable of the representatives of Belgian scientific socialism before 1890, was, himself, by his theoretical eclecticism, linking Marx with Proudhon and Louis Blanc with Bakunin, a symbol of the confusion which still dominates socialism in Belgium. He commented on this party name by saying that a workers' party meant the party of the working class, including all those who wish to struggle for its interests, whether they call themselves communists or collectivists, mutualists or anarchists, what matter?

These tactics were excellent to give the working class, who were feebly beginning to emerge from their absolute torpor and who needed to be united for the immediate task of conquering the right of suffrage, the start afforded only by a united organization. Unfortunately, its members rarely emerged from that indifference toward theoretical questions. In other words, they never gave enough attention to the education of the working class in the spirit of the international social democracy, which is the Marxian spirit.

The fault, moreover, is in great part that of the circumstances which made universal suffrage the most urgent aim of the workers' movement. This it had need of before everything else if it wished to prepare its path as a political movement. Thus the movement continued to be dominated, up to the conquest of plural suffrage in 1893, and even later, by confused democratic ideas which, as we have pointed out, were imported from France.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVES.

But before going on we must point out another consequence of the situation, namely, the weakness of the union movement and the extraordinary development of the co-operative movement.

The co-operative of consumption appeared a little after the first forms of organization already mentioned, the unions in Flanders and the labor leagues in the Walloon country. It was started at Ghent, where the Vooruit (Forward) set the example of the establishment

of co-operatives (bakeries, stores, groceries, factories, etc.) throughout the country, which sprang up almost everywhere between 1884 and 1890. Very soon these co-operatives became the material foundation, the basis, of the whole labor movement and they are still the dominant form, this being the most distinctive characteristic of socialism in Belgium. Its whole complex organization would have been hard to realize without the preponderant part played by the co-operatives.

These have everywhere built the People's Palaces with halls for meetings or entertainments and offices for the gratuitous use of the other organizations, and they have turned over a large share of their profits to the work of propaganda and socialist education. In this way they have in large measure provided for the material needs of the struggle and the agitation, supporting the strikes, the electoral campaigns, etc.

Here is certainly reason for gratitude to the co-operatives for the support they have brought to the labor movement. But this medal has a reverse side. The development of the co-operatives has been much more rapid than that of the unions and the propaganda organizations and especially more rapid than the work of socialist organization, which has too often been left to the co-operatives themselves. Thus, it is undeniable that since the co-operatives furnished their pecuniary support in many great strikes carried on by workmen with little or no organization, the latter failed to realize, as they would otherwise have done, the need of a strong union organization. This has been an obstacle to the growth of the unions.

Moreover this one-sided growth of the co-operative side of the Belgian labor movement has had a deplorable effect on the state of mind of its adherents. What induced the Belgian socialists to put so much energy into building up the co-operatives was the fact that this form of organization was the one best suited to enroll the greatest possible portion of the miserable and degraded Belgian proletariat in the shortest time. It promised, and gave them, cheap bread, cheap goods and dividends on their purchases. These were material advantages obtained without any such sacrifices as a union or a political party demands of its members.

**That is one reason why the co-operative is not capable of developing the spirit of militant socialism as does the union or the Political Organization.**

The experience of Belgium has shown that where co-operatives dominate, conservative tendencies appear in the working class and especially within the co-operatives themselves. These are often in danger of becoming mere business enterprises which are socialist only.

by courtesy. This danger might have been averted by a proportionate development of the work of revolutionary propaganda. Unhappily it has not appeared in Belgium.

#### THE BACKWARD LABOR UNIONS.

We have already seen how the abnormal growth of the co-operatives and their intervention in strikes has been an obstacle to the growth of the unions. The influence of French political ideas on the "Labor Leagues" in Walloon Belgium, was another cause of the tardy development of the unions. The strong sentiment of local and provincial patriotism in Belgium, was another obstacle. Provincial patriotism works against national centralization, which is essential to the success of a strong union movement.

These three influences and the need of concentrating year after year all efforts upon the fight for universal and equal suffrage have made and still make the Belgian union movement backward. Not until after the failure of the second general strike for equal suffrage did they begin to plan a more effective union organization and place at its head a Union Commission, after the model of the "General Commission" of Germany, and in constant relation with the management of the Parti Ouvrier.

This Commission has secured the affiliation of a great number of neutral organizations not affiliated with the Parti Ouvrier, but declaring for the class struggle. In 1907 it received dues from 64,000 union men out of 181,000 members of all kinds of unions in Belgium. Of these 30,000 belong to the so-called "Christian Unions" which are often yellow; 500 to "liberal unions" and the rest to unions that are neutral and even partly socialist, but not yet affiliated with the Union Commission. This includes the Federation of Miners which has about 60,000 members but is for the most part hostile to centralization. Obviously these results are not very satisfactory. Moreover most of these organizations are decidedly backward and provincial.

Happily, a strong reaction against this spirit has lately appeared. The leaders of the Marxian wing of the Parti Ouvrier and notably comrades de Brouckers and Huysmans are at the head of a movement for the reconstruction of the unions which attempts at once to bring the neutral unions into the Union Commission and the Parti Ouvrier, and to induce all the unions to adopt the methods of centralization and discipline which have given such excellent results in Germany, Austria and the Scandinavian countries. As a result several of the most important organizations have grouped themselves into national unions and others are on the point of following their example.

#### PROPAGANDA AND EDUCATION.

Meanwhile a start has been made at cutting loose from Liberal-

ism in politics and developing the socialist consciousness of the Belgian Labor movement. Naturally in view of the extreme poverty of the people and the lack of popular education, the intellectual level of the Belgian socialist movement could not be very high. Our press is especially weak; we have not one scientific review; our socialist literature is extremely poor and the Socialist Sunday School, lately started at Brussels for the young propagandists of the party, is as yet only an embryo. In a word the class consciousness of the Belgian proletariat, even the cream of the organized movement, is still badly in need of a more vigorous Marxian propaganda than is being carried on to-day. This explains the fact that the parliamentary policy of the Parti Ouvrier has not always kept clear of the tutelage of the bourgeois democracy, and often pursues reformist or revisionist tactics, in alliance with the Liberals, which do not accord with the principles of international socialism.

A few months ago certain reformist leaders of the party declared against the enforcement of the resolution of the International Congress at Amsterdam forbidding socialists to participate in a bourgeois administration. In anticipation of the Clerical Government being replaced by a Liberal Government, the Marxian comrades have entered on a lively campaign of criticism against the reformist follies of which the Parti Ouvrier is often the victim. The discussions, sometimes very brisk and very frank, but always friendly, which have ensued, have done much to awaken the interests of the masses in fundamental questions, and to fortify the Marxian tendency within the party.

On the success of this tendency depends, in my humble opinion at least, the safety of the socialist movement in Belgium. (Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

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## Tramping Through France and Italy

BY GIOVANNI B. CIVALE.



labor world there.

PROMISED you letters of news, but since I saw you, the bread and butter problem has left me little time for writing. I landed in Havre, and tramped all over France for a month, stopping at the principal cities. My main point was to get an inside peep at the Chambres de Travail (Labor's Hall) and learn what is going on in the

Starting from "l'Osservatore Romano" (the official organ of the Vatican) to the most insignificant parishional sheet, the church has done nothing but malign Francisco Ferrer; who sacrificed his life for the sake of more truth.

A bitter fight is being waged between the Catholic Church and the Free-Thinkers of France. Nearly all the school teachers are deeply involved, not only because they insist upon bearing aloft the banner of free-thought, but because the church is fighting the anti-militaristic spirit with which the teachers are imbued.

The fight is on the text-books of the public schools. One of these speaks of "War and Brutal Butcheries of History." In Prof. Calvert's French history we read that Charlemagne (A. D. 768) was a "true barbarian, finding pleasure in nothing but fighting and killing." The same author instead of teaching patriotism, as the church desires, finds pleasure in advising the pupils to read "The Absurdity of War," by Voltaire, and the "Art of Killing" by Bruyere.

Professors Laclef and Bergeron, in a preface to a work on history, openly declare that history must not be considered a mere description of battles and wars, and Prof. Primaire in his volume of "Lectures" says: "War on War, which brings humanity to the level of savages!" And again: "War is a savage iniquity which changes man into a brute, into a being always thirsty for blood!"

And so it is that the Catholic Church is opposing the use of such text-books in the public schools. Evidently she has forgotten the old command: "Thou shalt not kill." But it is no new thing to find the "followers of Christ" denouncing those who advocate peace.

To write of Italy—I wish I had the pen of Jack London or Upton Sinclair that I might fitly describe the conditions of this lovely but unfortunate country!

If the church was a big Feudal Lord under Feudalism, under Capitalism, it is nothing more nor less than a colossal trust, a trust so well organized economically and politically that there are real grounds for fearing Italy may again fall under the dominion of the Popes. The sly policy of Merry del Val, and the timidity of those who have the reins of government in their hands, points that way.

The pen of Comrade Odon Por, and his vivid pictures of the situation in Italy in his articles published in the REVIEW, leave very little to be said upon the Socialist movement in Italy.

Much noise has been made over the recent election when the number of Socialist members of Parliament were increased from twenty-eight to more than twice that number. But—morally speaking—there seems to be no such thing as a Socialist Party in Italy.

A bunch of half-baked evolvers (clever intellectuals though they be),

well fed, well groomed, who never tramped a mile looking for a job in their lives, a small set of reformers\* advocating palliatives for 365 days out of the year, cannot call themselves the representatives of the revolutionary working class of this or any other country.

That a Socialist Party—viz., a political entity—has little to do with a Socialist revolution, which has an entirely economic spring, is the conclusion of many of the revolutionists of Italy. A Socialist representative can do little more than guard and defend the liberties thus far gained. Men elected by the votes of the working people forget entirely that they are the representatives of the proletariat. When a man like Ferri says:

“We must co-operate with the State,” we are sure his conception of the state is not the conception of Marx, who said:

“The State is a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.”

An old veteran of revolutionary Socialism went on a propaganda tour through the classic region of Socialism last month, Emilia (Parma). At the close of a public meeting, which he held, one of the “leaders” immediately took the floor with these words:

“Friend Lazzari has said that there is and always will be Capital on one side and Labor on the other until a revolution will wipe out the present social system. That is the theory of thirty years ago. But the world moves. It is not the antagonism of these two classes which causes the present social disorder but the anarchy in production and distribution of industry and commerce.”

The proletarians are being daily disappointed in their party leaders. They find they cannot rely upon them. They are learning to make their own plans. They are finding new strength every day in their industrial organizations where they need no help or suggestions or commands from any political authority. And this new strength which they find in their industrial organizations is instilling in the workers a confidence in their ability to work out, alone and unaided, their own material salvation.

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\* To REFORM is synonymous with conservation, especially when it refers to existing legislative organization.” (From Reform and Revolution,” by Arturo Labriola.)

# I Have Seen and I Have Vowed

By EDWIN BRENHOLZ.

I have seen the face of my brother kicked by the peace-preserving police.

I heard the crash of the stroke, heard the sickening grind of splintering bone, heard (God of Men!) the unsuppressible shriek, heard the half stifled groans as my brother was led away. Heard the click of the handcuffs keeping his hands from holding the shattered jaw. I tried so hard to not behold his shrinking wife and child who watched him struck to earth. I saw them harmed when they were hastening to his side. Heard, seen! I saw and heard all that.

Dear brother, what was this your crime to warrant such abuse? What was your guilt that gave them such occasion against you? No, no, you cannot answer; I will ask those standersby who saw it all.

Dear brother, they have penned you far away. Thick walls and stouter bars prevent my words from reaching you. But I am not yet silenced nor are those who saw that scene, nor those who felt those brutal blows.

My brother has been kicked and bludgeoned by my paid police.

My brother has presumed to cry aloud upon the public streets the wanton wrongs I crushed him by.

My brother broke the law I had no right to make.

My brother looked at me as he was led away and voiceless said, **You are the man who made me suffer this.**

What have I done that he should me accuse?

What part have I in these foul acts which I deplore?

What can I do to set this matter right?

Oh, I have seen too much to let me stand in silence as these others do.

I saw great Love gaze searchingly at me when I protested not:

I saw great Love pass silently from me.

I am the State, the Nation and the paid police.

I am that crime accomplished in the name of law:

I am the foot and fist that blackened this man's face—

I saw my brother's shame for me in that last glance of his.

Dear Brother, I give up the vain attempt: no longer will I shirk the public shame of full complicity in all your wrongs. I stand convicted in the court of my own soul that makes not light one sentence it inflicts.

O world, that works its will upon earth's weak and poor, I give you notice now:

This State, this Nation, these police, I do repudiate their deeds infringing on the people's rights, and all with powers usurped or misapplied I seek to overthrow.

High in their stead the people I will place with ownership of all.

I am the people in their plentitude of power:

I am the conscience of a Class awakened to find their freedom gone—

I am the might of millions roused to deeds.

Dear Brother, I am close beside you through all future days—

In my name I have vowed, in yours, in all the earth's oppressed, to end the cruel wrongs you could not speak about in peace—

Or wash the shame and guilt of failure out with this my life.



# Prospects of a Labor Party in the U. S.

BY L. B. BOUDIN.



HE talk of a Labor Party would not down. Notwithstanding the assurances recently given us by persons presumably in a position to know that there is no Labor Party in sight, the discussion still continues both within and without the party. And for very good reasons: it represents the general feeling of unrest now prevailing in the labor movement of this country. In my articles on the "Political Situation in the United States and the Socialist Party." (The New York Call, October 24 and 31, 1909.) I have shown that the political situation in this country has become so acute, owing to the ruthless war carried on by the capitalist class through the judicial department of our government against every manifestation of independence on the part of the working class and every measure of amelioration which it may wring from its masters, that the time has come for a strong revolutionary movement embracing the entire working class, or at least that portion thereof which is organized into trades-unions and who are directly and immediately affected by the intolerable tyranny of our courts. I have there also endeavored to point out wherein our methods of propaganda have failed until now, and that it is incumbent upon the Socialist Party to point the way and take the lead in this revolutionary movement, on pain of losing a great opportunity of becoming the leader of a united and revolutionary working class.

I must now add that the failure of the Socialist Party until now to rise to the occasion and develop the activity demanded by the situation is beginning to avenge itself, and that this talk of a labor party is one of the manifestations of our avenging Nemesis. It is highly significant in this connection that within a short month of the most solemn assurances given us by our most "practical statesmen" that there is no labor party in sight, a prominent Socialist offered a resolution in the New York Central Federated Union calling upon Gompers to organize such a party and that that eminently conservative body adopted this resolution unanimously. Also, that the immediate occasion which called forth the resolution was the quarter-million verdict rendered against the Hatters Union as a result of one of the very acts of judicial tyranny mentioned in my said articles.

It was under the leadership of these "practical statesmen" that our party has for years pursued this very "practical" policy, begun under De Leon, of ignoring the real needs of the working class of this country and

the problems confronting the labor movement, as they shaped themselves under the actual political conditions of this country, which prescribe the conditions under which the economic struggle of the workers shall be carried on, until the party has become something apart from the labor movement.) It is under their leadership that the party is now wasting its energies in small change or chasing after rainbows, attempting, in New York, to square the circle by formulating a workingmen's compensation act that will stand the test of "constitutionality," and elsewhere to pull society out of the quagmire by its own boot-straps by devising the clever scheme of nationalizing the railroads on the accumulated dividends of a few shares of stock which the nation will purchase from the capitalists. And it is under their guidance that we are now to eschew the discussion of the problems of a labor party on the specious ground that they are purely "academic." Such a course would have the advantage of saving some nerve-racking work, and the convenience of comfortably sitting on the fence as long as possible, which seems to be the "practical" results some of our leaders are anxious to achieve. To those, however, who look with open eyes on what is going on around them, and are ready to assume responsibility and to do their duty in the work of educating and organizing the working class, the labor party presents a real and immediate, nay, a pressing problem. It should therefore receive careful attention at the hands of all thoughtful Socialists, and have a full and all-sided discussion.

It is with this in view that the following is here offered for the consideration of our readers. As the problem is many-sided and could not be adequately treated in its entirety within the limits of a short article, I shall only discuss here one phase of the question—that of the probabilities of the success of such a party in achieving the purpose for which it would be created; leaving untouched the question of the price to be paid for such success, as well as whether other and incidental good might result from its organization. These and other phases of the problem will have to be treated separately.

In order that the discussion may proceed intelligently we must first answer the question: What is a Labor Party? Every Socialist party is supposed to be a labor party. But what those who speak of the organization of a labor party as distinguished from a Socialist party, have in mind is a party limited in its scope in two ways: First, by eliminating the ultimate Socialist ideal, the co-operative commonwealth, and confining its propaganda to present-day problems; and, second, by eliminating "general" questions and confining itself specifically to the special problems of the industrial proletariat and particularly that portion thereof which is organized into trade-unions. The prototype of such a party is the British Labor Party, as its "labor" members view it. Historically as well logically it is an attempt to carry out by means of a political party of their own

the program and demands of the most enlightened trade-unions, unhampered by any entangling alliance with Socialist principles and tactics. Its aim is to unite in its organization the entire industrial proletariat irrespective of "political" or "social" belief, on a program of its own, "immediate demands;" and to carry that program through by the aid of bourgeois radicals who are "friendly disposed" towards the "reasonable demands of labor" and such bourgeois political parties as may need its aid in Parliament and are ready to pay its price in the way of "labor legislation."

It is of the very essence of such a party that it must not be "revolutionary." First, because its aim is not to overthrow any existing order, but to meet the needs of "labor" under the present system. Second, because it would then fail to reach the more conservative elements of the working class. And third, because it would thereby alienate the sympathies of the bourgeois radicals, and (and this is the most important consideration) it would make it impossible for any bourgeois political party to grant any of its demands. Its strength must lie wholly in its parliamentary position. Its chief effort must therefore be to unite so many voters as to place each of the other parties (in so-called two-party countries) or at least one of them in a parliamentary minority so as to throw it into an alliance with the labor party as the only means of obtaining power.

In order to succeed in such effort any "revolutionary" spirit which it may develop must be curbed at both ends: On the one hand no section of the electorate which could be appealed to with success should be neglected, and therefore only the most obvious and pressing demands, and such as would not offend the "inherent conservatism" of the masses, should be put forth before the electorate. On the other hand its demands and methods of agitation must be such that a respectable bourgeois party could enter into a parliamentary alliance with it without betraying the interests of its own constituents and without alienating its own more conservative voters by a compromising alliance with dangerous agitators. A failure to appreciate the latter circumstance might lead to a combination of the two bourgeois parties or, where only one is in a minority, even to the sacrifice by that one of its desire for power on the altar of its "principles," which comes to the same thing.

For the same reasons the demands of such a party must be strictly "economic." They must also be "practical," and under no circumstances may it permit itself to indulge in "theories" or "abstractions." In fact it must be so "practical" as to have no "abstract" principles, either social, political, or otherwise, so that it may unite on its practical program, both at the polls and Parliament, people of the most divergent "principles."

It would seem at first blush that this is just the party for this country.

For where in the world are parties inclined to be more "practical" than in this country? Where are "theories" and "abstract" principles more readily set aside in order to serve some immediate necessity, whether political or otherwise? And yet, on second thought it will be found that there are insurmountable difficulties in the way of such a party. Difficulties which make its practical success, the achievement of the particular purposes which it sets before itself, an impossibility, and its failure a foregone conclusion.

In the first place the conditions of bourgeois party life in this country are unfavorable to such a party. The first condition of the success of such a party is the presence of a radical bourgeois party willing to ally itself with such a labor party, as is the case in England, for instance. This presupposes a real difference in the principles or policy of the old parties, the one being conservative and the other progressive, so that the progressive party, or at least a dominant radical element therein, feels itself more related in principle and policy to the labor party than to its bourgeois antagonist. But there is no such party in this country, and there is no prospect of there being one in the near future. The party-constellation in this country is in many ways peculiar, and puzzling to those unfamiliar with the history of parties in this country and with the real workings of our governmental machinery. And even the well-informed would find it a hard task to tell the real, present-day, difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. This is due to the fact that our parties are really not parties in the ordinary sense of the word, but composites or federations of parties necessitated by our electoral and governmental system. Notwithstanding this it is usually assumed by those favoring the organization of a labor party that such a party could carry through its program with the assistance of the Democratic Party. No particular reason can be assigned for this expectation except the fact that the Democratic Party is now in a minority and therefore an "opposition" party, and that it is believed not to be "trustified" quite as much as the Republican Party, a circumstance which in its turn is supposed to be due to the fact that the Democratic Party is opposed to the "protective tariff," the "mother of trusts." Such alleged radical movements within the Democratic Party as the Hearst movement also had something to do with fostering this belief.

And yet, such belief is quite unjustified. If there is any difference between the Republican and Democratic parties it is surely not to the advantage of the Democratic Party. In fact, of the two, the Democratic Party is the more reactionary and the more unsuited to become the ally of any real labor party or to in any way further a progressive policy of social and labor legislation, as I have pointed out some time ago in a series

of articles specially devoted to that question. ("The Political Situation in the United States and the Democratic Party," *Neue Zeit*, 1906-7, Nos. 44, 45, 46).

I shall, therefore, not go into details here, but merely recapitulate the conclusions and cite some examples. The Democratic Party as it is at present constituted is unalterably opposed to all those demands of labor which necessarily form the basis of a labor party. First, because its dominant group, the southern millionaires and other lesser dignitaries of capital, and their allies, the "small men" of capital in the middle-west and elsewhere, are among the worst exploiters of labor, still abiding in the more or less primitive stages of capitalistic exploitations of labor with all that that implies. They are the natural foes of all labor legislation, including any legal restriction of the work-day even for women and children, factory-laws, employers liability laws, etc., etc. Second, because the Democratic Party is by tradition and "on principle" opposed to any national system of labor legislation as violative of the "strict-constructionist" principle of interpreting our Constitution, "state-sovereignty," "home-rule," and other sacred articles of the Democratic creed handed down from Jefferson. But a national system of labor legislation is absolutely essential to the progress of the labor movement of this country and would have to be made the corner-stone of the program of any real labor party.

The most shameful exploitation of child labor is as much a "domestic institution" of the Democratic South now, as slavery used to be before the civil war. It can only be effectually put an end to through congressional legislation. But this is bitterly fought "on principle," by all Democrats, even the very "radical." The same is true of peonage, of railway employers' liability laws, of national mining inspection laws; etc., etc. Even the injunction as a weapon in the warfare against labor, particularly as used to prevent boycotting, and the extension of the Sherman Anti-Trust law against the unions for the same purpose, which are now being made the immediate occasion for the agitation in favor of the organization of a labor party, are needed more by the "small" and "middle" *men* (read, Capitalists) affiliated with the Democratic Party than by the trust-magnates of the Republican Party. It is the small and middle capitalist—manufacturers that are afraid of a boycott by the labor-unions. The steel trust isn't. Nor are the other big trusts.

It is therefore no mere chance that Hearst went out of his way to publicly approve the anti-boycotting decisions of the Supreme Court. He was merely seeing to it that the "Democratic faith" was "kept pure," and incidentally trying hard to square himself with those portions of the Democratic Party's following which forms its real backbone.

As to whether or not the Republican Party could, if driven into a hopeless minority, be compelled to form an alliance with a labor party is

problematical. Both English and American precedent could be cited in favor of such conclusion. The contingency is, however, almost as remote that of the entire disappearance of the present parties and their complete reorganization on entirely new lines corresponding more closely to modern industrial divisions and currents of social and political thought, and is therefore out of the range of "practical politics."

This is not, however, the only, and not even the chief obstacle to the success of a labor party in the United States. That lies in the absence of democratic government in this country. The first pre-requisite of a labor party, as well as of Socialist ministerialism, is true parliamentary government, based on real democracy. The success of the British Labor Party was made possible by the fact that the Liberal Party needed, or expected to need, the assistance of the labor party to form that majority of the House of Commons which in Great Britain is absolutely necessary in order to carry on the government. It is of the essence of the government in old "monarchical England" that every *act* of the government should be approved of the people as represented by the majority of the men elected by the people to Parliament. The government must at all times enjoy the "confidence" of the people, and it is therefore at all times amenable to the will of the majority of the House of Commons. It can at any moment be turned out of office by a vote of lack of confidence on the part of a majority of the House of Commons; and every deliberate defeat of any ministerial legislative proposition, or any vote of censure or dissatisfaction with any executive act of the government by that House is considered proof of a lack of confidence on the part of the people, and must be followed by the resignation of the "government," that is of the ministry which carries on the government on behalf of the House of Commons, unless it wants to appeal from the representatives of the people to the people itself. The latter is not a "prerogative of the Crown," as it is sometimes represented to be by American writers who take advantage of the inherited jargon of English politics to keep their countrymen in ignorance of the rapid strides of democracy abroad and of the defects of their own antiquated system of government. On the contrary it is a necessary complement of representative democracy, like the initiative and referendum under other circumstances.

The fact that "the government" must at all times have behind it a majority of the elected representatives of the people gives small parliamentary groups which have the "balance of power," immense parliamentary influence, for they can at any time "turn out the government" by refusing to vote for legislative proposals or to approve of its executive acts. This in turn gives to these groups great power even if they do not hold the balance of power absolutely, if the condition of parties is such, or is likely to become such, that a combination may be formed by small

groups which would leave the government without the necessary majority.

Take the situation in England to-day, the labor party is in a position to obtain its demands or at least some of them, because it is in a position where its support is a matter of life and death to the present Liberal ministry and indispensable to the Liberal Party generally. Mr. Asquith cannot "carry on His Majesty's Government" without the support of the Irish Nationalists and the Laborites. He will therefore have to come to terms with both and grant their demands, unless their demands are so high for him that he would rather risk a new election with the chance of having to turn the government over to the Conservatives. Of course, he could enter into a pact with the Irish Nationalists only by which these would stand by him through thick and thin, and then he could defy the Laborites. But this would not be wise politics on his part. To begin with, his party, and particularly its most radical wing is committed to a friendly attitude towards the Labor Party by ante-election pledges made in anticipation of that party's present parliamentary position, which was by no means unexpected at that time. Secondly, the price of such a pact would be too high and extremely distasteful to him as well as a large portion of his following, and particularly the electorate, who are by no means ready to go the limit of the Irish demands, so that at the next election, with the active hostility of the Labor Party and the dissatisfaction with his Irish policy the results would probably be such that the Liberal Party could not retain power at any cost.

Sound and far-sighted policy therefore demands of him a parliamentary alliance with the Labor Party. And as the demands of the Labor Party are likely to be moderate, and the radical wing of his own party is in sympathy with some system at least of progressive labor legislation, the elements of and reasons for a compromise are present, and the Labor Party will get its most urgent demands. Mr. Asquith will have so much more reason for granting these demands, as this would in turn help him to arrive at a compromise with the Irish Nationalists who would under these circumstances, probably give him their support, or at least friendly neutrality, for a good deal less than the realization of their full program, rather than risk a dissolution from which they could gain absolutely nothing no matter how the new elections go. It is this that makes the British Labor Party or at least made it until now, an efficient engine to carry out its own moderate demands.

Now take a similar situation in this country. Let us suppose that a labor party has been organized, and that it succeeded in electing some 25 or 30 men to the House of Representatives. Let us also suppose that the numerical strength of the other parties is such that the laborites have the absolute balance of power, (a position better than that of the British Labor Party to-day). What would happen then? Why, just nothing.

Of course, the election of 25 or 30 men on a real independent labor party ticket might move both old parties to do something in order to prevent the growth of the class consciousness of the working class which would thus manifest itself. But this would not be the result of the parliamentary power of the group, nor of its "practical" or "moderate" demands. It would be the result of the awakening independence of the working class, and the practical results would probably be in inverse ratio to the group's "practicalness" and moderation, and in direct proportion to the revolutionary spirit and determination which the party that elected them would exhibit. And that is, of course, another story. But an admittedly non-revolutionary labor party, would, by its mere parliamentary strength or skill, accomplish absolutely nothing or next to nothing.

And for very good reasons: Such a parliamentary group could offer nothing to the old parties as the price of carrying through its program; its alliance would not be sought by either of them, unless it could be had gratis. Such a group, as far as sheer parliamentary influence is concerned, could stay in the house for ever afterwards without making it worth anybody's while to pay it anything for its support, which is the basis of success of such a party. The party out of power, that is the one that would not have the President and the majority of the Senate, could, of course, pay nothing, even if it wanted to. And the party in power wouldn't pay anything, because it need not have its support in order to carry on the government. Our parties, even much more than the English and other European parties, are particularly anxious about "carrying on the government." For in Europe it simply means carrying on the business of the propertied classes, whereas here it means, in addition, the keeping of the great army of job holders in place, with an honest administration, and the utilization of the great sources of graft, with a corrupt one. But all this has nothing to do with our House. It is the President, with the assistance of the Senate, that does the "governing," and it is the presidency that is being fought for here at our great national elections, and that is the real prize coveted by the old political parties.

At a pinch they can get along without any legislation at all. In fact, the conservative parties would be glad to get along without legislation. An ideal condition for one of the old political parties in this country is to have the President and Senate without the House of Representatives; this would give it all the power it wants without the responsibility of carrying out some legislative program which every party must, of course, promise before election. The reason why they do not purposely work to effect such a state of affairs is that at present with only two parties in the field it is rather hard to obtain the presidency while losing the House. But being placed in minority by a labor party, which would under our electoral system not involve the loss of the presidency, would worry one

of our old parties very little, if it would not, indeed, be welcome. There would be absolutely no motive compelling one of these parties to enter into an alliance with the labor party whereby it would be compelled to carry out the program of the latter or any appreciable part of it.

By reason of the separation of the "government" from the legislature, making as it does the "governor" absolutely independent of and irresponsible to the people or its representatives, our legislators have in general come to play a very miserable rôle in our political life. It is this that makes the "Administration" (that is practically the President), that great and dreaded engine of power before which every mere legislator bows in trembling. It is this which has made our Senate, contrary to the experience of all democratic countries, so much more powerful than the House of Representatives, in fact reduced the House to virtual impotence. Because of the share that it has in the executive government, the Senate was enabled to maintain some independent existence while the House bows submissively to the dictates of the "Administration," even under present conditions when a rupture might become dangerous to the party in power. It is this finally, that has reduced the individual member of the House to the most degrading insignificance and powerlessness, and created that much talked-of and wondered-at "House machine," which laughs at all the "revolts" of the so-called insurgents. In a real parliamentary government every member of Parliament wields a real power all the time. And a threat of revolt on the part of a considerable number of the majority party would bring to its knees the strongest "House Machine," because it would involve the loss of all power by the entire party.

It goes without saying that the presence of a small independent group in a House in which individual members are absolutely powerless, and in a governmental system in which that particular House plays so insignificant a part, cannot possibly accomplish that which a similar group could manage to accomplish in a House wherein every member counts, and in a government wherein their House is the *only one* that counts.

In this connection it is very significant that the British Labor Party, which always insisted on "economic" demands only, and refused to be drawn in to "political" issues has now suddenly changed its policy and put forth as its first demand the abolition of the power of the House of Lords, the "curbing" of the Lords, a traditional "political" demand of the Liberal Party, which the Liberal Party is, however now presumably willing to shelve or compromise; and Chairman Barnes even went to the extent of threatening to break with the Liberal Party and perhaps force a dissolution on that account. The Labor Party evidently appreciates that its entire success depends on the undisputed supremacy of the House of Commons. It is therefore a matter of life and death to it that this supremacy be maintained and further assured, whereas the Liberal Party

might be satisfied with some kind of a "reformed" House of Lords wherein it could hope to compete with the Conservative Party, but in which the Labor Party could gain no foothold.

Another circumstance to which attention must be called, and which is also the result of the lack of parliamentary government is this: The condition of our parties already alluded to is such that even if the leaders of one of the old parties should enter into an alliance with the Labor Party and should be sincerely desirous of carrying out their agreement, they would be unable to do so. As a counterpart to the powerlessness of the individual member of the House to accomplish anything, we have the powerlessness of the party leaders to compel obedience in their following, which is the necessary condition of every well-regulated parliamentary government. Lack of influence on the real course of events breeds in the members a sense of irresponsibility. To this must be added our peculiar electoral system (which is itself only possible in a country where there is no real parliamentary government) by which each member's tenure of office depends entirely on the good-will of the electors of the electoral district in which he resides. Ordinarily this makes him the mere retainer of the local political boss, who has his own private ends to serve and cares very little for party pledges, and even at best it makes him dependent on, and therefore subservient to the local business interests. The party chiefs, nay, not even the whole party outside of his district, can either reward him if his "constituency" goes back upon him, (except, of course, by giving him a job), nor punish him, if his "constituency" stands by him.

Hence the remarkable spectacle of party lines being "broken" even on the supposedly most sacred articles of party faith and most hotly contested party issues, of which our legislative history, particularly congressional history, is full. Hence also the many broken pledges of our parties, which must not always be ascribed to the corruption and faithlessness of our politicians. Or rather, this corruption and faithlessness are only possible because of these political conditions, and would disappear under real democratic parliamentary government.

The most formidable obstacle, however, to the success of a labor party in this country is the fact that a mere legislative success would be insufficient to carry its program into execution. As shown in my articles on the "Political Situation in the United States and the Socialist Party," the real legislative power is vested in this country not in Congress or the State legislatures, but in the courts, principally in the Supreme Court of the United States. In consequence, a success such as was achieved by the British Labor Party, that is the placing upon the statute books those of its proposals which it wants to become law, even if achieved through some miraculous combination of circumstances by an American Labor Party, would be barren of any real results. In fact it would leave the working

class just where it was when it started out to organize the labor party, for the Supreme Court would undoubtedly declare each and every important measure which the labor party would succeed in forcing upon the statute books as "unconstitutional." Indeed, it has already declared most of them, and not only the most radical of them either, "unconstitutional" in advance.

That the mere presence of a group of laborites in Congress would not cause the Supreme Court to reverse itself and adopt in the future a different "interpretation" of the Constitution is quite clear to those who have carefully studied the history of that august judicial tribunal. Whether the Supreme Court will ever be brought to do that by fear of a revolt of the working class, or whether it will not sooner "end" than "mend," is hard to foretell. But one thing can be foretold with absolute confidence, and that is, that the Supreme Court will never "mend" unless the alternative "end" is placed before it in signs that it can not mistake.

It would therefore be absurd for a labor party in this country to waste any energy on getting any labor legislation passed unless it at the same time took steps to prevent these laws being declared "unconstitutional." It would have to start out by demanding the "curbing" of the Supreme Court, the abolition of its power to declare laws "unconstitutional." And it would have to back up this demand by such a show of determination to use the entire resources of the working class and all the weapons and ammunition at its command in an endeavor to enforce this demand, as to carry the conviction to the entire capitalist class, including the Supreme Court, that it must "end" or "mend."

In other words, in order to do something *practical* it would have to begin by being *revolutionary*. And there goes the dream of a "practical," "safe and sane," American Labor Party. . . .



**Class War in Pennsylvania.** The storm center of working class revolt in the United States is now Pennsylvania. As we go to press, fierce battles are waging in Philadelphia, Bethlehem and New Castle, and the whole state is like a smoldering volcano. We give a large part of our space this month to the details of this great conflict and to a study of the special conditions out of which the conflict grows, in the Pittsburg steel district, where modern capitalism reaches its highest perfection. But no local or temporary causes explain the tremendous battle that has begun. The wage-workers of Pennsylvania are but a step ahead of the rest of the working class of America in beginning to realize what the workers of France and Germany have long known, namely, that they are forced into a war that can not stop until they have obtained control of the machinery of production and have abolished the capitalists. The old days of "community of interest" between employer and employed have passed away never to return. **The capitalists must go!** Their work is done. It has been a great work and they will receive due credit from the historians of the future. None the less their work is done. They have trained and educated a new class, the modern proletariat, to organize and carry on the production of all the useful things that men must have to live, and now the surviving capitalists linger superfluous on the stage, filching day by day, from the producers, vast quantities of goods they could not make and can not even use. They have become an obstacle to the work of the world and a menace to the lives of those who do the work. **The capitalists must go!**

**Help the New Castle Comrades!** We want to call the special attention of every Review reader to the article by Louis Duchez telling of the arrest and impending trial of Comrades Stirton, McCarty and other Socialists at New Castle. This is a fight which vitally concerns every member of the Socialist Party, every member of the Industrial Workers of the World, and all who sympathize with either or both of these organizations. At New Castle the two are working in complete harmony. Local New Castle of the Socialist Party, one of the liveliest and most active locals in the whole United States, owns and circulates a weekly paper called the Free Press, which has an adver-

tising patronage that pays the cost of printing, and is such a power in the city that it has won the bitter enmity of the Steel Trust, whose wage-workers it has been stirring up to demand better wages and better working conditions. *Solidarity*, an I. W. W. weekly of national circulation, is also printed on the press belonging to the Socialist Local. As we go to press word comes that the editors and publishers of both papers have been convicted and sentenced to \$600 fine. The Free Press comrades have asked for a new trial and are out on bail, while those on *Solidarity* have gone to jail. There is every reason to believe that the Steel Trust stands behind the prosecution, and the contest will doubtless be a long and expensive one. The New Castle comrades have plenty of courage and energy, but they must have financial help if they are to win. Contributions may be addressed to the Free Press Defense Fund, Box 622, New Castle, Pa. The best way to help *Solidarity* is to send C. H. McCarty, Secy., Box 622, New Castle, Pa., \$1.00 for a year's subscription. You will get a good dollar's worth for your money, so if you want to feel as if you were contributing, you had better subscribe for more than one copy.

**The Logic of Events.** Those of us who have come to accept the theoretical principles of Socialism through reading and study are very apt, unless we keep in close touch with the real class struggle in the great industries, to vibrate between moods of eager enthusiasm for the speedy coming of the co-operative commonwealth and of pessimistic despair over the stupidity of the contented, conservative wage-slaves. We too often forget what our own theories tell us, that ideas do not make facts, but facts make ideas. The awakening of the working class can not be expected to come from accurate abstract reasoning in social economics by a majority of the wage-workers. It must and will come from changes in the mode of production which precipitate a struggle in which the workers find themselves forced to fight. These reflections are irresistibly suggested by the following address lately issued by W. D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, every word of which is worth reading.

The general strike in Philadelphia is a new thing in the history of strikes in America. The response it has received on the part of not only organized labor, but of unorganized labor, has surpassed my wildest expectations. It was not called by a few leaders of labor, but labor leaders were forced to call it at the demand of the rank and file of the men and women who compose the labor movement. The Philadelphia strike, in behalf of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, was a spontaneous uprising of the working class, who refused to stand idly

by while members of their class were being slaughtered and refused their constitutional rights by a few capitalists at the head of the Rapid Transit Company.

I don't believe the presence of every international officer in the American labor movement could have stayed the Philadelphia strike. Contracts and agreements with employers were held of no value in the presence of a desperate crisis in the affairs of labor that had been precipitated by the Philadelphia Transit Company. The refusal of the company to arbitrate was a direct blow aimed at the trade union movement. It was felt if the car men's union could be destroyed other labor organizations would be attacked and destroyed. In self-preservation, therefore, organized labor of Philadelphia forgot agreements and contracts and internal differences and united to repel the attack that had been made upon it.

The tremendous response unorganized labor made to the call to the strike is unprecedented and significant. It discloses a solidarity of labor which, no doubt, has sent a chill of consternation through the entire capitalistic world. I predict that at the conclusion of this strike Philadelphia, long regarded as the poorest organized industrial center in the United States, will be the best organized and most progressive.

Because of this general strike a new situation has been injected into the American labor movement. International unions are now confronted with a new policy—the sympathetic strike. Just how that policy will be received I am unable to say. But as capital organizes so labor must organize, and as capital adopts new methods of waging its war against labor so must labor adopt new methods of maintaining its rights against the aggressions of capital.

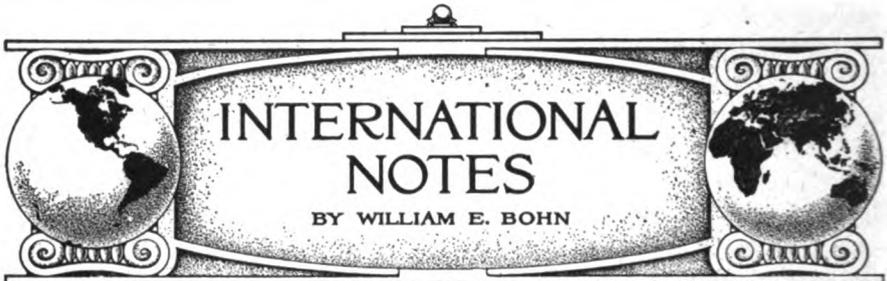
Whether the Philadelphia strike wins or loses, the cause of labor in general has tremendously gained. The education labor has received by reason of the awakening incident to the general strike will fit it to organize more effectively and march on to grander conquests until labor, the creator of all wealth, will have come into its own.

These words, from the official head of what yesterday we thought a hopelessly conservative union, indicate that a united working class in America is not far off. Unless all signs fail, the final struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist class is at hand. Whether the Socialist Party of America will be an important factor in that struggle or will be contemptuously brushed aside by the combatants on both sides will largely depend on our tactics in the near future. The Cosack's Club is an issue that will win more recruits than the most ingenious reforms that the mind of man can devise. The pledge that we as a party should make and carry out is to do all in our power to stop the use of the police and courts on the side of the employers against

strikers. This is one way to make ourselves a vital part of the revolutionary movement that is swiftly taking shape before our eyes.

**Delegates to International Congress.** The Socialist Party of America has voted to send eight delegates to the International Congress to be held next August. They are to be elected by referendum, and nominations are now being made. As most of the discussions, both on the floor of the Congress and in the various committees, will be carried on by comrades who do not speak English, a knowledge of other languages is essential to the efficiency of a delegate, and this limits our range of choice. Without any disparagement to the claims of other comrades, the Review would suggest the nomination of two who seem to us admirably qualified in every way. These are Louis B. Boudin, of New York, whose article on tactics appears in this issue, and Robert Rives LaMonte, of Connecticut, one of our associate editors.

**Socialist Party Congress.** The Socialist Party of America is now voting on a referendum to do away with the party congresses provided for in the constitution, to be held in the even-numbered years in which no presidential election occurs. The result of this vote will not be known until April 6. In the event of its being defeated, a Party Congress will be held in Chicago on May 18, and delegates will have to be chosen at once. This year's Congress, if the referendum does not do away with it, will almost certainly mark a crisis in the affairs of the party. It may unite the comrades of opposing views upon new plans of action in which all can work in harmony, or it may result in driving from the party some of its most valuable members. Much depends on the selection of delegates. We trust that those who agree with the **Review** on questions of tactics will make every effort to secure adequate representation at the Congress, and that the delegates may be able to devise methods for keeping the party in closer touch with the revolutionary union movement which is assuming such vast proportions.



**Prussia in Revolt.** The world is gradually awaking to the fact that something is happening in Prussia. The cable brings news of impressive street demonstrations and marvellously organized open-air meetings; the voice of a population rises in solemn steady protest.

To readers of the REVIEW there is, of course, nothing new in all this. For years the Social Democrats of Prussia have been waging war for electoral reform. So far as its electoral system is concerned Prussia is one of the most unreformed countries in the civilized world. It still has its old three-class, indirect system with open ballot, a system cunningly devised to divert the people without giving them a real voice in public affairs. The Social Democrats, with occasional support from other parties, have been making a campaign for equal, open and direct suffrage. In the address from the throne delivered on October 20th, 1908, electoral reform was definitely promised. And when the present Prime Minister, Herr Von Bethman-Holweg, entered upon the duties of his office he re-affirmed this promise.

On February 5th the outline of the government's proposal was at last given to the public. To the astonishment of everyone except those on the inside, the new measure is quite as bad as the old one. Its only new features seem to have been designed to secure the support of certain influential elements in the population. The three-class system and the public ballot were retained. The only radical change lay in the introduction of the direct, as opposed to the indirect, ballot. This is important as a matter of principle, but in itself would bring about no great change. And the other reforms provided for are merely specious. Under the old system one or two voters, if their taxes were high enough, might be placed alone in the first class and so wield one-third of the electoral power of their district. The new project provides that taxes above 5,000 marks a year paid by one voter are not to count in the make-up of the three classes. This will merely reduce the number of small capitalists condemned to vote in the third class. Besides this a special concession is made to the intellectual and official classes. Government employes and persons who

have attained a certain degree of education are to be elevated from the third to the second class, or from the second to the first. It is easy to see that this provision will tend to win for the new law, and for capitalism in general, the support of writers, teachers and other intellectual classes.

At the present writing (March 15), the new electoral law has passed its second reading in the electoral commission of the Reichstag. The only important change made in it thus far has been brought about as the result of a compromise between the government and the clericals. As it now stands the measure provides for the continuation of the indirect system of voting, but—and this is the first real concession to the reformers—the ballot in the choice of electors is to be secret. Liberals and Socialists have protested with the utmost vigor during the sessions of the commission, but to no avail. The government seems stubbornly, stupidly bent on having its way.

Meantime the protest which has stirred the outside world has been gathering force with the passing of every day. On February 13 the police brutally attacked tens of thousands of persons who were peacefully, quietly marching through the streets of Frankfort, Halle and other cities. On the following Sunday meetings were held for the purpose of protesting against these atrocities. Finally, on March 6th, the police of Berlin carried their policy of repression *ad absurdum*. The Director of Police, Von Jagow, had formally forbidden any sort of organized demonstration. A committee of Social Democrats assured him that the party organization would pledge itself to maintain good order if it were permitted to arrange a procession or open-air meeting. It was all to no avail. As a last resort the Central Committee of the party suggested that all who wished to exhibit their disapproval of the government's electoral law take a stroll to Treptow Park at one o'clock in the afternoon, Sunday, March 6th. And at that hour the police were waiting, reinforced by the rural gendamerie, to prevent the stroll. The strollers gathered in great numbers; but, to the great discomfiture of the police department, it soon turned out that an immense demonstration was being carried on at the Tiergarten, near the heart of the city. Since the police were not in attendance to start a cause in any way that is wisest. The following passage from a speech factly organized, wonderfully drilled, ready at any moment to act for their riot, this demonstration was conducted peacefully to its conclusion.

In the newspapers the Conservatives are wildly proclaiming that all protest is illegal. The government, now on the defensive, is trying hard to prove that Prussia is a civilized state like France or England.

In the Reichstag the Socialists have formally protested against the course of the government. There is in their speeches the old spirit of revolution. And they speak with a conviction, a sense of power, born of the fact that they have behind them a great army of revolutionists, per-

by Comrade Ledebaur is a declaration to all the world of the purpose and sense of power which animate the German Social Democracy:

"The Socialists will continue street demonstrations and will possibly proceed to stronger measures. We will win universal suffrage for the Prussian people, despite the government and the parties supporting it. If violence is used against us, as is probable, then a revolution of the people will be justifiable. The Stuarts and the Bourbons perished in attempting to use force against the victorious popular movements. Precisely so will any such attempt with us be crushed by the power of the people. If you let matters go so far, the people are ready."

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**Socialism and Syndicalism in Nimes.** From February 6th to 8th there met at Nimes the seventh annual congress of the Socialist party of France. Its sessions were among the most significant ever held by a Socialist party of any country. By debate and ballot they crystallized the opposing tendencies of the French revolutionary movement. The deliberations were uniformly even and dignified, but the arguments were none the less vigorous, the differences of opinion none the less sharply defined.

The chief question at issue was the attitude of the party toward the old-age pension law now before the Senate. In order to understand the action taken it is necessary to know something of this measure. The subject of pensions for aged workingmen and women has long occupied the French public mind. In 1906 a law providing such pensions was indorsed by the Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies and opposed by 90 per cent. of the Syndicalists in a referendum.

The measure at present under discussion is an interesting piece of bourgeois reform. The financial burden involved in providing pensions is to be borne by the workers, the employers and the state. Among the workers, men are to contribute 9 francs a year, women 6, and minors 4. They are to begin contributing immediately after the law goes into effect and to continue for thirty years, providing, of course, that they do not reach the pensionable age before that time has elapsed. The employers are to contribute an amount equal to that received from the workers, and the state a third again as much. It is estimated that at present this plan would annually raise 90,000,000 francs from the workers, 90,000,000 from the employers and 120,000,000 from the state.

The law provides that workers may receive pensions beginning with their sixty-fifth year. The number who would become beneficiaries has been variously estimated from 500,000 to 1,400,000, and the amount of the individual pension from 335 fr. to 1,080. Permission is given the administrators of the law to invest as they see fit the sums in their trust.

Long before the assembling of the Congress of Nimes this measure was the subject of a prolonged controversy. The Socialist members of

the Chamber of Deputies have favored it from the first. It has been understood that when it returned from the Senate they would give it their support. For assuming this attitude they have been attacked by the Syndicalist leaders, especially the Comrades Lafargue and Bracks. The defense was carried on by Jaurés and Vaillant.

At Nimes the whole matter was gone over and the attitude of the party determined for the present. The Syndicalists let it be understood from the start that they are not opposed to immediate reforms. Marius André declared: "The working-class is not opposed to pensions, but it is opposed to paying for them under this law; for if they must pay for them there is no need of a law, its own mutual aid associations will suffice." In a country where wages average 1,120 francs in the city and 700 in the country, the burden imposed by the law seemed to him more than the workers could bear. He objected also to the loan of money from the pension fund for capitalist enterprises. It appeared to him that this was merely an additional means of utilizing the savings of the worker for the benefit of the capitalist. Lafargue declared that the working-class, as represented by the Syndicat, was opposed to the law, therefore, the Socialist deputies, as representatives of the working-class should feel bound to vote against it. Comrade Luquet, in opposing the law, made one remark which throws a flood of light on the position of the Syndicalists: "It is said that the Confederation General du Travail does not concern itself with political matters. But the question of old age pensions is not entirely political; it is of immediate importance to the working-class and therefore, it is the duty of the Confederation to take some action with regard to it." Comrade Herve expressed the extreme view of the opposition. After explaining that reforms can safely be left to the bourgeois parties, he went on: "The revolution can not be brought about except by the general strike; but you cannot start a revolution with the disillusioned; I did not laugh at the failure of radicalism and I will not laugh at the failure of parliamentary Socialism."

The defense was partly on the basis of theory—each side accused the other of misunderstanding the theory of surplus value. But the chief plea of the parliamentarians was on the basis of tactical policy. They did attempt to show by the reading of no end of statistics that the law was not so bad as it had been painted, but at most they claimed little for it in its present form. Their cry was: "Pass the law; then amend it." Toward the end of the discussion Jaurés replied to those who had maintained that the party had no right to fly in the face of syndicalist opinion: "We have been told that in matters which affect the internal life of the Syndicats the party has but to register the decisions of those organizations. Yes! But we have never had the intention of subordinating the activity of the party to that of the Confederation, no more than we think

the Confederation would subordinate itself to the party. We have proclaimed the necessity of maintaining the autonomy of these two organizations, an autonomy based on the respect we have for those two great forces; both together they furnish the outline of the collectivist society that is to be."

After three days of discussion the parliamentarians were supported by a vote of 193 to 155. The motion adopted read in part as follows: "No matter how imperfect the old-age pension law elaborated in the Senate, it bears witness, nevertheless, to the fact that Parliament has recognized the aged proletarian's right to life. Consequently this congress directs the parliamentary representatives of our party to support the law. It charges them, moreover, to announce the fixed purpose of the party to lead the working-class in an energetic campaign designed to force Parliament to strengthen the weak points in the law and remove as far as possible its short-comings. The party and its representatives will immediately devote all their efforts to make this law a provision for working-class insurance against illness and unemployment."

Contrary to the reports in the capitalist press despatches there was absolutely no sign of disunion in the discussions of the Congress. After it was all over the leaders of both groups expressed in *L'Humanite* their mutual respect and their common pleasure at the feeling of solidarity which prevailed from first to last. Our French comrades seem to have got beyond the stage of sectarianism.





# WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

Developments in the campaign to smash the trade unions by confiscating their treasuries and the homes and bank accounts of individual members are multiplying rapidly.

No sooner was the verdict rendered in the Federal Court of Connecticut mulcting the United Hatters of North America for \$222,000 plus costs, than the Supreme Court of New Jersey obligingly handed down a decision against the Plumbers' Union of Newark.

It appears that a non-unionist brought suit for damages against the union because he had lost two jobs, the organized plumbers refusing to work with him unless he could produce a card.

In effect the New Jersey Supreme Court, realizing that the bosses and not the men owned the jobs, declared that if the union men went on strike rather than work with a scab they would prevent the master plumbers from fulfilling their contracts. So this court, having established the vicious principle in the State for the future guidance of subordinate judicial branches, assessed nominal damages of \$250 in favor of the plaintiff.

It should be noted here in passing that the New Jersey Supreme Court has taken a step in advance of the Federal Court decision in Connecticut. The latter case had to do with boycotting merely, while in New Jersey the court declares that union men have no right to strike against open shopper—that is, the strike is unlawful as well as the boycott.

Now what becomes of our much-valued right to work or not to work, as we may choose? And does "my job" belong to the master or the man?

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Following this New Jersey decision, another blow was struck in the Canadian Northwest, also against the plumbers. Some four years ago a strike took place against the master plumbers' combine. The usual picketing followed; the

masters sued for an injunction and \$25,000 damages; the lower court sided with the bosses and conceded what they wanted, and in addition threw the secretary of the union in jail for contempt for refusing to produce his books; the union appealed the case to the Privy Council of Great Britain, and now this latter judicial body upholds the Manitoba verdict as to the illegality of picketing, etc., but reduced the damages to \$2,000.

Here again a tyrannical principle is established, no matter whether in this particular case damages are allowed for one cent or a million. The International Association of Machinists and the Iron Molders' Union of North America are facing damage suits in the same province, and their cases are also being carried to the Privy Council. Considering the fate of the plumbers it is unlikely that the molders and machinists will fare any better.

But there is a new and uncommon wrinkle brought out in these Canadian cases. It is this: The Privy Council would not dare to hand down such a decision against any trade union in Great Britain, where the workers went into political revolt, smashed the Taft Vale railway decision—which was exactly identical—and forced a law through Parliament legalizing strikes, picketing, boycotting, etc. But the Canadian unions are not covered in the British law and are compelled to suffer the consequences of their political paralysis, same as the workers in the United States.

And what is still more unique in this Privy Council decision is that it really strikes a blow at the American Federation of Labor, with which body practically all the organized workers of Canada are affiliated through international organizations.

If we "free" American citizens don't watch out the Czar of Russia will be handing us an upper cut one of these days.

That the effort to sandbag the hatters out of \$222,000 is bound to produce a grist of damage suits can be depended upon, judging from the action that is now being taken at various points on American soil. Besides the fact that the machinists and plumbers at Winnipeg must run the gauntlet, as noted above the paper mill workers (who have gone on strike against trust oppression) are sued at Glen Falls, N. Y., for \$100,000 damages. The cloakmakers of Cleveland, who are battling against the open shoppers at Cleveland, are asked to pay \$25,000 damages. The molders on strike at St. Joseph, Mo., are proceeded against for \$10,000, and brewery workers in New York have a \$10,000 action hanging over them, with a number of other cases for smaller sums filed in various places.

Gompers says that under the hatters' decision every union in the country can be mulcted. The remedy? Oh, choose between Republican and Democratic politicians as "friends"—between Liberals and Tories, which the British workers didn't do. That's all. Isn't it enough!

The iron, steel and tinplate workers continue to battle tenaciously against the United States Steel Corporation. It is now almost a year since the struggle began and it has been a hard contest. There doesn't seem to be any sign of a possible settlement on the industrial horizon. The banner lodge of the Amalgamated Association seems to be located at Martins Ferry, O., where the men drove the trust and its strike-breakers and spies out of town despite the fact that the Ohio militia was rushed to the assistance of the trust by Gov. Harman, who has a Presidential bee buzzing in his bonnet. While the mill workers succeeded in forcing the trust to close its plant, they are being harassed on the political field—that is many of the strikers have been indicted by a grand jury upon various charges and an effort will be made to send them to jail. The men have sent out an appeal for funds to defend themselves. Many of them are Socialists and the party locals and members ought to assist.

Pretty much the same condition exists at New Castle, Pa., except that a score or more men have been thrown into jail and others are threatened with imprisonment. Desperate efforts are being made by the ruling class to destroy the Free Press, and Solidarity the Socialist papers that have done yeo-

man service for the strikers, but the scheme will hardly prove successful. The New Castle plant is running in a way and the trust must be sinking a barrel of money in keeping up the bluff.

In Indiana heroic sacrifices are being made by the tinplate workers to save themselves from sinking into the open shop slavery, and it is satisfactory to note that the Socialists are supporting them to a man, which is in fact true everywhere.

I understand that this department of the Review is extensively quoted in the Socialist press of Italy, Austro-Hungary and other European countries. If so, the Socialist and labor press in the old countries can do no greater service to the workers in Europe than to warn them constantly of their peril in coming to "free" America. Absolutely and unqualifiedly the plutocrats in the United States are more merciless in the game of labor-skinning, more brutal in their treatment of labor and more greedily for profits, than is capitalism in any other section of the world, not excepting Russia, Spain or the Congo.

Navigation on the Great Lakes is opening again and last year's battle between the United States Steel Corporation and the seamen is to be continued in all its fury. The Lake Carriers' Association, which is dominated by the steel trust, as everybody knows, has again hoisted the black flag of the open shop, and its interpretation of the open shop is that no union man will be employed. This was the policy pursued last year, although the sanctimonious hypocrites of the L. C. A. denied it.

The sailor men are great fighters. One of their officers told me a few days ago that in the season of 1909 their 8,000 men on the firing line took 65,000 strike-breakers off the boats, or on an average one unionist won over eight non-unionists. This year the organized men expect to do as well or better if necessary.

It's a pity that the longshoremen did not join hands with the seamen last year, as the former are pretty well shot to pieces anyway, except in a few places. Maybe a clarion note will be sounded alongshore this year.

It looks like the next big street railway strike will be precipitated in New York and New Jersey, where the men have been forbidden to join unions, but have been organizing secretly for some time. Now it is proposed when 50 per cent of the men are organized to make a bold stand and demand recognition of

the union and improved working conditions.

It will be recalled that several years ago the New York street and elevated car men went on strike, but were soon defeated by an army of hirelings under command of the notorious Farley, who has since retired as a millionaire to spend the rest of his worthless life operating a stable of race horses.

However, while Farley was the tool to encompass the defeat of the street railway men, the real general in that battle was August Belmont, president of the National Civic Federation, American representative of the Rothschilds and one of the most successful public franchise manipulators in the world.

Because he has plenty of filthy lucre Belmont is, of course, regarded with awe and reverence by those who bend the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift may follow fawning. He is a class-conscious plutocrat who discourages "that evil thing" called class-con-

sciousness among the workers, and, as Robert Hunter has proven, Belmont is on to his job in having raised the funds to send a famous commission of great labor leaders, professors and the like to Europe to study municipal ownership, and later collected \$50,000 for the purpose of smashing socialism once more.

Now that a crisis is again approaching in New York street railway affairs, some people are wondering whether Belmont, who poses as a workingman's friend as the head of the National Civic Federation, will smash the union into smithereens when it prepares to formulate demands for improved conditions for those he pretends to be attempting to benefit.

Ten to one, when the ball does begin, some of our resolutionary leaders will adopt numerous whereases and appeals to fat men to kindly get off our backs, which will bake the f. m. laugh and characterize us as a droll bunch of clowns.

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# LITERATURE ART

**History of the Great American Fortunes**, vol. II., by Gustavus Myers. Chas. H. Kerr and Company, Chicago. Cloth, \$1.50.

In this volume Comrade Myers continues his narrative of the rise of great fortunes in America, his painstaking researches being as evident here as in the first volume. The seizure of the public domain through land steals in Congress, Voting of subsidies by that body, by cities and by states, and enactment of laws which enabled "enterprising men" to secure great tracts of land for almost nothing,—these practices form the basis of most of the great fortunes from railroads. This swindling and fraud became chronic immediately following the adoption of the constitution and the inauguration of Washington as President. In fact the Ohio Company, which the author shows pushing a big "land job" through Congress in 1792, was busily engaged in similar transactions before Washington became President. He, by the way, was an influential member of this corporation and while he was presiding at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, in 1787, this corporation was "steering" a big land steal through the old Continental Congress in New York.

One can scarcely repress a feeling of admiration for the methods employed by the land grabbers in seizing what they wanted, methods that have included extensive bribing, purchase of votes, and eviction of settlers, all performed with a cunning and skill that is close akin to genius. This wholesale theft of public lands has continued down to the present and another chapter is being written to the story by the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy that is disturbing the dull routine of the present Congress. An amusing phase of these steals is the frequent appointment by Congress of committees to investigate itself. Except for some rare instances when some subordinate official without

a "pull" was made the "goat" in these investigations, nothing was done and the steals continued.

The formidable array of testimony cited by Myers shows that the railroads of America were built by the federal and state governments who gave the land or allowed it to be stolen, and who also generously voted subsidies for building them.

In accord with the general plan of the work the author interrupts his story of land conquests with a chapter showing the attitude of the ruling classes toward the working class.

Needless to say that all the powers of the time were employed to suppress their aspirations for better living conditions while the educated police,—preachers, editors, lawyers, statesmen were zealous in cultivating and teaching the ethics of submission for the workers. When this treatment failed there was the all powerful argument of force employed by courts, jailors, and soldiers, an argument that was certainly effective if not convincing to the rebellious.

Having given the necessary contrast, the process by which the fortunes of Vanderbilt and Gould were acquired is reviewed. Both were types of their day, the difference between them and the smaller fry was their skill in all the arts of the swindler. For the facts we will have to refer the reader to the work itself for here, as usual, the author cites government reports and official testimony which cannot be impeached. He is to be commended for the great mass of material he has sifted and used in his narrative. The work is not of the usual "muck-raking" kind that ends with ineffectual denunciation of individuals. Viewing the transactions as an historical process in which men are creatures of their environment, he does not spend his force in useless wails. Neither does he excuse. He simply strips them of the heroic qualities ascribed to them by historians and bio-

graphers and presents them as types of an age of exploitation. And that is an important service to the workers of today.

J. O.

**Social Solutions.**—We have to thank Comrade Thomas C. Hall for one of the most valuable additions to the literature of time. Dr. Hall is not only a thorough Marxian but he is a scholar as well and his *Social Solutions* will do much toward presenting the socialist philosophy to the progressive church contingent. The book is published by Eaton & Mains, New York City, and will reach a new field of readers.

Many socialists are very apt in meeting religious men and women with a host of differences, thus heaping barriers where a little understanding might unite the divergent forces—often seeking like ends.

Anybody who reads *Social Solutions* will realize that Dr. Hall is best fitted to bridge the differences between the Church progressive and Socialism. He has accomplished a good work for us both. He has shown us the weaknesses of our ignorance and intolerance and paved the way for a stronger movement toward the great Social Solution—the common ownership of the means of production and distribution.

After you have read *Social Solutions*, put it in your Lending Library and see that it reaches our friends in the church.

Published in cloth by Eaton and Mains, New York city, N. Y.

**The Poverty of Philosophy**, by Karl Marx, translated by H. Quelch. Chas. H. Kerr and Co., 118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago. Cloth, \$1.

Pierre Joseph Proudhon was born of humble parents in Besancon, France, July 15, 1809. He became the "father of philosophical anarchy," and by his followers is known as the "immortal Proudhon." His chief claim to distinction is his two works "What is Property?" and his "Philosophy of Misery." In the first work he answered the question suggested by its title by asserting that "property is theft" and "property-holders are thieves." The answer shocked the wealthy rulers of France and there was some talk of withdrawing the pension of 1,500 francs a year for three years which the Academy of Besancon had bestowed on the young student in 1838. In 1846 the second work appeared in which he delighted in

startling contradictions and endeavored to reconcile them with Hegelian logic with which he was imperfectly acquainted.

Marx had in the meantime made the acquaintance of Proudhon in Paris and they became fast friends. Shortly before the publication of Proudhon's "Philosophie de la Misere," he wrote Marx a long letter regarding it and said: "I await the blow of your critical rod." The rod soon fell when Marx published his "Misere de la Philosophie," the title, by the way, being a delicious paraphrase of the title of Proudhon's work. Proudhon never forgave Marx for the "blow." Marx's view of Proudhon, the man who scared the ruling class of France with bombastic phrases, is well summed up in his preface: "M. Proudhon," he writes, "has the misfortune of being singularly misunderstood in Europe. In France he has the right to be a bad economist, because he passes for a good German philosopher. In Germany he has the right to be a bad philosopher, because he passes for one of the greatest of the French economists. We, as both German and economist at the same time, protest against the double error."

While conceding to Proudhon a certain brilliance of style and commending the freshness and boldness of his manner of putting everything, Marx subjects his statements to a pitiless analysis and shows that assumptions and declamation form the substance of his work. The fact that the French bourgeoisie took fright at Proudhon's anarchist paradoxes may be explained by the turbulent conditions in France at that time, but certainly not because of any logical presentation of acts or intelligent analysis of history. "He wished to soar as man of science above the bourgeoisie and the proletarians; he is only the petty bourgeois, tossed about constantly between capital and labor." And this judgment may be applied to many others today, especially middle class politicians who disavow any class sympathies and in the end render themselves ridiculous.

The "immortal" Proudhon, like some of his "eternal truths," is almost forgotten today. But Marx's answer is still of service to working men and always will be so long as men live who accept clever phrases and abstract reasoning for logic and science. Incidentally, also, it shows how far apart Anarchism and Socialism are and may be commended to the consideration of those who hold a contrary belief.

J. O.

**The Substance of Socialism**, by John Spargo, (B. W. Huebsch, New York, \$1) is a collection of two lectures and one article reprinted from the North American Review. Comrade Spargo has endeavored to answer some charges made against Socialism which appeal to some timid souls who fear for "our Republic." The articles are couched in vigorous English but in his attempt to quell the fears of the enemy it seems to us that he concedes too much. In the address on "The Moral Value of Class Consciousness," he intimates that some ill-informed Socialists have given a wrong impression of it, but considering the wide sources of information today there is no excuse for misunderstanding among "cultured" people if they really want to know the truth. Neither do we believe that the workman who becomes class conscious "can no longer entertain bitter hatred toward the capitalist." Even though the worker realizes that the class antagonism is a product of history and that capitalists act in response to their class interests, he would be more than human if, in spite of his philosophical perspective, he did not feel hatred and resentment toward those masters who evade laws and bring on disasters like that at Cherry a few weeks ago. The class conscious worker will feel this hatred but his knowledge of the society in which he lives will restrain him from impotent acts of revenge.

J. O.

**From the Bottom Up**, by Alexander Irvine. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. Cloth, \$1.50.

Those who know Comrade Irvine, the "lay-minister" of the Church of the Ascension of New York, know him and caught his jovial and buoyant spirit, or who have marked his tremendous earnestness on the platform, would scarcely suspect a tragic background in his life; one that at one time was so clouded with despair that suicide in a burning building, while saving another, seemed a welcome solution to the problems which life pressed upon him. We are thankful after reading the story of his life that he was not reduced to ashes and has found a place in the world where he can wage battle in behalf of those who toil. His autobiography is a plain, forceful recital of the tragic struggle, sometimes humorous in spite of the shadows, of a human being born in the ditch, suffering chronic hunger, deprived of education, lacking opportuni-

ties, and yet climbing his way upward, becoming a ditch-digger, soldier, miner, Socialist, and preacher. His awakening in "a world of hungry people"; his struggle for an education; association with Bowery outcasts; fighting for the workers in New Haven and exposing peonage in the South; his hopeless struggle as pastor of a church where wealth ruled and hypocrisy was fashionable, all this reads more like a tale of adventure than the life struggle of a man who erred in being born poor. Every Socialist will enjoy it and not a few will find something in Irvine's experiences that will remind them of some incident in their own.

**Social Service and the Art of Healing**, by Richard C. Cabot, M. D. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. Cloth, \$1 net.

One gets the impression after reading this book that here is a man with broad human sympathy for the unfortunate. It is easy enough for one of this type to become a mere sentimentalist, but Dr. Cabot never forgets his function of healer,—both physical and social. And the healer cannot allow sentiment to sway his judgment, though lack of it is a decided handicap. What the author pleads for is "team-work,"—a closer co-operation between social workers and physicians in relieving social and physical ills. Lack of such co-operation means inefficiency of both doctor and social worker. He pursues his subject into every phase of the work of both, citing incidents from his experience to emphasize the need of team-work. Practical suggestions are offered to increase efficiency and co-operation in these fields which make it invaluable for practitioners in both.

**The German Element in the United States**, by Albert Bernhardt Faust. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 2 vols. Illustrated, \$7.50 net.

The German element in the United States has played a more important part in our history than is generally recognized. Prof. Faust has sifted a vast amount of material and presented a work that is admirable in painstaking research, narrative, and scholarship, and revealing the importance of the Germans in the development of every phase of American life. Beginning with the colonial era an excellent review of the causes that led to the large German emigration to America is given. The wars following the reformation devas-



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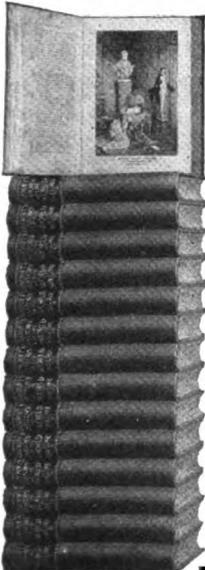
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tated Germany and reduced thousands to starvation. Emigration agents, ship captains, and land speculators took advantage of the distress to induce thousands to emigrate to America. Thousands left the Old World for the new, only to be robbed and swindled by the agents, speculators, and shipowners, and sold into temporary slavery in American colonies. The horrors of this white-slave traffic have been all but suppressed by historians, but Prof. Faust gives us a glimpse of them. One pastor writing in 1773 mentions a shipload of 1,500 German emigrants of whom only 400 lived to see America! The overcrowding developed starvation and disease and the dead were thrown into the sea. This was by no means an unusual occurrence.

If the Germans constituted a large share of the servile population they were also active in support of popular liberties. It was a German, Jacob Leisler, who, in the closing years of the seventeenth century, led a popular revolt against the great land kings and wealthy aristocracy of New York. It was also a German, John Peter Yenger, proprietor of the New York Journal who, in 1734-1735, won the first struggle for freedom of the press.

The author's account of the part played by Germans in the labor and Socialist movements is also very sympathetic, and we are glad to note that he does not join the chorus of respectables in glorifying the hanging of the Haymarket anarchists. The work is comprehensive and in the course of the narrative many keen observations are made on important events in American History. It is a distinct and valuable contribution to American historical writing and will no doubt find a permanent place in our literature. J. O.

**Outlines of Lessons for Socialist Schools for Children**, by Bertha Matthews Fraser, issued by the Children's Socialist Schools Committee, Local Kings County, S. P.

We wish to congratulate Mrs. Fraser and the Kings County Local upon the good work they have done in publishing this excellent little book. Teachers of socialist Sunday Schools have not yet been able to find any concise literature to help them in the difficult task of organizing classes for the little folks. This new book by Mrs. Fraser will prove of lasting benefit to every teacher. The

book is not for the children but a sketch or outline for the instructors themselves. And these Outlines are an excellent foundation upon which to build. Mrs. Fraser does not start out with a lot of ready made ideas which the teachers are expected to pour whole into the ears of the children. The suggested Course is evolutionary, and a teacher following the outlines will present to her pupils the varying stages in the development of society, showing how each was the logical outcome of the other, and the relation that the tool, or methods of production bore to each advance. No man or woman should attempt to teach a Socialist School Class without preparation. A haphazard method will do more harm than good. Outlines of Lessons by Mrs. Fraser will prove a great help to the busy man or woman who is asked to aid in Socialist School work. (Price, paper cover 15 cents.)



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# NEWS & VIEWS

**The Defeat of the Labor Party.**—The complete figures of the recent British elections are just at hand. In order to make no mistake, we quote from the official Report of the Newport Conference of the Labor Party.

The Laborites elected, as is known, forty members in place of the previous forty six. Of these only a minority claimed to be Socialists. The majority were run purely as Labor Party candidates, and the Labor Party has refused either to put Socialism in its Constitution or to tack the words "and Socialist" to its title.

Of the forty Labor members in the present House of Parliament, thirty were elected without any opposition on the part of the Liberals—that is to say, the Liberals voted for all of these candidates, and it is probable that not one of them could possibly have been elected without these Liberal votes!

Ten candidates were run in districts where two members of Parliament were to be elected. In seven of these districts the Liberals and Laborites each nominated one candidate against the two candidates of the Conservatives; the Liberals voted for the Laborites and the Laborites voted for the Liberals!

This leaves three double-member constituencies to be accounted for. In two of these the official Liberal party ran only one candidate, allowing the members of the Liberals to vote, if they pleased, for the Laborite for one seat and for the Socialists for the other! The fact that there were Independent candidates also in these two districts, one of them calling himself a Liberal, is of secondary importance, as the official Liberal party can claim to have done its best for the Laborites.

This leaves only one member of the present Parliament who ran against official Liberal opposition! All of these figures are taken from the report of the Executive at the Newport Conference and cannot be denied.

As an illustration of the exact situation in these constituencies, let us take

the case of Leicester. In this district, says Mr. Hyndman, where J. R. Macdonald received sixteen thousand votes, election statistics show that there are only four thousand Socialists. Macdonald, then, was elected by twelve thousand non-Socialists and four thousand Socialists. At this calculation Mr. Macdonald, in order to satisfy his pledge to his own constituents, could only be one-fourth of a Socialist. But even this does not represent the whole truth, for the Independent Labor Party, of which Macdonald is a member, would not be accepted as a Socialist body in any country of the continent of Europe, nor in the United States. The International recognizes the I. L. P. as a Socialist body in England, but neither the French, Germans, Austrians, etc., would tolerate an organization in those countries which refused to recognize either the class struggle or the materialist conception of history.

The Independent Labor Party has started out with a bastard Socialism and diluted it with three parts of pure and simple Trade Unionism.

The Labor Party of Great Britain is less independent and farther from Socialism than the so-called Labor Party of San Francisco or a hundred other abortive attempts of the kind we have had in the United States—attempts which have been indignantly cast aside by the good sense of the American working people.

**Spokane Passes Street Speaking Ordinance.**—As the date for reopening the fight to regain the use of the streets of Spokane for propandea purposes drew near the city authorities were loud in their interviews as to how they would take care of the "Bums."

In the afternoon of the 1st. detectives and deputy sheriffs raided the office at Hillyard and arrested Chas. Brown on the usual charge of conspiracy.

The day passed. No demonstration being made, the authorities and their

organs the Daily Press unbosomed themselves of their relief by announcing the I. W. W. was whipped again.

The arrest of one of the chief slugs, Captain Burns, of the detective force for perjury in the Heslewood Habeas Corpus proceedings at Couer d'Alene, Idaho, and the probable arrest of some 10 of his co-sluggers and some prominent "business" men who were imported to Couer d'Alene to help Burns out by committing more perjury, and the fact that the city had enough of the fight and was looking for a chance to back down as gracefully as it could caused a hurry up call from the Mayor and chief for a conference.

The conference resulted in the following settlement:

1. The city to enact the Seattle street speaking ordinance.
2. All prisoners to be released as soon as possible.
3. The I. W. W. Hall to be reopened without interference.
4. Publication of the Industrial Worker not to be interfered with.
5. All cases against the city officials to be dropped.
6. Perjury charges against Burns to be dropped.
7. The I. W. W. will not speak on the street pending the passage of the ordinance.

The following clipping from the Spokane Press of March 9 announces the introduction of a street speaking ordinance in the council:

**To Repeal Speaking Ordinance**—Tired of the everlasting trouble and undesirable advertising for the city that has come from Spokane's notorious street speaking ordinance, members of the city council are today considering how best to get rid of it and not make too big a change all at once.

**Woman: Four Centuries of Progress**, by Susan H. Wixon, 10c; **A Plea for the New Woman**, by May Collins, 10c; **The Modern School**, by Francisco Ferrer, 5c. Stamps taken.

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**An Eleven-Year Old Hustler.**—Little Comrade Warren D. Miller, the 11-year-old Socialist literature hustler of Rochester, Pa., is putting some of our bigger and older comrades to shame. Every month Comrade Warren sends in a cash order for copies of the Review and sells them to anybody who is interested in Socialism. And this month we hear that he is enlarging the field of his activities and hopes to dispose of a double order of Reviews. Comrade Miller is getting the Review into the hands of new readers. He is also able to earn a little pin-money in this way. We hope our other young friends will follow his example.

**A Chinese View.**—Comrade D. Bond, of Sawtelle, Calif., recently wrote a short article for the Industrial Worker in which he showed that there were only two nations to-day in the world. He showed that the workers of the entire world made up one country of exploited wage-slaves, while the capitalists, czars, emperors and presidents were brothers and countrymen in exploitation. A Chinese worker who heard Comrade Bond's article read at a meeting of the I. W. W. Local in Brawley, Calif., explained it thus:

"Fellel Wolkel Bond's daddy, him say 'jissy two nation' alle samee wolkman; alle samee lichman! Lich Melican, lich Chinaman, lich Niggle-allee samee one nation. Wolk Melican, wolk Niggle, Wolk Mexicon, wolk Chinaman—allee

samee other nation. Allee time fight. Bineby wolkee man sabe this. Then workman allee samee brother. Allee samee cousin. Allee fight lich nation. Conkel lich nation. Then alle one nation. ALL WOLKMAN." Verily this Chinese "sabes." So may every workman in the world.

**A Rousing Protest against that \$220,000 fine imposed upon the United Hatters Union of Connecticut by the Courts is being sent out by the Cleveland Local of the S. P. We regret that space will not permit us to reprint their Resolutions here. The working class must not be silent in the face of this unprecedented piece of class legislation. We expect the Courts to favor the trusts and the millionaires but we do not propose to yield the few rights and privileges we still possess. Agitate! Educate! Organize! A united working class can accomplish all things.**

**Political Action.**—A recent writer in the Review thinks that a good industrial organization is all that is necessary in order to introduce Socialism, and that a political party is a negligible quantity. His tremendous mistake is that he takes it for granted that while we were building up an impregnable in-

dustrial organization the capitalist class would be idle. In truth, however, the capitalist class would make use of its political power and put our industrial organization out of business long before we could bring it to the stage where we could take possession. Political action alone can prevent that catastrophe. The ballot is the strategic weapon.

The Spokane heroes have thrown away their best weapon. The Socialist party has won its free speech fights by threatening the political offices of the oppressors. The fight in Spokane could have been won with a fraction of the energy and sacrifice by using the same tactics.

The workmen of Philadelphia could elect a Socialist city administration whenever they like. If they had, they would have had a walk away in winning the street car strike, instead of the strenuous and bloody time they have had.

The election laws are unjust. But, the fact remains that in every election that takes place the vast majority of the votes are cast by workmen. Therefore, the workmen can carry any election they choose, in spite of the disfranchisement of a few of them.

JOHN M. WORK.



"I am greatly pleased with the knife, and I am sure it will be a useful pocket companion to me. It is gotten up in fine style and expresses at a glance in the embellishment of the handle just what its politics are and what propaganda it is desired to advance. I earnestly hope that you may send forth many of the knives to announce the happy day coming when knives will be used in strife no more, and when men shall be comrades and the world free.

Yours fraternally,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Comrades—When I think of the howl made by McRosie, Nebraska & Co. just after the election of 1908, I know there are five million Socialists in the U. S. now, and twenty million more and they don't know it. Now I have designed the above knife with photos of Comrades Debs and Warren and the Socialist Party emblem. Now clasp hands with me, and buy one or more of these knives.

They are as good as a knife can be made: Two blades, \$1.50; three blades, \$1.75; four blades, \$1.85. Print your name and address like I do mine and mail P. O. order for knife wanted. I will send your knife by registered mail.

**F. M. JOSLIN, - OZONA, TEXAS**



ETTOR AND SCHMIT—I. W. W. ORGANIZERS.

Joseph J. Ettor and Joseph Schmit have been carrying on an active campaign for industrial organization, along revolutionary lines, in the Pittsburg district during the past several months.

McKees Rocks, Woods Run, Allegheny and Butler have started organizations along the above lines and are carrying on a vigorous day and night propaganda.

The Steel Trust has awakened to this fact and is now spending its hard-earned increment in trying to put the revolutionary press in the steel district out of business—the Free Press, S. P., and 'Solidarity, I. W. W., published at New Castle, Pa.



Comrade J. O. Bentall, State Secretary, Illinois.

**Independent Industrial Union**—The following is a portion of the Declaration of Principles of the Independent Industrial Union, at Cincinnati, Ohio: "The few of us here, in Cincinnati, are graduates of the radical labor movement. Our knowledge has been gained through experience and seeking. We have at last reached a sound foundation. . . . We are revolutionists in the full meaning of that word. We wish to state right here that we have cast aside all representative superstition, that we do not longer believe in placing the destinies of the workers in the hands of one or a few men. It is, therefore, that we take this decided stand against the representative system which is in vogue to-day, and propose to institute in its place an industrial organization free from all directing or governing authority. . . . Onward with the organization of the industrially organized International Working Class Union." For further information address Chas. H. Schmidt, corresponding secretary, care of Independent Industrial Union, Turner Hall, Cincinnati, O.

The American Labor Party. At tempts are being made, we understand from the American Socialist papers, to form a Labor Party after the English one in the United States. This we consider a mistake. Our comrades should know Gompers and his fellow Civic Federationists well enough by now to see the folly of such an undertaking. The Socialist Party of the United States is strong, well organized, well disciplined, and class conscious. Its program and scope is broad enough to embrace all sections of the working class. It has behind it a splendid record of work accomplished, and, in view of the arrogance and brutality of the plutocracy, a greater and more splendid future. Our comrades should not be discouraged at temporary set-backs, and fly to compromise because they cannot see victory immediately in front of them. Liberal-Laborism has had a bad effect on the progress of Socialism in England; it is likely to have a worse effect on the progress of Socialism in America.—London Justice.

**Sydney Mines, N. S. Canada.** The miners of Glace Bay are still out after six months fighting with the Dominion Coal Co. officials, the Canadian militia and over 100 thugs brought in from Montreal and other places. All kinds of lawful and unlawful tactics have been put into force to get the men back to work. Up to date there have been about 1,780 families evicted from company houses, but they have all been supplied with houses by the U. M. W. of A., who are looking after the interests of the striking miners. The interests of the working miners are being looked after by the P. W. A., better known as the company union. The latter has locals in full working order inside some of the fences. According to reports all men taken inside the fences are initiated into said union.

Among others evicted January 21 Harry Lyons and family played a star part. While the sheriff was throwing the furniture into the streets one of Lyons' boarders played "Home, Sweet Home," on the mandolin. The striking miners are showing magnificent courage and no number of evictions will break their spirits.

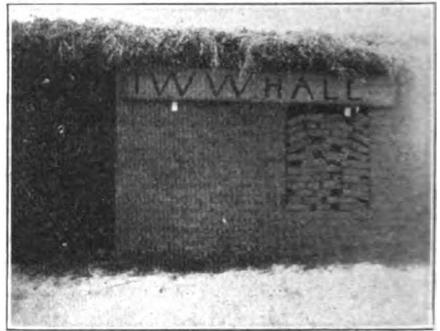
Most of the evictions are planned for days when snow or rain is falling.—WM. ALLEN.

#### Socialism in the High Schools.

A new spectre looms up on the horizon of capitalism! The latter trembles as it observes its very foundation, the school, grasped from its power and imbued with new doctrines, new ideals and with hopes for a better world. The Inter-collegiate Socialist Society has worked along these lines and now the Inter High School Socialist League has entered the lists to work among the high schools.

After a year of existence the Inter High School Socialist League has a membership of fifty and includes boys and girls of twelve of the nineteen high schools in New York City. Each member works his utmost to keep Socialism ever in the minds of his fellow students and the results speak for themselves. Clubs for the study of social science, socialist speakers, political campaigns, all within school, stand evidence of their activity.

But their sphere of activity is not limited by the boundaries of New York City. They wish to organize the high school students in other towns and cities. So far their efforts are rewarded by the organization of a branch in Phila-



ADOBE HEADQUARTERS, I. W. W.  
THROUGHOUT THE SOUTHWEST.



WORKING STIFFS ALWAYS WELCOME.

delphia. They wish—and it is not impossible—to organize a chain of clubs throughout the nation that will, so to speak, drive another nail into Capitalism's coffin and that will be a potent factor in the Social Revolution.

These are their aspirations and their work thus far tends to justify them. But since they are unable to send organizers through the country they desire the co-operation of the socialists in different parts of the nation and outside of it. High school students and other persons in a position to aid in this respect should communicate with the officers of the league. The Inter High School Socialist League meets every Saturday at the Rand School of Social Science, 112 East 19th street, New York City, and its president is Alexander Gittes and secretary, Louis Lenzer.

All hands on deck, comrades! Foil the attempts of capitalized text books and of subsidized teachers to poison the young mind; and prepare the younger generation for the inevitable revolution!—ALEXANDER GITTES.



## Men Wanted

All signs indicate that the Socialist movement in America is entering on a period of growth far more rapid than ever before known in this or any other country. Certainly the field is ripe for it, and if the growth does not come the failure will be due to the inefficiency of the Socialists.

Of all the methods thus far used, just one has always brought large returns proportionate to the efforts required. That one method is the sale of literature.

Socialist party locals that sell literature are live, growing locals, with members that understand the class struggle and can be depended upon to stick. Those that depend on visits of traveling speakers usually die between the speakers' visits and have to be revived each time, so that they never grow.

Isolated Socialists who get their neighbors to buy literature do not remain lonesome long; the books educate new comrades for them.

To sell literature is far more effective than to give it away. A wage-worker can stint himself year after year buying papers to give away, with less results than he could get from the sale of a hundred ten-cent books or magazines. For literature that is bought is usually read; that which is given away is usually thrown away.

The demand for Socialist books is growing by leaps and bounds. Comrades in different cities are already earning good wages from the sale of our books and magazines near home, and others in smaller towns are traveling month after month and supporting themselves in this way. and the field has scarcely been touched. There is room for hundreds more more to do the same thing this year, and we have the books they need. Our sales last month broke all records, but we still have on hand books that at retail prices amount to over \$60,000.

Our co-operative publishing house is owned by over 2,000 Socialists who expect no dividends, and we do not need to make profits. We publish our books at retail prices far lower than is usual for sociological or scientific works, and then we give the profit to those who go out and find the buyers.

**\$15.00 Worth of Literature for \$5.00.**

We want to start new men at once in this work of selling the Review and our books, and we are in a position to make an offer for a short time that we can not duplicate later on. For reasons that would require too many words to explain, we have on hand several thousand copies of various issues of the Review for 1909 and 1910. In many cases these will sell as readily as books. While these last we offer fifty of them free, postpaid, along with an order for \$10.00 worth of paper covered books at \$5.00. This offer gives the salesman wages amounting to \$10.00 in return for his labor in selling books and magazines that cost him \$5.00. We believe the best plan for a beginner is to carry only a few titles and make himself thoroughly familiar with the contents of each book he sells, so as to be able to make a convincing talk on it. We suggest the following as our

**Hustlers' April Combination**

25 copies Connolly's Socialism Made Easy.....	\$ 2.50
25 copies Spargo's The Socialists .....	2.50
25 copies Marx's Value, Price and Profit.....	2.50
25 copies Darrow's The Open Shop.....	2.50
25 copies Review containing Darrow's The Hold Up Man	2.50
25 copies Review containing Cohen's Socialist States-	
manship .....	2.50
	<hr/>
Total .....	\$15.00

We will send all the books in this list to any address in the United States by mail or express prepaid for \$5.00. Extra postage to Canada 50c; to other countries \$1.00.

**How to Start a Socialist Bookstore**

A Socialist bookstore can be made a success in every large city and in some of the smaller ones. The Socialist Literature Company is making a big success of its store at 15 Spruce street, New York City.

Local Philadelphia of the Socialist Party is making another big success of a book room maintained at Socialist headquarters, 1305 Arch street. Others are doing the same thing in other cities, and a hundred such bookstores could be opened within a month and be made to pay expenses, with a fair living to the man or woman in charge. We have in preparation a new 32-page catalog which will be ready for delivery about the first of May, and we will furnish any reasonable number of these free of charge to any Socialist starting a bookstore and paying cash for a stock of books. The amount of capital required is not large. We do not advise renting a whole store at the start. There are plenty of storekeepers who would be glad to rent a little

space for a few dollars each month. A hundred dollars will pay for a full stock of all the books we publish, with extra copies of those most likely to sell rapidly. For this amount we will send an assorted lot of books that will retail for \$250.00, and will also supply catalogs free. The purchaser will have to pay freight on the books, and will also have some outlay to make for shelves, signs, etc. In many cases it will be advisable to arrange to carry a stock of new magazines, since this will help bring people in. But a capital of \$150 will probably be enough to make a start. And to save needless correspondence, let us state definitely that we can not sell books on credit. It is only by requiring cash with each order that we can give you practically all the profit, and still keep on extending our work.

**Our Record for February**

RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURES.
Cash balance, February 1.....\$ 358.07	Manufacture of books.....\$1,367.72
Book sales..... 2,696.09	Printing February Review..... 583.16
Review subscriptions and sales. 697.04	Review articles..... 50.00
Review advertising..... 121.62	Books purchased..... 34.78
Sales of stock..... 3,551.60	Wages of office clerks..... 313.70
Loans from stockholders..... 147.00	Mary E. Marcy, on salary..... 60.00
	Charles H. Kerr, on salary.... 105.00
	Postage and expressage..... 591.46
	Interest . . . . . 17.07
	Rent . . . . . 70.00
	Miscellaneous expense..... 53.75
	Advertising . . . . . 642.85
	Copyrights . . . . . 51.00
	Loans repaid..... 3,501.75
	Cash balance, February 28..... 129.18
<b>Total.....\$7,571.42</b>	<b>Total.....\$7,571.42</b>

It will be seen that last month we broke all records for the sale of books. The Review receipts were unusually light for the reason that the March Review came out just too late for us to get the usual check from the wholesale news company before the end of February. The large book sales enabled us to pay some book manufacturing bills that were due, and to save the cash discount on others. The sales for the first part of March have been even better than the corresponding days for February, and we should be in excellent shape but for the fact that a number of stockholders who have lent money to the publishing house have given thirty days' notice that they will need to withdraw it. Our total loans from stockholders now outstanding are less than \$7,000, and our other obligations are less than \$3,000. Our capital stock paid up on the first of March was \$34,810. It will thus be seen that our debts are very small compared with the extent of our business; nevertheless they are troublesome and we want to get rid of them at once.

We have books on hand that amount at retail prices to over \$60,000, and fifteen hundred shares of stock still remain to be sold at \$10.00 each. We have advanced the price of shares sold on monthly installments to \$11.00, and we are not urging any one to subscribe on that plan, since it involves extra labor. But we want to sell the remaining shares of stock at once. To do so will pay off our debt and will give us the capital we need to enlarge the work of the publishing house.

**A \$10.00 Share and \$15 Worth of Books Prepaid for \$15.00.**

A share draws no dividends, but it gives the holder the right to order any of our books, postpaid, at a discount of 40 per cent. And if you buy a share you become joint owner of the strongest Socialist book publishing house in the world, with a vote in the election of its directors. For \$15.00 cash with order we will send you a fully-paid certificate for a share, and any books published by us, express prepaid, to the amount of \$15.00 at retail prices. If you are not familiar with our books we suggest the following as the nucleus of a library:

Socialism for Students, Cohen.....	\$ 0.50
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels.....	.50
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels.....	.50
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism, Engels.....	1.00
Socialism, Morris and Bax.....	.50
History of the Great American Fortunes, 3 vols.....	4.50
Capital, Karl Marx, 3 vols.....	6.00
Ancient Society, Morgan.....	1.50
	<hr/>
Total .....	\$15.00

Any book published by us may be substituted, and other books published by us may be added at half the retail price, provided they are shipped in the same lot. We pay expressage. The success of the **Review** is bound up with the success of the publishing house. The editor can not do his best work as long as his strength has to go into finding money from day to day to satisfy creditors. One united effort will put the publishing house on a cash basis, and then it will be easy to double our output of books and the circulation of the **Review**.

# IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

On March 25 we shall publish a new translation by William E. Bohn of Karl Kautsky's great propaganda work known to our German comrades as the **ERFURT PROGRAM**. We are giving the American edition the name **THE CLASS STRUGGLE**.

This book was written to support the position taken by the socialists of Germany in a platform which still stands practically unaltered as a statement of their principles and aims. Moreover, Kautsky is generally recognized as the ablest living writer among Marxian socialists. This book, therefore, comes as near being an authoritative statement of the socialist position as any one book can be. Until now it has been known to American socialists only in fragments, a number of pamphlets having been carved out of it at different times. These are now out of print, except in an edition controlled by the S. L. P., and we are now publishing in a very attractive shape the first edition of the entire work. It is nearly complete, a few passages more interesting to Germans than to Americans having been omitted to keep within a size that could be sold cheaply.

The following table of contents will give some idea of the immense field covered:

## CONTENTS.

Chapter.	Page.
<b>I. The Passing of Small Production</b>	
1. Small Production and Private Property..	9
2. Commodities and Capital .....	10
3. The Capitalist Method of Production...	13
4. The Death-Struggle of Small Production	16
<b>II. The Proletariat</b>	
1. From Apprentice to Proletarian.....	18
2. Wages .. .. .	23
3. Dissolution of the Proletarian Family....	26
4. Prostitution . . . . .	27
5. The Industrial Reserve Army.....	29
6. The Increase of the Proletariat; Mercantile and Educated Proletariat . . . . .	35
<b>III. The Capitalist Class</b>	
1. Commerce and Credit .....	43
2. Division of Labor and Competition.....	48
3. Profit . . . . .	52
4. Rent. . . . .	53
5. Taxes . . . . .	55
6. The Falling Off of the Rate of Profit....	58
7. The Growth of Large Production; Syndicates and Trusts . . . . .	62
8. Industrial Crises . . . . .	71
9. Chronic Over-Production .....	81

Chapter.	Page.
<b>IV. The Commonwealth of the Future</b>	
1. Social Reform and Social Revolution....	88
2. Private Property and Common Property	93
3. Socialist Production .....	95
4. The Economic Significance of the State.	104
5. State Socialism and the Social Democracy.	109
6. The Structure of the Future State.....	112
7. The "Abolition of the Family".....	124
8. Confiscation of Property .....	129
9. Division of Products in the Future State.	135
10. Socialism and Freedom .....	148
<b>V. The Class Struggle</b>	
1. Socialism and the Property-Holding Classes . . . . .	159
2. Servants and Menials . . . . .	165
3. The Slums . . . . .	168
4. The Beginnings of the Wage-Earning Proletariat . . . . .	170
5. The Advance of the Wage-Earning Proletariat . . . . .	170
6. The Conflict Between the Elevating and Degrading Tendencies which Affect the Proletariat . . . . .	172
7. Philanthropy and Labor Legislation....	174
8. The Labor Union Movement .....	179
9. The Political Struggle . . . . .	184
10. The Labor Party . . . . .	188
11. The Labor Movement and Socialism....	191
12. The Socialist Party—Union of the Labor Movement and Socialism .....	199
13. The International Character of the So- cialist Movement . . . . .	202
14. The Socialist Party and the People.....	210

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A dozen copies of any one 25c book will be sent prepaid for \$2.00; 100 copies, all one kind or assorted, for \$12.50.

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# Where Did the Vanderbilts Get It?

This question and many more of the same kind will be satisfactorily answered in Volume II of Gustavus Myers' **History of the Great American Fortunes**. It tells of the Vanderbilts, Jay Gould, and the other magnates

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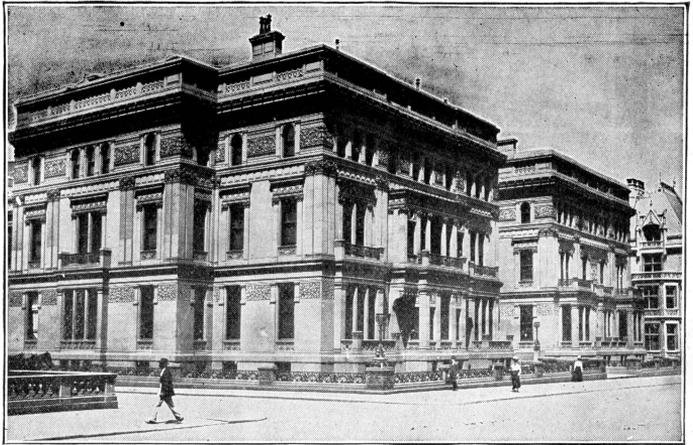


This is where the Vanderbilts lived before they exploited the little Exploiters.

son of Waldorf, Germany, came to America in 1783 with 'one good suit of Sunday clothes, seven flutes and five pounds sterling', and died in 1848 leaving an estate valued at \$20,000,000, makes exceedingly interesting reading. . . . It is some small comfort in these dejected days to recall that business wickedness is not altogether a modern product."

"AFTER TAKING."

The **History of the Great American Fortunes** will be published in three volumes at \$1.50 each. Volumes I and II, dealing with the Land and Railroad Fortunes, are ready. Volume III has been unavoidably delayed by the illness of the author, but will be published in April.



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