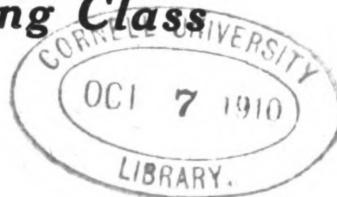


OCTOBER, 1910

PRICE 10 CENTS

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

*The Fighting Magazine
of the Working Class*



The Cossack's Club

Columbus Police Strike
Francisco Ferrer

Socialist Congress
Sabotage

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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People Who Think They Are Capitalists.

International Notes : : World of Labor : : News and Views
,

Publishers' Department

Subscription price, \$1.00 a year, Canada \$1.20, other countries \$1.36

Advertising Rates: Full page, \$40.00; half page, \$20.00, quarter page, \$10.00; smaller advertisements, \$2.80 per inch. No discount for repeated insertions. An extra discount of 5% is, however, allowed for cash in advance for one insertion, or 10% when cash is paid in advance for three or more insertions. Classified advertising, cash in advance, two cents per word, initials and figures counted same as words. No advertisement inserted for less than 50 cents.

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

Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900, under Act of March 3, 1879.



THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XI

OCTOBER, 1910

No. 4



The Cossack's Club

By

LOUIS DUCHEZ



ERE you ever on strike? Sure, you've been—or else you've never been a workingman, or woman. Very well! It's you I am talking to.

Now, have you ever been clubbed by a Cossack? Have you ever had these brutal servants of capitalism ride into you and your fellow workers on strike, like so many sheep, and club right and left and shoot without reserve?

Perhaps the Cossacks have not been established in your state yet? Then you've had similar dealings with the militia, the local "cops" or the deputies of the firm you were striking against. They're all about the same thing. They are part of

the capitalist machine to keep you and your class—my class—in submission—in slavery.

Well, I've had them club me when I was on strike! I've seen "the man on horseback" come "over the hill." And I've seen the bloody trail he left behind. I've seen it at McKees Rocks, at Butler, at New Castle and elsewhere in Pennsylvania.

But that won't do you any good, will it? Personally, I'm tired thinking and talking about the brutalities of the capitalist system. I know thousands of other wage-slaves that are. What we want to know is the way out.

And since the Cossack, the militiaman, the "cop" and the "iron police" deputy are an important item in our struggles, let us deal with them here. I will point out clearly, and definitely, what I believe to be

the best method to handle these fellows who are so quick to club and shoot in defense of the property of those who exploit us so mercilessly.

Distribute Socialist literature among them and tell them that they ought not club and shoot down members of their class? No! You might do that, though, too — it wouldn't hurt. Elect men to office who would do their best to keep the Cossacks and militia and deputies away from the scene of the strike? That may be done. If it will work to the advantage of the workers, it should be tried.

But I have another method in mind, however, which I think, would be more effective.

Listen. To begin with, the reason why the Cossack, the militiaman or the thug is sent in where a strike is in progress, is because the workers have furnished the opening. I mean by that that they are there to protect scabs. The same is true with the injunction. As Austin Lewis says, "the injunction is effective only for the protection of scabs."

In a nut shell, then, in order to solve the problem of the Cossack, the militiaman and the thug, and all of the violence and brutalities that go with them, we must first solve the scab problem. That is, we must keep the scab off the job, and, finally, get rid of him entirely.

That seems like a hard problem at first thought. But it isn't so hard—in comparison to the whole working class problem. For its solution we must first turn to the labor union and think a little along that line.

Comrade Lewis again says in his article on the injunction in the September issue of the Review: "It is the business of the labor organization to reduce the number of scabs, to eliminate the scab, in fact. In so far as this is not done, to that extent the labor organization does not effect its purpose. The first problem is obviously to get rid of the scab and that is essentially a labor union problem."

To do this the essential thing is CLASS SOLIDARITY, followed by the complete economic organization of labor's forces.

We have had so many examples of the desire for CLASS SOLIDARITY on the part of the rank and file of the workers

during the last year in this country, and examples of the marvelously growing spirit of revolt, that it is unnecessary for me to emphasize their willingness along that line. What I want to do is to outline the constructive program which WILL probably be followed in solving, not only the Cossack problem, but the big problem of labor in general.

Here it is. Since the insecurity of the worker's employment is the secret of the capitalist's power over the working class, the "immediate demand" is to remedy this "insecurity." And here POWER is necessary. Higher wages won't do it, neither will better working conditions in general. Though we must and will demand those and fight hard for them.

The first and most important demand is the shorter work day. Continue this process until there is no competition among the workers for jobs. Then there'll be no scabs. After the hours of labor have been so reduced that everybody that wants a job may have it, then demand, according to the power to compel, higher wages until the boss is left out in the cold, so far as profits are concerned.

The Cossack, the militiaman and the thug would not take chances of getting their heads knocked off for a mere living, when they may enter the industrial army and get the product of their labor, at other jobs.

Some day—and it is not as far away as some of us think—just such a program as I have simply touched upon, will be put forth by the entire working class with vigor and power. Whether the constructive program will be carried out step by step, I am unable to say. I don't think it will, however. I think that economic pressure and capitalist oppression will stimulate the Social Revolution sooner than that.

At any rate, the outcome will be Industrial Democracy. As comrade Austin Lewis says: "Organization, effective labor organization on the industrial field, is the great need of the hour." In the midst of the turmoil and temporary chaos, which the Social Revolution will bring, the workers will look to the labor unions as the centers of social cohesion.

Let us get ready for the GREAT CHANGE.

Whom Do You Work For?

By

R. U. WISE



HOM are you working for, Mr. Workingman? Whom are you working for? Did you say you are working for SWIFT, or Jim Hill, or for Mr. Armour? Well why in the world do you work FOR THEM? You are a mighty fine philanthropist; are you not? WORKING FOR OTHER people. Why don't you let them work for THEMSELVES? What is the use in being so generous!

Poor Jim Hill and poor Andrew Carnegie! You say you are working for THEM. I suppose you have so many clothes and so many houses and automobiles and other good things of this world that you want to help the poor Rockefellers out.

Several years ago I worked for SWIFT and ARMOUR and I worked for the same reason you do—not because I was sorry for them or because I had an overabundance of good things myself, but because I had to work in order to LIVE.

But I did not like it any more than you like it. Every time anybody would ask, "Whom do YOU work for?" it made me feel like quitting right then and there. It is so foolish to do hard work for OTHER PEOPLE.

What we want is a chance to WORK FOR OURSELVES. We want to stop making profits for those who do not work. We want to stop making PROFITS. We want to enjoy the value of our products OURSELVES.

The thing that makes some men MASTERS and other men and women WAGE SLAVES is OWNERSHIP. Those who own the mines, mills, factories, and railroads OWN YOUR JOBS and mine. And the man who owns the job is master of our lives. We can never be free while men OWN OUR JOBS.

Socialism proposes that the men who work IN the factories and mines and upon the railroads, shall OWN them and own their own jobs. Socialism proposes to eliminate the IDLE owner—the rich profit-takers. It means that the worker, instead of the boss, shall enjoy the fruits of the worker's toil.

There are so many issues discussed in the newspapers by Roosevelt and by Taft, by the Insurgents and the Stalwarts and many other people, that it is hard to see just what all the excitement in politics is about.

This is not an important matter to wage-workers like you and me. We know that all these people propose to have US CONTINUE TO WORK FOR OTHER PEOPLE. SOCIALISM intends to give the workers a chance to WORK FOR THEMSELVES.

We socialists make mistakes, of course, but don't forget that what we WANT is the abolition of the wage-system and the product of his labor for the workingman. If you are tired of working FOR OTHER FOLKS, STUDY SOCIALISM, and help us to make this a world of, by and FOR the working class!

Factories Abolish Caste in India

By

OMAR VAYU



THE CASTE SYSTEM, according to H. A. Talcherkar, secretary of the Indian Workman's Association, who recently visited Chicago is the greatest obstacle toward organizing the natives in India.

This has long been the cry from the East. But gradually modern methods of production are shattering old religious and

race prejudices. It is impossible for Indian workmen who toil in a factory, rubbing elbows and handling the same products and using the same machines, to maintain caste distinctions. They must either refuse to work and face the alternative of starvation, or cast aside old ideas and beliefs.

Harry A. Franck, in his new book, *A Vagabond Journey Around the World*, gives an interesting recital of his adventures among the caste-bound natives of India. He says,

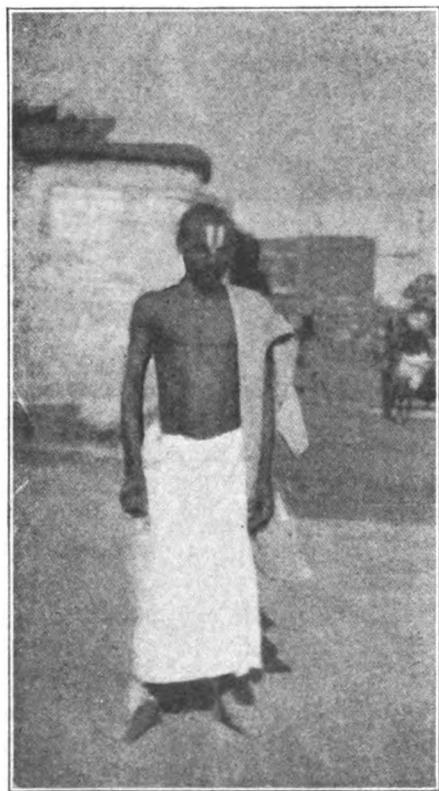
"There is no sadder, more forlorn, more hopeless of human creatures than this man of the masses in India. His clothing in childhood consists of a string around his belly and a charm box on his left arm. Grown to man's estate, he adds to this a narrow strip of cotton, tied to the string behind and hanging over it in front. But regularly, each morning, he draws forth a preparation of coloring matter and cow-dung--for the cow is a sacred animal--and daubs on his forehead the sign of his caste, but the strip of cotton he renews only when direst necessity demands.

* * * *

"There are caste rules, too, of which I was supremely ignorant when I dropped behind my companions and aroused a shopkeeper asleep among his pots and pans. For months I had been accustomed, in my linguistic ignorance, to pick out my own food; but no sooner had I laid hand on a sweetmeat than the merchant shot into the air with an agonized scream that brought my fellow-countrymen running back upon me.

"What's the nigger bawling about, Martin?" demanded Haywood.

"O, Franck's gone and polluted his pan of sweets."



Hindu with Caste-mark of Cow-dung



Manure Dryers—Bombay

"But I only touched the one I picked up," I protested, "and I'm going to eat that."

"These fool niggers won't see it that way", replied Marten; "if you put a finger on one piece, the whole dish is polluted. He's sending for a low-caste man now to carry the panful away and dump it. Nobody'll buy anything while it stays here."

"The keeper refused angrily to enter into negotiations after this disaster and we moved on to the next booth. Under the tutelage of Marten, I stood afar off and pointed a respectful finger from one dish to another. The proprietor, obeying my orders of one anna of that, C's pice of this —filled several canoe-shaped sacks made of leaves sewn together with thread-like weeds, and, motioning to me to stand aloof, dropped the bundles into my hands, taking care to let go of each before it had touched my palm.

"Go where we would the cry of pollution preceded us. The vendor of green coconuts entreated us to carry away the shells when we had drunk the milk; passing natives sprang aside in terror when

we tossed a banana skin on the ground. The seller of water melons would have been compelled to sacrifice his entire stock if one seed of the slice in our hands had fallen on the extreme edge of the banana leaf that covered his stand.

"As we turned a corner in the crowded market place, Haywood, who was smoking, accidentally spat upon the flowing gown of a turbaned passer-by.

"Oh! sahib!" screamed the native in excellent English, "see what you have done! You have made me lose caste. For weeks I may not go among my friends or see my family. I must stop my business, and wear rags, and sit in the street, and pour ashes on my head, and go often to the temple to purify myself."

* * * *

As new factories and mills are going up in India the owners are finding it extremely awkward to induce the natives to give up their old ideals and beliefs and work side by side. But Capitalism knows no color, no race, no sex nor creed. Gradually it levels all men and women. Surely this is one of the blessings of Capitalism. With-

out Industry offering a living to the natives of India, and the economic need of the men and women forcing them to work in heterogeneous and crowded groups, the labor organizer and the socialist would have a hard time.

At present the railway trains are doing more than any other power to level caste in India.

When the railroads were first built the natives demanded that special cars be furnished for certain castes. The Hindus and Mohammedans would not sit down together, and the Brahmins insisted upon flocking by themselves. After a time they discovered that they could not secure special trains and it was tacitly decided to forget about caste while upon the railroad trains.

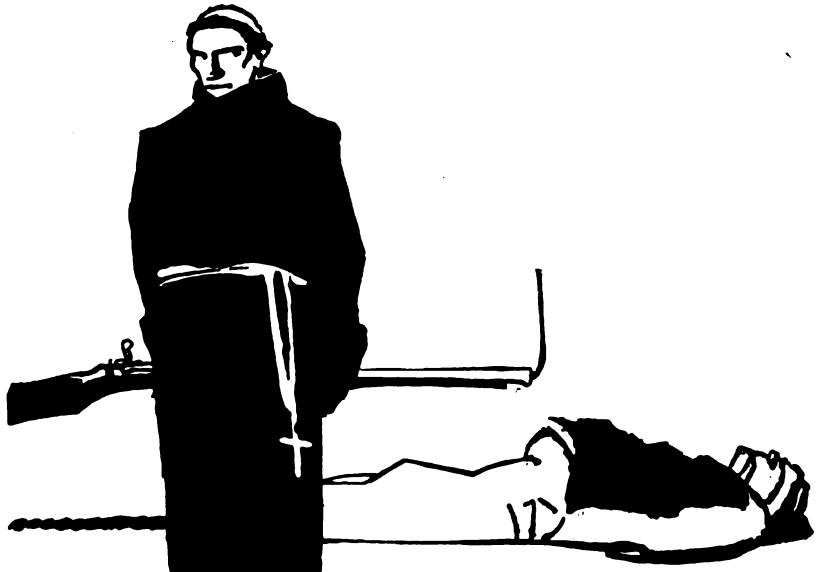
Unfortunately, (it is said) the railroads in India do not differ greatly from the

railroads in other lands, and run as few trains as possible, so that the men and women of all castes are jammed together like sardines in a box.

And the turbaned natives moan and wail, while the priests in the temples add considerably to the Home exchequer by selling little charms to enable the elect to avoid pollution. It is the socialist who laughs.

For class solidarity cannot grow and flourish in a caste-ridden land. But the modern system of production has arisen and we have no fear that capitalists in India will allow the religious beliefs or hobbies of their factory and mill operatives to interfere with profit-making any more than they do anywhere else. The hope of workingmen and women of the world lies in a united and class-conscious proletariat.

To-day industrial supremacy implies commercial supremacy, in the period of manufacture properly so-called, it is, on the other hand, the commercial supremacy that gives industrial predominance. Hence the preponderant role that the colonial system plays. It was the "strange God" who perched himself on the altar cheek by jowl with the old Gods of Europe, and one fine day with a shove and a kick, chucked them all of a heap. It proclaimed surplus-value making as the sole end and aim of humanity. Marx' Capital, Vol. I.



REMEMBER, October 13, 1909!*

Francisco Ferrer --- In Memoriam

By

ARISTIDE PRATELLE



N OUR era of mercantilism and indifference, amidst that civilization of ours, in which, too often, our idealist aspirations are second to more vulgar considerations, a man has appeared and passed away who, through a most fortunate concourse of circumstances, has been enabled to live the most sublime dream to which a human being may give shape.

I have known Francisco Ferrer but insufficiently, alas! to produce new information of interest on his life. Yet, in the same way as all those who knew him and had the happiness to contribute to his educational work, I am convinced that, more fully than ever one of his generation, Ferrer put in practice a precept given one

day by Elisee Reclus to some lads who had asked him the right way to live. With his happy, juvenile ardor, which never abandoned him, the world-famous geograph and sociologist answered them that we should sacrifice everything to live our ideal; our money, our time, our situation and our life. In the same way, in one of these admirable epistles which the Martyr of Freethought wrote previously to the fatal dawn, he avows to an English friend that he knows no better purpose in life in which one can lay out one's money than in publishing books and that there is no pleasure in life greater than to provide for others the means of developing their intelligence. Indeed, is not this the right way to live and be happy?

The tragic death of our noble friend has

*Francisco Ferrer Ass'n. 241 Fifth Ave., N. Y.



Aristide Pratelle

been a defeat for the gallant-minded men who started to defend him. Nevertheless, it has had two prodigious and unexpected results. First, it has united all the men of spirit in an unanimous and universal chorus of indignant protest. Above all, it has shown to all humanity one of these life-long heroisms, so difficult to attain, and in consequence so scarce. If, in conformity with the wishes of him who is no more, we should carefully beware of our tendency to place some famous dead men among the idols, yet, we must recognize that his supremely pure, fine and full life will for ever remain among the highest examples which the rising generations may care to follow.

That other famous dead friend, Elisee Reclus, dear to our hearts among the dearest ones, was most careful to advise those who felt themselves wealthy in strengths or talents, knowledge or intelligence, not to be foolishly prodigal of their riches. There is such a quantity of good work to be done in this brief life of ours. There are so many doings of interest, so many grand undertakings which claim the contribution of our brains and our hearts. Never missing any opportunity to model his life on the life of the Apostle whose writings he published in Spain, Francisco Ferrer had, from the start, the secret intuition of

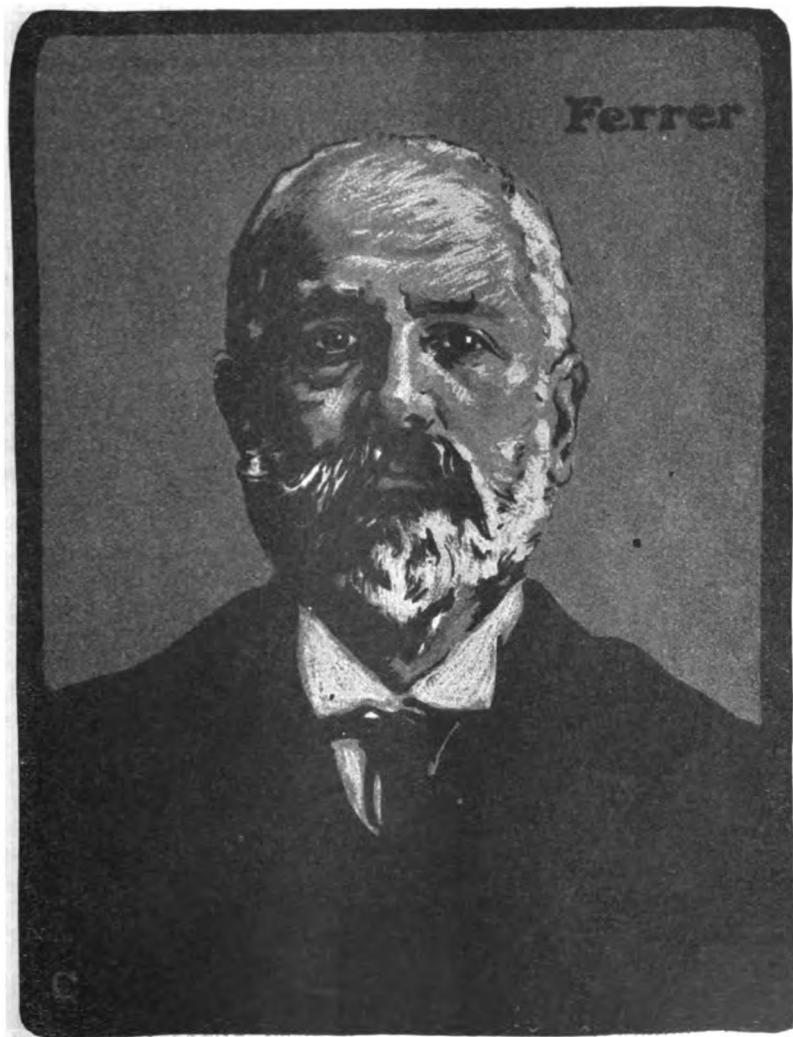
valor and of his force. Knowing admirably the condition of the people among which he had lived, and with which he felt himself connected, he realized all the benefit that the cause of a true rational education, firstly in that dull land of Spain, ruled and sucked to the marrow by mad kings and monks, and afterwards in the whole of the Universe, could realize from his conscious activity. Instead of leading an idle, comfortable life which his fortune allowed him to lead, he strongly felt it his duty, in his turn, to enlighten his human brothers, to guide their reason, to give them confidence, to raise up their hearts above the petty ambitions and their life above the easy, cheap, vulgar pleasures. He died a hero for that noble cause he advocated during his life. His glorious end is, after all, the apotheosis of a most worthy existence during which the friend who is no longer never lost an opportunity to show the good example.

And what a most gratifying, splendid, spontaneous apotheosis could be hoped for him! The very day when the foul crime was perpetrated, the day when the daring challenge to that civilization of the twentieth century was flung by the coalition of the sword, the throne and the altar, the people, awakening at last, raised up in their anger, and spat upon the faces of the tormentors their hatred⁴ of the tyranny and their horror of the abominable deed. For several days, all the frontiers disappeared, all the nations were blotted out. Over them we heard the unanimous voices of that immense family of brothers that Ferrer and those of his kind had dreamt. In the twinkling of an eye, the International of workers was reestablished. To the horrified clamors of Europe, answered the indignant protests of the American workers!

That immense wave of revolt of the human conscience which is perhaps an unparalleled phenomenon both by its amplitude and its universality, has been something more than a sudden blaze, one of these passing outbursts of which the amorph, unconscious crowds gave so many examples in the course of human history. Now that the sinister day is sufficiently remote to enable us to judge the events with all the attention they require, we have all the joy to see that since that day, a deep and durable evolution has taken place among the young. It is indeed a sign of

the times that many individualities which did not know one another and took no share in our struggles have rapidly become conscious of their social duties and resolutely entered into our radical groups. In the space of a few months, the seed of Martyrdom has germinated, and now the harvest of heroism is growing up rapidly. Is not an International of Thought awakening now, a sublime International of Brains and Hearts to which will contribute, into which will fraternize, for the sake of which will

sacrifice themselves, thousands of newly-born energies? Heroes of the ancient times, who only knew your jealous gods and your narrow countries, you cannot hold comparison with the heroes which will spring up tomorrow and are already springing up from the semi-shades. Longing to live and thrill, longing to give the world a solid and durable work, such is the noble ambition that the Martyrdom of Francisco Ferrer has awakened once for all in the depths of our always juvenile manhood!



Francisco Ferrer

Sabotage

By

AUSTIN LEWIS



NEW factor is arising to complicate or perhaps to simplify the labor struggle. It has a slang French name, because it arose first in France in a practical form, and because there is at least one French paper "La Guerre Sociale" devoted to its propaganda. Sabotage is in brief the destruction of the property of employers by employees in pursuance of a definite revolutionary policy.

Such property may belong to the Government or to an individual. All capitalistic property is indeed the object against which the French anti-militantists under the leadership of Gustav Hervé direct their efforts.

Soldiers are called upon to destroy the arms and the equipment of the government, and to render useless the materials of war as far as they can venture to do so. They are directed to lose necessary mechanical parts of the rifles and guns, and to throw out of gear the myriad mechanical contrivances upon the harmonious relations of which the success of any army may depend.

In short Sabotage is a means by which the anti-militarists aim at the crippling of militarism through the destruction or disarrangement of the military machine at the hands of the soldiers.

To most, the propaganda of Sabotage will appear fantastical and indeed horrible, for this crippling of the military machine will naturally seem to be entirely traitorous and in all ways abominable.

The shocked discoverer of such will however console himself with the reflection that so utterly immoral and so despicable and detestable a course of con-

duct could not possibly find sufficient adherents to make it dangerous. It will appear to him as a manifestation of abnormality, as an evidence of degeneracy, which may perhaps find some few crazy adherents, as did the "propaganda of the deed" but which could never be sufficiently powerful to be dangerous.

There the uninformed would be wrong, for Sabotage on the anti-military side has made great strides and has found many disciples, particularly in the ranks of the French army. Material of war has been destroyed on many occasions and in one notable instance the regimental flag was thrown down and trodden under foot by a marching regiment.

The anti-military propaganda is carried on by means of pamphlets and leaflets which are distributed among the soldiers of the European armies and are extensively read. They are not without their effect. For, instances of Sabotage have multiplied and what might be called the proletarian peace propaganda in contradistinction to that of the Hague and the agitation in which Mr. Andrew Carnegie is such a conspicuous figure makes considerable headway. It is reported that the British Navy is not exempt from the results of this agitation. It is stated on good authority that guns on board British ships have been tampered with by the crews, and that it was found necessary to suspend the crew of one warship because of the effects of this propaganda.

So far nothing of the sort has been reported in this country. The Socialists agitation however among the crews of the warships is pretty constant and it is well known that the crew of more than one United States vessel is thoroughly permeated with Socialist doctrines, and

that a flourishing Socialist group exists on board. In fact at the Socialist dances and picnics near the Bay of San Francisco, the presence of blue jackets has ceased to be a noticeable phenomenon, so common has it become.

Of course, it will be readily conceded that the mere fact of Socialist propaganda does not of itself imply Sabotage, but it does certainly imply the development of the peace propaganda among the proletariat in military service for this is an essential of the Socialist movement.

This matter of Sabotage in pursuance of the anti-military propaganda finds some justification at the hands of those who might at least be expected to condemn it. Some allowance, must of course be made for the fact that the troubles of our neighbors are regarded philosophically even by the most altruistic of us, and in the present condition of world-politics the average Briton or German can view the destruction of French arms even with a mitigated enthusiasm. The foreign apologist, particularly if he is an American or a Briton, bases his defense of Sabotage upon the fact that military service is compulsory and that the conscript is obliged to serve against his will and without his consent. He is held to the work and is practically a slave while in the service and hence his destruction of the machines of war is not to be regarded with wonder. In short the inhabitant of the voluntary service country declares that there is no contract between the private soldier and the government and hence the destruction of arms, while deplorable is not altogether unreasonable particularly in view of the peace propaganda..

But, there are deeper reasons. The destruction of arms is in pursuance of a definite propaganda against militarism and represents effort to aid a specific class, the proletarian class, and is a defiance of one's own country in favor of one's own class, even though the members of that class belong to a country other than that of the Sabotage manifestant and indeed may by force of circumstances become an invader of the country of the manifestant.

It is class against patriotism. It is not a peace demonstration in its essence; for the manifestants would unquestionably fight in a revolutionary attack upon the

dominant capitalism. It is a demonstration against the power of capitalism, as represented in the government, and in favor of the proletariat.

Viewed from this aspect Sabotage cannot appear as the unreasonable destructive act of the fanatics but becomes at once invested with the dignity of a great movement, even if the method appears shocking and tends to violate our pre-conceived notions of what is ethical.

The motive is everything. If the motive of the Sabotage manifestant be such as has been above set forth, his actions are justified in terms of his motive; he develops a new ethical sanction, and has a new conscience, to-wit: a class conscience, an international class conscience, in place of the usual patriotic, national conscience which has hitherto been general.

Sabotage in pursuance of the anti-military propaganda may therefore be a sign of the growth towards a realization of the identity of class interest by the international proletariat, a practical illustration of that tendency of the proletariat to base its actions upon an identity of interest and thus worth many parliamentary discussions and many Congresses in favor of international peace. For it is obvious that the proletariat and particularly the armed proletariat has in its own hands the question of peace and war. Thus Sabotage while not literally fulfilling the biblical prophecy with respect to making agricultural implements out of weapons of warfare at least tends to render the latter useless.

As to Sabotage against the instruments of production in the hands of the employing capitalists, how does such a propaganda appeal to the average citizen? He views it with even greater loathing than he does Sabotage of military equipment, and the reasons for such dislike are very obvious. Sabotage constitutes an attack upon private property, which is the most sacred thing in the eyes of the law and in the estimation of the ordinary person. The destruction of such property is necessarily therefore a heinous crime. Moreover the practice of Sabotage becoming common the very existence of the capitalist class is at stake. If disputes between capitalists and workmen are to involve the destruction of machinery and the

material dislocation of plants and equipment, it is obvious that the capitalist class is placed hors de combat at the very beginning of the struggle. For organized action on the part of the employees prior to a strike or lock out could render the whole plant practically worthless even if it fell into the hands of scabs.

Now the destruction of machinery and of equipment in times of strikes is no new thing; every strike of any magnitude always involves a certain degree of violence directed against the property of the capitalists. It could not be otherwise as long as men are men and subject to emotion. But there is a very marked difference between reckless and individual acts of rage directed against property in time of excitement and industrial disturbance and what is contemplated in Sabotage. Sabotage is a cool, preconcerted and organized destruction of property in the pursuance of a definite end, as a means of war, and for a specific purpose.

In fact the term destruction used in connection with Sabotage may not be and indeed in the vast majority of instances is not applicable, for Sabotage may easily imply merely the rendering of machinery used in capitalistic production ineffective for that specific purpose and thus may be simply regarded as a sort of auxiliary to the boycott. As the latter is intended to prevent the capitalist from using available human material in capitalist production except upon such terms as seem good to the workers at a given time, so sabotage is intended to prevent the use of machinery, products of labor, except on terms agreeable to the working class.

It will be thus readily seen that there is a world of difference between the modern notion of sabotage in labor disputes and the machine smashing which marked the beginning of the modern industrial epoch. They are not based on the same grounds. Their object is different, the one was the desperate act of beaten men, the other might be a means of victory in the hands of a winning class.

Such a view of the employment of sabotage evidently recommends itself to "La Guerre Sociale" as appears from recent advice given in that paper. A strike of railroad men pending, the journal in ques-

tion states that a mobilization would be ordered in the neighborhood of the strike; the railroad men in the reserves would thereupon be called to the colors, and being under military orders and in uniform would be compelled to engage in the operation of the road under conditions against which they had rebelled.

Under these circumstances "La Guerre Sociale" after giving some advice as to how the men should conduct themselves in the event of this military demonstration added that they should leave the machinery "in good order." The implication is obvious. The question is was the advice under the circumstances vicious and immoral? It seems to the writer that in the given state of facts the advocates of Sabotage might successfully make out a case.

When we leave the realm of abstract ethics and come to actual cases we find that beyond any doubt the condition of machinery at the time of a strike might be determinative of the issue of the struggle. This is particularly true of mining and other industries where mere abstention from care of machinery may cause such a dislocation as to effectually cripple a plant and render a speedy settlement of the trouble necessary from the employer's standpoint. Thus Louis Duchez writing recently of the United Mine Workers strike says "If the men in Illinois and every other State had come out to a man; if no union man had been permitted to work while the strike was on; and no non union man to the extent of our power, either; if we had disregarded property rights to the extent of permitting machinery below to cover up with water and be destroyed, if we had looked after our own interests instead of the operators, long before this the strike would have been won, and we would have had an organization twice as large as it is today, and many, many times more powerful and effective. If we had pursued these tactics the unorganized would have come out in large numbers with us." The importance of passive Sabotage at least is here fully recognized.

It would be hard for those who approve of anti-military Sabotage to find arguments against industrial Sabotage. The argument in one case is as good as in the other. If there is an absence of contract

in the one case there is in the other also, for compulsion to work for an employer whether one will or not is a mark of the position of the latter day proletariat.

However, such questions are settled not by abstract ethics or by abstract legality,

but by practical utility and if it once dawns upon organized labor that Sabotage is an effective instrument in furthering the objects of labor organization there is little doubt that we shall see its employment very widely extended.

Why Are You Not a Socialist ?

By

T. H. CAMPBELL



ELLOW Working Man:—
IS IT BECAUSE you approve of being robbed of the major portion of the product of your toil? —that major portion averaging according to Government reports, seven-eights of what you earn?

IS IT BECAUSE you enjoy walking and paying rent while building automobiles and mansions never to be used by you?

IS IT BECAUSE you like to clothe the families of parasites in broadcloth and silk and have your wife take in washings or boarders to scantily feed, clothe and shelter your family?

IS IT BECAUSE you hope to be a "business man" some day? Well, if you are so exceptionally fortunate as to be able to amass a few thousand, you will not last as long as a June frost if a corporation finds you depriving it of a mite of profit. Ask your grocer what his annual profit is on sugar.

IS IT BECAUSE you believe God intended you to be the under dog?

IS IT BECAUSE one Teddy has said that "Socialism would destroy the home and family?" Ask him how many homes capitalism daily destroys. Ask him how many victims of the white slave traffic can trace the responsibility to the poverty and capitalism. Ask him to explain his consistency in preaching against "race suicide" while capi-

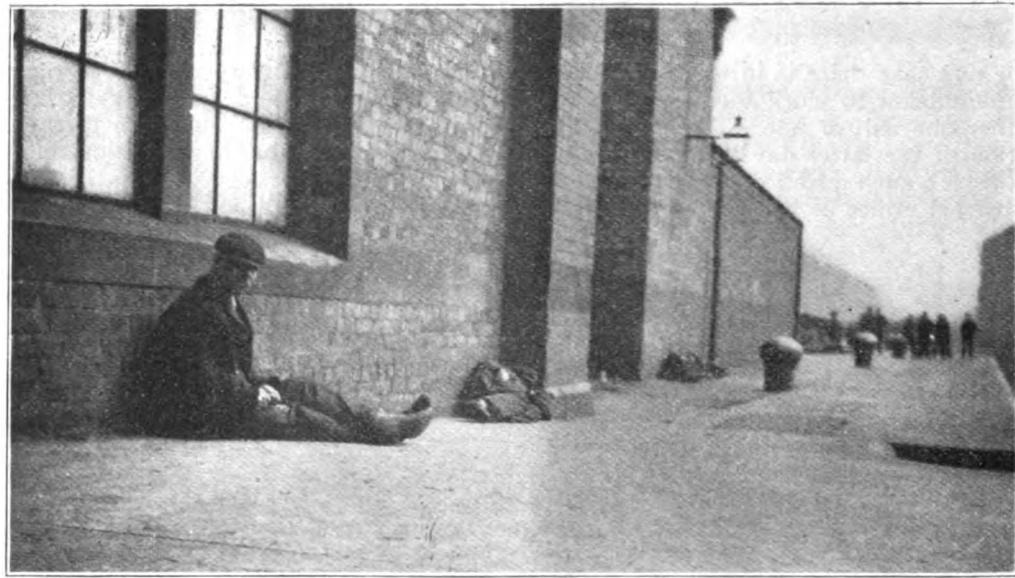
talism renders the proper rearing of a workingman's family impossible. Then ask him to tell you how much greater would be the per cent of happy marriages if Socialism prevailed. He knows enough to know that Socialism would increase many, many times over the number of happy homes, and would render a thing of the past the poverty-stricken ones.

IS IT BECAUSE someone has said "Socialism is impracticable?" That has been said of every move for advancement and enlightenment in the world's history. Nothing could be more impracticable for the working class than capitalism—nothing can so surely reduce you to helplessness and starvation. When you vote the capitalist ticket you vote for starvation; you vote for being devoured by the capitalist class, you and your children.

IS IT BECAUSE you enjoy paying \$8 for a ride in a Pullman sleeper and having \$7 of it go to the predatory rich?—or of being such a nonentity that your patronage is not solicited and you are not allowed enough of the wherewithal to afford a ride in a Pullman car?

But you do not ride in Pullman cars nor enjoy any of the luxuries that spring from the wealth you help create. Why? Because you are a faithful tool of the capitalist system and VOTE HER STRAIGHT—

BECAUSE YOU ARE NOT A SOCIALIST.



Out-of-work Dockers

An English Docker

BY

EDLINGTON MOAT



RUCKS, trucks, trucks, endless trains of trucks! Hand-trucks and horse-trucks, iron, brick and smoke, chains and cranes and quays, warehouses, din and desolation!

And these that scurry to and fro with barrels, bales and boxes, these uncouth, grimy creatures shod like mules in shoes of iron, garbed in ragged kerchief, cap and corduroy—who are they? And who are these that lie like lizards in the sun along the seven miles of Pierhead Wall? Workers, workers all; men who have drudged and drudged in vain. Nay, I should not say in vain, for when age and disease and over-work and no work at all have destroyed their fibre, when they are no longer privileged to trundle ponderous cargoes at five pence an hour, does not the ever-thoughtful municipal government of this famous

port of Liverpool guard their interests well? Has she not provided them with the seven miles of Pierhead Wall whereon to rest their worked-out carcasses by day? And with endless dark and damp and noisome lanes wherein to prowl by night? And with workhouses many and various wherein to lodge on "plank" beds through winter's cold; to say nothing of hospitals for those whom the rotten food at these same workhouses has rendered ill, or of graveyards for such as the hospitals have mercifully "sent away" with a dose of "black-jack?"

But let us away. Let us on to London East—on and down through the maze of sunless lanes and alleys lined with wrecks of architecture and maggoty, with a race condemned, to the very heart of this Babylon of the underworld, where is an unsavory coulie called a street, and a sullen hovel dignified with the name of "home"—the dwelling place of one Bob Ross, a docker

these twenty years and more. "A ROOM TO LET" adorns the window front, and Bob's wife is seated in the doorway gazing into space. A curious little bundle of humanity!—seemingly ages tired, slow of wit, and patient with the patience that passeth understanding.

"A room to let? O, yes, the best i' the 'ouse, and a ba'gain at four bob a week."

And as her squat figure limps along the passage, I am vaguely conscious that I should not be surprised to hear the creaking of her joints, nor to see the image of the gracious queen, hanging there on the greasy, mustard-colored wall of the "best room i' the 'ouse," hold her nose at the chill odor of damp and dust, and avert her eyes from the junk that stands for furniture. Yet for all that, and not without a sense of self-pity, I decide to resign myself for a time to this disease trap which during one long generation has been the abiding place of Bob Ross; here I would see for myself how the modern slave, under the leaden skies of East End London, in this twentieth century of Christian civilization, is driven to hopeless drudgery and scientifically shorn of the proceeds.

Bob's case might be taken as almost typical of the losing game of life the slum dweller plays. I happened to fall upon him at the fag-end of his career, and could find nothing exceptional in it, unless in the fact that he set out in life with an unusually good constitution, and in the further fact that he did not bend, or dodge, or try to run away, but breasted the excessive pressure until it broke and ruined him.

Bob began by exchanging his muscle power for a few pennies a day. As he grew older, the pennies came faster, with corresponding discharge of muscle power, of which commodity he seemed to have an almost unlimited supply. Faith and patience were strong in Bob, and it had been drilled into him that sobriety and duty and honesty have a sure reward. Somewhere in his consciousness lay the foolish idea that morality is of commercial value. The examples of human wreckage all around him he attributed principally—when he thought of the matter at all—to lack of morality. Nor did he see in them the living pictures of his own undoing; for imagination is a rare gift among the people of the underworld. Such a thing as organized humbuggery be scarcely dreamt of until past middle age.

He exaggerated his own shortcomings, while his respect for the powers that be bordered on servility. Was not their greatness acclaimed a thousand times a day from pulpit, press and platform? And as for the poor, had it not been "proved" again and again that their condition was due to their crimes, vices laziness, and the like? Not that Bob believed implicitly the say-so of authority in these matters, but rather that it left him doubtful of his ground until long experience had taught him the truth.

In the days of his young manhood he worked as a "preference" dockhand, which means that his muscle power won for him the preference over weaker men who sometimes fought savagely for a front place at the dock gates. Along with others of his kind he was systematically "sweated." Tons and tons of freight—material riches from the far corners of the earth passed through his hands—his to trundle but not to enjoy. Many bones he saw broken, much flesh battered and torn asunder, noses smashed, eyes robbed of their light, limbs twisted out of shape—and prided himself on escaping unscathed. Simple man! He did not know that the unending jugglery of great loads at high pressure for many hours at a stretch were slowly but surely doing their part in transforming his body



into a thing that should one day be painful to look upon.

When he happened to be "free," there was another sphere in which he moved, nay, two spheres—the home and the neighborhood round about. These two, in connection with his daily stint of toil, made up the sum total of his time.

Consider first the home, this "poor man's castle," like unto thousands of other poor man's castles in London East; a bulwark against light and air, all cramped and askew within, all black and unsightly without, cold and damp in winter, stuffy and unsavory in summer. There was Bob's wife, and three "kiddies" that had come with the years; and a hand-to-mouth subsistence was maintained. Only the left-overs and "seconds" of commerce graced that home. Practically all that entered there was trash: the food, the furniture, the clothing, the prints upon the wall and the knick-knacks on the side piece. And occasionally, when Bob returned at night, occupied, perhaps, with the bitter consciousness of the contrast between himself and some easeful, blithesome fellow he had chanced upon during the day—some youth magnetic with the breeziness and optimism of vast and virgin lands—he was greeted at the doorway by the tired smile of his helpmeet, the strong smell of soap-suds and the sound of brawling kiddies; and was even more effectually confronted with the staleness and sordidness of his existence by discovering in the daily paper, sandwiched between details of scandals and suicides, such typical tit-bits as these:—

Over a thousand applications have been received by the Southwark Board of Guardians for the post of night porter at one of their establishments. The wages offered are 30s. per week and uniform.—*Lloyds*, Oct. 1909.

It was reported at the Saffron Walden Board of Guardians on Wednesday that by taking sixty boarders from Croydon and Hammersmith Unions into their workhouse at 8s. 6d. per head per week they had made a net profit on the year of £300.—*Lloyds*, Aug. 1, 1909.

At an inquest at Kingston on Wednesday on the body of John Henry Loader, seventy years of age, an inmate of the Kingston Workhouse Infirmary, evidence

was given that he died suddenly on June 25, after partaking of minced mutton served for dinner. Altogether twenty-five inmates were affected by eating the mutton, with which beef tea had been mixed.

Death was due to ptomaine poisoning, and a verdict to that effect was returned, the jury adding that better supervision should be kept in the kitchen. Aug. 1, 1909.

As an offset to such burden of toil and such depression of home-coming; as a relief from the reading of such miseries among the poor, with their suggestion of depravity among those who would seem to have little need to be depraved, there remained for Bob the third sphere. And what did it afford him of the good, the true and the beautiful to feed the higher instincts? Theatres there were, where glitter and tmse, coarseness and vulgarity were edged about by creeping filth and darkness. And libraries—much frequented in winter by bloated, and twisted, and broken-down men whose prime object in being there was to stave off the cold. And mission houses, too, for the "savings" of people whose most pressing needs were of another order. At the work house corner might have been seen the "spike"—the string of wastrels waiting for a chance to rest their weary bones. And glued to a wall nearby a poster, at once a warning and an intimidation, bearing words advising all the world that one John Blank (a starving out-of-work, no doubt) had stolen some trifling snack of food and been given a couple of months in limbo for it. Here too were ragged urchins playing in the gutters; "little mothers," old in girlhood, tending babes; "slaves" shining doorways; yelling costers selling offal. Here a thousand threadbare, shivering dames on bargains bent invaded shops, raked and pawed and fumbled wares, and agreed and rejected. By night, bedizoned trulls unnumbered thronged in hideous masquerade to advertise their degradation, and men, to drown their sorrow and forget the morrow, drank poisons in the tap rooms. Aimless runnings to and fro there were of dwarfish ghouls with toadstool's pallor; aimless standing still of human wrecks in shadow; vile odors sailing on the sooty air; voices echoing depths of infamy; things divined though all unseen that blot out light and laughter from the soul.

And all around lay the stupendous area of the plague spot itself, its ugly piles of worn and weathered brick and iron, its grime, and slime and filthy oozings stretching out and out through smoke and fog to the sombre sky-line, embracing all, engulfing all, holding fast its denizens not by walls and chains, but by subtle laws and regulations that weigh upon them sorely from without; shutting off escape by drawing off the best of heart and head and hand, and for reward corrupting them with its fetid exhalations, its secret agents of decay, its hidden channels of disease; grafting upon them its own unsightliness and unworthiness, and transforming them in the third and fourth generation into creatures less than human, palsied of intellect, will and feeling—bestial, sodden, denatured things that shamble on to final dissolution.

What solace this nightmare of squalor and degradation afforded Bob lay largely in the fact that it showed him myriads more unfortunate than himself. But with the passing of the years the comparison was denied him. His only daughter "went to the bad;" one son went to the Boer war—and never returned; while the third son married a slattern who was more of a burden than a helpmeet. Meanwhile, his work had become a treadmill that cast its shadow before, always before, and that sometimes, in dreams, resolved itself into an appalling mass of freightage filling the whole horizon of his future—a world of endless trundlings to and fro, without surcease, on and on to the very close of life.

Then it was that his masters changed for him the complexion of his dreams. First they "let him down easy": shifted

him from regular work to work as a "plus" laborer. And then they let him off altogether. His muscle power had waned. Henceforth there was to be no more filterings of small coin into his pocket. His savings dwindled, and in the place of endless trundlings to and fro, he saw himself face to face with the probability of a slow and painful sliding into death, marked by days of hunger and cold and sleeplessness that should seem eternities, by hours of loneliness that should seem as wide and deep as the universe.

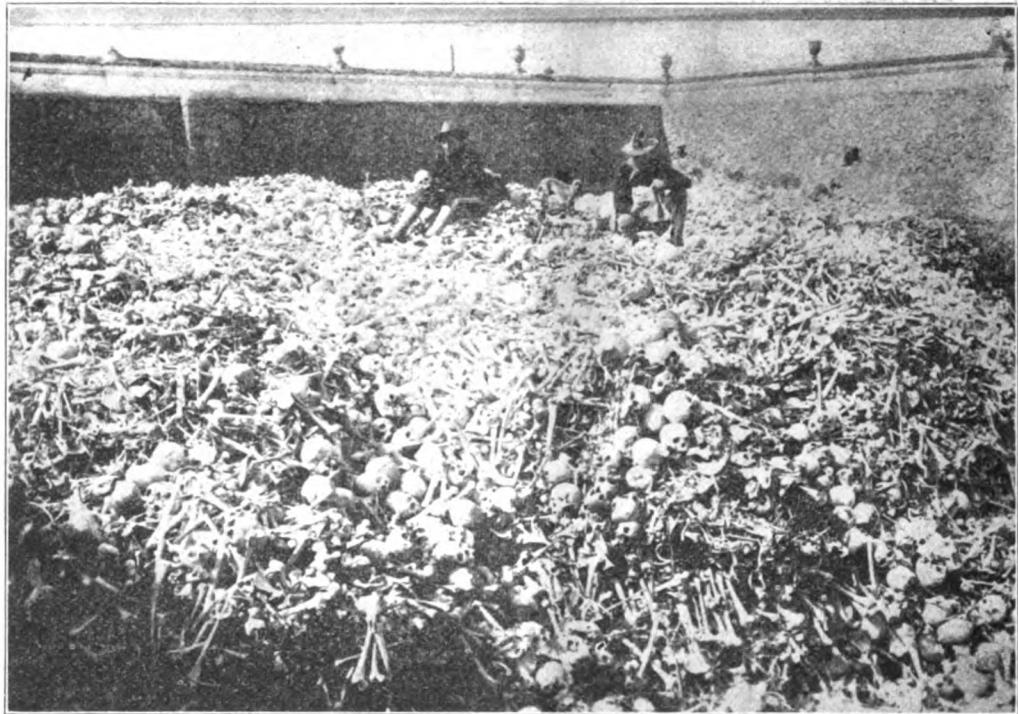
From then on B. N. Ross became a tap-room habitue. And from then on a dull aching filled his heart; a deep and sullen grief took possession of his soul—a silent rage that seemed to have its roots in generations past and gone—the dumb despair of violated nature undeceived, of one who has sold his birthright of sweetness and light for the wherewithal to live by, and discovers in the end that he has not lived.

* * *

"E's chynged so of late," wailed Mrs. Ross just before I left their miserable abode. "'E's tyken to bad 'abits. No body'll gi' 'im a job, and there ayn't much in lettin' rooms. Lor' lumme, I don't know wot's goin' to become on us. 'E's been I don't know 'ow many times to see if 'e couldn't set up a bootblack stand outside the Postoffice, but the Government won't 'ave it. T'other day 'e went to see the guardians and they told 'im they coulden't gi' 'im out relief—said 'e'd 'ave to go to the work'ouse. 'E'll never do it. 'E said 'e'd sooner go and make a 'ole in the water, 'e did."

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries unite!

—Communist Manifesto.



We Can Rest When We're Dead --- Maybe

By

ANNA A. MALEY



THE accompanying picture, which was taken by one of our comrades who was stationed at Havana during the Spanish-American War, was given me by Comrade Edward Havel of Liberty, Oregon.

Comrade Havel was in the service also, and saw this bone pile and others, in the cemeteries of Cuba.

Bodies were not buried "for keeps" in these cemeteries. The graves were rented. Comrade Havel was informed that the shortest period for which rental could be had, was six months. At the end of the time for which the grave was let, if further rent was not forthcoming, the skeletons were evicted—sometimes before the bones had had time to become clean. The size of the bone-pile would indicate that there were many delinquents.

"And those who harvested the golden grain—

"And those who flung it to the wind like rain—

"Alike to no such aureate earth are turned,
"As, buried once, men want dug up again."

Omar, quite properly, did not reckon as men, such human ghouls as the average modern landlord. He did not dip into the future far enough to see the dispossessed scarecrow mother, sitting hopeless and helpless with her bloodless brood and her tattered household gods, on an east side pavement. He did not foresee the day when the people should crown Profit Lord of all—when the dead man who did not have in his cerements the price of a hole in the ground, must stand ready to carry on his post-mortem activities on a bone-pile.

Verily, what with sky-scraper rents, ground rents and grave rents, no space is immune from the ravages of the landlord—not the heavens above, nor the earth beneath, nor the waters under the earth.



Dictator Diaz



THE exposures of the horrible conditions in Mexico by John Kenneth Turner, in the Appeal to Reason, are arousing a spirit of inquiry all over the United States that is going to prove increasingly embarrassing to the government on this side of the border line. Famous captains of industry who have invested heavily in Mexican industries are becoming alarmed. It is interesting to note the sudden bursts of enthusiasm experienced by some of the radical magazines and newspapers on matters Mexican these days. Evidently somebody's palm has been crossed, or somebody's pocket-book has been touched or somebody's skin has been threatened. One grows curious to see just how far the epidemic will spread.

Diaz has always been a warm friend of American capitalists. Whenever a multimillionaire decided to invest in Mexico, Diaz sold him one economic advantage after another, and by all the strength of his armed power he has since protected him.

Mexico Replies To The Appeal To Reason

By

C. M. BROOKS

And it is chiefly because the United States Government stands back of the American plutocracy and the Diaz regime of blood, that Mexico has become known over the whole world as the home of murder and brutality to workingmen and women. A knowledge that the powerful government across the border line has stood ready to support Diaz, has always deterred and checked any widespread revolt against the oppression of the Mexican government.

Until men like John Kenneth Turner and John Murray and others began to pry into the affairs of Mexico and disturbing newspapers and magazines to publish the truth about them, the working people of the U. S. had no way of learning of the miseries of their comrades. And it is highly important that the American people continue to be deceived in regard to the character of the President of Mexico and his miscalled republic. Otherwise it might prove impossible for the United States Government to support Diaz when the Mexican people arise to demand a democratic form of government.

It is rumored that nothing could be further from the desires of the Guggenheims,

William Randolph Hearst and the Standard Oil Company than a new and democratic president in Mexico, who would insist upon giving the Mexican people the rights common to a republican form of government.

A capitalist's idea of heaven is a state where he may exploit workingmen and pile up profits without let and hindrance with a government at hand to see that the working class is rendered unable to interrupt him.

In the Aug. 18th. number of Leslie's Weekly, Senor Don de la Barro, the Mexican Ambassador, replies to the critics of Mexico in the following naive manner:

If the charges made by Mr. Turner and others are true,

"Why", he says, "does Mexico's credit stand so high in the money markets of Europe and this country?" He does not know, poor man, that a high credit means ability to exploit labor and he has not one inkling that he is proving the things he swears are false.

"Why does capital, seeking safe and profitable investment, go to Mexico, as is proven by the \$600,000,000 which is estimated to represent the capital from the United States?" Why indeed! Why does capital generally migrate from one country to another? Because conditions are ripe for higher profits; and what do profits come from? Exploitation of labor, of course.

His Excellency, Don de la Barro continues:

"First, the Mexican nation is rich and prosperous. It is first among the silver producing countries and third among those producing copper....Petroleum deposits now make up a new and abundant source of wealth.".....

"Third, the laws of Mexico are just and the courts apply them equitably and promptly. A deficiency in this requisite, which makes up the guarantee to enjoy civil life, would not explain the influx of foreign capital.

"General Diaz, the creator, so to speak,

of modern Mexico, in his wise, honest and patriotic work, surrounded by men of skill as his collaborators, has shaped the course of events, made use of *ALL WHICH IS PROFITABLE* (the italics are ours) and set ideals for his people."

There is a good deal more in this same strain, but we think we have quoted sufficiently for our readers to know the basis of Don la Barro's refutations.

We thank Senor de la Barro for his illuminating article. John Kenneth Turner, and Dorothy Johns and John Murray had assured us that Mexico was a hell upon earth for the working class, but it remained for the Mexican Ambassador to call our attention to the unparalleled felicity of Capitalism across the border.

The following quotation from an article on Wall Street in Mexico, from the Saturday Evening Post is more frank than articles dealing with U. S. capital in Mexico usually are;

"The sober reality is that Mexico, with or without Diaz, will continue to develop and to thrive very much as it has during the last generation.

Why? Because, should anything serious happen to Mexico, like a revolution or a civil war, for instance, Wall Street will be the first to be affected. Wall Street's distress would promptly spread to all those who have dealings with Wall Street, thence to our whole country and to the other big money markets of the world. All those numberless Americans whose money has gone into Mexican investments would be quick to feel the pinch. Nobody has any idea how many of these there are.

All these people in our country would soon be heard from should anything happen to Mexico. Our Government, rather than stand idly by to await the spoliation of American capitalists and investors—good contributors to campaign funds and good voters—will be compelled to bow to popular clamor and Wall Street pressure. In a word, there would be "American intervention" in the interests of stability and financial security, like the intervention demanded for Nicaragua today."



Out-of-Works Listening to Socialist Speaker—Liverpool

The Class War in Great Britain

By TOM QUELCH



ANY accidents have occurred just recently to show how fiercely intense is the struggle between the working class and the capitalist in this country.

About three weeks ago, there was a great strike of some thousands of railway workers on the North-Eastern Railway because one man—Shunter Goodchild—had been badly treated.

It was a splendid exhibition of working class solidarity.. The men put down their tools; refused to continue working unless some satisfactory settlement was arrived at. The railway management did not know what to do. For the time being industry was paralyzed in that particular part of the country. The capitalist papers began to yelp and a lot of wild talk was indulged

in by the "Times" and other papers about "trade union anarchy."

Unfortunately the strike had been entered upon without the sanction of the chief officials of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants—besides which, the hands of the men were tied by the existence of a Conciliation Board.

After considerable trouble and all manner of negotiations the railway workers were induced to return to their work.

But the matter does not end there. The recently created Conciliation Board is regarded with disgust and hatred. A general railway strike—as was nearly brought about some months back—is now regarded as inevitable.

The men are working under such horrible conditions—their pay is so meager and their toil is so exacting—that they are anxious for a fight. They are very restless

and their leaders—some of whom are reactionary—find their task somewhat difficult in restraining the radical elements.

As with the railway men so with the ship builders, the engineers, the seamen, the dockers, the boiler-makers, the miners and the workers in many other trades.

Ten days ago a ship was undergoing repairs in dry dock at Govan on the Clyde. A number of plates had been removed and their replacement was absolutely necessary before the ship became seaworthy. The men thought this a favorable opportunity, struck work, and formulated certain demands.

They were peremptorily ordered back to work in the most bullying manner by the Executive Board of the Shipping Employers' Federation.

If they did not immediately comply with this order they were told that all the members of the Boilermakers' Society and of the Shipwrights' Society would be locked out.

The men gave way. They swallowed their grievances, bowed their heads and resumed their work. The hammers clanged once again, the plates were fixed, the caulkers and holeborers darted one more like ants about the huge ship and by this time she is, in all probability, floating serenely on the ocean blue.

But that strike was only in the nature of a preliminary encounter. Altogether there are about 57,500 trade unionists engaged solely in the ship-building trade in this country. Trade is brisk. There are a number of war vessels under construction. There is a marked decrease in unemployment. The men consider that the state of trade warrants a request for an advance in wages. As a matter of fact the various ship-building societies are taking a ballot as to whether they will accept the masters' offer of a shilling a day increase in October.

News has just come to hand that the Clyde ship-workers have rejected by an over-whelming majority the employers' proposals. If this is verified the workers in other parts are likely to follow their example and serious trouble is bound to ensue.

The Sailors' and Foremen's Union are preparing for a strike.

The Dockers are engaged in a serious dispute with the Houlder Line.

The miners in the South Wales coal field are likely to strike at any moment.

In many of the pits the men have handed in notices. This is due to the fact of the employers trying to evade the restrictions of the Miners' Eight Hour Act and the employment of scabs in many mines. The most serious situation prevails at the collieries owned by the Cambrian combine, where no less than five hundred non-unionists are working. In these pits alone 4,500 men are working and they will come out on strike unless the blacklegs join the union.

From many other quarters, too, come news of probable strikes and lock-outs.

The whole working class movement seems to be fraught with formidable portents. The workers are being seized with a spirit of revolt. General dissatisfaction is being felt with the Labor Party, whose masterly inactivity and shameful neglect of opportunities have led many to become disgusted with the political weapon and anxious to resume their old weapon—the strike.

The next few months should witness some very remarkable changes in the situation here. The injunction is being pretty freely used by our capitalist judiciary against the levying of trade unionists for political purposes. If things go on as they are the Labor Party will be bankrupt before long, and unable to pay the salaries of its members of Parliament.

The railway servants, the compositors, the weavers, the miners, in fact all the principal unions of this country have in this way been prevented from making their ordinary contributions to the Labor Party fund.

Efforts are being made towards the unification of the Socialist forces. The Social-Democratic Party has taken the lead in this matter. Already many of the union Socialist societies have affiliated. The Independent Labor Party has agreed to a conference. Altogether things seem very hopeful in this respect.

Thus signs of change are not wanting. The workers are growing to hate this hellish system of capitalism. They are coming to realize that their only hope lies in the social revolution. They are beginning to understand the class struggle and the necessity for class solidarity.

And there are those among them who will not rest until this ferocious plundering of the workers is ended and humanity finds peace in the Socialist Republic.

The Near-Socialist

By

MARY E. MARCY



“HE AIMS of Socialism and the aims of good men in the old parties are not very different after all,” said a small automobile manufacturer a short time ago.

“You want to eliminate graft, to put honest men in office and make rich men bear their just share of the taxes. You want to lower prices on the necessities of life too, and so far the whole middle class is with you. I am a Near-Socialist myself.”

He was sitting on a bench in one of Chicago’s small parks and addressing a socialist—a molder by trade, who knows the economics of Karl Marx from A to Z.

I pricked up my ears to hear the replies of the workingman.

“Good lord!” he exclaimed sitting up abruptly, “somebody’s been stringing you. We’re not as bad as that. Socialism is a working class movement and it is not a problem of the wage-workers to eliminate graft, nor to lower taxes.

“Politicians do not graft off the working class and propertyless proletarians do not pay taxes.

“The big capitalists oppose graft—generally—on principle; there is an element of uncertainty about it that they do not approve and some day when Big Business is dull, they’ll take time to stop the little graft leaks.

“Usually the grafters pass the big people by and soak it into the small fry like you. You are an example,” the molder continued, taking a pull at his pipe.

“You have a small automobile plant. You pay the men who work for you as little as you may. You sell the automobiles at a profit, of course, or you wouldn’t be in business. Your employes make the autos, but

you do not pay them what the machines are worth.

“Your problem is low taxes, no graft and low freight rates that will enable you to compete with the big manufacturers.

“The problem of the wage-worker is to secure the VALUE OF THE AUTOMOBILES.”

“Not at all; not at all” interrupted the Small Manufacturer, “the interests of my employes are identical with mine. If I fail financially in the competitive struggle, where will their jobs be?”

“Gone of course,” the molder replied, “but then you will be forced into the ranks of the wage-workers and you will be ripe for socialism.

“Besides,” he added, “low taxes and honest office holders and the elimination of graft will not save you.” The small automobile manufacturer is doomed. He hasn’t enough capital to compete with J. P. Morgan.

“Look here,” he said, “socialists have just one great aim. This aim is the only thing that makes them and their movement different from other movements the world over. We mean to ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

“There is nothing else that can really better the condition of the wage-workers. Figure it any way and revolution is the only answer.

“Suppose you and I lived in a town with an absolutely honest city administration, where taxes were just, as you call it, and you couldn’t find a grafter with an X Ray.

Suppose the city owned a coal yard and a coal MINE and sold coal to everybody at just half what they paid in other cities.

“Suppose the city owned the electric light plant and the street car system and we had

3 cent car fares, and rents were 50% lower than they were in nearby towns.

"Do you think all these things would benefit the working class any? Well they wouldn't; not a single little bit. They would only result in making such a city a temporary heaven upon earth for the capitalist class.

"Let it be known that rents are low, coal cheap and prices generally below normal in one city and workingmen and women will begin to beat it in that direction as fast as they can raise the car fare.

"And then what happens? Being a manufacturer, you know what would happen. The labor market is flooded, over-crowded. Competition between the workers for jobs becomes very keen. Men who have brought their families to the new land of promise, offer to work for anything. Wages fall everywhere—as they always do in a crowded labor-market—and the workers here find themselves getting just enough to live on as they do everywhere else in the world.

"An honest city administration would not be able to GIVE THE WAGE-WORKERS the FULL VALUE of the AUTOMOBILES they produced. It would *not stop your profits* and that is the aim of socialism.

"Mill hands in China get something like 30 cents a day," continued the molder, "but 30 cents daily, provides food, clothing and shelter in China, where it would take \$2.00 a day to secure the same degree of comfort in Chicago and \$4.00 or \$5.00 to buy the necessities of life in Alaska."

"Well, reform is good enough for me" said the Small Manufacturer his irritation welling up and overflowing. "Thank goodness there is no danger of a lot of ignoramuses being able to overturn so much as a peanut-stand during MY day."

"O I don't know" retorted the molder complacently, "there's an awful lot of us, you know. We built the railroads and we run 'em and we have made just about everything else in the world there is. We HAVE been a lot of ignoramuses but we're getting wise. All we want now is the earth," he added grinning, while the Small Manufacturer glared malignantly,—"the factories, the mines——" but just then a park policeman pushed his way through the gathering crowd.

"No crowdin' allowed in the park" he said, waving his club, and the Small Manufacturer faded away and was seen no more.

"Humph" said the molder under his breath. "NEAR-socialist! Lord deliver us from the NEAR-socialists!"

The Socialist Party must take a high revolutionary, uncompromising ground; it must not dare to cater to ignorance for the sake of gaining votes; the moment it does so it signs its own death warrant.—Eugene V. Debs, Chicago Speech, Sept. 18, 1910.

We Want Ownership

By

ED. MOORE



ORK is not sentimental. It has no religious scruples. No flag can arouse it to patriotic enthusiasm. It respects neither age nor sex.

Some one has to work to make shoes, and it makes not the slightest difference whether it is a heathen or a christian, the shoes will not come onto the scene until the labor of one or the other of them is used to make the footwear.

Years of training and careful and patient search into the records of the past are not needed for anyone to find out that the shoes made in a factory by Jews, Christians and the heathens from the Orient all look alike.

You do not have to go to college to learn that if only enough shoes are turned out in a factory to pay for the wear and tear of the machinery, the fuel and light, the raw material, and the wages of the Jews, Christians and the heathens; in a word, all the expenses of making the shoes, there will be no profit for the factory owners. Profit, then, comes to an owner of a shoe factory because he gets working people to make more shoes than they get paid for.

All the wisdom of all the wise men of all the ages, all the knowledge of all the learned men who have been and who are now in the world will not make a pair of shoes unless somebody does the actual work of making them. And nobody will get a profit unless someone makes more shoes than he is paid for.

The fact simply stated is: If a man owns a thing he did not make, someone else made a thing he does not own. This state of things cannot be changed by religious bigotry, national fanaticism, nor shooting to kill dissatisfied people. And it is this condition of things that divides society into two classes. One class making things it does not own, the other

class owning things it does not make. The making class is the working class, the owning class is the capitalist class.

No matter how ignorant and stupid a person may be, he knows that it is better to own a thing he makes, than to make it for another to own, then to coax the owner to kindly allow the maker a chance to work to make more things for the other fellow to own.

No man is a safe guide, who tells us it is easier to get what we make by coaxing the other fellow who owns everything to give you back just a little more of what you make. If you make and own a thing, you do not have to hire somebody to tell you how much of it belongs to you. You do not need a standing army and a big navy to keep you from cheating yourself. But if you do not make things, it will pay you to have lawmakers, courts, army, navy, and private detectives to help you to force the workers to support you and your fellow-conspirators.

People who make things are poor, not because they are Christians, Jews, or heathens, but because the law gives to others what they make. Foreign working people are not poor because they are foreigners. The law gives others what they make. It is not sex, nor is it age that make people poor or rich, for there are rich and poor women and men also and there are rich children and poor children. A ruling class is always a rich class, and it is rich because it uses the government to take away the wealth made by the workers, and this keeps the workers poor.

A sure way, and the best way for the workers to get what they make is to go straight for ownership and never mind what happens to those who now live pretty comfortably on the crumbs they gather from the tables of the owning class. The maker is entitled to ownership.



Roosevelt and The Striking Columbus Police

By

H. EBER

"A policeman who will mutiny and refuse to do his duty stands lower than a soldier who deserts his post in the hour of the greatest need, and should be consigned to the same punishment."—Theodore Roosevelt, in Columbus Speech.



HERE are thirty-three policemen in Columbus, Ohio, whose names deserve to be written large in the working class Hall of Fame. They are all of one variety and it is a variety that brings joy to the hearts of every socialist and union man in the whole country.

Ever since the street car men at Columbus went out on strike, the car line and the streets of the city have been in the hands of hired thugs, murderers and paid assassins of the capitalist class.

R. J. Coach, of the Coach Detective Agency of Cleveland, who has charge of these thugs, is an ex-convict of the most degraded type, and has served time in several penal institutions. J. F. Brady, his chief lieutenant, had direct charge of the strike breakers. While riding in an automobile on West Broad street recently, he shot down two defenseless women and an innocent child, all seated upon the porch of their home, and seriously injured them.

But Coach, Brady and their thugs and murderers saw to it that something was doing every minute of the day in Columbus. It was in the interest of their meal tickets that they endeavored to create a reign of terror in order that they might gain the credit of suppressing it.

The street car company employed any and all men it could persuade to run the

cars and the Columbus police were instructed to valet the thug scabs from breakfast to bed. One-third of the whole police force of Columbus—thirty-three men of **one variety**—refused to obey orders. They claimed they had never been hired to chaperon scabs and they felt it was their duty to rebel at such a degrading and disgusting occupation.

These men came from the homes of workingmen and women and they did not propose to be used as a tool by the street car company in their efforts to break the strike of the car men.

These policemen claimed it was their DUTY to REBEL against protecting the scabs of the car company. They wanted to know whether the duties of a Columbus policeman were to serve as STRIKE BREAKERS or not.

Then came Windy Theodore to tell the capitalist class what they should do about it.

You must have LAW and ORDER, he said, and to the striking car men—You must have law and order and THEN, and then only, can you get justice. Everybody expected Roosevelt to say just these things. He is always ready to jump in where there is trouble, to demand law and order. The policemen should have stood by their guns and helped the scabs break the strike and then you workingmen, you would have received justice. We are free to tell you, you might have had the Roosevelt brand



Popular Transportation—No Scabs in this Crowd

of JUSTICE, but you would not have had any JOBS.

If you do not believe this read the Sept. 5th copy of the St. Paul Dispatch where Roosevelt is reported to have said in his speech at Fargo, N. D.

"I am glad to see the captains of industry rewarded. . . . As to whether it shall be enough, I am always ready to solve that question ON HIS SIDE. I am willing to make a big margin of error and give him FOUR or FIVE times as much as he has earned, but not one hundred times as much as he has earned. . . . But the ordinary man should be fully compensated for what he produces."

That is the kind of Justice Roosevelt wants to give you workingmen. He admits that he is willing to give the capitalist class the best of it every time. Just keep that in mind when a politician or a capitalist talks to you about justice. Ask them what they MEAN. Ask them if they are willing to help the working class get the FULL VALUE of the things they produce. And remember that if YOU get the value of your products there will not be ANYTHING LEFT FOR THE CAPITALISTS.

A comrade in Columbus writes us that the strike is increasing in coherence and in the intensity of its class conscious manifestations. It has ceased to be a

mere struggle between the Company and its employees and has grown into an immense battle between the capitalists on one side and the laboring class on the other.

In spite of all Windy Theodore had to say about law and order the thugs and brutes hired by the street car company continue to make all the trouble possible. George Marshall, the Republican Mayor, and Gov. Harmon, a Democrat, have alike and are still, alike, serving the interests of the Company.

Men, women and children in Columbus are clubbed and MURDERED by private detectives and the only things that receive PROTECTION in Columbus are scabs and private property.

But the striking policemen couldn't find it among their duties to guard these and so they quit work.

These noble men, who refused to aid strike-breakers in taking the bread out of the mouths of the street car men of Columbus, deserve—according to Roosevelt—the same punishment as the deserting soldier. This is only because they REFUSED TO WORK AGAINST THEIR BROTHER WORKINGMEN and to SERVE THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

Through the hearts of socialists all over the world there ran a thrill of joy

when we heard of the actions of our friends—the Columbus policemen. When the soldiers refuse to shoot in the interests of the capitalist class, when the policemen refuse to protect scabs and to scab themselves—for the capitalist class—the forward march of the working class will be steady and inspiring.

For Capitalism cannot hold working-men and women in subjection without the aid of the ARMY and the POLICE. Remember this. Remember also the Columbus policemen who put class interest above personal interest. These men have done a great service to the working men of Columbus.

A Creature of Competition

By a Traveling Salesman.

F. E. VERNIA



THE traveling salesman, by the nature of his occupation, is probably the most intense individualist in the world. Holding his job, as he does, by beating a competitor he preaches the doctrine that "competition is the life of trade" loudly and at all times. Even while his employer is making efforts to relieve the strain of competition by forming combinations, the salesman voices his slogan and adds to his opinion of his own importance. Nor does he seem to have time to look around and see the ravages made by progress in his ranks. That trolley lines have made it compulsory for him to make six towns now where he made three before their advent, thereby doing the work of two does not seem to occur to him. It is of no concern of his that the peanut trust put more than 300 buyers and sellers out of business nor that the match trust at the time they controlled all matches, had three men on the road.

All of these things miss his observation. He is usually a high tariff advocate as he imagines high tariff insures high wages and protects home industries. His individualism allows him no sympathy for labor unions and strikes and it pre-

vents him from realizing the relation of the welfare of the worker and his own welfare. He is utterly blind to the fact that a low standard of living for the working class means a lower standard of living for himself; that a reduced power of consumption by the worker means smaller sales. He has no unions of his own and with one exception has no social organization and this exception is possible only because it carries a benefit in the way of an insurance. He has several fraternal insurance organizations, but they are purely "business" institutions and at that the fraternity ends.

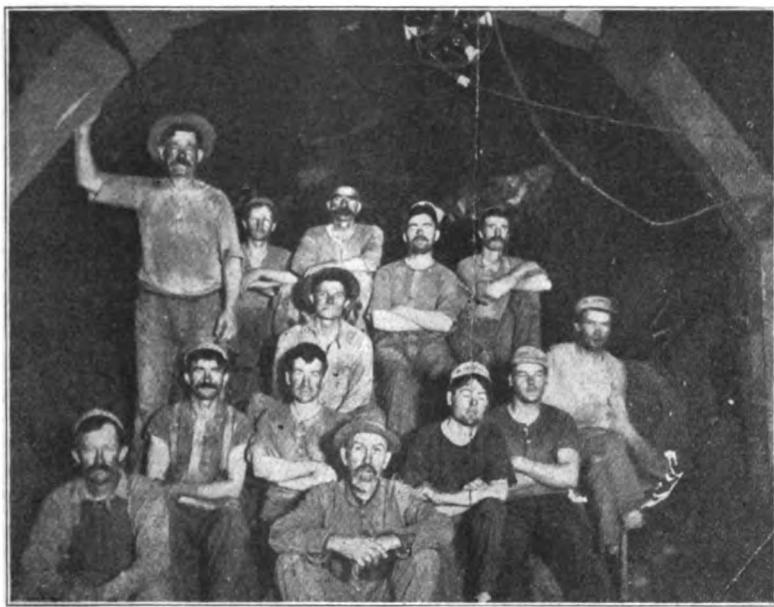
All in all, the traveling man's class consciousness begins and ends with himself. He is in a class by himself and until competition, the life of trade, puts him in the "has been" class, which it is doing rapidly, he is not open to any argument.

At present the fortunes of the traveling man are at a very low ebb. In the commission lines, such as furniture, molding, shoes, etc., competition is not the live thing it was as there is no trade to compete for and therefore no salesmen to do the competing. Never, since the panic of '93, has there been so few men on the road. Let us hope they are devoting their enforced vacation to a study in economics.

The Railroad Construction Workers

By

JAMES PALMER



On the Job—Los Angeles Aqueduct



AILROAD construction workers of the west are known among themselves as muckers, tunnel stiffs and skinners. They have no homes and no families. They have no votes. They do not go to church and many of them are not respecters of law and order.

These men live in tents or bunk-houses. Their food consists of dried fruit, beans, beef, bread and coffee—not always free from flies in the summer time.

You will find them slaving in the midst of the desert in the heat of the summer sun and toiling in the snowy hills of Alaska in the winter and laboring steadily in the rain

in the rainy season on the coast. And these men are cutting the way for civilization.

The wages of these men are small. The work is hard and the bosses are cruel, and the employment sharks are always on the job to beat them out of a hard-earned dollar.

When work is slack thousands of these construction workers tramp the streets or hang out in the cheap lodging houses of the larger cities of the west.

The Industrial Workers of the World are reaching these men. Many of them have already joined locals. They are at last finding a way in which they are able to organize, to use their strength TOGETHER. All they need is more organization and more education.

How Japan is Civilizing the Formosa Heathen

By

S. KATAYAMA



VER since China ceded the Island of Formosa to Japan, there has been trouble for the Japanese. For the heroic and liberty-loving natives have refused to be subjugated and still occupy the mountainous regions in the Eastern part of the Island. Some of the mountain peaks reach an altitude of 12,000 feet and it has been impossible hitherto for the Japanese to reach them.

We cannot state accurately how many natives live in the mountains, but it is estimated that there are any where from 100,000 to 200,000 of them. A recent visitor to Formosa claims that the Japanese and Chinese live in mortal terror of the natives, who hate them with a hatred that only death can satisfy. At unexpected moments groups of natives have been known to swarm down upon a band of Japanese and crush them like so many children. Latest reports say that the Japanese have learned a new method of protection and now surround themselves and their homes with live wires so that the over-bold natives who trespass (?) are killed upon reaching the outposts.

But Formosa is one of the most valuable islands in the world and having partial possession of it, Japan does not propose to be checked by a few thousand natives, who naturally enough, view the Japs as intruders and usurpers. 1,500 square miles of Camphor trees in Formosa furnish the bulk of the world's supply of camphor. Their value is beyond price. Japanese capitalists desire to plant many millions more of camphor trees and, in order to do this, wage-laborers must be able to toil without fear of destruction by the native Formosans.

The last Japanese Parliament voted

15,000,000 yen for the subjugation of the Formosans. It is predicted in high quarters that the natives will be completely annihilated within the next five years, although they still occupy one-third of the entire island.

They are a noble race of hunters and cultivate the land extensively. The native men and women are monogamists in the strictest sense of the word. The training of the youths is purely communistic. From the ages of 12 to 20 the boys are separated from their families, this constituting a period of training for soldiery and the work common to natives on the island. From 20 to 25 is the age of prowess, when the men become skilled in fighting and huntmanship. Japanese reports have it that in the spring time when the thoughts of the young men turn to love, it is customary for them to descend upon their conquerors and to return to the object of their affections bearing a head or two of the enemy.

The youths woo the maidens by playing a flute before the house in which the loved one dwells. And the young girl sends him his answer in appropriate melody. When the music of her flute is very sweet and her answer in the affirmative, the young man carries water and wood to the front of her home in the darkness of night. So long as the wood and water remain before the house, he is unable to approach his loved one, but must wait until the family has used them as a token that the parents of the girl are willing to give their consent to the union.

The young married couples live with the girl's parents for two years, the man working for his step-parents. Later the young ones build a home of their own.

The Community the Formosa natives form, is democratic although the rule of the chief is absolute in many cases. The

second chief is always elective. The elders of the tribes are also elective and the Eldermens' Council may depose the chief for certain lengths of time for misbehaviour. In no nation in the whole world is virtue in man and woman so greatly respected as in Formosa.

The Formosans believe in one great and good god, although ancestor worship is prevalent among them. They are devoted to the native literature and the native music. They are a proud and beautiful race of strong men and women—happy in the simple lives of freedom which they lead.

But it is in order that the lands of the islands may be opened up to the Japanese that the Japanese Government has decreed that the Formosan natives must submit absolutely to Japanese rule or be killed off.

It was only a few years ago when the hearts of my brother Japanese were thrilled over the horrors which we heard the Government of the United States was perpetrating in the Phillipine Islands. We were told by the daily newspapers how you, in America, were butchering the natives in the islands who objected to being swallowed up by the stronger nation.

Now it is the Government of Japan intent upon "civilizing" the barbarian in Formosa. Of course, there are men and women in Japan who protest against the governmental policy, but the military Japanese Government in Formosa is desperately fighting with the natives and it is only a question of time till the strong nation will win.

It will be almost impossible to subjugate the Formosans. Liberty is often dearer to them than life itself. But the Japanese will break where they cannot bend them. The soldiers of the army of Japan will give up their lives in forcing "civilization" upon the islanders. Patriotism is strong in Japan. In their struggles to maintain their old freedom the natives will be wiped out.

But certain rich Japanese capitalists will be able to seize the rich timberlands of Formosa; capital will have a new outlet and the object of the Formosan movement will have been achieved.

Corean Annexation.

Corean Annexation to Japan is a for-

gone conclusion. The present Resident General in Corea was formerly Minister of War in Japan. We hear that there are many soldiers now in Corea ready to suppress any uprising of the people. The Coreans are oppressed and suppressed everywhere. Their partial independence is gone with annexation with Japan. But Corea is, again, a new field for Capital.

The standard of living in Corea is lower than the standard in Japan and, as usual, Capital seeks the lowest labor market. Corea will offer a rich harvest for exploitation to the capitalists of Japan.

The Corean and Japanese Press is, of course, under a severe censorship. Every newspaper in Corea that opposed annexation has been suppressed so that we have no means of knowing the real condition of affairs there.

Big Flood in Tokio.

From the beginning of the month of August it has rained steadily in Japan and on the 9th and 10th of the month the downpour was terrific. Since then the rivers have overflowed over all the country devastating property, destroying and carrying away houses and people.

There are now three hundred thousand persons submerged in the water in the city of Tokio. These people are suffering for food and for a shelter at night. Thousands of boats are carrying food to the starving folks all the time but the difficulties and dangers hinder rescue work.

The Army and Navy has been called to help but they are so handicapped by red-tape that they cannot do much. The city authorities are so slow that we find they have done nothing. Citizens are trying to save the suffering but the situation is growing steadily worse. Merchants with stocks of provision on hand are making their fortunes reaping rich sums out of the sufferings and need of their neighbors. Factories are shut down; gas and electric power are partly cut off so that the city is in reality almost famine struck.

Many other towns have been devastated. The minister of the Interior reports over one thousand deaths due to the flood; 3,955 houses destroyed or carried away; 151,655 homes inundated.

Sanitary conditions in Tokio add to the horror of the disaster. The city has no

sewerage system. Gutter water, sink and sewerage is carried off in open uncovered ditches along both sides of the streets. Farmers have been accustomed to come to the city to carry home the worst of the sewerage for fertilizer but their visits have been stopped and the filth is accumulating and spreading over the whole city where the waters of the flood are high. Fevers are becoming prevalent.

The Socialist News Suppressed.

On the 15th of August the Post Office Department advised the writer of this article that he would not be permitted to sell the No. 70 issue of his paper. Copies sent to the Post Office were confiscated as well as those remaining at the home of the writer. Doubtless many American socialists have seen old copies of our little paper which we called Socialist News.

Lately we have held many meetings. At first the police and authorities paid little attention to them, but when they discovered they were being attended by a thousand people at a time, they began

to interfere. Socialists are closely watched by the police at all times.

Recently the Government ordered all libraries to remove books, magazines and socialist literature in general. An ordinance was passed prohibiting school teachers from reading socialist books or magazines.

On July 17th, 1,200 workers at the Uraga ship building factory went on strike. The company sent around police and rogues to the meeting of the strikers to cause trouble but the strikers took an attitude of non-resistance, simply doing nothing, and the company was forced to grant their demands.

These 1,200 workmen had no union but they organized themselves into one body and agreed to support the victims if there were any. They promised not to drink during the strike and to pursue a strictly non-resistant policy. They all held firmly to the agreement and they won their strike. Their method is worth remembering.

"The so-called labor leaders are misleaders. We see Sam Gompers and John Mitchell sitting down to the same table with August Belmont and other rich enemies of the working class. Of the two men—Belmont and Gompers—I have infinitely more respect for the former, plutocrat and plunderer though he is, than for the latter, a man who betrays the people he has been chosen to serve.

"The workers must stop being led like sheep and do things for themselves. Only when they act for themselves can they attain freedom from their bosses."—Eugene V. Debs, Chicago Speech, Sept. 18, 1910.



In the "Deutschland" Cabin

A Dirigible Airship Passenger Line



Sept. 3rd Count Zeppelin vindicated the worth of his type of dirigible when, in the Zeppelin IV, he flew from Baden to Heidelberg, fifty-three miles, in sixty-five minutes, carrying a crew of seven and twelve passengers. The average speed of the immense balloon was forty-nine miles an hour, which is believed to establish a record for dirigibles.

This flight was declared greater than the first big flight of a Zeppelin, made on March 21, 1909, when, with twenty-six aboard, one of the count's dirigibles established a world's record, covering 150 miles in four hours.

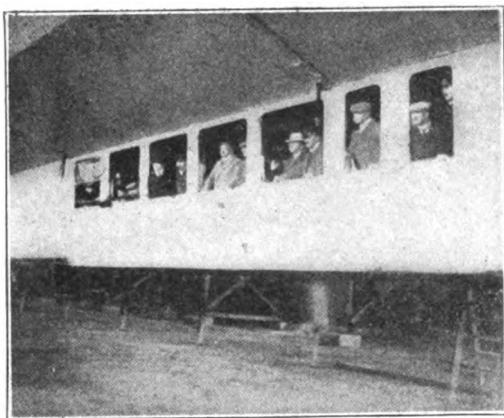
However, the interest and excitement over aeroplane records and the accident to the Zeppelin airship have obscured the possibilities of the dirigible. The German Airship Stock Company, of which the great Hamburg-America Steamship Company and the Zeppelin Airship Company are the largest stockholders, equipped the A. S. (airship) *Deutschland* for passenger service between their airship dock at Friedrichshafen and Düsseldorf, a run of 65 miles. The Hamburg-American Packet Company sent its representative to Friedrichshafen to take charge of handling the passengers at this station. Tickets were sold at \$50 for the round trip, and accommodations were provided for 36 passengers. This ship was

fitted with carpeted cabins of mahogany inlaid with pearl, and had on board a buffet service for the convenience of passengers. It was 485 feet long, was equipped with motors aggregating 330 horse-power, and could make a speed of 45 miles an hour. Carrying 20 passengers, it sailed more than three hundred miles in nine hours on its initial voyage, half the trip in the teeth of a stiff wind. In spite of the accident which wrecked this ship, the line will be extended to Baden-Baden, and already plans are made for a similar line to run between Hamburg and Berlin, and, later, from Hamburg to London.

Mr. Ballin, the general manager of the Hamburg-America Line, is very enthusiastic over the future of this method of travel, and there are some who believe that the ocean will be crossed inside of two years.

Plans are now being carried out for an expedition to the arctic regions next year with two Zeppelin airships. The S. S. *Mainz* has already sailed for Spitzbergen to establish a base of supplies.

While it is true that the A. S. *Deutschland* was wrecked, her successful trip with passengers marks the beginning of an era of airship navigation, and there is no more reason to doubt its future than there was to doubt the future of the steamboat because the English tugs which preceded Fulton's Clermont by six years never made more than one trip, or that the unfortunate



Dirigible Car

accident to Hon. C. S. Rolls proves the impracticability of the aeroplane.

Before the end of this month of September it is possible that the trip across the Atlantic Ocean by the air route will have been made for the first time by man. Walter Wellman, whose proposed voyage to discover the north pole by means of a dirigible balloon was cut short by a successful land trip to that long-sought spot by Capt. Peary, is preparing to make the effort to go from New Jersey to Europe in a dirigible, to start about the middle of this month. If he succeeds the ocean will suffer another shrinkage. We steam across on its surface, we skim underneath it in our submarines, we send wireless messages over it and cable

messages under it, and are talking about talking under it. The next thing may be a tunnel, to give direct all-rail communication between America and Europe. Mr. Wellman's dirigible is being finished at the Inlet aerodrome near Atlantic City. It is of the Zeppelin type, 288 feet long, equipped with two eighty horse power engines for propulsion and one ten horse power engine for inner work. The framework is of aluminum over which is stretched a covering of mixed cotton and silk of three thicknesses, banded together with an emulsion of pure rubber. The balloon has a capacity of 345,000 cubic feet of hydrogen, theoretically seventy-four times lighter than air and in actual work twelve times lighter. The gas in the bag will have a lifting capacity of 24,000 pounds. The car is made of tubular steel and is 156 feet long. Underneath the car is attached a nonsinkable life-boat, the first to be carried by an airship. The dirigible will be equipped with a wireless outfit, electric lights, and telephone system. It is figured that it can make an average of twenty miles an hour in ordinary weather. The route to be followed will be the northern steamship line from New York up past Newfoundland and then straight across. An altitude of about 300 feet will be maintained, which will be high enough to steer clear of fogs. Melvin Vanaman, an Illinois engineer, but for some time a resident of Paris, will accompany Mr. Wellman.

The Way to Win

By ROBERT J. WHEELER



THE girls employed in the great potteries in and around East Liverpool were dissatisfied with conditions. Wages were far too low and working conditions not satisfactory. For some weeks they

talked it over quietly. Leading spirits went about agitating. Gradually, the spirit of revolt spread until the girls in every shop were ready to act.

Suddenly, one day, they struck in a mass. Every shop in the town was tied

up. The bisque girls, the dippers, the drawers; these the workers in important departments, with all other classes of women workers, walked out in a body and a great industry was prostrated.

The skilled male workers belong to the Brotherhood of Potters. They are well paid; have good conditions; work under a two year contract. They had no particular cause for complaint, but when the girls went out, they too were forced into idleness.

Naturally, the girl workers expected aid in organizing from their fellow workers who were enjoying the benefits of or-

ganization. The girls came to them. They wanted aid, sympathy, help—this is what they got.

'Yes,' said the "Brotherhood" of Potters, "we sympathize with you; we know you ought to get more money. Your shop conditions ought to be improved, we realize all this, but you see we have contracts with the Boss Potters, and contracts must be sacredly kept. We can only advise you." And they advised them thus: "Organize your crafts and then affiliate with the Brotherhood of Potters and when our contracts run out in 1912, we will make new ones and then you can make your demands with us." "But" said the girls: "We are suffering now. We cannot live on our wages and the shop conditions are unendurable. We want relief; we want it right now. We are determined to have it. We ask you to refuse to work until our demands are granted. Don't let the Boss put scabs to work. Refuse to work with them.

If you stand with us, we will win in a few days." "But," said the Brotherhood?" our contracts—we must keep our promise." "But" said the girls, are we not your fellow workers? To whom do you owe duty greater than to us? We are being robbed. Our health and strength is being sapped daily; we implore you to help us. And the men? said: "We are sorry, but we cannot help you, our contracts are sacred."

Then the women went away, but not to despair. They took council together. They went to the Socialists. The Socialists told them to keep up their courage. "The shops cannot run without you" said the Socialists. "Keep the scabs out and you will win."

The women held meetings and arranged to picket the factories. They pulled scabs out of the works and tied up the plants completely.

Across the river, in West Virginia, were other big potteries. The Bosses began to send orders over to those plants. The women sent agents over to urge a sympathetic strike. In the West Virginia shops the women were getting better wages and shop conditions were far better than in East Liverpool. But their sympathy was with their sisters in East Liverpool. They began to talk strike.

The Bosses came to them and said, "Why do you talk strike? Are your wages not fair; have we ever refused to make conditions better when you have requested improvement? What are you going to strike for?" And they began to waver, began to wonder what to do. Then an Irish girl cried out: "Girls, if we wurrk here, thim fellows will sind the jobs over here and we'll only be scabbing on thim gurrls; and its not meself that'l be a scab on anybody." That settled it. The splendid spirit of working class solidarity flamed out. The women in the West Virginia plants walked out in a body in sympathy with their sisters.

The bosses could do nothing else but settle. The strikers sent a committee to meet them. The girls demanded 15 per cent raise and improvement in conditions and extention of rest periods. The Bosses offered 10 per cent raise and to concede all other demands. This was reported back to the striking mass and was accepted by them. Thus the strike was won.

Now listen you unorganized. "Go thou and do likewise." These girls had no leaders to confuse and betray them. They knew what they wanted. They struck as a mass. They won. When the settlement was made they would agree to no contract for any certain time. They only agreed to work for the new scale as long as prices remained where they were. Then if prices advanced they would be in a position to make new demands.

The Socialist, John Slayton, told the girls not to worry about what kind of organization they should form, their first effort should be to win the strike. Then when wages were raised and hours shortened, they could decide on the form of organization.

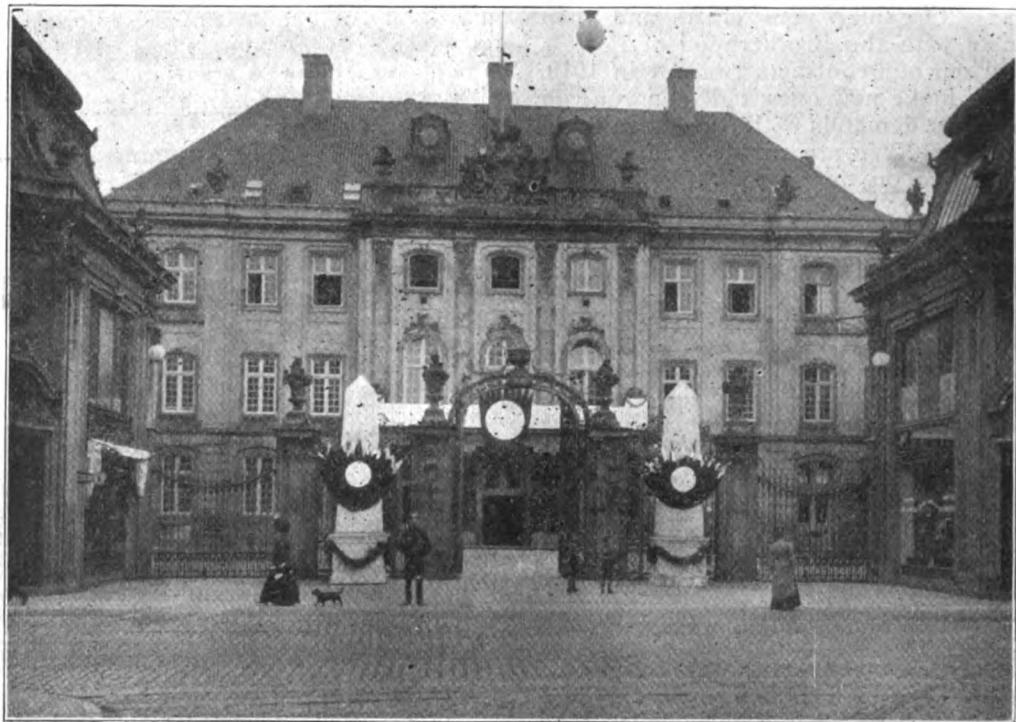
Here is a splendid lesson. The workers are being forced to revolt. Let them do as these girls did. Talk over their trouble; decide on a move and then act in a mass. The form of organization that will meet the conditions of today must be free from contracts and timorous leaders, and ready at all times to throw its strength into the struggles of other bodies of workers.

Learn the lesson the successful strike of the pottery girls teaches:

The Eighth International Socialist Congress

By

EMIL STULTZ



The Concertpalais Where the Congress was Held



THE past week has shown to the world the most brilliant manifestations of international solidarity of the proletariat. From all parts of the globe the delegates came to join their fellow-workers in earnest endeavor to help on the great cause of socialism.

In such numbers they made their appearance that the large auditorium of the Koncertpalais could hardly hold them. The building wears the emblems of the Social democracy. The large banner floating over it bears the words, Eighth International Socialist Congress. The whole interior is

decorated with the color of the proletariat and back of the platform the wall is covered with a giant map of the globe, the two hemispheres linked together with a ribbon bearing the old battle cry of the International, "Proletarians of all countries unite."

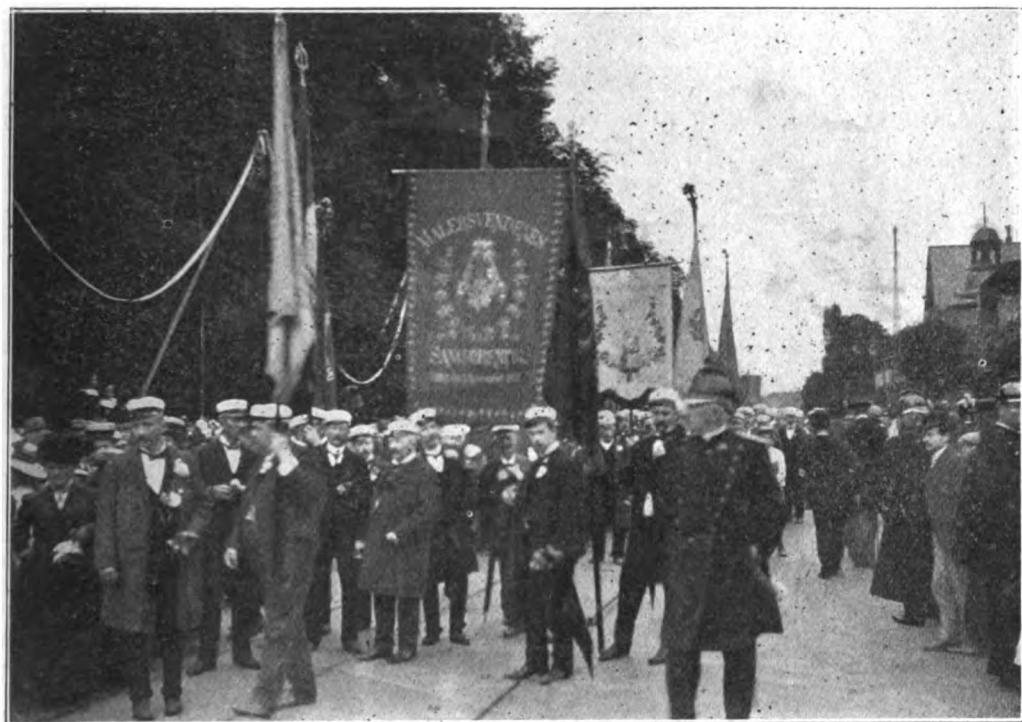
The walls and galleries of the assembly hall are ornamented with the flags of all nations and show mottoes full of deep meaning. 887 delegates are present. Germany sent 189; France 78; Austria 72; Bohemia 36; Great Britain 84; Russia 38; Italy 9; United States 24; Belgium 26; Sweden 86; Denmark 46; Poland 17; Switzerland 17; besides many others.

At 10:30 A. M. the Congress was opened by an impressive Cantate sung by 500 members of the Copenhagen workingmen's singing societies. The music was by S. Hend, a Copenhagen composer, and the book by A. P. Meyer, a well known agitator, author and poet. The audience was carried away the melody and the lofty sentiments of the opera and the poet received a grand ovation.

expressing the regret of the Congress at the absence of August Bebel.

Huysmans, secretary of the International Bureau, instructed the delegates upon the order of business, which was published a month or two ago in the Review.

The first sitting closed at 1:00 o'clock and was followed by a parade of the workingmen of Copenhagen, the largest parade ever seen in this old emporium. At the

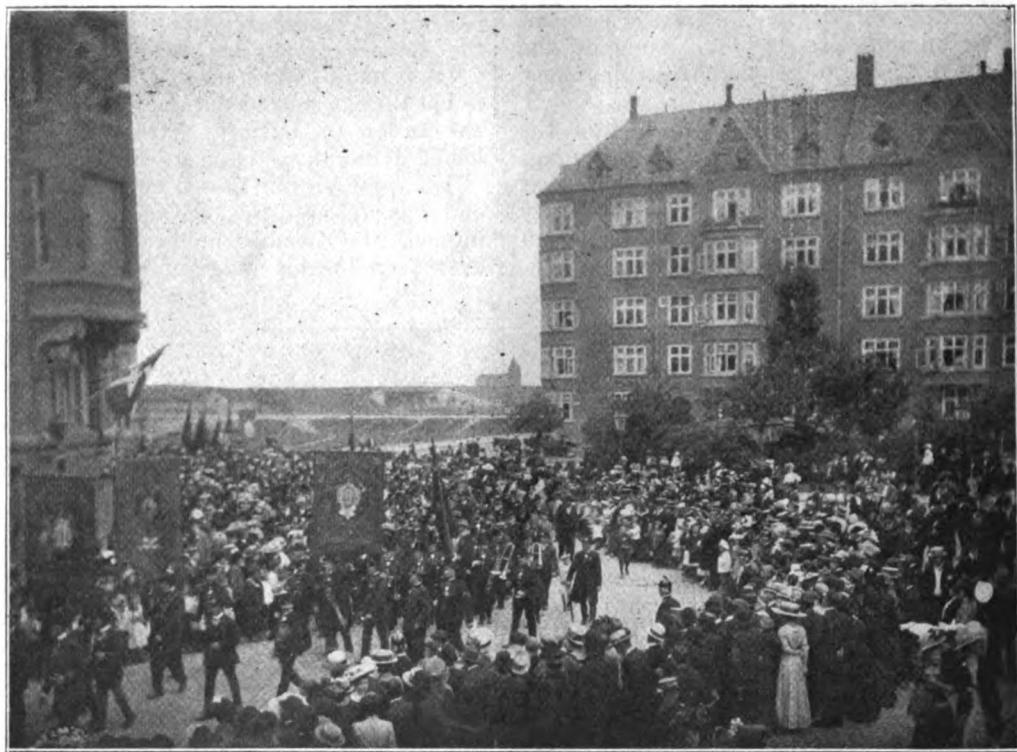


Forty Thousand of the Eight Million Socialists

Comrade Stauning welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Danish comrades and gave the history of the Danish movement which has sent 28 members to the Richsdag; 120,000 subscribers read the 33 socialist papers and 120,000 workingmen form the trade union army, in little Denmark with only 2,500,000 inhabitants.

Vandervelde thanked Danes for their magnificent reception, giving a short review of the socialist movement of the world with 33 nations joined under the International to-day, under whose banner 8 million voters march toward the goal of socialism. He closed amid great applause

head of the 40,000 workingmen, the Mayors of Copenhagen, Jensen and Knudsen, marched with their wives, followed by the socialist councilmen and magistrates of the city. 15 bands furnished the music. Countless red banners floated in the breeze and gave still more color to the lively picture. Post office employes, street car men and railroad men were in the procession. The banner of the metal workers bore the inscription 800,000 of our members belong to the *International Union*. The many soldiers who joined the parade gave to it the appearance of a veritable army. The crowds applauded them enthusiastically for show-



March on, March on—

ing to the world the growing solidarity of the working class.

When the columns of the marchers arrived at the Sondermarken, we found four platforms erected for speakers of all nations, who addressed the great multitude gathered to greet the International Congress. Conservatively speaking 150,000 people were present. The greatest enthusiasm swayed this ocean of humanity which listened eagerly to the addresses of the speakers. The celebration continued till late into the night.

The next days of the Congress were devoted to the earnest work of the commissions. The main work of the Congresses is done, of course, by appointed committees. Not until Thursday were these commissions ready to report upon their work.

At 10:15 Chairman Branting, of Sweden, opened the second plenary session and the question of Unemployment was before the Congress. After a debate, in which Macdonald, Quelch, and Braun (of Austria) took the floor, a resolution was adopted

by a large majority declaring that unemployment is inseparable with capitalist production. Within the capitalist system, not the abolition but the diminution of unemployment can be brought about. The Congress asked that the efforts of the workingmen's organizations to help the unemployed be increased. Representatives of the working class shall demand :

1. Statistical information regarding the state of unemployment,
 2. Payment of trade union wages ,
 3. Extraordinary and financial aid in times of industrial crises,
 4. Unemployment must not curtail political rights,
 5. Founding of and aid to public employment agencies,
 6. Diminution of unemployment by legal means,
 7. Compulsory aid to the unemployed.
- The English section abstained from voting as, in their opinion, so Macdonald and Quelch stated, the terms of the resolution were too vague and undecisive.

In the afternoon, Jeppesen, of Norway,

took the chair. The resolutions of the 5th. Commission were before the house. The resolution of France on Unity referred to the great results brought about by the Amsterdam Resolution on Unity in France and urged their example upon the national parties which are still divided in factions. The Spanish resolution dealt with the case of Ferrer and condemned the reactionary outrages of the Spanish Government. Those of Japan and Argentine were protests against outlawing the proletariat by the ruling class. The Russian outrages against Finland were the object of another resolution. Ellenbogen, of Austria, reported for the Commission. A debate ensued carried on by De Leon, Berger, Kalaroff and Sakasoff, of Bulgaria, in which a little tilt took place between the American speakers.

On September second the International Bureau decided that the Interparliamentary Conference be postponed until 1911. The question whether the Independent Trade Unions of Russian Poland whose member-

ship in consequence of persecutions by the Czar Government has decreased from forty to thirty thousand shall retain their one vote of the Polish section was deferred till the next meeting.

At 10:30 A. M. the third Plenary sitting of the congress opened with Klausen, of Denmark, in the chair. Ellenbogen, of Vienna, gave the balance of the report of the fifth Commission. Without further debate, the French Resolution on unity, the Japanese, Argentine and Finland resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Next in order was the resolution of the 3rd. Committee against war. The one adopted by the Committee confirmed the Stuttgart Resolution and instructed the International Bureau in case of war threatening the world, to immediately take the necessary steps to bring about concerted action of the labor parties of the countries concerned, to prevent an outbreak of war.

The French and English socialists and William D. Haywood declared the resolu-



Folkets Hus—The Peoples House



Haywood—United States

tions were not far-reaching enough. An amendment was brought in which read: The congress considers as a means for the prevention of war the General Strike, especially the walkout of trades occupied in the production of arms and ammunition. This was adopted together with two amendments, unanimously, amidst the cheers of the delegates.

The last day of the Congress opened at 10:20 with a resolution of the Swedish party on International Solidarity the first point of order. This was caused by the failure of the English trade unions to come to their assistance in the giant lockout and strike of the Swedish workers. This resolution asked that ways and means be found to make the international solidarity of the workers more effective and fruitful in practical results in cases of war between capital and labor.

Huggler, of Switzerland reported for the Committee. Andersen, of England, Cohen, of Germany, spoke. The resolution was unanimously adopted, the English section voting for it amid cheers.

The resolution of the 4th. Commission—the one on social legislation, which demands sufficient financial aid to the unemployed also to the widows and orphans and states that by social legislation no industry is injured, but on the contrary, through the improvement of the general health of the working class and the higher standard of living among them, the efficiency of labor is increased, was adopted against the votes of the English delegation.

The resolution on the right of the asylum on which Keir Hardie delivered a much

applauded address, one on Spain, recommended by Pablo Iglesias, were unanimously adopted.

The last question—the cooperative movement, was dealt with in the afternoon. Karpeles, of Austria, for the 1st. Committee, advocated the adoption of a resolution stating that through the cooperatives the movement can never hope to accomplish the emancipation of the working class, but that they might serve as a useful weapon in the class struggle. But, he stated that the profits accruing from co-operatives ought never to be paid to the members of these societies but should be used to educate the members in the philosophy of socialism. Where possible the co-operatives should give financial aid to the socialist party and to the trade unions. In every country they should form one united body to further the work of the revolutionary movement.

In the debate which followed, Irving (English) complained that in England the socialists found the co-operative movement had very little sympathy with the socialist movement and contained very little socialist spirit. The leader of the co-operative movement in Germany spoke on the other side and succeeded in getting the congress to adopt the resolution.



Hardie—England



Quelch—England



Karpeles—Austria

Thereupon Adler, of Austria, invited the delegates to hold the next congress, in 1913, in Vienna. This invitation was accepted.

After Branting, of Sweden, Jaures, of France, and Vandervelde, of Belgium, had thanked the Danish comrades on behalf of the delegates the congress closed with the delegates singing the Marseillaise amid the greatest enthusiasm.

In the evening of September third, the Danish socialists gave a magnificent farewell banquet to the delegates in the City Hall. Over 1,500 people thronged this beautiful building. The hospitality of our Danish comrades knew no bounds. The banquet was addressed by the two mayors

of Copenhagen, while the strains of the Marseillaise and the Internationale floated through the lofty halls, which were draped with the red banner of socialism.

The guests remained until long after midnight. Everybody was loth to leave a scene so filled with the spirit and the inspiration of the revolutionary movement. But when the hour grew very late, the delegates bade their comrades farewell and departed to return to their homes over all the world to bear with them some of the enthusiasm that flooded old Copenhagen during the days of the International Congress.



Molkenbuhr—Germany



Jaures—France



Delegate from India



O ONE expected the eighth international Socialist congress to be numbered among the gatherings which have marked epochs in the history of the labor movement. The fundamental problems about which surged the struggles in the conventions of the old International and even in the early congresses of the International Socialist movement have been laid to rest so far as the working-class of the world is concerned. Proletarian thinkers no longer marshall themselves for the battle under the opposing banners of Socialism and Anarchism. Neither is it necessary in these days to fight the political reformer in the councils of the international labor movement. There is no call now for dramatic struggles like those in which Marx led the fight against Mazzini or Bakounin. In the incessant class war of the past forty years the working-class of the world—has learned certain fundamental principles from the logic of events. The men and women who labor know now what they want and they know in general how to go about getting it. At least they know the general direction which all their efforts must take. The problems of the immediate present are minor ones which, it is taken for granted, are to be solved on the basis of certain accepted principles. Using the term in its broadest sense they may all be said to be problems of tactics.

The International Congress

By

WILLIAM E. BOHM

The efforts of the working-class looking toward its emancipation fall under three divisions, marked by three great organizations which spread over the entire civilized world: the Socialist party, the labor unions, and the cooperative societies. At the gatherings of the working-class, then, there are always two questions to be answered: How shall the work of each one of these organizations be conducted within the limits of its own activity? and, What are to be the relations among the three of them? These questions involve, of course, the whole problem of the relation of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat to the present capitalist state. In order to answer them we must first decide just what can be forced from the present industrial and political order and what must be left to the time when this order gives way to a higher one. In addition to solving what have here been designated as problems of tactics practically all that is left for a working-class congress to do is to take some actual part in the particular working-class struggles going on at the moment of meeting. The great gathering just held at Copenhagen, for example, represented ten millions of the world's voters and many millions of the unfranchised. It was in duty bound to bring pressure to bear in favor of all groups of the working-class which happen now to be in special danger or are for any other reason in need of support.

The agenda as finally amended by the International Socialist Bureau included only



M. Smith
Official Interpreter

one problem of tactics which may be regarded as fundamental, that involved in the relation between the Socialist movement and the cooperatives. Next to this the most important matters set for discussion were the methods to be used in securing certain things which the working-class demands of the present industrial and political order; the abolition of unemployment, the abolition of war, insurance against old age, industrial accidents, and occupational diseases, and the abolition of the death penalty. Another list of problems to be attacked had to do with the inner organization of the Socialist movement: means to be adopted for the carrying out of resolutions adopted by international congresses, the organization of international solidarity, the unity of the Socialist and labor movements within the separate nations. So far as the actual struggles of the working-class are concerned the situations in Finland and Persia were the only ones formally put upon the program for discussion, but Argentine and the Balkan region both came in for attention before the sessions of the congress were over.

The difficulty of discussing all these subjects and taking intelligent action upon them can be appreciated when it is remembered that there were 887 delegates in attendance upon the congress. General debate was, of course, quite out of the question. The various headings of the agenda were assigned to five commissions. These com-

missions began work upon the first day and reported resolutions as early as possible. Their resolutions were made the basis of what little discussion the size of the gathering and the shortness of the time permitted. This method worked as well as could be expected, but the general impression carried away by the delegates was that the congress was unwieldy in its operations. It has been proposed to cut down the number of delegates to future congresses.

The Socialist Party and the Cooperatives.

The action of the congress on the cooperative movement was a victory for the cooperatives. I will set down here in full the text of the resolution adopted.* "In view of the fact that the cooperative societies not only offer their members immediate material benefits, that they are organized to strengthen the working-class by eliminating the middleman and also carrying on production for their own distribution, thus educating the working-class for the independent direction of its own affairs and preparing the way for the democratization and socialization of industry, this congress declares that the cooperative movement, even though by itself it never can bring about the liberation of the working-class, nevertheless be an effective weapon in the class-struggle which the workers are carrying on with the never varying purpose of conquering political and economic power with a view to socializing all the means of production and distribution, and that the working class has every reason for utilizing this weapon. The congress therefore urges all party members and all members of labor unions to enter actively into the cooperative movement and to use their best efforts to develop the cooperative societies in the direction of socialism, in order that the cooperative societies, instead of being a valuable means for the organization and education of the working-class, may not be turned into an influence which will destroy the socialist spirit of solidarity and discipline. The congress therefore most earnestly urges all party members and members of labor unions to use their influence in their co-

*The only text of the resolution which I have at hand is in German. The wording of my English versions will, of course, not correspond exactly to that of the English versions submitted to the congress.



Plechanoff—Russia

operative societies against having the profits all returned to the members but rather in favor of their being used for the establishment of funds which will enable the societies, singly or combined in their wholesale organizations, to undertake cooperative production, to provide for the education and assistance of their members, to see to it that the wages and conditions of labor of their employes come up to the union standard, that their own concerns are so organized as to serve as industrial models and that in the ordering of goods sufficient attention is paid to the conditions under which they are produced. To what extent the cooperative societies should directly support the labor unions and socialist party from the funds at their disposal is left to the cooperative organizations of the various countries. In view of the fact that the service of the cooperative movement will be the greater the stronger and more unified the movement itself comes to be the congress declares that the separate cooperative societies of each country should join themselves into one organization. The congress declares, finally, that it is to the interest of the working-class in its struggle against capitalism to have the political, the labor union, and the cooperative movements enter upon constantly closer relations without decrease in the independence of any one of them."

This resolution was accepted almost unanimously. It was opposed in the discussion by the English, who maintained that in England the cooperative movement is anti-socialist, and by the Czechs, who favored national cooperative organizations

instead of organization by countries. One group of delegates favored a clause in favor of regular contributions from the cooperative societies to the socialist party. Another group urged the establishment of organic relations between the two organizations.

War and Militarism.

The attitude of the working-class toward war was the only subject which roused violent feeling and led to dramatic scenes. The resolution introduced and finally carried is practically a repetition of the one carried at Stuttgart three years ago. The preamble explains that wars are instituted by capitalists for their own benefit and that the working-class of one country cannot possibly have any reason for shooting down that of another. When it comes to suggesting definite action the resolution requires of all socialist parliamentary groups to work for international courts of arbitration, disarmament, the abolition of secret diplomacy, the discontinuance of the imperialistic policy. The paragraph about which the debate finally centered is the following, taken directly from the Stuttgart resolution: "When there is danger of an outbreak of war the working-classes of the countries involved, supported by the International Bureau, are to do their utmost, through the utilization of the means which seem to them the most effective, to prevent it. The means naturally, will vary with the acuteness of the class-struggle and the general political situation. Keir Hardie, of England,



Vaillant—France



Lédebour—France

and Vaillant, of France, representing the minority of the commissions which had had the matter under consideration, introduced the following amendment: "The congress regards the general strike as a means of preventing war, particularly the refusal to work in industries concerned with the production and transportation of munitions of war."

Comrade Lédebour, upon whom, as reporter, devolved the duty of defending the majority report of the commission, maintained that the Stuttgart resolution was adequate. It advised the use of any means "which seem effective." That is, the general strike or any other means. He held that to mention the general strike would be to prevent free choice of action by the working-classes of the various nations. Under some circumstances the general strike might be, not only ill advised, but impossible. He twitted the English Socialists with the fact that they had supported the Liberal budget and thus given their votes in favor of increased armaments. Moreover, he affirmed, the English comrades had among them some who made violent propaganda in favor of larger army and navy. Therefore a resolution in favor of the general strike as a weapon against international war came with an ill grace from England.

Keir Hardie made a very effective reply. In the first place he explained that the amendment did not make the general strike obligatory. It was intended merely to impress upon the working-class the fact that it has in the general strike a weapon which can be effectively used if the conditions are favorable. And as to its coming from Eng-

land the English working-class was ready to act upon it. Incidentally he explained that the English budget is voted for item by item and that the Labor members of Parliament did not support the appropriations for army and navy. Further, he went on to say, the jingoes in the English Socialist movement are only two in number. They are leaders without a following. The English labor movement is clearly, consciously, opposed to all international war and is ready to make war on war with any means at its disposal. Comrade Hardie's amendment was vigorously supported by Vaillant.

Finally Comrade Emil Vandervelde (Belgium) moved a substitute for the Hardie-Vaillant amendment: "The congress refers the Hardie-Vaillant amendment to the International Socialist Bureau for further study. The Bureau is to report upon the propositions contained in it to the next international congress. This subsitute was unanimously carried. With the amendment out of the way the main resolution was soon carried amidst great enthusiasm.

The debate on Keir Hardie's amendment as well as the vote goes to show that idea of the general strike has gained ground since the Stuttgart congress. The Germans are not quite ready to accept the



Vandervelde—Belgium



Barrio—Spain

general strike as a means of preventing war. But they maintained their position with difficulty. Unless all signs fail the general strike will be definitely mentioned in the anti-war resolution adopted at the congress of 1913.

Unemployment.

The resolution adopted on this subject, after setting forth the fact that unemployment is a necessary result of capitalism, directed Socialist members of parliaments to make seven rather modest demands: Statistics as to the extent of unemployment, payment of union wages, special assistance for the unemployed in times of industrial crises, security of political rights during unemployment, government employment agencies, use of legal means to decrease unemployment, obligatory support of the unemployed. The English delegates insisted on a declaration of the right to work. They were told that under the capitalist system there can be no such thing as the right to work.

Abolition of the Death Penalty.

The lack of interest in this subject showed that there was little excuse for placing it on the agenda. A resolution against the infliction of death as a punishment for crime was introduced and, of course, carried.

International Solidarity.

A resolution first suggested by the Swedish Labor party was introduced and carried. This resolution puts the international movement on record in favor of the international

support of great strikes. In the debate on this subject the delegates from England and France were forced to listen to denunciations of their respective labor movements on account of the feeble support given by these movements to the great Swedish strike. The English answered that they are poor and have no labor press by means of which to appeal for funds. The French had no answer to make.

National Unity of Socialist and Labor Movements.

A strong resolution was adopted in favor of unity within the various national movements. The French comrades received high praise for the spirit of mutual forbearance with which they supported their unified party. Much of the success which they have attained was attributed to their unity of organization. It was when this resolution was up for discussion that the Czechish comrades made their principal fight for autonomy. They maintained that they are hindered in their work by German domination. They were answered that if the principle of national autonomy were introduced into Austria many localities would witness the formation of as many as eight independent labor organizations. When the resolution was voted upon there were only two or three delegates who sided with the Czechs. The sentiment of the congress was overwhelmingly in favor of the minimizing of national and racial differences in favor of effective organization.

There was one dramatic moment during the discussion of this question. The representative of the American Socialist Labor Party, in an impassioned address, accused the American Socialist Party of making unity of the American Socialist movement impossible. He supported his accusation by telling of the attempt made by the S. L. P. to open negotiations looking toward the unity of the two parties. As is well known in this country, these attempts did not meet with success. On behalf of the American Socialist Party answer was made by comrades Morris Hilquit and Victor Berger. They answered, in the first place, by stating that it is the tactics of the S. L. P. which have made unity impossible. The Socialist Party cannot join itself to an organization which opposes the labor movement of the country. And, further, they explained to congress that unity is surely



Wilk—Finland

being brought about in America. Some ten years ago there were two parties containing about 5000 members each; now there is one party with 50,000 members and another with something under 1000. This looks like an approach to unity. One of the Socialist party delegates promised the assembled delegates unity would become a fact in America before the next international congress.

Finland, Argentine, Etc.

Strong resolutions in favor of the oppressed working-classes in Finland, Argentine, Persia and the Balkan region were introduced and, it goes without saying, unanimously adopted. The same may be said of a resolution in favor of the right of the asylum in foreign lands, of those whose only crime is political or union activity.

The next international Socialist Congress is to be held at Vienna.

What Does it All Mean?

The international Socialist movement is larger than ever before. Is it as strong in its revolutionary spirit? The quiet tenor of the debates, the careful attention to details, the lack of oratory, of fine phrases, might give the impression that there has been a falling off on this side. Moreover it is noticeable that the "immediate demands" are of the most modest sort. What does all this mean?

It does not in any sense indicate lack of revolutionary purpose. The immediate demands are modest because the international Socialist movement has given up expecting much of the capitalistic regime either "immediately" or in the distant future. Therefore it asks little. And even in the consideration of matters touching only the inner organization of the socialist movement the tendency was always to "resolve" only things which could actually be accomplished. This means that the working class is making use of its experience in the world of affairs. It is working for a complete economic revolution, but it knows that such a revolution can not be achieved by "passing" "revolutionary" resolutions. Therefore it sets itself thoughtfully, carefully to achieve its great purpose. The eighth international Socialist congress indicates and advance in the consciousness of power possessed by the working-class.

Ye sons of toil, awake to glory!
 Hark, hark! what myriads bid you rise!
 Your children, wives, and grandsires hoary:
 Behold their tears and hear their cries,
 Behold their tears and hear their cries!
 Shall hateful tyrants mischief breeding,
 With hireling hosts, a ruffian band,
 Affright and desolate the land,
 While peace and liberty lie bleeding!

Are Socialist Candidates Chosen to Lead?

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING



N his letter of acceptance, the Socialist candidate for Governor of Connecticut says that he was "chosen to lead the campaign" in this State!

As far as we know, this is the first instance when a Socialist has deliberately announced himself as a "leader" and there ought to be such a protest that it will be the last. As a member of this comrade's local, I must protest in my own name and that of others. But this public misrepresentation of the Party is of more than local importance. Mr. Robert Hunter has the same right to say that he was chosen to be one of seven leaders of the National Organization, since he is a member of the National Executive, and indeed a better right, for there was a chance to vote for other candidates in the National Referendum, whereas there was practically no Referendum in Connecticut, since no other candidate appeared on the ballot.

I suggest that the National Committee pass a resolution to suspend Hunter for a year or at least give him warning; for if we are to have leaders and bosses we shall fall below the level even of the old parties.

It was only a few years ago that a Republican candidate for President dared to claim that because of his nomination he was the "titular head" of the Party. And this was done by the empty-headed, self-advertising Roosevelt—who owed so much of his success to his connections with the four hundred and their representatives, Tom Platt and J. P. Morgan. Do we want a Roosevelt or a Hearst in the Socialist Party? If we don't begin soon to display a little manhood we will have one whether we want him or not.

But the Republican and Democratic Parties are reforming themselves—at

least to the point of doing away with bosses. And it even seems that through the Initiative and Referendum and the Recall they will lower their representatives still another peg and make them the mere agents, delegates or political servants of those who elect them—the principle which has always been supposed to prevail in the Socialist Party. Are we going to the boss system, while the old parties are taking up democracy? Even Victor Berger denies that he is a boss. Shall we allow Hunter to proclaim that he has been chosen to lead?

Already he is assuming the reins. With some slight changes he has reprinted his "Shall Socialism be Crushed," so thoroughly discredited by Comrades Bohn and Bullard, with his picture on the cover! He is rewriting the literature of Socialism in order that Connecticut shall get his kind of dope exclusively, and every Socialist knows what that is. He is providing the rural press of the State with a series of articles on Socialism written by—Hunter.

Through his financial ability, as a man with multi-million connections to furnish all this matter free as well as an automobile for touring purposes, he is practically subsidizing the State Organization to the extent of many hundreds of dollars—just as he has been subsidizing the national Socialist press with articles, which even from a hack journalist would be worth a couple of thousand dollars a year.

This is a good year in this State. The Republicans, being regulars, are on the down-hill. A new election law for the first time will count the Socialist vote and so automatically double it. The Socialist press and speakers have done the work. But a large share of the credit will go to the man who has been "chosen to lead the campaign."

EDITORIAL

Suppose Everything Were Reformed! Try to imagine what America would be like if the various well-meaning reformers were to unite, enact the laws they are urging, and enforce the laws. Suppose all the saloons were closed, side doors as well as front doors, and that all "blind pigs" were slaughtered, so that it would be physically impossible for the wage-worker to waste his substance on alcoholic beverages.. Suppose that all the crowded tenements with high rents were replaced by municipal apartment houses and cottages giving a comfortable home to every family for less than ten dollars a month. Suppose that the protective tariff were taken off, that sugar were to be retailed everywhere at three cents a pound, and the prices of all the other necessities of life were reduced in proportion. And suppose all the school children were given a good square meal each day at the expense of the wealthy tax-payers! **WHAT WOULD BE THE EFFECT ON WAGES?** Even a capitalist economist would admit what every clear-headed student of Marx knows, that wages would fall in proportion to the reduced cost of living, and the average wage-worker would be no better off. In fact he would be worse off, and that for this reason. Where the average wage-worker wastes part of his earnings, there is a chance for the man who does not waste them to accumulate a little surplus out of his wages that will secure for him a little added comfort or leisure, while if virtuous frugality became the general rule, the good wage-workers would underbid each other at the factory door until the capitalist had all that was "saved." But here we see a ray of hope. For "overproduction" would reappear on a vaster scale than ever before. "Business" would be "dead." Millions of people would be hungry in their model tenements, and rather than starve they

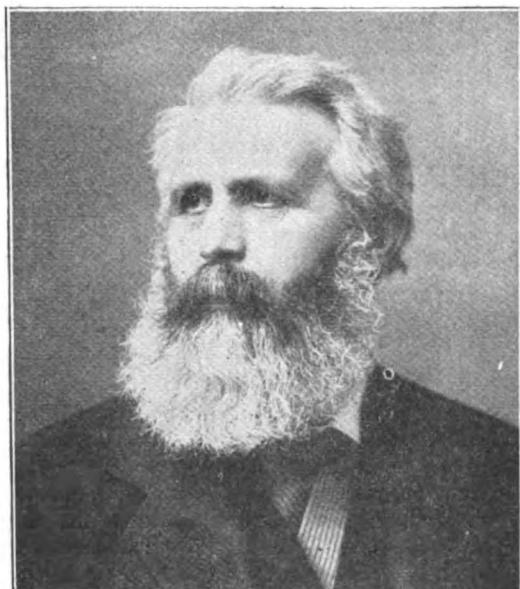
would rebel. Even reforms can not forever delay the Revolution.

Why the World is Growing Mad. A London dispatch in the Chicago Tribune of Sept. 18 tells us that a famous expert, Dr. Forbes Winslow, proves from official figures that insanity in England has nearly doubled since 1869, and predicts gloomily that it is easy to figure the exact year when there will be more insane people in the world than sane. Why this increase? We can not explain a change in social phenomena by conditions that have remained constant, but only by changed conditions. There was poverty and suffering among the working people of England forty years ago, no less than now. It was perhaps as hard then as now for a wage-worker to climb out of his class. But one great economic change has come about since 1869, not only in England but in all the great manufacturing countries. Industrial capital has doubled and quadrupled itself, and the new accumulations of capital have been used and are being used to revolutionize the processes of production. When big capital takes hold of an industry, and applies its tremendous resources to the production of commodities in that industry, two things happen. The little capitalists who previously controlled it find that the value of their plant has disappeared; it is fit only for the scrap heap. Unless they have been so lucky as to "get in on the ground floor" with the big capitalists, they are ruined. And no little capitalist in any little industry can be sure that his turn may not come next. What is more important, the skilled laborers who have earned enough to keep their families in comparative comfort under old methods of production find themselves suddenly reduced to the level of the lowest workers when organized capital takes control. And no workingman knows when this

may be his fate. Look at the faces you pass on a city street. ANXIETY is written on nearly every one. Anxiety unrelieved means insanity sooner or later. The London doctor sees clearly what must happen unless there is a remedy. And the only remedy is revolution. Let us preserve our sanity and abolish the capitalist.

People Who Think they are Capitalists. A capitalist is one who has capital. He is a capitalist of importance exactly proportioned to the amount of capital he controls. It is not pleasant to be a wage-worker, and naturally many of them are ambitious to be capitalists. It looks easy, especially if you have a superficial knowledge of socialist economics. You can make each day goods worth \$10.00; you get \$2.00 in wages; what seems simpler, if you can get hold of a little capital, then to hire another wage slave and make all the profit on your own labor and his? But experience will ultimately teach the would-be capitalist what he might also have learned from Marx, that competition under capitalism so adjusts prices that on the average the little capitalist can get only enough for his product to pay his employees' wages, his own wages if he works,

and the average rate of profit on whatever may be the amount of capital he has. In America today, the average rate is probably not far from 10% per year. If then our would-be capitalist shows good judgment in adapting his goods to the market, and has \$1,000, he may reasonably expect to earn in a year \$100 more than if he continued to work for wages. On the other hand, if his judgment is bad, he will soon lose his \$1,000. The pitiful thing is that a man so situated usually thinks of himself as a capitalist and helps the big capitalists against the wage-workers in every fight. In reality he owns only a job, and a precarious one. Better wages and shorter hours for the wage-workers would indirectly result in improving his own condition; lower wages and longer hours for the wage-workers would react unfavorably on him. He, like them, is a slave to the capitalist system, and nothing but revolution will set him free. His interests are with the working class, but his prejudices and habits are usually such as to make him a nuisance in a working class movement. Fortunately, capitalism is rapidly forcing men of this type back into the ranks of the wage-workers, where they absorb a class instinct that is a wonderful help to clear thinking.



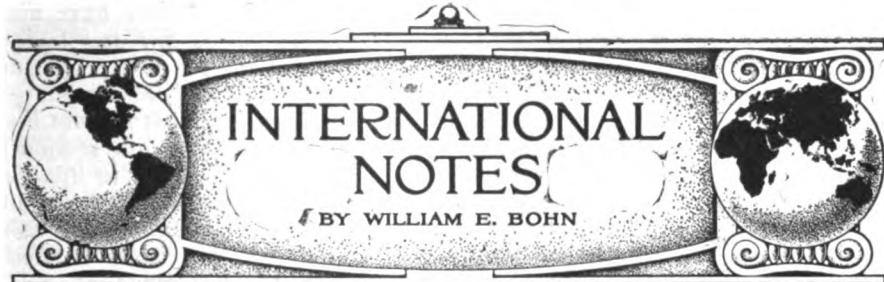
JOSEPH DIETZGEN

"From praying and fasting we have turned to thinking and working. The result of the change of method is plainly visible in the conquests of modern industry, whose soul is the productivity of our labor."

"Poverty, starvation and misery in the past were quite often the inevitable results of the deficiency of production. Since the second decade of the nineteenth century the case is quite the reverse: it is the superfluity of wealth, as manifested in the recurring periods of commercial and industrial depression, which interferes with production. However full the granaries and warehouses may be with goods of all kinds, the people starve and freeze because the possessing classes, satiated with wealth, do not require their labor power."

Philosophical Essays, \$1.00.
Positive Outcome of Philosophy, \$1.00.

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Japan. The Crushing Out of Socialism. Under date of August 28 our German organ, Vorwaerts, published a letter from Comrade Katayama, one of the most valiant fighters in the Japanese movement. He wrote to explain why Japan would not be represented at Copenhagen. The letter tells its own story: "Our Socialist movement is destroyed, many of us are in jail, and there is no longer any freedom of speech or action for a Socialist. Continued persecutions has driven some of us to desperation. Just now we suffer the most cruel oppression as a result of a reputed anarchist uprising. At one stroke seven Socialists (perhaps some of them were anarchists) were incarcerated. Since then one arrest has followed fast upon another. There is no possibility of computing the number of those imprisoned. Every day Socialists are arrested and their houses are searched. Every one of us is dogged by detectives; sometimes as many as eight are set to watch a single person. I myself am constantly watched by a ruffian and hindered in my work.

Our paper, the Socialist News, is subjected to the strictest censorship. The police pursue our subscribers and try to turn them against us. In spite of all this we have managed to keep alive during three hard years. But it is very doubtful whether we can longer continue the fight; for today practically all the Socialists in this country are in jail under one pretext or another.

So far as Socialists are concerned there are no constitutional guarantees. Judges and police are alike opposed to us. The working-class is crushed under foot and there is no longer any possibility of organization or agitation. We cannot work openly, and secret propaganda exposes one constantly to criminal proceedings.

I would gladly have attended the International Congress, but, as you see, it is out of the question; for today there is no Socialist organization in Japan. Personally I have suffered everything during the past three years. All my property I have devoted to the cause, and now it is only with greatest difficulty that I support my family.

I pray you to tell the comrades at the Copenhagen Congress of our terrible condition."

England. The Labor Party Fiasco. The worst feature of the situation in which the Labor Party finds itself is not the difficulty about the support of its parliamentary representatives. It is true that for the present the party has a serious practical problem to meet. The Lords have decided that labor unions have no legal right to tax members for the support of representatives in Parliament. At their recent congress the unions boldly faced the situation by declaring that the law would have to be changed. They now have a fine fight on their hands. And that is surely nothing to feel gloomy about.

Australia. No Compromise. The third annual conference of the Socialist Federation of Australasia met at Melbourne in June. The federation is made up of four Australian organizations and the Socialist party of New Zealand. It was organized in 1907 in direct opposition to the Labor party. The Queensland and West Australian Socialists were unwilling to give up their membership in the Labor Party, and the Socialist Labor Party also refused to join. The Federation has about a thousand members in Australia.

The conference declared again for industrial unionism though it did not, as in

1907, indorse the Industrial Workers of the World. But the chief problem to demand attention was the form of political tactics to be adopted by the organizations making up the Federation. The Labor party is at present in command of the political situation. The Socialists are nearly everywhere too weak to put candidates in the field. Federal candidates are required to make a deposit of 25 pounds, state candidates as much as fifty pounds. With a membership of only a thousand the socialist organization, it is clear, cannot often indulge in the luxury of a candidate. In the last federal election it put up only one representative to bid for popular favor at the polls. This situation makes the problem of the use of the ballot a very pressing one for our Australian comrades. Shall a Socialist abstain from voting when he cannot give his vote to a member of his own party or shall he feel at liberty to support any candidate who in some sense represents the working-class? The Socialist Federation of Australasia says that he must under no circumstances vote for other than a member of a revolutionary Socialist party. Moreover the Conference did not leave it to the members to decide whether the candidates of the Labor Party are to be regarded as revolutionists. It defined a revolutionary Socialist party as "any party which bases its propaganda on a recognition of the class-struggle and declares for the Socialist republic, i. e., the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange and has no program of palliatives." The Labor Party has at times advocated the ultimate socialization of the means of production, but its efforts have been directed toward securing palliatives for present conditions. Therefore it cannot be brought under the definition. The definition was, however, deliberately worded so as to include the Socialist Labor Party. There is some dissatisfaction with the action of the conferences and the Socialists of Victoria have called for a referendum.

Nevertheless the labor members are visibly depressed. The capitalist papers either ignore them or reassure the country by saying they are really no worse than Liberals. And the Labor members have hardly a word to say for themselves.

What is the matter? They have been saying all along that by being polite, by agreeing to bring forward their measures only at proper times, they would in the end

achieve something. Now parliament has been adjourned and they have nothing to show. They voted for the budget, they agreed to put off the matter of unemployment till the Liberals were ready—and the matter of unemployment has not been taken up. Toward the end of the session Liberals and Conservatives began to draw together and Laborites began to be more and more left out of the reckoning. It is safe to say that Pablo Iglesias, single handed in the Spanish Cortes, has made more of an impression on the world than the entire Labor group. It is a sad thing to record, but is evident that in Parliament the English Labor leaders are not fighting men. In many matters of theory they are admirably clear and on the rostrum their voices often ring true for working-class advance. But in the hall of Parliament they have not dared to face the representatives of capitalism and make a fair fight for their constituents.

Austria. A Divided Proletariat. Since the troubles of the Austrian Socialist and labor movement have been aired at the International Congress at Copenhagen they have begun to attract attention of the entire working-class world. For us in America where the working-class has constantly to struggle with the problem of nationalities and tongues they have a peculiar interest. It may be worth while, therefore, to look into the Austrian situation and see what it has to teach.

The Austrian working-class is chiefly made up of Germans, Czechs, Polish, Italians, Slovilians, and Ruthuanians. The Germans, are of course, in the majority, with the Czechs coming second. Out of about 500,000 members of the various Austrian labor unions the Czechs can claim something over 150,000. Some idea of the relative strength of the various nationalities can be gained from the following table of labor papers published in the various languages: German, 50; Czechish, 38; Polish, 10; Italian, 5; Slovanian, 3; Ruthuanian, 1.

It has sometimes been maintained that these various nationalities are as distinct in language and manner of thought as the Germans and French and that therefore they should have autonomous labor movements. If each one of them occupied a separate territory and had separate industrial problems to meet, this reasoning would

be correct. But this is not the case. While various national groups maintain their separate ways of life they are not (territorially) separate. In Bohemia, German and Czechish villages lie side by side while in the large cities Germans and Czechs work and live together. Industrially, of course, there can be little division. The various races are impartially exploited by the same masters. And among the masters, at least so far as industry is concerned, there are no race lines. Suppose, then, we have seven working-class organizations fighting one employer or one employers' association. The disadvantages of such an arrangement are not open to discussion. Theoretically, at least, there is every reason why racial and national differences should be forgotten.

But, strange to say, as the labor movement has developed, these differences have been more and more emphasized. It is true that the union movement grew separately in each of the different nations, but the long struggle for existence forced the various organizations to unite themselves into one. Since 1897 the Austrian Social Democratic party has been composed of seven organizations joined in a federation something like that made up by the parties of the various states of the German empire. For a long time they got on very well. But with increasing numbers and power their troubles and dissensions increased. For thirteen years now there have been Socialist representatives in the Austrian parliament. These representatives have had to declare themselves upon issues involving the struggle between nationalities. For example there were bills introduced providing funds for the support of Czechish schools in territory where the majority of the inhabitants are of some other nationality. Such a proposal would be supported by the Czechs in opposition to the other members of the Socialist group. And in their campaigns the Socialist candidates found that they were put at a disadvantage by their internationalism. They could gain votes by standing for national causes. In course of time they came to do this more and more. The natural result was the Socialist parliamentary group broke up into opposing factions. In 1905

the party congress divided on the same lines.

At first this division along national lines was limited to the political party. Now, however, it has extended itself to the labor unions and cooperatives. Here it is, in general, only the Czechs who demand separate organizations. Among the metal workers, textile workers and wood workers they have started national unions. On the industrial field they have not been as successful as on the political. Nevertheless they have now some 40,000 members in their organization as against 118,000 Czechs who still belong to the central body.

On the political field the break between Germans and Czechs has become so pronounced that recently at Brunn-stadt the Czechish Socialists adopted a resolution calling upon comrades of their nation in the parts of the country predominately German to name candidates to oppose those put up by the regular organization. If this is done we shall have—Socialists of one race fighting those of another for the same seats in parliament.

In the face of a great struggle like this it would be worse than useless to lay blame upon any nation or group. More than this, it would be contrary to all Socialist theory. Here, as everywhere, the Socialist must try first of all to understand. The whole situation seems to have resulted from the inevitable political and industrial development of the Czechish nation. The Czechs, proletarians as well as bourgeoisie, feel themselves abused and oppressed. While this tends to fill them with a finer revolutionary spirit than that which at present animates the Germans it also makes them impatient of the domination of a German majority. The conflict in some form or other is inevitable. The only thing which can put an end to it is further industrial development or a truer recognition of development which has already taken place. Intellectually, temperamentally German and Czech may differ; if they differ industrially it will not be for long. Like conditions of labor will teach like manners of thought. In the meantime national differences retard the victory of the working class.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

The A. F. of L. convention meets in St. Louis next month and will be in session two weeks. From all appearances there will be fewer jurisdictional controversies injected into the proceedings than usual, as quite a number of the trades have settled their differences by mutual agreement or merging organizations. The internal row among the electrical workers will undoubtedly come before the body again, as no settlement has been made. Some of the printing crafts will advocate the formation of a trades department, as will also some of the unions in the clothing industry, and it is likely that the Western Federation of Miners will have delegates in the convention and join the United Mine Workers in forming a mining department to look after the interests of the men employed in and about the mines.

There is some talk again of introducing resolutions to force the A. F. of L. to father the formation of a Labor party, but just where the promoters of such a plan are going to get their support is difficult to discover unless the conservatives are converted to their ideas, which is highly improbable. It is a cinch that those among the delegates who are Socialists will not take very kindly to the Labor party scheme. They know that socialism is making great headway in this country at present, and that a Labor party entering the field with a populistic reform platform would tend to retard rather than aid their cause. There will be no material change in the composition of the executive council.

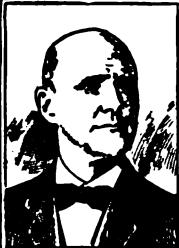
The victory of the New York cloakmakers was one of the most magnificent triumphs ever scored by working people in this country. When it is considered that 75,000 persons, poorly organized and with practically no funds on hand, engaged in a contest with employers having millions behind them and the support of

the police powers and the press and their class generally, and then enforced almost revolutionary demands for union recognition, higher wages, the 50-hour week, abolition of sweating and minor reforms, it must be conceded by the most bitter labor-hater that the outcome was a glorious achievement that will become historic.

The battle-ground and the time and other details of the contest were well chosen by those who directed the fight, and the added advantage that the principles of industrialism were rigidly adhered to, in that the shops were emptied of every worker irrespective of craft "autonomy" and kept empty, made the strike one of the most interesting that ever occurred anywhere and victory was almost a certainty if the lines could be kept intact.

It should be jotted down as a matter of record that what the bosses believed to be the most brilliant dash in their campaign and with which it was hoped to turn the tide and score a signal victory, resulted in an utter rout and complete surrender.

When the bosses believed the strikers were exhausted because of lack of financial assistance and ready to return to work under almost any terms, they made the supreme blunder of having their "Justice" Goff hurl his injunction and declare the union shop illegal. Instead of stampeding the workers and turning the battle into a panic, the cloakmakers became truly electrified and fought their opponents more fiercely than ever. Then came the second costly blunder. In desperate effort to recover from their amazement at the ineffectiveness of their "justice," the bosses and their legal and newspaper henchmen sought to sow the seeds of dissension by charging that the Socialists were responsible for all the trouble, that they refused to permit a settlement to be made between the kind masters and the workers whom they loved, and were deliberate-



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ly defying the law as laid down by Goff.

The Goff injunction and the charges that followed revived the militant spirit of the workers to such a degree of enthusiasm that the manufacturers realized that the jig was up and nothing but capitulation was in order. And so they came across. But the cloakmakers of New York can make up their minds that their victory will prove a mighty empty one if they do not stick tight to their unions. They have been organized before—many times—went out on general strikes, gained some temporary concessions, dropped out of their unions, and then were gradually forced back into the old rut. The workers ought to be ready to walk out on strike again at the drop of a hat. Then the bosses will keep their agreements, otherwise not.

Moreover the cloakmakers can make the whole United States respect them, as well as their bosses, by electing Meyer London to Congress in the ninth district of New York and roll up a smashing big vote for the whole Socialist ticket next month.

The loss of the great strike against the United Steel Corporation by the iron, steel and tinplate workers, after a heroic struggle of fourteen months, is a deplor-

able outcome. The workers in no other trade have put up such a splendid battle or made more sacrifices in a contest with a huge combine of capital than did the tinplate workers, and they deserved a better fate than to be forced to surrender unconditionally and acknowledge themselves slaves of the open shop, without the right to organize.

And yet the political demagogues, from Roosevelt down, bluster and bray about the American workingman being "free and independent," and raise their hands in holy horror when they think and talk about the "pauper labor" in foreign countries!

This is the thanks that the men of the mills are receiving after their years and years of shouting and voting for a protective tariff and the grand old parties to enrich the Carnegies and Coreys! They have not only had their wages hammered to the level of a bare existence for their hard, exacting toil, but are forbidden the right of associating with their fellow-workers for their mutual benefit.

It is a sorrowful spectacle indeed to observe the millions upon millions piled up and still piling up for a parasitical few, while the toiling thousands are helplessly enslaved and dare not call their souls their own. It is unbelievable that the iron,



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WILLIAMSBURG, O.

steel and tinplate workers are quite stupid enough to continue the foolish policy of voting more power into the hands of their oppressing master class.

It is almost useless, for the present at least, to discuss the matter of reorganization along broad industrial lines. Those who understand the methods and influences that obtain in the steel trust know that it is practically impossible to gain a safe foothold in the shambles of that heartless combine, with its myriads of spies everywhere and its blacklists that are wielded unmercifully, with which the slightest move to organize is ruthlessly stamped out at the first sign.

The only immediate hope that the iron, steel and tinplate workers have is in arousing their fellow-workers and making common cause with the Socialist party to capture the mill districts and placing class-conscious workers in control of the police power with which to cover future efforts to organize industrially. If the men of the mills will make one-tenth of the effort and sacrifice upon the political field that they did in their long strike they will win a strategic point that will strike consternation to the very heart of trustdom. The ballot is still free and secret but it may not remain so very long unless it is used properly instead of abused, as heretofore.

No less pleasing was the victory of the Illinois miners than that of the cloak-makers in New York. After a contest of nearly four months the operators surrendered every point in controversy, and today the Illinois organization is more powerful than at any time in its history. The operators had hoped against hope that the internal differences among the miners would lead to division and disintegration, but when the special convention at Indianapolis endorsed the Illinois strike and voted to levy \$1 per capita each week to finance the fight, the capitalists knew that the end had come.

Although there has been considerable talk on both sides that the U. M. W. is being disrupted by the other fellows and that ruination stares the unions in the face, the charges and counter-charges are being pretty well discounted by the rank and file, which is a pretty satisfactory situation and shows that the members are more cool-headed than some of the so-

called leaders and don't intend to split to pieces in order to fulfill the pessimistic predictions of some of the prophets.

That there is going to be a great fight for control in the U. M. W. at the coming election is a certainty. President Lewis is to be opposed by John P. White, of Iowa, former vice-president, and McCulloch, of Michigan, will be the Lewis candidate for secretary against Green, of Ohio. Frank Hayes, of Illinois, will probably have no opposition for vice-president. It will be an interesting contest.

The immaculate J. J. Kirby, Jr., president of the National Association of Manufacturers, who can howl by the hour about the alleged lawlessness of the working class, was arrested at Dayton, Ohio, for breaking the child labor law and fined \$50 and costs. Kirby is without the shadow of doubt one of the most shameless individuals in this country, and, therefore, the proper person to fill the position that he does. Several years ago an employe of the Kirby shop was arrested for stealing brass and he testified on the witness stand that he was paid but \$7 per week and was compelled to steal in order to keep his family from starving to death.

C. W. Post, the Battle Creek union-smasher and pal of the melodorous Kirby, also continues to perform for the edification of the populace. Post didn't like the way the Buck Stove & Range Co. settled its troubles with organized labor and brought suit in the United States Court for an injunction to prevent the signing

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of the agreement and also for \$750,000 damages. Post's case was thrown out of court.

For the benefit of the Kirby's and Post's it might be mentioned that at the international convention of marine workers held in Copenhagen it was reported that at the great strike of seamen and dock workers at Antwerp some 10,000 strike-breakers were branded with an india rubber stamp by their masters. It would be a very fine question to be considered at the forthcoming convention of the National Association of Manufacturers of adopting that style in this country.

The coal operators in the Irwin field of Pennsylvania, who locked out their miners last spring, evicted them from their poor hovels and kept thousands of men, women and children on the verge of starvation for many months, have raised a brand new issue in this country. The operators proceed upon the consistent capitalistic theory that they and their class are the real owners of these United States of America, and that to revolt against their rule is treason. Therefore, the operators have brought action against Francis Feehan, president of the miners' district organization, and others for sedition and also to recover damages for the \$1,000,000 that they admit having lost by locking out and torturing their employees.

Certainly if the master class cannot starve the workers to death when they take the notion to do so, or at least completely enslave them and force them to work under whatever conditions they dictate, they have a large-sized grievance and their politicians in power should remedy matters, as that is why they are placed in office.

Down in Connecticut a scab clothing firm has sued the Hartford Central Labor Union, the Socialist party, garment workers and others for \$15,000 damages for boycotting and picketing. Under the Sherman law, if the concern wins, it can collect \$45,000 and costs of prosecution. This is the first time the Socialist party has been dragged into a suit of this kind and the progress of the case will be watched with interest.

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NEWS AND VIEWS



Fifth Ward Propaganda League—Muncie, Ind.

Growing in Muncie. The socialists in Muncie started their meetings at the homes of the different comrades until May 30th, when they moved into their present headquarters, which are airy and commodious, and will seat 300 people. The comrades are now giving lectures and getting the best speakers possible, and at all their meetings they are turning folks away because the hall is not large enough. Local Muncie started with twelve members and now has eighty-three, twenty of whom are women who are among the most earnest and active workers for the organization. At present the comrades are engaged on a plan for carrying on a house to house distribution of literature. Comrade Harman is Chairman of the Local; James Conley secretary, William Conley treasurer and Comrade Ellis is the literary agent. Fraternally Geo. Turner.

To fight Diaz. A. I. Villarreal writes us that the Mexican refugees—recently liberated from prison, are about to start a newspaper as “a vehicle of our agitation, as a hub of the fighting organization that we propose to build.” Comrade Villarreal advises us that the Mexican comrades desire very earnestly to start with a circulation of 10,000 subscriptions. The paper will be printed in Spanish, at Los Angeles. Subscription rates will be \$2.00 a year; \$1.10 for six months. A. I. Villarreal. Address 420 W. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif.

It looks rather warlike to see the soldiers' tents pitched near the station at Brockville, Ontario, Canada, and fifty Government murderers marching around with gun and bayonet ready to tackle the Grand Trunk strikers. One soldier who refused to take up arms against the strikers was up for court marshal last night but he refused to allow Col. Wm. Buell settle his case but appealed to the district. Isn't it a funny world! Sometimes the people are hanged for murder and again they are court marshalled for refusing to kill striking workmen. By L. S. G. Such things are putting the workers wise. They are refusing to serve in the armies of Capitalism. They are refusing to shoot down the men and women of the working class. They are developing class consciousness, and when the workers stand together AS A CLASS the supremacy of Capitalism will be at an end.

The Francisco Ferrer Assn. in New York City plans to partake of the world-wide celebration to honor the memory of Prof. Ferrer, on October 13th. One of the aims of the Association is the establishment of such schools in America as Ferrer founded and gave his life for in Spain. Those interested are requested to address Dr. E. B. Foote, 120 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y.



Warren Meeting, Dayton, Ohio.

Photo by S. E. Snyder



Somerset, Kentucky. The above is a photo of some comrades who attended the recent convention at Somerset, Ky.: Comrade S. V. Brents, congressional candidate for Clinton County, State Secretary Lanferseik, of Newport and several others. Somerset Local is still young but the Comrades are planning to carry on a whirlwind educational campaign, selling books and literature and offering lectures and speeches besides. Keep your eyes on Somerset.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

Workers of the World unite!
And make your heavy burden light;
Let Tyranny fade away,
Let us see the better day.

The day when everyone must work
They'll get nothing, those who shirk,
Those who do all will get the all,
Those who do little will get the small
And everything will be alright,
If the workers of the world unite.

From our little Comrade
Malvina Milder, San Francisco.

To New Readers. The paid circulation of the *Review* is growing by leaps and bounds, and this issue will reach several thousand new readers. To these we want to say what our old readers know well, namely, that the *Review* belongs not to any capitalist, but to a co-operative association of working people, who draw no dividends and expect none. If you want the *Review* to continue and improve, send your dollar for a year's subscription, and get others to subscribe. As explained on the last page of cover, we will in return for your trouble send you some of the best Socialist books ever published. Lend a hand, and inside a year we shall have a hundred thousand circulation, and shall be able to compete with the big capitalist magazines in quantity as well as quality.

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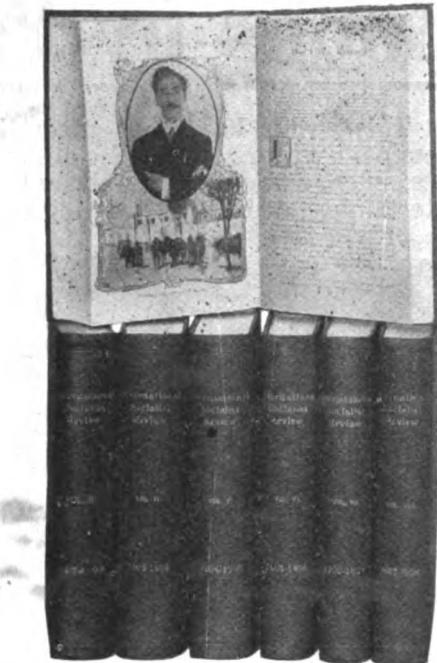
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- The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels.
- Value, Price and Profit, Marx.
- Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels.
- Socialism and Revolution, Deville.
- Socialism Made Easy, Connolly.
- Unionism and Socialism, Debs.
- Class Struggles in America, Simons.
- The Socialists, Spargo.
- The Socialist Movement, Vail.
- The Wolves. Illustrated, Wason.

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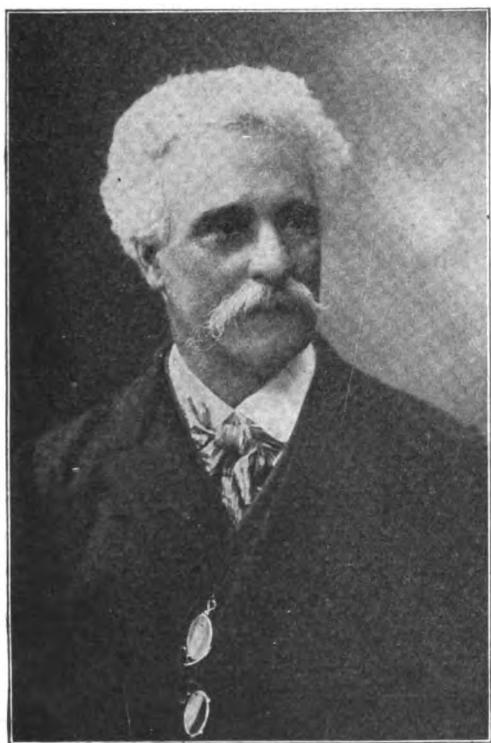
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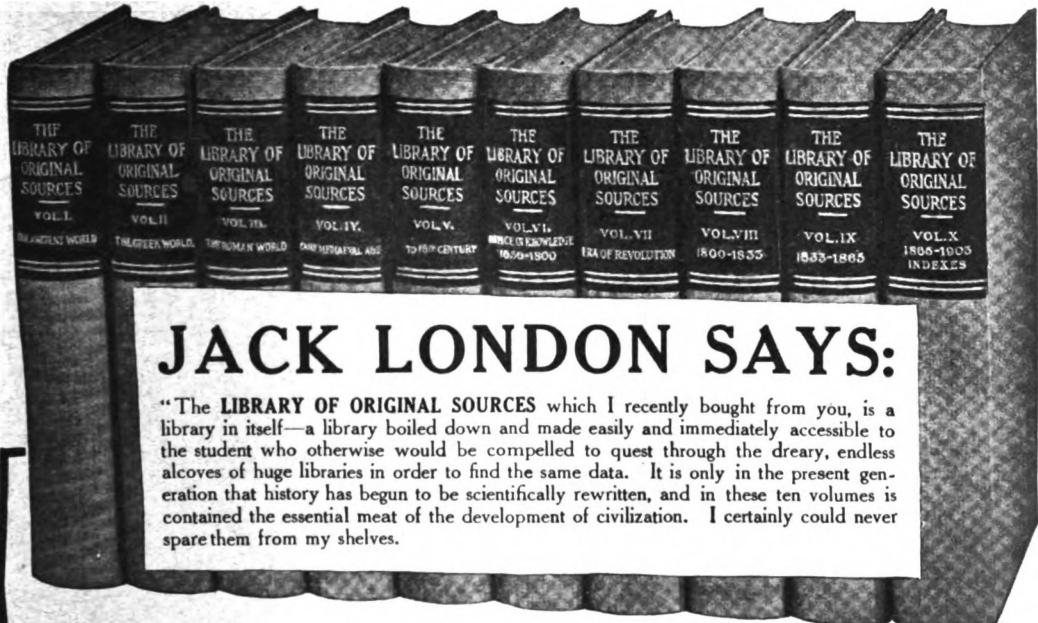
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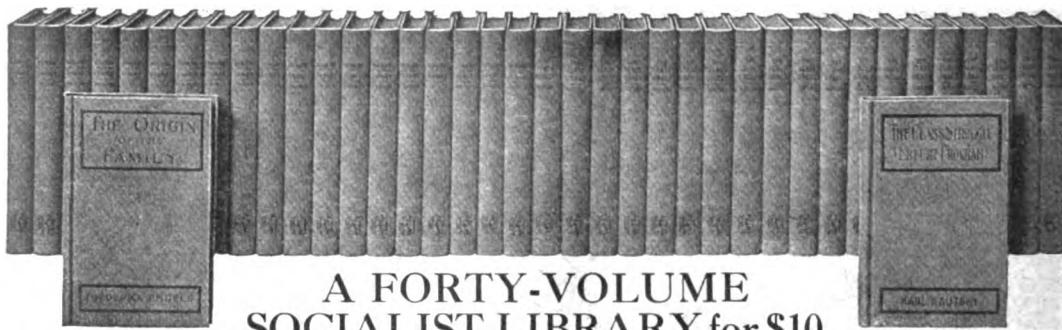
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